RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1991

APRIL -

Leaders to meet on violence?

Cape Times 1/4/91 4th 2-4

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — There is a possibility that a meeting between President F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may be arranged soon to discuss the ongoing black-on-black violence in the country.

However, a spokesman for the President's office said last night that he was "unaware of such discussion" and could therefore not comment. He said the President was unavailable for comment.

The possibility of a meeting between the big three emerged on Saturday after a five-hour meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi here — their first "one-on-one" meeting.

The two leaders greeted each other with great warmth and cordiality.

They issued a joint statement afterwards in which they said that the continuing violence was seen as an indictment of black leadership in the country.

They said the nature of the violence was not a simple ANC/IFP conflict nor could it be categorised as Xhosa/Zulu friction.

They said the possibility of a "third force" being behind the violence was being looked into.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi said the conversion of hostels into family units should be investigated as a matter of urgency.

Loose coalition

They expressed alarm at the increasing number of weapons possessed by black South Africans and said further talks would be held about this.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports meanwhile that there have also been tentative, behind-the-scenes discussions on the possibility of the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha forming a loose coalition in a bid to boost stability and reduce conflict in the difficult transition period.

It is understood that other parties prepared to subscribe to a broad set of common principles would also be allowed on board if such an initiative can be successfully launched.

On the parliamentary front, meanwhile, Mr De Klerk has invited other tricameral leaders to attend a Tuynhuys meeting on April 8 with a view to establishing a "parliamentary forum".

The move is seen as a bid to galvanise opposition to the demand by extra-parliamentary parties for constituent assembly elections and give fresh momentum to the negotiation process.

The initiative could result in an effective interim government between the major players before a new constitution is settled and elections are held for a new government.



FRIENDS IN ADVERSITY ... ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi embrace at the start of their talks. Picture REUTER

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No 'gatherings at will'

Prohibition won't be renewed

JOHANNESBURG. — The fact that the existing prohibition on certain outdoor gatherings, including political meetings, is not to be renewed, did not mean that gatherings or processions may now be held at will, Justice and Correctional Services Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said in a statement at the weekend.

The prohibition in question expired yesterday.

"Persons wishing to hold gatherings in public places or on public premises must still obtain the necessary permission in terms of the relevant by-laws from the local authority concerned."

Permission for processions in public streets or places must also still be obtained from both the affected local authority and the district magistrate, Mr Coetsee stressed.

He said such measures remained necessary to protect the rights of "other individuals and the interests of, for instance, traders", and to ensure that traffic arrangements were observed.

He also appealed to organisers to ensure that gatherings or processions did not result in "public disturbances or riots, damage to property, obstruction to traffic or interference with the amenities and conveniences of the public generally".

Mr Coetsee said his decision not to issue a further prohibition of certain outdoor gatherings was made possible by the fact that organisers mostly co-operated with authorities.

"If this co-operation continues it will be possible to manage gatherings and processions effectively in terms of the measures that remain," he added. — Sapa

Two die in Natal S Coast violence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 more die in unrest incidents

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CAF Tinks 2/4/91

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

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

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

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

At Mabeleni, near Greytown, police said a man was killed and another was injured when gunmen opened fire on a group. — Sapa

John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkatha at the expense of the ANC

Losing out in the township power

Star 3/4/95

LAST week's edition of New Nation, the biggest pro-African National Congress newspaper, carried a startling critique of the ANC leadership's dismal failure to deal with the most pressing — and potentially destructive — political issue of the day. the violence again sweeping Johannesburg's black townships.

The article carried the opinions of ANC supporters in Alexandra township interviewed after the latest atrocity, the AK-47 attack last Wednesday which left dead 15 mourners at a funeral vigil.

One person interviewed, expressing a generalised sentiment, said the ANC had shown itself to be incapable of protecting the people "The ANC was the only organisation that we trusted in everything, but now it seems as if we are left to the mercy of the killers." What they are saying in Alexandra is being echoed in ANC circles all over the Johannesburg area, where more than 100 people have died in political violence in the last month and where at least 1 200 have been killed since August.

Not surprisingly, the ANC leadership is in a panic. Which was why Nelson Mandela called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of Inkatha, in Durban on Saturday The idea was to try to come up with something constructive to try to end the slaughter. But all that came out was lame, tired rhetoric — little to reflect the urgency of a problem which threatens to destroy the entire process of negotiated political transition on which the country is supposedly set.

At the height of the township violence in September, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying that if nothing was done the country was "for the birds". Last week he repeated his cry. "Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community," he told his Cape Town congregation. "We can't go on forever blaming apartheid"

This, of course, is precisely what the ANC is doing. Blaming all the violence on a shadowy "third force", the ANC insists that to describe the violence as "black-on-black", as anything other than the product of yet another dastardly apartheid conspiracy, is racist This is not to say that the slaughter should be seen merely in terms of black savagery, a position editorial writers in the "white" newspapers increasingly lean towards One question these eloquent pundits rarely ask, oddly, is who is gaining and losing from the violence in political terms? (Otherwise, of course, why insist on referring to the violence as "political" in the first place?)

Beyond doubt, as New Nation's piece last week served to demonstrate, the ANC has suffered more than anyone. Its credibility among the vast majority of the black population who have long supported them has been seriously undermined. And Inkatha has gained. For all the bluster and well-honed PR of Chief Buthelezi, the fact is that his party's support is minimal compared to the ANC's. A national opinion poll conducted in February by the government-funded Human Sciences Research Council found that in a general election, 53 percent of the total population would vote for the ANC, one percent for Inkatha A poll conducted by a Gallup subsidiary, Markinor, found 58 percent of black urban adults supported Mr Mandela, one percent Chief Buthelezi

At Saturday's meeting, notwithstanding, Chief Buthelezi had the temerity to propose that he, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk should form a sort of leadership "troika" to oversee the nation's problems If Mr Mandela did not laugh the suggestion out of court it is because he recogmses that the violence in the country, and Inkatha's central role in it, have given Chief Buthelezi a measure of power, a political bargaining position, utterly disproportionate to the support he enjoys among the potential electorate

If the country were at peace, Chief Buthelezi would rapidly regress to the relative obscurity — one homeland leader more — to which he was reduced just after Mr Mandela's release a year ago, before the township killings flared. The violence of the last eight months has diminished the stature of Mr Mandela and significantly boosted Chief Buthelezi's. That is the politics of the township violence. If politics has nothing to do with it — if Inkatha has merely been caught up in a senseless spiral like everybody else — then the white editorial-writers are right, and it's all just barbarism. — The Independent News Service □

John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkatha at the expense of the ANC

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Not surprisingly, the ANC leadership is in a panic. Which was why Nelson Mandela called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of Inkatha, in Durban on Saturday. The idea was to try to come up with something constructive to try to end the slaughter. But all that came out was lame, tired rhetoric — little to reflect the urgency of a problem which threatens to destroy the entire process of negotiated political transition on which the country is supposedly set.

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This, of course, is precisely what the ANC is doing. Blaming all the violence on a shadowy "third force", the ANC insists that to describe the violence as "black-on-black", as anything other than the product of yet another dastardly apartheid conspiracy, is racist. This is not to say that the slaughter should be seen merely in terms of black savagery, a position editorial writers in the "white" newspapers increasingly lean towards. One question these eloquent pundits rarely ask, oddly, is who is gaining and losing from the violence in political terms? (Otherwise, of course, why insist on referring to the violence as "political" in the first place?)

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At Saturday's meeting, notwithstanding, Chief Buthelezi had the temerity to propose that he, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk should form a sort of leadership "troika" to oversee the nation's problems. If Mr Mandela did not laugh the suggestion out of court it is because he recognises that the violence in the country, and Inkatha's central role in it, have given Chief Buthelezi a measure of power, a political bargaining position, utterly disproportionate to the support he enjoys among the potential electorate.

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Close door to violence, urges bishop

Star 3/4/91.

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By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

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

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

Emphatic

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

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

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

Behave

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

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

A multitude of groups — such as the trade unions, churches, women's groups, youth movements and human rights organisations — did not identify with the main political players, but had earned the right to play a role in drawing up a new constitution, he added.

'Three wise men' to meet

Sowetan 3/4/91.

THE ANC's national executive committee will meet tomorrow to discuss the formation of a "three wise men" team to deal with township violence.

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

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

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

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

That accord:

* Called on members to cease attacks on each other;

* Suggested a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of areas affected by violence;

* Renounced the use of intimidation to win support;

* Committed both organisations to desist from vilifying one another or indulging in "killing talk"; and

* Agreed that the existing joint mechanism, set up in 1988, should be used to monitor violations of the agreement.

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

In a five-point pact, the two leaders agreed to monitor:

* The dates, venues, speakers and subject matter of peace meetings;

* The distribution of peace accord pamphlets;

* Other activities of peace committees;

* Joint undertakings; and

* The activities of local peace units. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

ANC, Govt deadlocked over arms

Star 4/4/91

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Staff Reporters

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

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

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

Effort

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

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

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

The ANC team was led by internal leader Walter Sisulu.

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

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

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

"The curfew is an instrument that I am using.

"However, we will consider their representation."

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

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

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

"The Government is investigating the whole hostel issue."

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

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

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

● **Weapons of love or war — Page 17.**

Weapons of love or war

Star 4/4/91

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The bloody violence engulfing South Africa's black communities has brought into sharp focus the controversial issue of "traditional" or "cultural" weapons, which have been used to deadly effect in the ongoing carnage. THABO LESHILO spoke to black leaders about the issue.

"NOTHING will stop a Zulu man from carrying a weapon. Not even God himself. Or even Lucifer — he who keeps his eye on the bottomless pit."

So says Humphrey Ndlovu, Inkatha's secretary for the PWV area. He dismissed the controversy surrounding the display of traditional weapons at Inkatha public meetings and "peace rallies" as "unnecessary noise" by the media.

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

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

He said Inkatha members carried the *igala* or *iwisa* (knobkerrie), *ihawu* (shield), *induku* (stick) and several kinds of spears as part of their tradition — not to attack anybody.

Excepting the one with a long handle used in wars — remember the battle of Isandlwana in 1879 — different kinds of spear could be carried for proposing love, by a newly wed woman entering a new family, hunting, slaughtering beasts or at weddings.

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

Why should a man carry weapons when proposing love?

"To show their fullness or completeness. The man would feel incomplete without his *ibeshu* (loin skirt) shield, spear and stick," explained Professor O T Nxumalo, Zulu writer and head of the department of sociology of education at the University of Zululand.

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

Pointing to the problem of terminology when dealing with the issue of traditional weapons, Professor Nxumalo said the word "weapons" sometimes conveyed the wrong meaning. People carrying the "weapons" did not consider them as such.

"What may be a weapon today might not be a weapon tomorrow, depending on the usage," said Professor Nxumalo. The *uboko* or u*udondolo* — long walking sticks used by the aged — could also be sharpened and used to jab at the enemy.

"When describing 'traditional' weapons and attempting to implement any changes it is important to have the necessary cultural background of the concerned people so that their ethos should not be unnecessarily affronted.

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

Hurled at prey

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

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

Molathlegi Thlale, Azapo's political commissar, said. "Azapo takes the view that the so-called traditional weapons which are paraded as a trademark of the Zulu-speaking people are a facade and at best a shibboleth.

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

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

Fidzroy Ngcukana, the PAC's secretary for culture, explained that among the Xhosa-seaking people, traditional weapons were usually used in initiation rites. The new entrant into manhood must always carry a stick. A stick was also used for herding animals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation believed the concept of traditional weapons was being twisted around to justify violence and destabilise the black community. "Nobody should be allowed to carry a weapon. The next thing, right-wing Afrikaners will say it is the Boer tradition to carry guns," he said. □



Belligerent . . . heavily armed Inkatha members march through a township street at the height of bloody violence on the East Rand. Inkatha claims that Zulu men carry weapons as part of their tradition. Picture: Herbert Mabuza

Hundreds flee violence in SA

Sowth 4/4 - 10/4/91.

From Melinda Ham
Lusaka

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

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

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

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

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

Donors

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

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

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

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

"We want the world to know that we have hundres of young people who are in desperate need of scholarships," Marodi said. — *AIA*

Vlok, ANC discuss traditional weapons

CAPE TIMES 4/4/91 NA 274

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"A stone can be, even a woman's shoe, under certain circumstances."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vlok defers ruling on weapons issue

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday an ANC request for a total ban on the carrying of "traditional" weapons would be discussed with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

WILSON ZWANE

Vlok's announcement came after a three-hour discussion with senior ANC and Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) officials in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing a media briefing after the meeting, Vlok said the ANC and ACO request for a ban on traditional weapons would be considered, but nothing would be enforced unilaterally as any solution would work best if it was arrived at in co-operation with all interested parties.

Discussions on the matter would also be held with Buthelezi.

"I agree with the ANC that pangas and axes are not traditional weapons, but we must be very careful when we disarm people. It is not only a knife or axe or a sharpened pole that can be a dangerous weapon. A stone or even a woman's shoe can be a dangerous weapon under certain circumstances," Vlok said.

ACO official Popo Molefe said although his delegation and Vlok had not agreed on the banning of traditional weapons, the talks were "frank and serious".

He added that while the talks dealt with violence throughout SA, their focus was on the violence in Alexandra.

Vlok said curfews had been successful in removing people from the streets during certain periods.

He added it was ironical that the ANC, which had asked him to use every means to stop the violence, was now calling for the lifting of curfews.

"The imposition of curfews is one way of dealing with the violence," Vlok said.

Other issues, including allegations of police partiality and the hostel system, were also discussed.

"We have assured the ANC that the police are impartial and the issue of the hostels is being investigated by the government," Vlok said.

The ANC representatives at yesterday's meeting were internal leader Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, national executive member Joe Nhlanhla and SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo.

The ACO was represented by its president Moses Mayekiso, general-secretary Richard Mdakane, Molefe and human rights lawyer Azar Cachalia, while Vlok was accompanied by his deputy Johan Scheepers and Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach.



ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo after yesterday's meeting with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in Pretoria, at which their delegation demanded a total ban on "traditional" weapons. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Poll: violence fuels white gloom

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

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

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

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

On the whole the confidence level of whites was negative and had displayed a downward trend since the second quarter of 1988.

The bureau was also not overly pessimistic in its predictions for consumer spending for 1991 and 1992.

"We anticipate a growth of close to 14% in nominal terms in the remuneration of employees — marginally higher than the anticipated inflation rate of 13,5% for 1991."

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

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

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

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

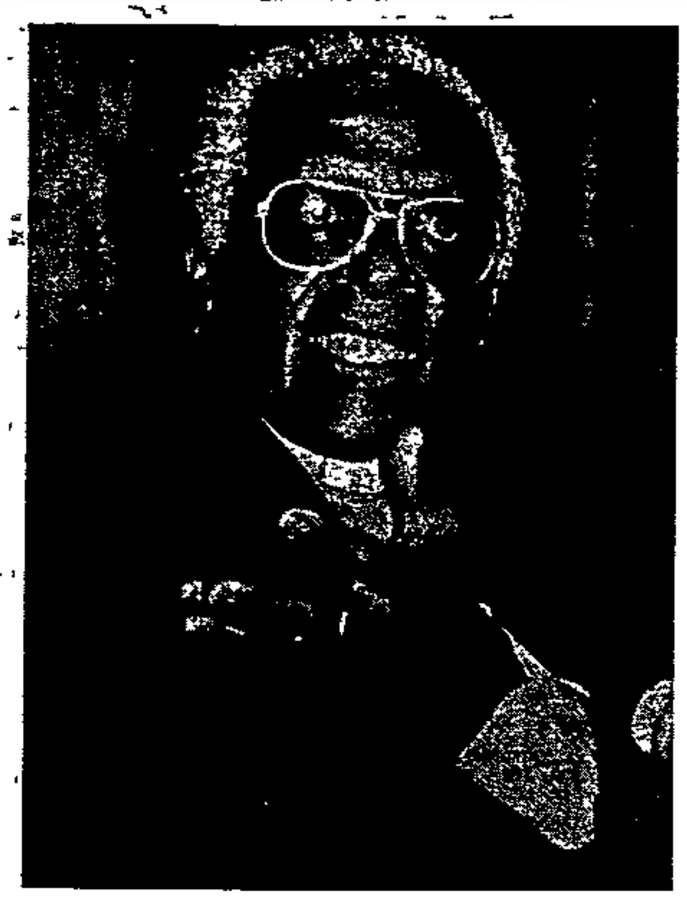
Durable sales were down

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

'It's time to put our own house in order'

South 4/4 – 10/4/91.

South Africans could not forever continue blaming apartheid for what had gone "desperately wrong" in the black community in South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at a Mass for Justice and Peace in St George's Cathedral last week. There was much to admire in black political organisations, he said, "but there is much also which is not right". An edited extract from his homily follows:



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

IT seems as if the culture of violence is taking root in our society. We are becoming brutalised and almost anaesthetised to what is totally unacceptable.

If this kind of violence continues, then the new South Africa may dawn — and that is doubtful — but it may dawn, and there will be very few around to enjoy it. Those who survive will do so only because they are tough, on the basis of the law of the jungle: Survival of the fittest, eat or be eaten, devil take the hindmost.

My friends, 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.

South Africa has never really had a culture of tolerance. The government and its supporters have used dastardly and nefarious methods to deal with its opponents, ranging from their vilification, as on SABC TV and radio and government-supporting media, to the physical elimination of people through the death squads.

Frustration

People have learned that those who differ with them are enemies and the only way to deal with enemies is to liquidate them.

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, your level of frustration rises and you break out violently.

In Britain, in those riots against the poll tax, a great deal of the violence was at the hands of whites who felt that they were going to be the left-behinds in the rat-race.

It is true also that we are reaping the horrible harvest 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, accused on all sides of a lack of professionalism as a peace-keeping force. Sometimes it might be true that some of them have sought to foment the violence. That has added fuel to the fire.

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 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 forever blaming apartheid.

Of course it is responsible for a great deal of evil, but ultimately, 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 during some of the worst moments in the struggle.

Reverance

We seem to have lost our reverence for life when children can dance around 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. 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, ability to care, hospitality, our sense of connectedness, our sense that my humanity is bound up in your humanity. We are losing our self-respect, demonstrated graphically by the dumping and littering in our townships. Of course we live in squalor and in slum ghettos. But we are not rubbish. That is what we seem to say when you see how we treat our already poor environment?

There are some things that I want to suggest.

- Firstly, 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 our enemies, otherwise there would be very few husbands and wives around.

- Secondly, our political organisations need to put their houses in order; instil discipline in their members and adopt at least a minimum code of conduct, parameters beyond which we will not stray in our political activity.

- Thirdly, the authorities must disarm all groups. It is nonsense, utterly unacceptable to speak about traditional weapons. Traditional weapons kill. And it is quite wrong to allow certain groups to move around blatantly armed.

- Fourthly, let the police become a truly professional peace-keeping force that upholds law and order without fear or favour. One hopes that they can begin to be flexible — for what happened in Daveyton was due to their insisting on a law that many of our people refuse to obey.

- Fifthly, I urge all political leaders to stop their killing talk; stop their belligerent, bellicose utterances that incite others to violence, whatever the intention of the speaker might have been.

Why do they allow people like Dr Andries Treurnicht (Conservative Party leader) to get away with the kind of language that he is using? Can you imagine what would have happened to blacks if they said the kind of things that he has been allowed to say?

Vilifying

There is legislation to stop organisations such as the AWB making vilifying, denigratory, insulting utterances, racist remarks that hurt people. The government ought to stamp on such action, firmly and quickly.

- Sixthly, I want to suggest that the municipalities, city councils, local councils, churches, community organisations and 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, but for all of Africa. There is a simple prayer that many of us use, and I would suggest that it is a prayer that ought to be learned 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"

ursday April 4 1991

Outlaw these weapons, Vlok is told

Sowetan 4/4/91

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vlok said: ''I assured them we are acting as impartially as possible.'' - *Sapa*.

NEC extends talks on township violence

Star 9/4/91

274

Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

Star 5/4/91.

ANC to march countrywide

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By Monica Oosterbroek

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

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

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

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

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

An ANC, SACP and Cosatu statement said 1 700 political prisoners were still in jail, of whom 55 were on Death Row.

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

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE

BLANKET OF THE DARK

(274) FM 5/4/91

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

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

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

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

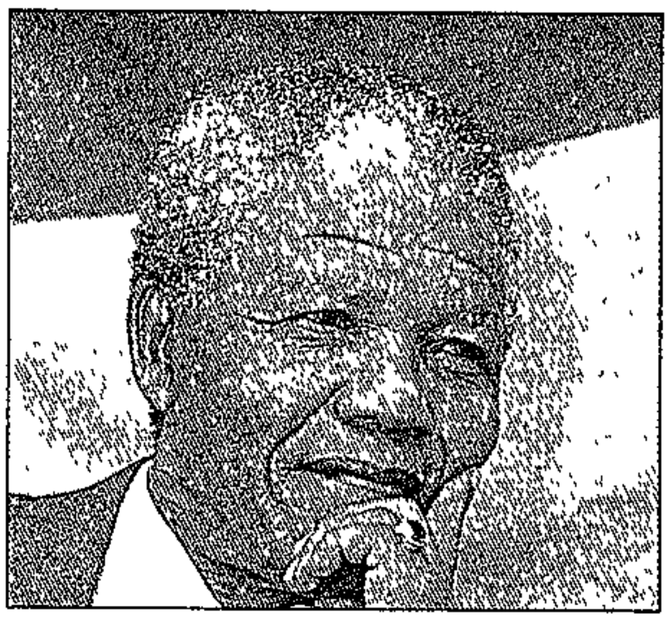
But how accurate are reports of violence, and can these mask more serious undercurrents? The most frequently relied upon data for violence monitoring are police unrest



Buthelezi ... *spirit willing*

reports, though both the ANC, and to a more effective extent, Cosatu, have established their own violence-monitoring and prevention committees. Journalists rely extensively on police unrest reports.

Official reports give only a tally of deaths for a 24-hour period. There is often no indication which deaths — if any — are being followed up, and which have been written off as hopeless cases because there are no leads



Mandela *accord at the top*

and no suspects. Even if it is accepted that the police have a difficult job dealing with individual cases when violence flares, it remains their job to do so

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Charlene Smith

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DON'T LOOK FOR A THIRD FORCE

The weekend meeting between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela, to discuss ways of curbing violence, is excellent news — up to a point. Mandela has been on holiday out of the public eye for some weeks, during which the Inkatha-ANC "peace" pact began to look like a sick joke.

Obviously, while every incident of conflict has particular causes, the war in the townships is aligning itself along party lines — in fact, along tribal lines, a dire portent — and increased visibility of the leaders is one important way of preventing an escalation into civil war

The constant attempts, particularly by the ANC, to pin the blame on some third or fourth force do not so far amount to more than hearsay. Nobody believes that the police are angels in such situations, but the solution to the police problem lies in the long-term upgrading of their personnel, resources and sense of professionalism They need to feel responsible to the community rather than being typecast as its enemies

Any attempts to create an alternative force for law and order in the townships will fail and probably lead to more massacres There needs to be fewer arms in the black areas, not more, and the utmost scrutiny of police behaviour is essential if rumour and hearsay are not to proliferate For their part, the black groups must cease to gather in large numbers to foster hatred of each other.

Buthelezi's proposal that he, Mandela and President F W de Klerk should comprise a watchdog committee on factional violence — and other urgent issues — will come to little unless each exerts strong influence on those directly responsible for violence. De Klerk will be expected to take seriously complaints of police misbehaviour which reach him through this committee; the black leaders must, somehow, make their desire for peace felt in the streets

Since the growth of factional violence is probably the major deterrent to satisfactory and stable negotiations, the best thing Buthelezi and Mandela can co-operate on to spread the message would be to tour the townships in company with each other, restating to the various communities the direction in which they are being led. If what we are witnessing is alienated tribalism — wars over influence and turf, revenge killings — a sense of common purpose needs to permeate every stratum of society

Like the reform of the police, the inculcation of such a sense will take time Horrible things will occur along the way — but without it, the decay and desperation will increase monstrously ■

Women marching against violence

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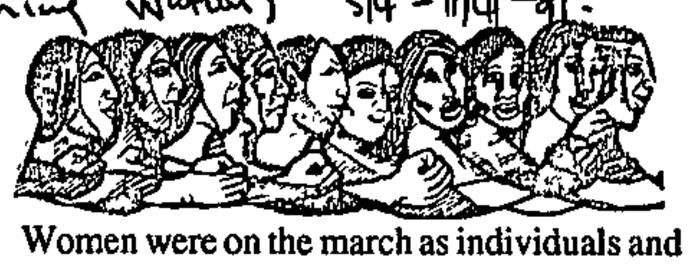
New Nation (Learning Nation) 5/4 - 11/4 91.





The 8th March every year is International Women's Day. This day is remembered because 80 years ago, thousands of women marched in New York on this day, to mourn the death of 175 women who had died in a burning textile factory in New York. The bosses had locked the doors of the factory to prevent theft. When the fire broke out, women either had to burn to death or jumped to their deaths from the 18th floor of the factory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

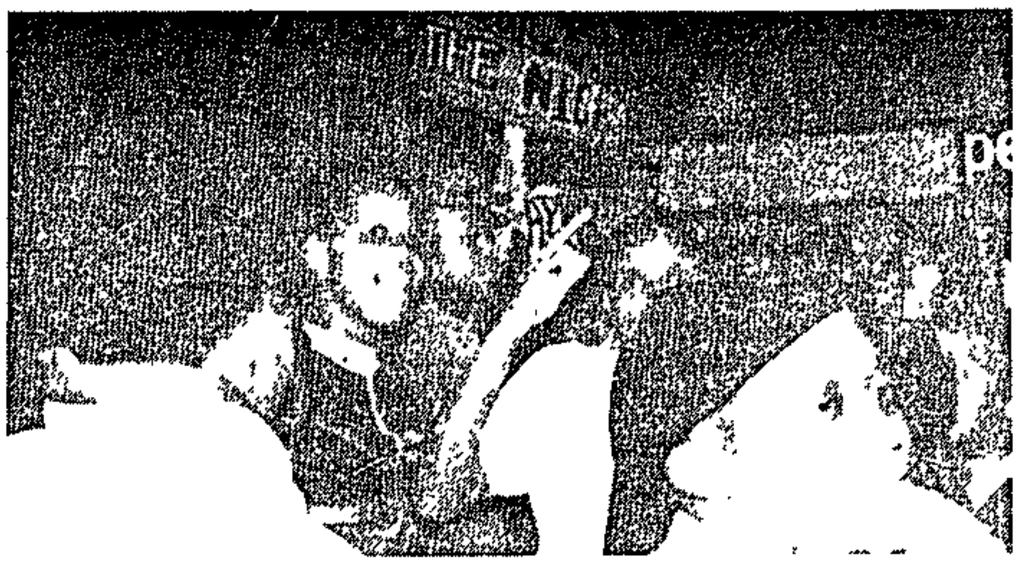
She told us that this march was happening at a very important time in the our history. That after many years of struggle we are at the brink of writing a new constitution. That we as women have to make sure that our demands as women are reflected in that new constitution.

The messages are clear. Now we must act.









ANC leaders meet on violence

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

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

Details of the discussions would be disclosed today, she added. — Sapa



Lethal weapons ... Trade unionists, the security forces, Inkatha members, right-wingers, the 'comrades' — all are

PEACE PROCESS: *It's time South Africans gave up*

DISARM

274 WMAIL 5/4-11/4/91

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu last week suggested six steps to achieving peace in South Africa. Most of his recommendations — such as achieving a culture of tolerance and reforming the police force — were long-term.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tutu made five other concrete suggestions.

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

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

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

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

In the ANC the growing acceptance of political pluralism by most national and regional leaders is often neither understood nor accepted further down the line. The return of the "necklace" and the persistence



armed and contribute to a culture of violence

Photographs: JUSTIN SHOLK and KEVIN CARTER

their weapons of war. **GAVIN EVANS** *reports*

THEM!

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w/mail 5/4 – 11/4/91.

of people's court sjambokkings are testimony to this.

Recently the rhetorical acceptance of non-racialism has been exposed as less than skin-deep in several areas. Attacks by Inkatha have led to an anti-Zulu approach, which in turn has isolated the ANC from former and potential Zulu supporters.

Until there are comprehensive programmes within all organisations — and in particular Inkatha and the ANC — to teach members that political competition is healthy and that rivals are not enemies, the search for peace will be as elusive as catching one's own shadow.

When the ANC sets up its first branch in Mlundi and is able to recruit there without harassment, and Inkatha in Mdandtsane, we may be able to say the process has started.

●"Two, 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 polical activity."

The upshot of this is that those who do stray must face strong sanction from within their organisations. So far both the ANC and Inkatha have avoided such measures.

Inkatha is essentially a top-down organisation that does not breach challenges to Buthelezi's authority It is strange, therefore, that regional leaders like Themba Khoza can hand out guns to hostel dwellers and face no reprimand from the top.

The ANC, as a broad church whose members range from those who'd be at home in the boy scouts to those who sing the praises of Mengistu Haile Mariam, has also shown little stomach for pulling into line members involved with atrocities.

●"Let the police become a professional peace-keeping force that upholds the rule of law and order without fear or favour. One hopes they can begin to be flexible."

The government has made a start by increasing the Law and Order budget, announcing moves to improve and upgrade training and to introduce more blacks into the white-dominated officer's corps. But trust for the police in many communities remains at subterranean levels, precisely because the police have a history of showing favour and instilling fear.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Imagine the Alexandra Civic Organisation's Moses Mayekiso, Inkatha's Humphry Ndlovu, the ANC's Popo Molefe and Alexandra mayor Prince Mokoena pushing a wheelbarrow together and you'll get a sense of just how far there is to go.

Untag is no tourniquet for the blood flow

(274)

(w/mail 5/4 - 11/4/91)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"What made Untag successful in Namibia," said a Namibian newsman, "was its massive presence. There were 8 000 UN officials for only 1,6-million people."

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

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

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

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

The sticking-point

Traditional weapons or weapons of war?

Argus 5/4/91

274

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

"NOTHING will stop a Zulu man from carrying a weapon Not even God himself Or even Lucifer — he who keeps his eye on the bottomless pit."

So says Humphrey Ndlovu, Inkatha's secretary for the PWV area

CULTURE

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

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

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

He said Inkatha members carried the igala or iwisa (knobkerrie), ihawu (shield), induku (stick) and several kinds of spears as part of their tradition — not to attack anybody.

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

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

Why should a man carry weapons when proposing love?

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

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

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

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

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

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



WAR CHANT: "Zulu" impis brandish traditional weapons in Alexandra township near Johannesburg. Clashes between hostel-dwellers and township residemts have claimed many lives.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Nobody should be allowed to carry a weapon. The next thing, right-wing Afrikaners will say it is the Boer tradition to carry guns," he said.

Meet our demands or talks are off, Mandela tells FW

N the most serious threat ..t to the peace process, he African National Congress yesterday said it ould suspend all constitu-ional talks with the Gov-..nment if certain steps ..e not taken by May 9 to top the township violence.

The ANC's national executive ...ed seven security-related de-...nds to be met within a month - including the sacking of De-... Minister Magnus Malan ... Law and Order Minister ...driaan Vlok.

And in a stinging attack on the ...ha Freedom Party, the ANC ... perpetrators of violence aimed "inflate the image of the IFP ... that of a minor to the rank of ... third major player in the politi-... arena".

Reaction
— See Page 2

The ANC also dismissed IFP lead-Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's ... of a "troika" — consisting the KwaZulu leader, ANC deputy ...sident Nelson Mandela and Pres-... de Klerk — to deal with the ...

Yesterday's demands, formulated a two-day extraordinary meeting the ANC's leadership, were that:

Ministers Malan and Vlok be dis-..., and all SADF and SAP offi-... who bear direct responsibility the setting up and management the Civil Co-operation Bureau

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

(CCB) and other hit squads be "rusticated" (isolated and penalised)

● All special counter-insurgency units be publicly dismantled and disarmed, including the CCB, Koevoet and the Askaris. A multi-party commission should be set up to oversee this process.

● All police officers implicated in the Sebokeng massacre in March last year be immediately suspended and charged, and all officers implicated in last month's Daveyton and Benoni shootings on March 24 be suspended pending the findings of a commission of inquiry.

● Satisfactory assurances be g..en that security forces will use civilised methods of crowd control, and the use of live ammunition be prohibited on such occasions.

● Laws be introduced in the current session of Parliament to outlaw the carrying of all weapons, including traditional weapons, at public gatherings and processions.

● Effective steps be taken to begin the process of phasing out hostels and other labour compounds and transform these dwellings into family housing units and single occupancy flats

● An independent commission of inquiry be set up to investigate all complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

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

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

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

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 6/4/91

Talks

FROM PAGE 1

The letter puts the blame for the protracted violence squarely at the Government's door.

It is "inconceivable" that the Government lacks the capacity to curb the violence which first broke out in September 1984, it says.

"The ANC is of the view that the Government's equivocal attitude to the cycle of violence reflects either an attitude of cynical irresponsibility or is evidence of connivance at acts of organised terror in the hope that they will succeed in destroying or seriously crippling the ANC."

Mr Mandela, flanked by information head Pallo Jordan and SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, told a press conference that the departments headed by General Malan and Mr Vlok had been responsible for the deaths of close to 8 000 people.

He attributed these deaths to faction fighting, unacceptable methods of crowd control, "the connivance of the Government" and the activities of a government "third force".

A grave-looking Mr Mandela said this ultimatum was the most serious threat yet to negotiations.

"This is a very serious matter. I sincerely hope that the Government will treat it in this light," he warned.

The letter contained a detailed evaluation of recent incidents of violence, singling out groups wearing "red headbands", government agents, the KwaZulu police, well-organised groups of armed men using automatic weapons, and gangs of hoodlums and vigilantes.

The ANC launched a surprising attack on the IFP, after months of sensitive negotations between the two parties.

Asked if the ANC's dismissal of the IFP would not fuel tension between supporters of the two groups, Mr Mandela said Inkatha was a minor political grouping and the ANC had no hesitation in saying so.

Dismissing the "troika" concept, Mr Mandela said he had earlier suggested that he, Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi visit strife-torn areas. However, this should only be a single mission.

Minutes after the conclusion of the press conference, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's office faxed a full response to the ANC's statement, saying any loss of confidence in the pre-negotiation talks between the ANC and the Government should be laid squarely at Mr de Klerk's doorstep for "failing to control" Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi.

Fire Vlok, Malan — ANC

Buthelezi defends use of cultural weapons

ST Times 7/4/91

By TERRY VAN DER WALT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reacting to the ANC's call for their banning, Mr Buthelezi said: "One can understand it when people are dying like this, but one must also have a balance. The most lethal weapons are, of course, the AK-47s.

"In the conflicts, most of the people are decimated by AK-47s and other sophisticated arms. It is not the cultural weapons that are used."

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

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

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

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

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

Park ..., Auckland

ANC must 'fight state violence'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buthelezi will respond today

Mandela sticks to ultimatum

Star 8/4/91

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

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

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

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

Asked if Mr de Klerk had not already effectively rejected the demands in his initial reaction, Mr Mandela said: "If that were the interpretation, it could be taken for granted that nothing would follow after May 9.

Asked if it was not unfair to blame the whites and apartheid for all the violence in the country, especially as even Archbishop Desmond Tutu had said blacks must also examine themselves for what was going on, Mr Mandela said: "Archbishop Tutu is entitled to express his views. I do not necessarily agree with him insofar as he attributes this violence solely to faction fighting between black organisations.

"We have said faction fighting is merely one of the elements. There is a third force. There is the use of unacceptable methods by the police which have resulted in heavy casualties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthlezi is expected to respond to the ANC today.

● **Peace bus in trouble — Page 11.**

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Reports of massacres bludgeon sensibilities of the public

(274) Star 8/4/91

News of deaths and massacres are in the news almost daily. Prominent South Africans like Dr Chris Barnard are seeking an abode elsewhere. MARK SUZMAN looks back at some of the shocking incidents of the past year

TO TALK of a "cycle of violence" or a "culture of violence" in South Africa has become routine. Beneath these phrases, however, lies the tragic fact that death and violence have seemingly become endemic to the country.

Since last August alone, more than 1 200 people have met violent deaths in the country — bringing the total death toll over the past five years to 5 000

Massacres, whether carried out by policemen, political faction-fighters or gangsters, have led to widespread public calls for justice. In some instances, police investigations and judicial inquests have been successful, in others the perpetrators remain at large.

● **March 26 1990** Police fire on a crowd of 60 000 UDF supporters, leaving nine dead and 447 injured The Goldstone commission of inquiry found that the massacre "could have been avoided" and charged that the police had not followed proper procedures and gave incorrect information to the commission

● **July 18 1990** Armed vigilantes attack a bus in Main Road, Durban, killing 26 and injuring 60 A subsequent investigation revealed that the incident may have been an accident.

● **September 4 1990**: 42 people are killed and 124 injured after soldiers open fire on an unarmed crowd 5 000 following faction-fighting A judicial inquiry found that although Inkatha was probably responsible for most of the hostel deaths, no individuals could be singled out. It found, however, that an SADF rifleman killed one person, and it accused an internal SADF probe of being a "whitewash."

● **September 13 1990** An armed gang rampages through a Johannesburg commuter train, leaving 26 people dead and more than 100 injured. Police arrested five men.

● **October 9 1990** Seven people are killed and 27 injured in a gun attack on a bus near Kwa-Mashu. Eugene Marais, was convicted of murder and sentenced to death for firing on the bus in revenge for the stabbing of eight whites in Durban.

● **January 13 1991** 42 people are killed and 43 wounded in an AK-47 attack on a funeral vigil at Sebokeng. Police subsequently arrested 11 men.

● **February 10 1991**. 14 people are killed and 11 injured in an ambush on a bus returning from an Inkatha prayer rally at Taylor's Halt outside Maritzburg The case is being investigated.

● **March 25 1991** Police kill 13 people and injure 18 after opening fire on a crowd of ANC supporters at a demonstration in Daveyton The police have launched an internal probe

● **March 27 1991**: 15 people are killed and 18 injured at a prayer vigil in Alexandra Police have so far arrested eight men.

Graeme Simpson, acting director of the University of the Witwatersrand'a Project for the Study of Violence, says this generalised tendency towards violence in South African society is the result of a combination of the legacy of apartheid and insecurities generated by the current political transition.

"The apartheid era legitimised violence both on the part of the State, to secure power, and on the part of blacks resisting Government. Unbanning the ANC and other groups led to an internalisation of a conflict that was previously externalised"

And while the police have been relatively successful in prosecuting many of the massacre investigations, Mr Simpson notes that the overall situation has been greatly exacerbated by the fact that law enforcement agencies have lost the trust of the community

Mr Simpson warns that without the combination of a rapid political settlement, the easing of people's uncertainty about the future, and a new depoliticised police force, the violence will probably escalate.

And underlying the whole situation, South Africans run the real risk — as Archbishop Desmond Tutu recently warned — of "becoming brutalised and anaestethised to accept what is totally unacceptable" □

Inkatha won't give up weapons

By Brian Sokutu and Abel Mushi

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Surprised'

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

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

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

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

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

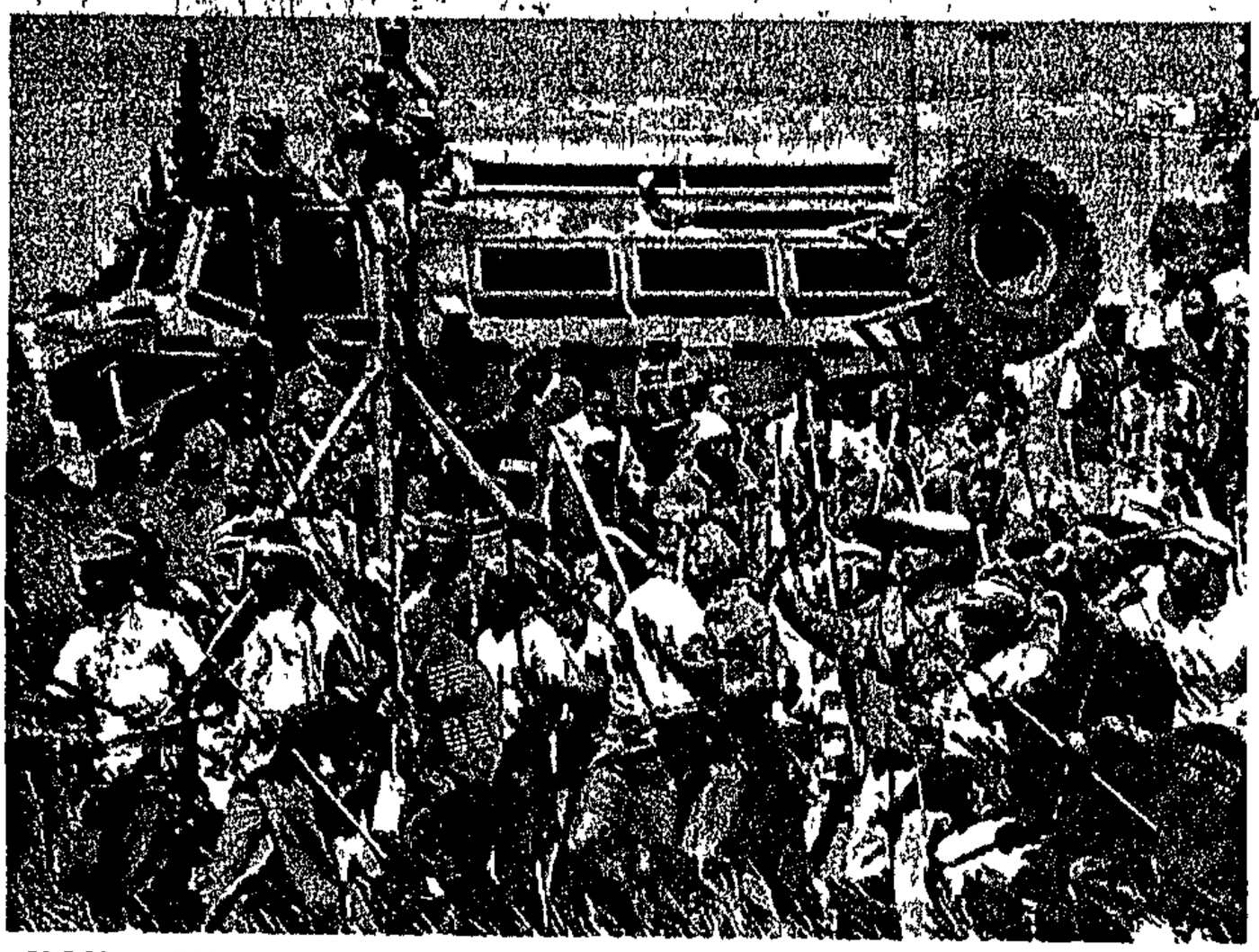
IFP Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza had earlier said his organisation would do all in its power to fight for the right to carry traditional weapons.

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

They said most of the Inkatha supporters arrived by train from various hostels.

Mandela firm on deadline

Cape Times 8/4/91 Pg 274



CLOSE WATCH . . . Police in an armoured vehicle watch a group of Zulus armed with a variety of "cultural" weapons at a peace rally held by the Inkatha Freedom Party in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg yesterday. Cape Times 8/4/91 278

Picture AP

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

Mr Mandela told CBS's "Face the Nation" programme that the ANC's May 9 deadline was "firm" but appeared to show flexibility in saying that President F W de Klerk must "respond" by then or face a cut-off of all discussions with the ANC

ANC leaders are to explain the ultimatum to the foreign diplomatic corps tomorrow

Chief Minister of Kwazulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed" with the statement released by the ANC on Friday



MK TRAINING CONTINUES — SAYS CHRIS HANI

See PAGE 2

The ANC's open letter to Mr De Klerk included a stinging broadside at Inkatha, saying that the aim of violence sweeping the townships was "to inflate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player on the political arena".

The ANC also called for a total ban on "traditional weapons"

Chief Buthelezi said he would respond further in a major statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this morning — amid fears that the development has introduced grave new tensions in the fragile relationship between the two organisations.

Political observers have interpreted the ANC's stand as a move to reduce Inkatha's status in any talks

Mr Mandela, speaking on "Face the Nation" by telephone from his Soweto home, also warned of an increase in "mass action" because of the government's "failure to honour agreements with the ANC — if persuasion fails, the only alternative we have is to use the power which we command"

With the continuing bloodshed, the ANC's de-

To page 2

Nine killed as violence flares in townships

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence erupted yesterday in two Reef townships — Soweto and Katlehong — hosting Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) peace rallies, leaving at least nine people dead and six injured, police said.

At both rallies IFP leaders told armed followers that traditional weapons were part of the Zulu culture, did not threaten peace and would never be relinquished.

In a challenge to the ANC, which is seeking legislation banning traditional weapons, IFP's youth leader, Mr Themba Khoza, told supporters in Soweto that "organisations" should not call for the disarming of Zulus.

"(The ANC) carry AK-47 rifles while we are only carrying assegais and sticks," Mr Khoza said.

In the East Rand township of Katlehong at least five people were killed, four of them burnt to death, shortly after thousands of Inkatha supporters heard IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose call for peace.

During the rally an Inkatha supporter, believed to be in his mid-20s, died after he was "accidentally" stabbed by a fellow supporter.

Earlier in the day two men were hacked and stabbed to death in the Mandela Village squatter camp bordering Katlehong, allegedly by a group of men from neighbouring Holomisa squatter camp.

Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce said he could not confirm whether the men's deaths were linked to the IFP rally, held one kilometre away.

Last night armed residents of the Holomisa squatter camp said they were preparing themselves for an IFP attack at "any minute".

In Soweto's Emdeni township an IFP member returning from the peace rally was stoned to death and another six people were injured in various clashes, police said.

Major Bruce said that after the IFP rally in Katlehong gunmen shot at a police Casspir with an AK-47 rifle and a group of about 100 people stoned police vehicles.

The body of a shooting victim was found nearby.

Major Bruce said none of the deaths had resulted from police action. — Own Correspondent

From page 1

Cape Times 8/4/91 Pg 274

mands for government action on violence and the security forces were not unreasonable, the Democratic Party's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday.

He said he was not particularly surprised by the ANC's ultimatum to the government

He also pointed that the ANC was a very late addition to the long list of organisations and newspapers — which included the Conservative Party — that had called for the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

"The majority of their demands have been made before, not only by them but also by other interest groups in the country.

"Given the fact that the threat to withdraw from negotiations is currently about the only card the ANC has to play, I am not unduly surprised at the ultimatum," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said at the weekend that the present black violence was a direct legacy of ANC policies and the organisation was answerable to the people of South Africa.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok, Captain Craig Kotze, said the minister rejected the ultimatum as far as the personal attack on him was concerned as blatant political propaganda. — Political Staff and Sapa

March halted after threats

CAPE TIMES 8/4/91 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — An explosion and threats of right-wing white violence halted one of five planned marches on prisons at the weekend by anti-apartheid demonstrators pressing for release of political prisoners, police said.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and his PRO, Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolf, arrested with 12 other AWB members when they obstructed police in Pretoria, were later warned and released, said police spokesman Major Willie Vlotman.

Major Vlotman said the ANC marchers were peaceful except for the incidents involving the arrest of AWB members.

The pre-dawn blast "severely damaged" an empty bus in Toekomsrus township The bus was to have transported people to a march in Krugersdorp, said police spokesman Major Dave Bruce.

There were no casualties and investigators had no leads, he said, but were probing possible white extremist involvement as Toekomsrus residents had received threats of violence in pamphlets signed by the shadowy right-wing White Wolves group.

March organisers later officially called off the demonstration after dozens of right-wing whites, many armed with clubs and rubber whips, gathered at a march starting point at the Krugersdorp town hall.

"We will beat them if they come near," one unidentified white said.

"We are calling off the march in a bid to prevent bloodshed," said ANC official Mr Serge Mokomyane.

Hundreds of ANC followers, led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, marched peacefully on the Pretoria Central Prison.

Some 3 000 ANC supporters in Soweto, chanting anti-government slogans, staged an uneventful march to Johannesburg Prison.

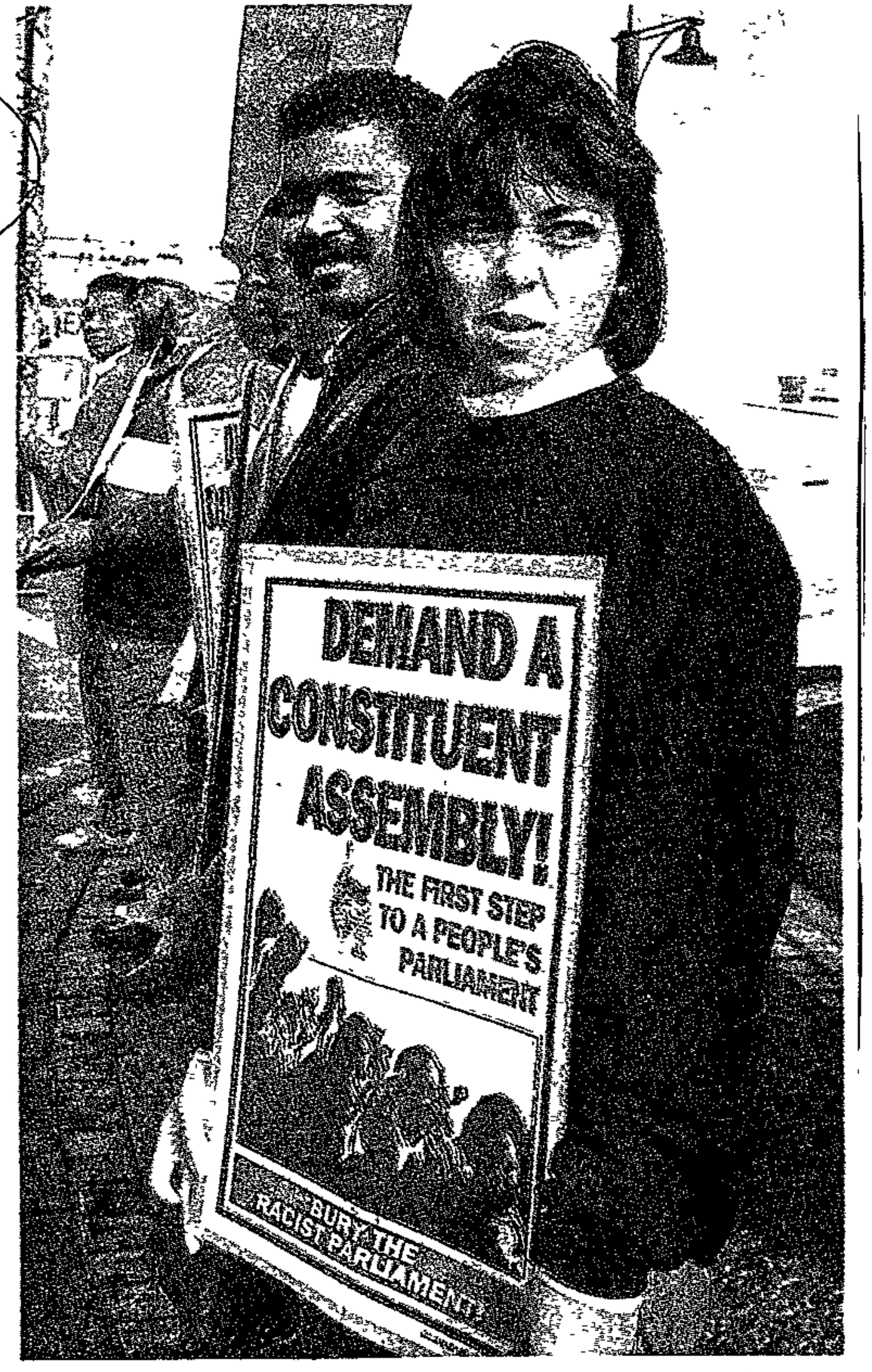


ARMED ... AWB members gather outside Krugersdorp Town Hall on Saturday to prevent a march organised by the ANC.

No incidents were reported from the other marches, in Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg, and Daveyton, to the east.

● About 2 000 ANC supporters took part in a march through central Maritzburg on Saturday to present a memoradum demanding the release of all political prisoners and return of all exiles.

No violent incidents were reported but SA Police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching, said militant members of the crowd verbally abused police, who maintained a strong presence along the route, and in one incident spat in the face of a white policeman. Police did not retaliate. — UPI and Sapa



QUAYSIDE DEMO ... ANC supporters staged a placard demonstration outside the Table Bay harbour landing quay for the Robben Island ferry at the weekend, as part of a nationwide campaign demanding the release of political prisoners. Picture BENNY GOOL

Emergency can 'end the violence'

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Should the state of emergency be brought back to try to restore peace? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise and air your opinion to the nation. Phone him today between 4.30 and 5pm at the Rand Show where he's doing a special broadcast. The hotline numbers are 494-2892 or 494-2893. Listen to the *Sowetan* talkback programme on Radio Metro on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

The ANC's letter to State President FW de Klerk

To Page 2

Dismiss Malan - ANC

From Page 1

laid the responsibility for the violence at the door of the State.

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

De Klerk responded by saying that the allegation was unfair.

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

In the ultimatum, the ANC also demanded:

* The dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok;

* That all officers in the South African Defence Force and the South African Police who "bore direct responsibility for the setting up and management of the Civil Co-operation Bureau" be dismissed;

Vlok hits out at ANC ultimatum

● From Page 1

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

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

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

The Government and the ANC were still talking.

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

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

● In Pretoria yesterday, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) came out in support of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

Star 9/4/91 (274)

'Most violence is shootings'

DURBAN — The Inkatha Institute claimed yesterday that between 70 and 90 percent of all "violence" killings over the two month period from January 29 were as a result of shootings.

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

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

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

Media reports showed that of the 24 more serious incidents recorded in Natal and Transvaal 84 percent of these were regarded as attacks against Inkatha supporters. — Sapa.

Political unrest claims nearly 600 this year

Staff Reporter Star 9/4/91

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

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

And it was not always clear whether particular deaths were politically related on not.

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

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The Institute says the number of political fatalities in each of the last six years is as follows: 1985 — 879; 1986 — 1 298; 1987 — 661, 1988 — 1 149; 1989 — 1 403; 1990 — 3 699.

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

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

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

Vlok lashes out at ANC ultimatum

(274)

Star 9/4/91

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the ANC demand that the Government should suspend policemen involved in the Daveyton and other shooting incidents, Mr Vlok said it was not normal procedure to suspend policemen in these circumstances.

TALKS BUS HALTS

ANC ultimatum poses the real danger to the future talks

Sowetan 9/4/91

IN recent months it had become fashionable to visualise South Africa's negotiations process as a temperamental vehicle, requiring jump starts and occasional services, but generally sound and with fairly good roadholding.

In the wake of Friday's ANC ultimatum to the Government, the metaphor has to be extended: the peace bus has had its first major accident.

The bodywork is in a terrible mess, and the engine itself could be damaged. It is too early to pronounce it a write-off but, for the first time, that terrifying possibility exists.

Basic confidence in the process itself has been

It's the ANC deadline, not its demands, that has brought negotiations to the precipice, writes *Sowetan* Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON

and more complicated picture.

There is no doubt that the township carnage is a matter of the deepest concern to the organisation, and that fingers can be pointed at the performance of the security forces in this regard.

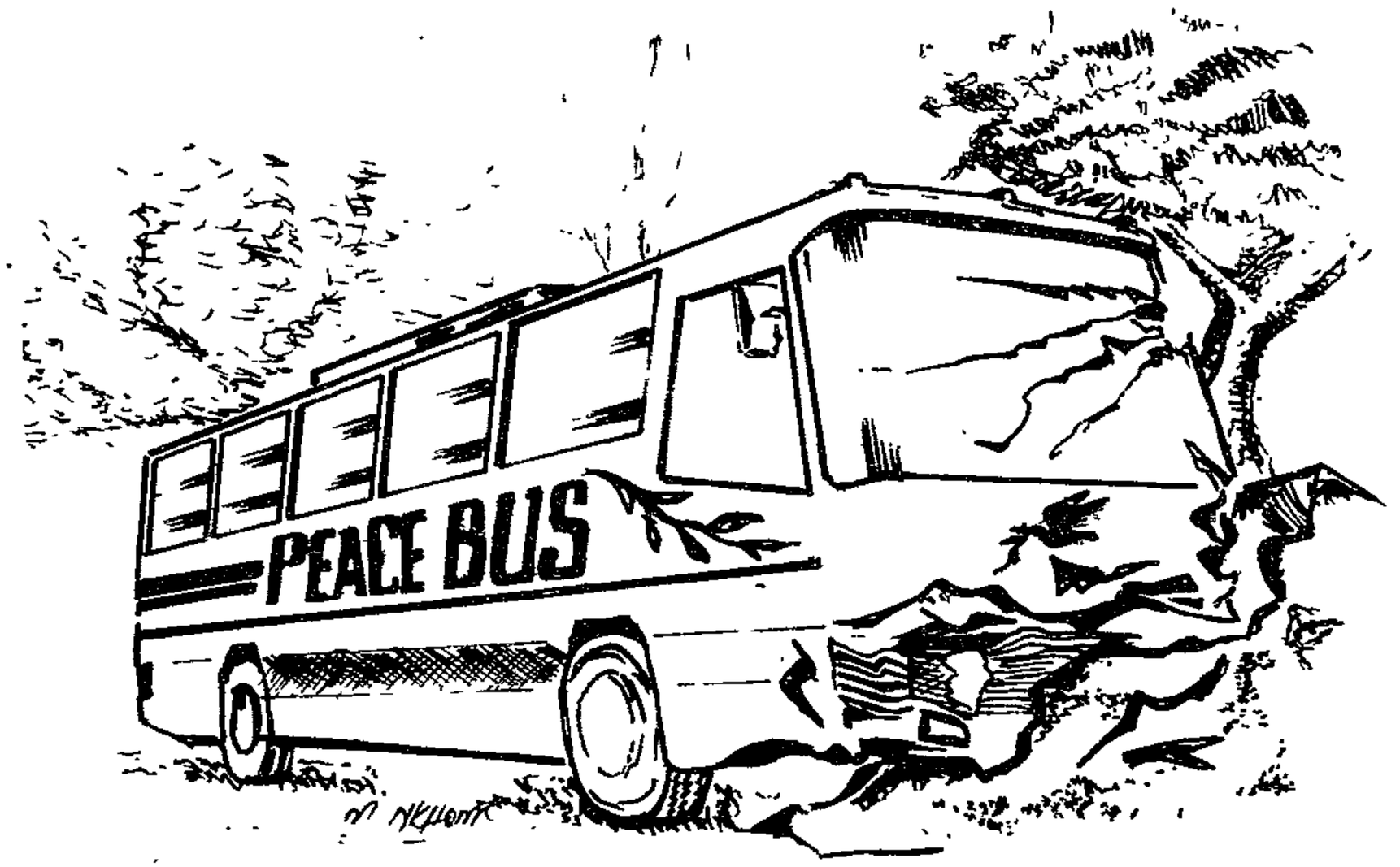
The ANC has a strong case when it charges that black lives are treated far more cheaply in this country.

Similarly, it is fair to put a case for the dismissal of ministers who are perceived to be bedevin the peace proc s

tional psyche. There has developed a vague but crucial belief that De Klerk and Mandela are, somehow, working things out between them. The ultimatum has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis.

Unless the ANC leadership (and this seems unthinkable) was unaware that the NEC announcement would have this effect, there are surely other powerful dynamics at play.

Certainly, the Government's negotiators believe that the ultimatum is a stalling and a diversionary tactic. It will not be implemented to the letter, they say, but will buy time for the ANC to get its organisational house in order as well as placating the increasin



'The ANC has now made it politically impossible for De Klerk to get rid of General Magnus Malan and the international investors will run off yelping in horror'

- it was believed that the Government, with its immense resources, was leading the ANC negotia-

cont ↓

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shaken as never before, and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society.

Rescue

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

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

Horrific

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

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks - just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible - seem to be only one part of a much bigger



MR MANDELA



MR MALAN

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

and it is perfectly justifiable to push for the suspension of security officers who have been linked to criminal activities.

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

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

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

According to this scenario, militancy has been simmering ever since Mandela gave delegates a dressing-down at the ANC's Consultative Conference in December.

It was compounded by his moderate and accommodating statement of January 8, and again after the ANC made further concessions to the Government in the "DF Malan Accord" of February 12.

Militants were angry about the substance of these policy decisions, and also by the fact that they were not consulted on them.

In general - and not without some justification

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

Ruse

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

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

Schedule

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

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

But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again.

esday April 9 1991

9 700 have died in political violence

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Sowetan 9/4/91

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

Between 550 and 600 people died in the first three months of this year.

Compared to the first quarter of last year, this year's violence-related deaths are low.

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

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

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

The institute says the number of political fatalities in each of the last six years is as follows: 1985 - 879; 1986 - 1 298; 1987 - 661; 1988 - 1 149; 1989 - 1 403; 1990 - 3 699.

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

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

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

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

Mandela in phone call to Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● Sapa reports that the ANC and PAC have postponed talks in Zimbabwe from this weekend until next week

Smuggled arms 'a major factor'

GERALD REILLY

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

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

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

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

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

In SA's transitional stage, a measure of violence and unrest was inevitable, but this had reached a critical level which demanded urgent short-term action. BIDay 11/4/91.

Until there was a sincere and cooperative effort by all the players involved there was little prospect of curbing escalating violence.

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

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

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

He said police were alert to the probability of arms smuggling from territories outside SA.

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'Violence may be political norm'

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The same could become true of South Africa's townships, where unending violent struggle risks becoming a normal form of political expression."

Frontline pressure to end slaughter

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Sowetan 11/4/91

GABORONE - Foreign ministers of the Frontline states, Nigeria, the ANC and PAC hold the South African Government directly responsible for most of the escalating violence in the country.

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

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

Briefings

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

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

Concern

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

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

They also commended the governments of Angola and Mozambique for the continued search for lasting peace. - *Sapa.*

Resignation calls are meaningless — Azapo

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

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

"Azapo has always demanded that the entire regime resign," he added.

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

Mr Moodley said Azapo wanted the ANC and the PAC to join it in a consultative conference "so that we can meet behind closed doors to thrash out a strategy which will force the De Klerk regime out of power". — Sapa.

Letter scuttled talks with Inkatha, claims Buthelezi

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

A MEETING of the Inkatha central committee this weekend will determine Inkatha's conditions for continued peace talks with the African National Congress.

In the wake of the ANC's ultimatum to the government, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he believed critical references to Inkatha in the open letter effectively scuttled talks between his organisation and the ANC. His declaration prompted several top ANC officials to say Ulundi was reading more into the letter than was intended.

Inkatha's view is that the ANC's decision to call off the next round of discussions originally scheduled for yesterday backs its interpretation that the open letter was intended to break the talks. ANC officials said the talks were "postponed" as the date was inconvenient, but that another date would be suggested. Inkatha officials felt calling off the talks at the same time as the letter was issued was more that a coincidence and was a further indication the ANC wanted to break relations.

On Wednesday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela phoned Buthelezi to reiterate the ANC position — that the "open letter" was directed at government inaction and not at Inkatha.

After the conversation the ANC issued a statement that the two leaders had agreed to use their "personal authority" to maintain relations between the two organisations. However, Buthelezi subsequently challenged this as an incomplete record of what had been agreed.

In a separate statement issued shortly after the ANC comment, Buthelezi said during their conversation he had maintained that only the executives of the two parties could take the necessary steps towards "rectifying the very difficult position into which the 'open letter' thrust IFP/ANC relations".

Inkatha's central committee will consider the letter and decide on the party's response during its meeting on Sunday. In all likelihood it will demand a meeting between its members and the ANC's national executive committee as the minimum condition for continuing talks.

Buthelezi said it was his view that the two executives should meet and have an "examination of what the ANC's real intentions are".

This could pave the way for a large-scale meeting between the two executives along the line of the talks held in Durban on January 29.

Such a condition could put the ANC's executive in a difficult position — there is strong speculation the ANC letter was partly motivated by the NEC perception that members blamed Inkatha for much of the violence in Natal and the Transvaal.

If this is correct it could well be difficult for the ANC to agree at this stage to another full-scale, widely publicised meeting with Inkatha.

ANC 'cowboys' won't beat Inkatha to the draw

w/mail 12/4-18/4/91. 274

If the ANC carries out its ultimatum then the country is heading for a bloody situation, warns Musa Myeni.
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
spoke to the Inkatha Freedom Party executive member

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Clearly pointing a finger of blame at the IFP, the ANC isolated a pattern in which "in almost every instance of violence ... a group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific political party have established control over a migrant worker's hostel through acts of intimidation."



Musa Myeni ... civil war warning

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But what of the use of rooidoeke, the badge of identification of IFP supporters in the hostels?

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

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

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

"That's another member."

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

APARTHEID BAROMETER

ANC 'BUDGET' W/March 12/4-18/4/91

ON a hypothetical budget of R58,75-billion in a future South Africa, the African National Congress would provide a capital subsidy of R12 000 for 1,2-m houses, spending R20-m on each of 250 townships; R5-bn for an employment training scheme; R6,5-bn to establish 150 000 small farmers; and R7,5-bn for school buildings and teacher training, it said in the latest issue of its official mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*.

The organisation would also spend R550-m on training one million adult literacy teachers; R11-bn to equalise pensions; R2,5-bn on a feeding scheme for pregnant mothers; R2,5-bn on a school feeding scheme and R3,2-bn on industrial restructuring. About R300-m would be set aside to provide work for one million people developing a rural infrastruture and R300-m for primary health clinics. 12/4 – 18/4/91

POLITICAL VIOLENCE W/March 12/4 – 18/4/91

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

Fatalities due to "unrest" have increased dramatically since 1985, acccording to SAIRR figures. The number of deaths is as follows: 1985 — 879; 1986 — 1298; 1987 — 661; 1989 — 1 403; and 1990 — 3 699. 2745

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

Two hundred and six of those killed were in the PWV area, 96 in Natal, five in the Orange Free State, two each in the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Bophuthatswana and one in the Western Transvaal. The HRC attributes 247 of the deaths to vigilante-related actions, 30 to security force actions and one each to hit squad and rightwing actions. The cause of death is uncertain in 35 cases.

DETENTIONS

C

ANC and Inkatha youth plan to meet

By GLENDA DANIELS w/Mail 12/4-28/4/91.

THE African National Congress Youth League is for the first time considering meeting the Inkatha Youth Brigade in an anxious bid to bring peace to the townships. (274)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While the Youth League will be encouraging both sides to meet in a peace bid, it will also continue to support ANC campaigns like the demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government. It will also have it's own focuses, one of which will be an Aids campaign.

Only an urgent all-party conference can bring peace

There IS a way to end the violence

w/Mail
12/4-18/4/91

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

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

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

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

However, the ANC has brought home to the government the fact that there is an emergency situation in the black townships that can no longer be tolerated, and that negotiations for a



new South Africa cannot proceed until the slaughter is brought under control.

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

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

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

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

Slabbert said this week that until the country had solved the basic problem of stability, vio-

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All-party conference will end the bloodshed

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lence and security, it would be impossible to make progress on other levels.

"It's crazy to think you're going to talk about constitutions and a new education system and land reform while people are hacking away at each other in the townships."

He said that while the ANC had raised a "very, very valid problem", the organisation had miscalculated by deflecting the problem of violence on to whether or not Vlok or Malan would resign.

"Things have got to get back on the road," he said. "What would seem to be necessary to make progress on the other levels would be to have some kind of discussion — an all-party discussion on the question of stability — prior to a multi-party conference or an interim government, where we could all get together and work out what we can do."

The proposal is that all parties with a stake in the violence, either as alleged perpetrators or as victims, get together behind closed doors. "There are many agents of violence. The question would be asked: how do we carve up this territory?

"The conference could confront issues like the third force, like criminal elements, like warlords, like factions."

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday welcomed the concept of an all-party conference on violence. "I would personally support the notion of an urgent all-party conference involving the South African government, the ANC and the PAC to discuss violence and raise issues and attempt to sort out differences.

"I would have to consult the central committee of the IFP but I have no doubt that they would have no problem with supporting the notion of such discussions behind closed doors to precede any further negotiations on the country's future."

ANC spokesman Pallo Jordan said: "We would hope that Dr Slabbert would inform the ANC formally about the proposal before any ANC policy decision can be taken."

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen replied that he had "no response" to the proposal.

But the proposal did win provisional backing from the Pan Africanist Congress. The organisation's spokesman, Barney Desai, said: "The PAC are seriously disturbed at the rate of the violence in the townships.

"Any discussion between all parties involved specifically to curb the nature of the violence which is getting out of hand would be welcome.

"The fact is that the PAC has been minimally involved in the violence, but maximally concerned with it."

General Bantu Holomisa, head of the Military Council of the Transkei, has made a number of recommendations to end the violence, among them a "big indaba of heads of existing government structures and leaders of political organisations to be convened prior to any envisaged multi-party conference".

This indaba, Holomisa said, would thrash out the issue of violence and unanimously endorse the implementation of those recommendations acceptable to them contained in a plan to be presented by all chiefs of security forces and military wings of political organisations.

Azanian People's Organization general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhde rejected the notion of a conference if the government is to be involved.

"We consider the government as being responsible for orchestrating the violence," he said. "In respect of the solution, we believe it can only be found first and foremost by the black groups in the townships."

ANC 'cowboys' won't beat Inkatha to the draw

w/mail 12/4-18/4/91. 274

If the ANC carries out its ultimatum then the country is heading for a bloody situation, warns Musa Myeni. PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK spoke to the Inkatha Freedom Party executive member

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

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

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

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

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

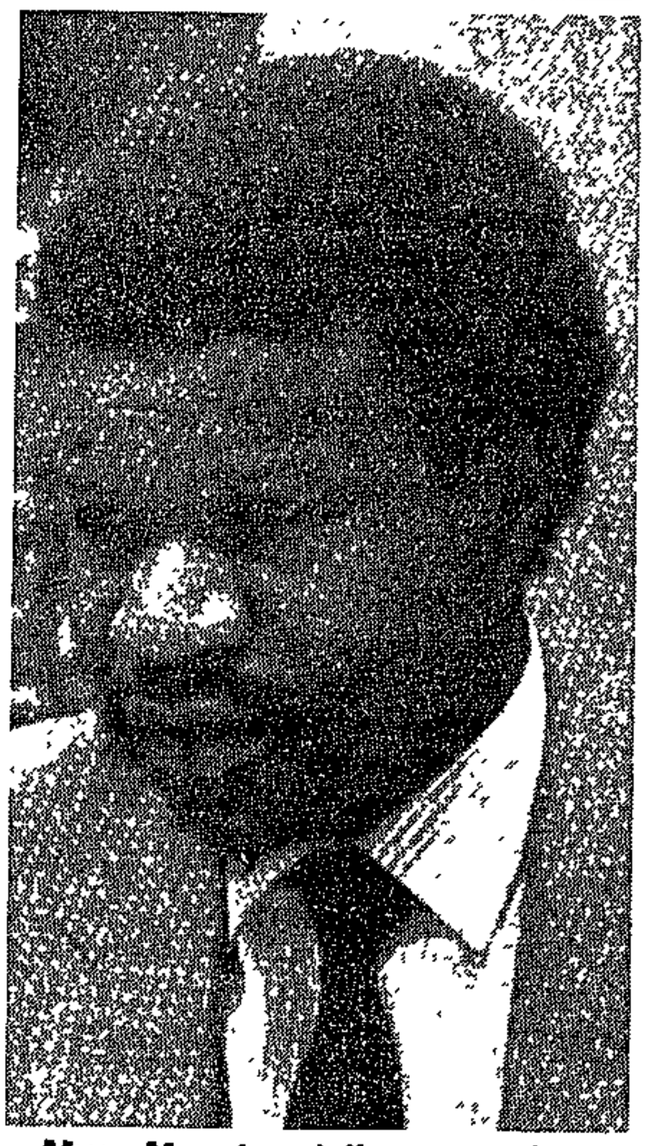
A rising star in the organisation, Myeni — who has a Masters degree in international relations from the University of Geneva — has been holding court in the coffee shop all day.

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

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

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

Clearly pointing a finger of blame at the IFP, the ANC isolated a pattern in which "in almost every instance of violence ... a group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific political party have established control over a migrant worker's hostel through acts of intimidation."



Musa Myeni ... civil war warning

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But what of the use of rooidoeke, the badge of identification of IFP supporters in the hostels?

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

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

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

"That's another member."

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

THE ANC'S SUDDEN THREAT TO WITHDRAW FROM NEGOTIATIONS SHOOK THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SCENE AND HAD VARIOUS REPERCUSSIONS THIS WEEK. WEEKEND ARGUS POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** EXAMINES THE EFFECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS EPISODE.

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Gloom over ANC's ultimatum

FOR a few days this week it seemed South Africa had come to the end of the road. Everything was going wrong and hopes for peace were fading rapidly.

The whole negotiation process suddenly seemed to be in jeopardy. With wave upon wave of horrific township violence continuing unabated, a new threat of confrontation loomed ahead. The ANC threatened to withdraw from talks with the government unless certain demands were met by May 9. KwaZulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned of "civil war". Amid all this, former heart surgeon Professor Chris Barnard made it known he had decided to quit South Africa. His reason: he does not want to live in a Lebanon-type situation of violence and destruction.

As if this was not enough to shake up any fiddling politicians, Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals added his grim warning that continued poor economic growth would make South Africa ungovernable by 1995 — and he blamed the political situation for our economic stagnation. This warning underlined fears expressed earlier by economists that the ANC's hardline ultimatum would derail a new hopeful trend towards foreign investment and capital inflow.

MEANWHILE the voice of Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa brought further bad tidings saying the ANC's threat was serious and should be heeded by the government. He also proposed a summit of South African government representatives and anti-apartheid leaders to hammer out a plan to curb political violence and backed the ANC's stand against the carrying of "cultural" weapons.



Zulu 'impis' brandish traditional weapons recently at the razor wire barricade which divides their workers' hostel from squatter areas of Alexandra township outside Johannesburg. The continuing violence has claimed many lives.

Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa is also deeply concerned about the threat which a declining economy holds for constitutional negotiations and future peace.

"We must expect constitutional negotiations to have certain ups and downs. Everything can't be smooth sailing. However, at the same time there is an urgency stemming from the worsening economic situation. This ought to make all the political parties realise that excessive posturing and delays in the constitutional process are not called for."

MOST analysts agree that the present level of violence is unacceptably high They say the most urgent task facing politicians is to take effective steps to curb the violence and killings — and nothing should be done that could in any way hamper negotiations.

In 1990 about 2 900 African citizens were killed and another 400 deaths were reported since January 1 this year, according to the ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan. Police have put last year's figure at 2 330 deaths in 17 088 unrest-related incidents and warned that at the present rate of "unrest" incidents the death toll for 1991 could exceed last year's figure, making 1991 the worst year of political violence in the country's history.

The SA Institute of Race Relations, in its latest survey, described 1990 as "the worst year of political violence in modern South African history."

The institute noted that the total number of fatalities in political violence since 1984 was in the region of 8 000, half of which had occurred in Natal.

Dr Jordan says one of the main aims of the ultimatum was "to shake the government and many of our compatriots, who have become desensitised to this violence, out of their apparent complacency."

HOWEVER, African political commentators have put their fingers on at least two other possible reasons for the ANC's ultimatum:

■ To placate the anger of township residents over the democratic movement's failure to con- violence among its followers; and

The worst of the gloom descended after the ANC's threat to withdraw from the peace process unless its demands were met by its May 9 deadline — a threat widely interpreted as an ultimatum to the government From all sides came reactions of shock and dismay. The bad news quickly reached the world's capitals and there followed a flurry of diplomatic activity.

Within days, however, there was a noticeable change in the ANC's hardline stance. In moves seen by analysts as an about-face or at least a kind of egg-dance, the ANC's leadership and officials clearly began to backtrack on their threat to withdraw. They disputed the interpretation that the withdrawal threat and accompanying May 9 deadline were an "ultimatum". They softened their initial stance by suggesting that the deadline could be extended. They called for a "gesture" from the government, indicating they were prepared to consider a compromise. They blamed the media for the outcry and the largely negative reaction to the initial ultimatum, claiming the media had misinterpreted the ANC's "open letter" to President F W de Klerk

SIGNIFICANTLY, the first signs of the ANC's about-face came after meetings behind the scenes between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and foreign diplomats.

What is behind all this? Why did the ANC start backtracking after issuing its ultimatum? Does the threat reflect internal strife in the movement or was it a major blunder by its leadership?

Professor John Barratt, director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, is hopeful that the whole episode may just be the latest bump on the road to negotiations.

"Personally I'm not as depressed as I was a few days ago. It seems there has been a reduction in the level of confrontation, and part of this must be ascribed to the influence of international imperatives," he said.

Two major factors which Professor Barratt sees behind the seemingly rapid defusing of a potentially serious threat to constitutional negotiations are fears about a further decline in the economy, and the direct influence of some Western governments.

"It seems this influence has been very constructive." Rather than criticising, the foreign governments had sought to make it easier for both the ANC and the South African government to come to terms in a difficult situation.

THE key instruments behind moves to defuse a potentially serious confrontation were economics and political diplomacy.

"This shows that the future depends very much on our ability to remain in tune with international requirements. We cannot develop in a vacuum," says Professor Barratt.

Dr Ockie Stuart, director of Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research, sees the economic factor as a crucial one in the present political situation. He fully agrees with Dr Stals's warning about the political danger of continued economic stagnation.

Dr Stuart said there could be no doubt the low level of economic growth in the last few years was a result of the unfavourable political environment.

Businessmen did not want to invest while the political uncertainty continued. "There is too low a level of confidence. As a result, big business has decided not to invest in capital goods This, in turn, leads to more unemployment and social unrest. The whole situation gets into a vicious spiral.

"In the longer term this will obviously become more serious if the political environment remains unchanged."

DR Stuart sees sanctions as a problem not quite as big as some of the other immediate problems facing the country, but says it will help if sanctions are lifted.

The most important issue at the moment, he says, is economic growth — "if we don't have growth we will really have a problem that becomes unmanageable".

He backs up his warning with estimates of the Bureau for Economic Research that 38 percent of South Africa's labour force is at present not employed in the formal sector of the country's economy. The implication is that they are either unemployed or active in the informal sector.

■ To counteract fears among many black people that the ANC is in danger of losing the political initiative.

One commentator, in New Nation, writes: "The seeming paralysis of the broad democratic movement, the ANC in particular, in responding to the violence has now engendered a spirit of impatience among the people — a mood that could very easily lead to a further slide into murder and mayhem.

Calling for action to defend victims of violence, the journal suggested the people could no longer be content with theories on the causes of violence . . . "simply apportioning blame to the police and the SADF has hardly won us any moral high ground and, even more important, it has not stopped the killings."



CHRIS STALS . . . blames political situation for economic stagnation.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI . . . warned of "civil war".



CHRIS BARNARD . . . doesn't want to live in a Lebanon-type situation.



PALLO JORDAN . . . ultimatum was "to shake government and many of our compatriots".

ANC youths told to grab whites' guns

ST Times 14/4/91

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

By EDYTH BULBRING

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

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

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

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

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Thugs

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

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

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

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

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

Dangerous

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

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

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

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

He warned the government to "watch out" that its actions did not lead to a return to the armed struggle.

Weapons deal may break the deadlock

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ST Times 14/4/91.

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Drastic

To cool the situation, the government is pressing ahead with attempts to convene a meeting between President De Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi.

This was confirmed by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen this week. He said the government had tried unsuccessfully in recent weeks to arrange a meeting between President De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

The most controversial ANC demand is that Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok resign before May 9. The government will not accept the demand and there are indications in ANC ranks that there may be some flexibility on the issue.

But some, such as the ANC Youth League, have insisted there can be no compromise on the ultimatum conditions. In a briefing for journalists this week, Dr Viljoen said the ANC's ultimatum was "more drastic than had been expected or justified".

Danger

In briefings for diplomats and selected community and business leaders in Cape Town this week, however, Mr Mandela argued the ANC step was a "cry for peace".

Diplomats who attended Mr Mandela's briefing said there was a danger that in seeking alternative explanations for the ANC's issuing of the ultimatum, the government was risking seriously underestimating the effect violence had had on the thinking of the entire ANC leadership.

Mr Mandela said at his two briefings that he had originally proposed that President De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and he tour trouble spots throughout the country. He had suggested these three because their supporters or officials were involved in violence.

But after the failure of the government to act on such matters as the carrying of "cultural" weapons, he had begun to question its intentions and believed such a tour would be inappropriate.

Mr Mandela said the government had failed to comprehend the effect of violence on black communities and was generally insensitive.

Meeting

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

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

● NELSON MANDELA yesterday denied suggestions that he had been pressured by hawks within the ANC to issue this week's ultimatum to the government on violence.

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

But he was overruled by people, who were called the hawks within the ANC, including SACP leader Joe Slovo, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and ANC director of Information Pallo Jordan, when he made the suggestion of a break-off.

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

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

He said one of the people quoted as forcing him to issue the radical demands was Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who was one of his strongest supporters.

"There are differences of opinion on a variety of matters within the ANC, but which organisation does not have differences among its members? Most important is the spirit of comradeship."

Violence is a threat to elections for new SA

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ST Times 14/4/91

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

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

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

Players

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

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

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

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

Some of the findings of the two polls are:

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

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

Regionally, too, the ANC has different levels of support — up to 95 percent in urban areas in the Eastern Cape, but only 43 percent in cosmopolitan Soweto.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

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

The polls put the number of blacks who would vote for the National Party at six percent. The Markinor poll, however, indicates 46 percent of blacks who feel "quite good" about the National Party would perhaps vote for it or would definitely vote for it.

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

Rejected

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

The Markinor poll found that 62 percent of its respondents rejected the organisation totally.

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

ANC Youth spurn Inkatha meeting

ST Times 14/4/91. (WP) 274 (WP)

By EDYTH BULBRING

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

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

He did not think a meeting would serve any purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The ANC Youth League's response to the invitation revealed a gross misunderstanding of the aims of the meeting, Mr Zondi said.

'Protect yourselves' Mandela tells crowd

By DAN DHLAMINI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mahlangu, who went into exile 10 years ago, appealed to the mourners to pick up Ndzanga's "spear" and march forward to freedom.

Ultimatum not unreasonable, says Macozoma

by SEKOLA SELLO

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

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

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

Responding to the call for his dismissal, Vlok accused the ANC of being responsible for the violence.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was also criticised in the letter, defended the carrying of traditional weapons and said the violence was part of an ANC plan to make the townships ungovernable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Saki Macozoma ... demands are not new.

ANC denies ultimatum is unreasonable

Cutting from 14/4/91

Talks

Defence units

'are a recipe for civil war'

Star 15/4/91

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By Helen Grange and Peter Fabricius

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Initiative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Government seems to be willing to consider action to curb the bearing of traditional weapons by Inkatha supporters. But it is concerned that this will antagonise Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

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

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

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

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

CM Times 15/4/91 (RM) 270

Row looms over 'defence units'

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We are going to honour that agreement," he said. "But there was no agreement that we will not form defence units to defend our people."

Eglin: violence hurting talks

Star 16/4/91

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 killed, 100 injured in clashes

Star 16/4/91 (274)

Staff Reporters

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

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

About 16 people were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital after clashes involving the police, Zulus living in the Nancefield hostel, and nearby residents of Orlando East.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Police said a bullet-ridden body was picked up outside the Nancefield hostel yesterday afternoon.

ARGUS 16/4/91

State set to act on weapons

Minister hints at new steps to halt township violence



Political Staff

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

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

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

No pangas

It now seems that there might be a compromise, allowing the more purely traditional Zulu weapons such as knobkierries and sticks, but forbidding the carrying of more dangerous weapons such as axes and pangas.

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

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

The government is showing signs of readiness to meet some of the ANC's demands for measures to end the violence contained in its April 5 ultimatum.

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

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in an interview this week that the government was looking at different steps to end the violence.

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

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

He said various Cabinet ministers were discussing ways of solving the problem.

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

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

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

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

However, there may already have been behind-the-scenes discussions with Inkatha since April 5.

Another demand which the government should not have problems with — but which might annoy Chief Buthelezi — is that it should take effective steps to begin phasing out township hostels which are Inkatha strongholds.

Last year Mr De Klerk orderered National Health Minister Dr Rina Venter to investigate this problem.

Response

The ANC has detected further evidence of readiness by the government to meet the seven demands.

They have pointed to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's announcement last week that he had fired 28 CCB agents and had taken other "firm measures" to wind up the secret organisation.

Some ANC leaders are interpreting this as a response to its demands for the firing of all the officers responsible for the CCB and other hit squads and its demand for the public dismantling of these units.

ANC gives details of units for self-defence

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Bloody weekend death toll rises to 11

Bloody 16/4/11.

274

LINDEN BIRNS

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

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

Various unrest incidents were reported from around the country.

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

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

Two bodies were found at the Merafe Hostel early yesterday morning

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

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

At Nkulu near Port Shepstone, four men were killed and 14 injured when a group of blacks opened fire on a rival group.

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

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

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

A policeman was slightly injured at Elsies River, Cape Town, when his police vehicle was attacked by stone-throwers.

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

In Katlehong, near Germiston, an SAP vehicle was damaged in a stone-throwing attack.

Appeal for anti-killing talks

Bloan 16/4/91

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — DP foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglin yesterday made a direct and urgent appeal to President F W de Klerk to convene a summit of leaders against violence.

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

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

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

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

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

South Africans had grown up in a culture of violence, whether based on the violence of apartheid or the violence of the liberation struggle ,and government had failed to create a peaceful, orderly society.

"We simply cannot continue when our people are killing one another at the rate of hundreds a week and parts of our towns and countryside are no-go areas," he said.

Eglin asks F W for summit on violence

Cape Times 16/4/91 p14

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

Earlier Mr Eglin had said that "violence has reached a level and a persistence that threatens the process of negotiations and reconciliation and with this the attainment of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa".

Soweto: 11 dead since the weekend

CAPE TIMES 16/4/91 (2,7C4)

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

Various unrest incidents were reported from around the country.

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

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

A police spokesman said yesterday that during one incident, at about 9.45am, a chief called a meeting so that an induna could be elected.

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

Later three more bodies were found.

In another incident a further three bodies were found, a motor vehicle destroyed and two houses gutted.

State moves to end feuds

16/4/91 Sowetan 16 274

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

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

Weapons

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

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

Move on pangas

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From Page 1

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

De Klerk may also announce a multiparty conference to discuss the violence. 16/4/91

The Government is showing signs of readiness to meet some of the ANC's demands spelled out in an April 5 ultimatum calling for an end to the violence.

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

10 killed in Soweto clashes

Sowetan 16/4/91

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

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE and Sapa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scores of the injured were taken to Baragwanath Hospital.

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

Attacked

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

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

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

Three bodies were found in the area on Sunday morning.

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

To Page 2

Mixed views on units



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

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

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

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

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

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

Sandile said the defence units would be acceptable on condition those in charge underwent intensive training.

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

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

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

Mark Suzman examines a new report on mass mobilisation

Road to liberty or anarchy?

Star 17/4/91 (274)

MASS action has become one of the most controversial terms in the South African political lexicon today. To some it is regarded as the final key to liberation, to others the grimmest manifestation of lawlessness and intolerance.

Amid all the rhetoric, it is sometimes difficult to put the issue into proper perspective, but a recent report issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations, written by social scientist Anthea Jeffery, makes an admirable attempt to get to grips with the issue.

Based on extensive research and a series of interviews with political actors and analysts across the spectrum, Dr Jeffery forwards a convincing, but sometimes worrying, picture of the mass action strategy.

To properly understand mass action in South Africa, she argues, it has to be put in its historical context. The current activities should not be seen as a new phenomenon, but rather the end-product of a series of approaches to black liberation starting with the "Programme of Action" first mooted by Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in 1949.

Tracing the history of the struggle for black liberation, she argues that the ANC's overall strategy for liberation adapted significantly over the decades as it grew to encompass the lessons of the armed struggle and the "conscientisation of the masses" through Black Consciousness in the 1970s.

Accordingly, in 1984, the idea of mass mobilisation became entrenched as one of the ANC's "four pillars of liberation". These were:

- The creation of non-government structures.
- United mass action.
- The armed struggle.
- The international isolation of South Africa.

As the other three pillars fell by the wayside, mass action slowly began to take centre-stage.

First through activities by the UDF, and then the second "Defiance Campaign", organised by the MDM in 1989, the strategy evolved into its present form.

According to ANC officials, the purpose of mass action is twofold: to compel the State to abdicate power and to keep sufficient pressure on the State to ensure that negotiations are kept on track.

On top of this, however, Dr Jeffery makes the point that it has become an activity that is seen by the ANC to serve several ends over and above the mere destabilisation of government.

Most conspicuous among these is the notion that the strategy aids in the politicisation of the masses.

It is believed to actively encourage and entrench grassroots democratic participation in ANC decision-making while preventing elitism and autocratic activities on the part of the leadership.

In conjuction with this, some ANC members also admit to the more nakedly political goals of placating radical factions while ensuring ANC dominance in the liberation struggle. The decision to target groups like Inkatha and the black local authority system provides clear examples of this.

In this form, therefore, it is clear that the ANC regards mass action, in all its forms, as indivisible from the overall process of transition via negotiations and essential to the organisation's own standing within the black community.

From the Government perspective, however, mass action means a completely different thing.

While the State is now willing to countenance political mobilisation (public meetings and legal marches), it opposes both the "people's war" aspect of the strategy and "destructive" activities like consumer, rent and education boycotts.

Analysts mention other reasons for opposing the strategy. Among other things, it is seen to greatly increase the potential for violence, both with respect to the security forces and rival political and ethnic groupings, while increasing the strength of the right wing and deterring foreign investment.

As Dr Jeffery makes clear, moreover, perhaps the most pressing question is to what extent the ANC really is in control of the strategy itself, and to what extent that strategy has the support of the people.

While ANC spokesmen remain convinced that the strategy has broad-based support, rival groups assert that a "silent majority" remains opposed to such activities.

And while such charges are extremely difficult to verify, Dr Jeffery regards it likely that "intimidation plays an important role in generating mass support for the various campaigns associated with mass mobilisation".

In addition, analysts caution that a wide range of factors over and above that of simply responding to calls from the ANC have been responsible for popular mobilisation. These include millenarian sentiments as well as reaction to genunine local grievances such as demands for education or services.

Nevertheless, as one analyst noted, "(w)here there is local level initiative, very soon the ANC and/or its allies, move in to take control".

A more serious spin-off to this question is whether the ANC genuinely has sufficient control to bring mass action to an end or whether it has developed its own momentum.

Even in its own pronouncements on the issue, the ANC acknowledges that it operates only in "alliance" with grassroots groups such as trade unions and the civic associations whose activities are not always properly coordinated.

As an example, Dr Jeffery points to the case of education where she argues "the situation has acquired its own destructive impetus".

In addition, ANC spokesmen stress that in many cases the decision about ending mass action is not theirs to make. Citing Eastern Europe, they argue that one of the most important lessons of the collapse of the communist system was the need for a "civil society" of local interest groups independent of the central political structure.

The positive sentiment behind such arguments nothwithstanding, it seems clear that mass mobilisation in its present form does contribute to the current instability and that it is, at least for now, an absolute non-negotiable on the part of the ANC.

Given this, there seems to be little hope in the immediate future for a succesful resolution to the problem And in the meantime, as Dr Jeffrey warns, mass action could well presage "at minimum, escalating instability, at worst, a slide into irreparable ungovernability". □

No more pangas, axes and knives

Star 17/4/91

274

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Vlok said the documents proved these accusations were groundless.

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

In January there had been 545 unrest incidents compared to 878 in January last year. In February there were 525, compared to 1 371 last February and in March 676 as opposed to 2 186 last March.

SA's isolation has ended says Botha

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

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

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

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

Now that the 1986 European sanctions were gone, the main theme of De Klerk's European visit would be the need for Europe to participate in the reconstruction of the new South Africa and to reward De Klerk for his reform efforts, Botha said. Sowetan 17/4/91

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

De Klerk had a "record" and a "case" to put. In fact the ultimatum could strengthen his case because it had been a tactical mistake by the ANC. 274

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

"But people will not easily invest in a climate where people are killing each other in such a blood-thirsty way." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Joint forces

Cape Times 17/4/91 (274)

PAC, ANC unite to oppose govt

HARARE. — The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday decided to join forces against the government, which it blamed for the violence in the country.

The two movements set aside 30 years of emnity at their meeting in Harare, paving the way for the establishment of a "patriotic front".

A "patriotic conference" will be held in Cape Town in August and joint structures will be set up to achieve a transfer of power and to deal with the question of violence.

With the ANC's intention to establish "defence committees" becoming a major issue between it and the government:

● The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok in Cape Town yesterday blamed the ANC for most of the violence in the country but slapped a ban on the carrying of pangas and axes at marches and meetings.

He stopped short of the ANC's demand to outlaw the carrying of all traditional weapons. He also said that the government had been doing its best to get a conference on violence going between the different parties.

● In Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, criticised the ANC's "defence committees" and said there should be more concern about "sophisticated weaponry" secreted in caches around the country than about traditional weapons. He said, however, that he had no problem with the police confiscating weapons in conflict situations.

● Mr Nelson Mandela, on his return from Harare last night, took a hard line on "defence committees" and said the ANC would go ahead with them, whatever the police or the government said.

Asked about the accusation that the ANC units would lead to private armies, Mr Mandela said "that is their language. That is not ours".

In Harare the ANC and PAC said they would make joint plans on "how to defend ourselves in the face of the violence which we are all agreed emanates from the South African government"

The two organisations also discussed the strategies "that need to be adopted with the main thrust of seeing to it that there is an immediate transfer of power from the minority regime to the majority in our country," ANC executive member Mr Jacob Xuma told a joint press conference.

Asked about President Robert Mugabe's urging the two to form a military alliance, and possible collaboration over the "defence committees", Mr Xuma said: "There are joint structures being created to go into other questions" (besides the transfer of power).

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CULTURAL WEAPON ... Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, with some of the weapons that came under discussion at yesterday's press conference. Picture: BENNY GOOL

oint forces

Cape Times 17/4/91 (274)

Reading a joint communique agreed by Mr andela and PAC president Mr Clarence Maketu, ANC secretary for information Mr Pallo ordan said it "Paved the way for the early establishment of a patriotic front".

This would embrace all organisations whose inimum demand was the summoning of a contituent assembly to draw up a majority rule onstitution.

"The meeting discussed in depth the current iolence and concluded that the principle source f the violence is the apartheid system and the partheid regime employing special counter inurgency units such as the CCB, Koevoet, Buffalo 2 Battalion, the Askaris, the Z-Squads and thers to repress and terrorise the national libertion movements and other democratic activts."

Both sides demanded the disbandment of these eath squads, said the communique.

The ANC and PAC wished to encourage "a ulture of political tolerance and democratic ractice and should desist from making hegeionistic claims".

The ANC and PAC planned to form a "special oint committee on sanctions" among their new oint structures and deplored the decision of the conomic community foreign ministers to relax oycotts.

Mr Jordan drew attention to the ANC's open etter, with its deadline for President De Klerk's ompliance with its conditions.

"There will be no engagement with the system n respect of the modalities of a constituent asembly," said a PAC spokesman. "We say that here will be a patriotic conference from which vill emerge a patriotic front, with more parties han just ourselves. There will be no negotiations about the constitution itself as opposed to the preconditions in which the ANC is engaged upon. These negotiations will continue in facilitating compliance," he said.

Some observers thought that the ANC-PAC accord paved the way for the PAC to be drawn into the negotiation process under the "patriotic front" label.

In Cape Town the Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok launched a scathing attack on the ANC, saying it was "apparently the catalyst" in every case of the ongoing violence in South Africa, reports Political Correspondent Anthony Johnson.

Mr Vlok told a press conference that instructions had been issued to police with immediate effect that "axes and pangas carried in potential conflict situations such as marches and meetings" had to be confiscated in future.

Other weapons like scythes and garden forks would also be confiscated.

However, he added that the issue of traditional wepaons was "very emotional" and there had been no concrete evidence to indicate they had been used in township killings.

The ANC demanded in its seven-point ultimatum issued to the government last week that the carrying of all so-called cultural weapons in public be barred as one of the steps necessary to discourage the ongoing carnage in he townships.



ANC Viewpoint
by GILL MARCUS

Cape Times 17/4/91

Authoritarian legacy left to us by apartheid

THE African National Congress has put before the government seven reasonable demands.

In summary, these are that before May 9 the carrying of "traditional" and other weapons be banned from public places, that ministers Malan and Vlok be dismissed, that units such as the CCB etc be publicly disbanded, that SAP and SADF officers implicated in massacres be suspended pending independent investigation, that civilised methods of crowd control be used, that the hostel system of accommodation be addressed," and that an independent commission of inquiry be established to look into complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

Month after month the death toll mounts. Figures that would, in any sane society, reflect a national disaster of immense proportions are bandied about without the human tragedy that lies behind such statistics impacting on white South Africa It is regrettable that white society is so insulated from the violence taking place on its doorstep, as if it is part of another world, and not a national issue affecting its fellow men, women and children.

The violence is a result of apartheid. It is also a product of forces bent on internal destabilisation and the derailment of the peace process. Successive South African governments, using special secret forces and the SADF, have a long history of destabilisation in the region. It should be a matter of national concern that notorious units such as 32 Battalion and Koevoet are deployed in the townships and elsewhere.

Political commentators, experts from all quarters, parliamentarians and government officials, including De Klerk, put forward a variety of motives as to why the ANC should have acted in a manner so as to, in their view, jeopardise the negotiation process. Thus the perception created is that the ANC's demands have caused the present impasse But it is precisely the opposite. The ANC responded in the national interest to the extremely serious crisis resulting from the growing violence It was the lack of recognition and lack of action to resolve the crisis facing our entire country that forced the ANC to take the steps it did. The demand for action is made precisely to save the negotiation process Negotiations cannot take place while the violence continues

'Bloody cheek'

Most attention has focused on the "bloody cheek" the ANC has in calling for the resignation of ministers Vlok and Malan. It is therefore regarded as legitimate that newspaper editorials, political parties across the spectrum and white South Africans call for such resignations. But when the ANC does so, all those who chorused the demand for resignation trumpet that De Klerk dare not concede and that the ANC's call has in fact secured both ministers their jobs

Ministers in the government of the day are paid with taxpayers' money. In a democracy the citizens who elect the government are entitled to express their views about the performance of that government Where ministers have conducted themselves in the manner that General Malan has done, citizens have the right to demand their resignation. It is a measure of the extent of apartheid authoritarian rule that such a demand is considered out of place

Police retraining

Yet democratisation of our society is an integral part of the transition process. It is difficult to comprehend that those responsible for decades of oppression see themselves, and are presented, as the forces for democracy, while those who have fought for fundamental human rights remain pariahs in their own land

Long before calling for Adriaan Vlok's resignation, the ANC consistently proposed, among other things

- There be a retraining programme for the police, whose role and function should be transformed so as to serve the community.
- There be a code of conduct for the police, drawn up with the participation of the community.
- Police live among the communities they serve, so that they know the people and the people know them and that they are deployed when trouble breaks out
- An independent commission of inquiry be established to look into the violence throughout the country

None of the above has even been heard by the government or the minister of police, let alone implemented. The call for Vlok's resignation comes after years of appeals.

Political tolerance

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

Authoritarianism has been the hallmark of successive apartheid governments It will require positive and strenuous efforts to eradicate these authoritarian practices not only from government and its civil service, but from civil society. Opening up of society demands that, as the constitutional principles of the ANC state, "there be a single system of fundamental rights, guaranteed on an equal basis for all.

"Every South African irrespective of race, colour, language, gender, status, sexual orientation or creed should know that his or her basic rights and freedoms are guaranteed by the constitution and enforceable by recourse to law

An open society requires political tolerance, guarantees for the free functioning of religious bodies, trade unions, sporting and cultural associations, etc. It also requires a free flow of information and a media that is open, accessible and responsive to the views, opinions and interests of the entire community

'Dunkeld walls'

The culture of violence has become endemic in our society The ANC has specifically appealed for the prohibition of carrying of weapons, including what has been termed "cultural weapons", in public The brandishing these weapons on marches and at rallies greatly exacerbates tensions and generates enormous fear within communities, particularly as deaths usually result

What is required is a systematic disarming of all segments of society, including disarming of white South Africa which remains armed to the teeth. The violence, if unchecked, will jeopardise the very survival of the whole of South Africa There should be a recognition by all who value our future that the country faces a disaster of catastrophic proportions if the present trend of violence continues. No one and nothing will remain untouched.

Eradication of the authoritarian heritage so prevalent in our society will not be possible so long as white South Africa continues to erect "Dunkeld Walls" and remains impervious to the aspirations and needs of the millions of oppressed fellow citizens

□ Gill Marcus is head office spokesman of the ANC in Johannesburg



Self-defence units: ANC reacts to row

Cape Times 17/4/91 (MM) Z4

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

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

Rejecting any form of state accommodation of self-defence units, which the ANC says are necessary to stop township violence, law and order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday: "Private political armies from all sectors of the political spectrum will not be tolerated in any way.

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

"These proposed measures look more like plans for building an army for offensive operations rather than the supposed equivalent of neighbourhood watches." — Sapa

Pik: violence is deterring investment

Bloay 17/4/91

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — SA's international isolation had ended but violence and internal instability were standing in the way of large-scale new investment in SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Briefing the media on President F W de Klerk's visit to Europe at the weekend, he said the best rewards of the lifting of sanctions were new investment, expanding manufacturing and greater job creation.

A drive for increased foreign investment in SA was to be launched by De Klerk on his visit. He would be addressing prominent businessmen, industrialists and bankers next week.

There was great interest by foreign businessmen and the number visiting SA had quadrupled in the past few months, he said.

"But what is needed is the creation of a climate inside SA — only if stability is attained will investment come in. We all know investors do not easily invest in a situation where people are killing each other on such a scale in this bloodthirsty manner," Botha said.

He said De Klerk was giving the violence his daily attention because this was the only obstacle to investment.

The President could change the laws but he could not change the hearts and minds of the people without the support of all the leaders of other parties and organisations.

"The belligerent, revengeful activity in the country must change. I am convinced that if President De Klerk, Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could embark on a joint, deliberate and sustained programme they could do a lot to stem the violence," he said.

Referring to the ANC he said the rewards of investment would not be reaped unless leaders stopped making public statements that left the impression that it was not safe to invest in the country.

The ANC was making a mistake by using sanctions as a bargaining chip in the negotiation process or that government was aiming at the organisation when it fought sanctions, Botha said.

He hoped the ANC would come to realise SA needed economic growth and more jobs: "It can become part of the moral high ground by working with government and parties to gain access to funds and help manufacturers and commerce create more jobs."

He said SA did not need a new constitution before all parties started working together on these issues and those parties participating in economic growth would get countrywide support.

He said the theme for the President's visit, now that the lifting of sanctions was gaining a momentum of its own, was for countries to get involved in SA's reconstruction and to help build a new SA and assist De Klerk and other leaders to get negotiations off the ground.

Self-defence still open for 'guidelines' discussion

B1Day 17/4/91

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PATRICK BULGER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Man necklaced near Soweto hostel

Cape Times 17/4/91 p14

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

No other incidents were reported from the simmering area.

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

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

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

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

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

At Galeshewe township near Kimberley, a truck was set alight. — Sapa

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25 policemen die in unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — Altogether 25 policemen had been killed in unrest-related incidents countrywide since the beginning of the year to the middle of last month.

He could not give the number injured over the same period.

The SA Institute of Race Relations has estimated that between 550 and 600 people have died in political violence so far this year.

Dispute over self-defence units grows

Sowetan 17/4/91

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

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

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

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

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

Tolerated

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

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

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

Fears

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

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

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

Lethal weapons ban unlikely

Sowetan 17/4/91

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

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

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

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

He said agreement had been reached with the organisations that people would in future not carry pangas and axes during marches and public gatherings. - *Sapa.*

ANC stands firm on ultimatum

Star
Star Africa Service and Sapa 18/4/91

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said Mr Vlok would arrange a conference as soon as possible.

The partial ban on weapons may have made matters worse, argues **Shaun Johnson**

Politics prevails over peace

Star 18/4/91. 274

ADRIAAN Vlok's partial prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons in "potential conflict situations" can be described as a half-step in an uncertain direction.

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

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

Certainly, it was not the "clear, positive signal" the ANC had in mind when it offered flexibility over its May 9 "ultimatum" deadline.

Mr Vlok's media briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday evening was in parts as equivocal as the state of the negotiations process itself. He began by expressing sincere concern about the ongoing violence: "It is hurting South Africa and all its peoples at a time when our country is on the verge of a bright future."

But he then launched into one of his most intemperate attacks on the ANC, and concluded (apparently without irony) with a call for an end to "accusations and counter-accusations" which "will not bring an end to bloodshed".

Mr Vlok appealed "to all concerned to shed individual differences and to seek a joint solution to the violence". In practical terms he announced a new ban on the carrying of "axes, pangas, and bush knives ... in potential conflict situations such as marches and meetings".

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

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

"Notwithstanding ... all the measures already taken by the Government and the SA Police to curb the killings," said Mr Vlok, "the violence continues, apparently with the ANC in every case the catalyst."

(When questioned, he qualified this assertion, saying "there are cases where they are not involved", but the implication of original sin was overwhelming.)

He went on: "Information also indicates that certain activities by the ANC or its members often seem to be the trigger or cause of the violence ... It is disturbing that the ANC, instead of assisting and co-operating with the police in ending the violence, hinders the police with a constant stream of unfounded complaints, allegations and vilifications aimed at discrediting the force."

Mr Vlok appended to his six-page statement no fewer than 72 pages of documentation intended to illustrate the ANC's disingenuity in claiming to be co-operating with the SAP in its investigations into recent atrocities.

Much of it indeed suggests that senior police officers have made concerted attempts to stop township massacres, and that in some cases have been frustrated by the ANC's failure to come up with the evidence it has promised.

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

Similarly, Mr Vlok's aggressive approach has seen to it that some of the undeniable difficulties he faces will not be tackled in a spirit of enthusiastic co-operation with the ANC, but in one of suspicious enmity if, indeed, they can be tackled at all.

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

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

There are not many original assegaais left in KwaZulu (the expensive African artefact emporiums of white South Africa have seen to that), and who is to say whether the new ones have been fashioned out of respect for tradition or for baser purposes?

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

But the point is that Mr Vlok's critics simply do not trust his intentions and will therefore not identify with his difficulties in a rational and compromising mood.

His latest initiative has compounded the suspicions.

The most uncharitable interpretation which opponents place on Mr Vlok's perception of his own role is that he is viewing himself — in the colonial idiom — as a paternal official presiding over a bloody squabble between two warring tribes.

He refuses to concede the possibility that his own subjects might subjectively be involved, they argue, and apportions blame at will. Moreover, as that blame is so consistently attached to one party, it is difficult to see how Mr Vlok's own ground forces can be expected to act neutrally.

The judgmental tone he adopted this week appeared dramatically to undercut the positive, if limited, steps Mr Vlok was announcing.

It was markedly in contrast with the approach favoured, for example, by the DP MP for Simon's Town, Jannie Momberg.

In a mini-debate in Parliament on the subject earlier on Tuesday, he prefaced an impassioned call for the banning in public of "any weapon which can kill . . from a so-called innocent stick to a gun", with the assurance that it was not his intention to criticise any specific group or party.

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

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

"We must stop the violence before it destroys the negotiation process."

There was important good news to be found in Mr Vlok's assessment of the current situation, in that statistics show a dramatic decline in incidents of violence this year as compared to 1990.

The current violence, while unacceptable, was receiving so much attention because of the "shocking brutality (involved) and the numbers of people killed", he said. But again, the effect of announcing a decline in unrest incidents from 2 186 in March 1990 to 676 in March 1991 was dulled by the combative rather than co-operative gist of its presentation.

Those who know Mr Vlok believe, unlike the ANC, that he is genuinely committed to halting the township carnage. They will be hard pressed to explain how this week's tub-thumping advances that cause. □

ANC urges halt to schools stayaway

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

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

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

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

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

8/4/91

Vlok calls indaba to solve violence

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok is to call a meeting of all affected parties to address the violence.

The plan has been rejected by the ANC and the PAC. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has welcomed it.

The ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has dismissed it as a "propaganda ploy" on the eve of President F W de Klerk's trip to Europe and says the ANC will not take part.

"There's nothing in it because the government knows exactly what to do ... to put an end to the violence," he said.

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

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

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

● The IFP has welcomed the banning of axes and pangas at marches and meetings, but says 75% of the people killed in the fighting have been shot.

3 die in Maritzburg shooting

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MARITZBURG. — Three bodies with gunshot wounds have been discovered by police at Edendale near here.

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

The motive for the killings is unknown.

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

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

At Mangaung near Bloemfontein three man and a woman were arrested after stoning a police vehicle. — Sapa

INDECISIVE JUGGLING

Vlok's weapons' ban no recipe to stop the fighting

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok may have made matters worse this week by taking a half-step in an uncertain direction, writes SHAUN JOHNSON

VLOK'S partial prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons in "potential conflict situations" can be described as a half-step in an uncertain direction.

The Law and Order Minister has responded, after a fashion, to the ANC's demand for measures to staunch the township bloodletting.

But he has done so in a manner which seems likely to produce neither dramatic practical results nor a rebuilding of fractured confidence.

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

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

Vlok's media briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday evening was in parts as equivocal as the state of the negotiations process itself.

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

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

Vlok appealed "to all concerned to shed individual differences and to seek a joint solution to the violence".

In practical terms he announced a new ban on the carrying of "axes, pangas, and bush knives ... in potential conflict situations such as marches, meetings etcetera".

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

Killings

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

"Notwithstanding ... all the measures already taken by the Government and the SA Police to curb the killings," said Vlok, "the violence continues - apparently with the ANC in every case the catalyst".

(When questioned, he qualified this assertion, saying "there are cases where they are not involved", but the implication of original sin was overwhelming.)

He went on: "Information also indicates that certain activities by the ANC or its members often seem to be the trigger or cause of the violence ...

"It is disturbing that the ANC, instead of assisting and cooperating with the police in ending the violence, hinders the police with a constant stream of unfounded complaints, allegations and vilifications aimed at discrediting the Force."

Vlok appended to his six-page statement no less than 72 pages of documentation intended to illustrate the ANC's disingenuity in claiming to be cooperating with the SAP in its investigations into recent atrocities.

Much of it indeed suggests that senior police officers have made concerted attempts to solve township massacres, and that in some cases have been frustrated by the ANC's failure to come up with the evidence it has promised.

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

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

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

He - and his policemen on the ground - also have a real problem in drawing the line between bona fide "traditional" weapons, and ersatz tools of thuggery.



ADRIAAN VLOK

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

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

But the point is that Vlok's critics simply do not trust his intentions, and will therefore not identify with his difficulties in a rational and compromising mood. His latest initiative has compounded the suspicions.

The most uncharitable interpretation which his opponents place on Vlok's perception of his own role is that he is viewing himself - in the colonial idiom - as a paternal official presiding over a bloody squabble between two warring tribes.

He refuses to concede the possibility that his own subjects might subjectively be involved, they argue, and apportions blame at will.

Moreover, as that blame is so consistently attached to one party, it is difficult to see how Vlok's own ground forces can be expected to act neutrally.

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

The judgmental tone he adopted this week appeared dramatically to undercut the positive, if limited, steps Vlok was announcing. It was markedly to the approach favoured - for example - by the DP MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg. In a mini-debate in Parliament on the subject earlier on Tuesday, he prefaced an impassioned call for the banning in public of "any weapon which can kill ... from a so-called innocent stick to a gun", with the assurance that it was not his intention to criticise any specific group or political party.

Slaughter

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

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

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

"We must stop the violence before it destroys the negotiation process."

There was important good news to be found in Vlok's assessment of the current situation, in that statistics show a dramatic decline in incidents of violence this year as compared to 1990.

Carnage

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

But again, the effect of announcing a decline in unrest cases from 2 186 in March 1990 to 676 in March 1991, was dulled by the combative rather than cooperative gist of its presentation.

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

They will be hard pressed to explain how this week's tub-thumping advances that cause.

Sowetan Correspondent.

PAC rejects Vlok's peace conference

274 Sowetan 18/4/91

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

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

"He (Mr Vlok), as the representative of the State security operation, is the cause of the violence.

"The PAC has identified the State as the main perpetrator of the violence and therefore we are not likely to engage ourselves in any talks on the violence with them."

Asked whether the PAC had plans of trying to end the ongoing violence, Alexander said: "We are engaged in our own attempts to resolve the violence."

"We met with the African National Congress leadership on Monday and Tuesday this week in Harare and we will soon make announcements about meeting other organisations."



BENNY ALEXANDER

Alexander declined to divulge further details. - *Sapa.*

FW calls multiparty summit to halt violence

Star 19/4/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk is to launch a multiparty two-day summit and a permanent commission of inquiry on violence, in the Government's most substantial political effort so far to tackle the endemic township unrest.

In an apparent response to the ANC's demands of April 5 for an independent commission on violence, Mr de Klerk said yesterday he would soon submit legislation to create a standing commission to investigate and combat political violence and intimidation and to identify those involved.

But **Kaizer Nyatsumba** of our Political Staff reports that President de Klerk's planned peace summit appears to be stillborn, with the official Opposition in Parliament and all but one extra-Parliamentary organisation having rejected the call.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr de Klerk's announcement did not address the question of violence as raised in the ANC's recent open letter.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC rejected Mr de Klerk's plans and would not take part in the meeting, set down for May 24 and 25.

However, the ANC's Gill Marcus told The Star this morning that a statement responding to the announcement would be issued later today.

The Conservative Party also rejected the initiative, but the Democratic Party and Labour Party supported it and urged all other parties to attend the summit.

In a clear attempt to win international favour, Mr de Klerk timed the announcement for the eve of his departure for state visits to Britain, Ireland and Denmark today.

He said in his statement that the maximum capability of the security forces would be used when needed to combat violent situations.

But he said security

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Multiparty summit on violence

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● From Page 1

measures were not enough — unless extraordinary measures were used, which he was not prepared to do.

The main aim of the summit would be to call on political and other leaders to assume co-responsibility for ending the violence. Star 19/4/91.

He said the new measures were needed because the "comprehensive" steps the Government had taken so far had decreased violence but had not ended it.

The security forces would use "all legal means at their disposal to apprehend criminals, warlords and instigators of violence and unrest".

These special measures would sometimes inconvenience the public, who would be warned about them.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr de Klerk's statement and promised full DP support, but CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht rejected the initiative as a panic reaction.

The proposed summit, he said, was intended for the leaders of those involved in violence.

The CP was not involved in violence and would not negotiate with those who were.

President de Klerk said the summit would be held on May 24 and 25 and that he would soon submit legislation to create a standing commission to investigate and combat political violence and intimidation and to identify those involved.

Rejected

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Boerestaat Party (BP) have all rejected President de Klerk's initiatives and said they would not attend the planned summit.

PAC projects co-ordinator Mark Shinners said his organisation was not prepared to "discuss violence with the perpetrator".

"The idea (of the summit) really begs the question because the Government as the de facto authority has all the resources to stop the violence. It is therefore surprising that the Government seeks help to identify the source of the violence because if it is so much ignorant of this it would not be in power at all," Mr Shinners said.

Azapo general secretary Don Nkadimeng said although his organisation had not yet discussed the proposed summit, he was certain Azapo was unlikely to attend "because we believe that (President de Klerk) does not need us to address the question of violence and we don't enter into talks with the regime".

Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party, said to try and address the question of violence through commissions and peace summits was "absurd".

It was Pretoria's intention to restructure the country and bring together "many different nations" that had caused the violence.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was the only party this morning to express willingness to attend the summit.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the IFP was "totally committed to the eradication of any violence" and would lend its wholehearted support to any attempt to stop the violence.

Big business warns on violence

By Michael Chester Star 19/4/91

Big business has renewed warnings to the ANC that the whole investment climate in South Africa has been badly damaged by the combination of its ultimatum to the Government and violence in black townships.

The warnings were delivered when the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) held top level talks with ANC leaders at a 90-minute meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

The business delegation was led by Sacob president John Hall and the ANC team by Walter Sisulu, chairman of its internal leadership corps.

Sacob said in a statement today it had expressed deep concern over the combined effect the ANC ultimatum and continued violence was having on business confidence.

It had stressed that if a favourable investment climate was to be created, it was essential that violence should be eliminated and that the political negotiating process should continue.

"Certain active proposals emerged from the discussions aimed at promoting reconciliation and negotiation, which will be further considered by Sacob and the ANC," it added.

Details were not divulged.

● AK-47s for only R20 or exchanged for food



● Smuggling in trucks and across border fences

Illegal weapons flood in

(274) Star 19/4/91

Staff Reporters

AK-47 assault rifles are so readily available, they can be bought for as little as R20 on the Swaziland-Mozambique border.

An investigation by the Star Africa Service has uncovered the existence of a seemingly unlimited supply of the deadly weapons which reach South Africa in growing numbers from Mozambique through the Swaziland border town of Lomahasha.

The town, where South Africans and Swazis can buy Soviet AK-47s for R20 and Makarov pistols for a mere R5, has been described by Swaziland's CID chief as the "nerve centre" of the booming gun trade.

After being offered three AK-47s for R70 in Lomahasha this week, Ike Motsapi of Star Africa Service concluded that the border was at the heart of a major smuggling route along which the weapons reach South Africa in growing numbers for use in political violence, faction fighting and robberies.

The man who offered to sell the weapons to Mr Motsapi said he usually obtained them from Renamo soldiers in exchange for food.

An anonymous caller to The Star's Nelspruit office yesterday claimed that weapons from Mozambique were hidden in the fuel tanks of vehicles and smuggled through border posts.

Others, wrapped in blankets, have reached destinations in KaNgwane from Swaziland by being carried through border fences. From KaNgwane the weapons were transported to towns throughout South Africa, the caller claimed.

"Very few of these weapons remain in KaNgwane, which is used only as a base from which to reconsign them to a number of ANC destinations in big towns."

Confirming the smuggling operation, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said that since January the SAP had exposed several weapons networks and seized large numbers of illegal firerarms.

"Weapons seized include 302 AK-47 rifles and 37 other firerarms, including Scorpion machine pistols and Tokareve and Makarov pistols. Several arrests have been made," Mr Vlok said in a statement.

Further arrests and seizueres of weapons were expected soon, the Minister said, adding that due to the sensitive nature of the investigations, no further information could be divulged at present.

● Today, The Weekly Mail revealed that it had purchased an AK-47 for R1 500 "and exposed an extensive and sophisticated arms sales network supplying Inkatha members on the East Rand".

The network operated from Komatipoort to townships and hostels on the East Rand, the paper said.

● AK-47s for sale — Page 11.

SOWETAN Friday April 19 1991

ANC goes ahead with units plans

Sowetan 19/4/91

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THE South African Police or elements within the police force have been involved in the formation of private armies to attack and terrorise township residents, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has alleged.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg this week after meeting church leaders,. Mandela reiterated the ANC's determination to form self-defence units regardless of what the police or the Government said.

He alleged that the police had themselves been forming private armies of criminals to attack township residents.

"It is our firm opinion that either the SAP or certain elements of the police have themselves been forming private armies of criminals in order to attack the residents in the townships.

"We are not prepared to fold our arms in that situation, and the defence units are going to be formed," he said.

Political Staff

Responding to the ANC leader's allegation yesterday, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said: "That is an absolutely untrue allegation."

The police, Kotze said, were still opposed to the formation of self-defence units and would not hesitate to act against those who took the law into their hands.

Police would enforce all the laws regarding the possession of weapons. Self-defence units, he said, would increase the violence instead of ending it.

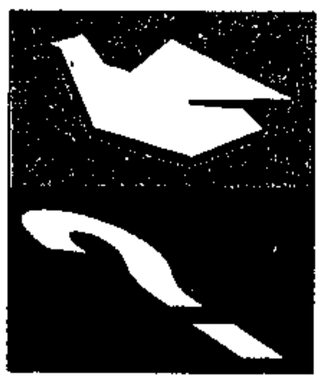


NELSON MANDELA

VIOLENCE AND THE POLICE (274) FM 19/4/91

NO FAREWELL TO ARMS

IS VLOK THE RIGHT MAN TO HANDLE SUCH A SENSITIVE PORTFOLIO?



Down here in the real world, we are all wondering what can really be done about the violence. It's not putting it too strongly to say that resumption of economic growth depends greatly on the actions of the police and security forces — which is why Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, whose head the ANC wants, is very much the man of the historical moment.

For the time being he is certainly the most important man in the Cabinet, entrusted as he is with averting the kind of chaos Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis believe we could face within a few short years unless growth creates the necessary jobs and security.

But do Vlok and the police have the political will, on the one hand, *and* the logistical capability on the other to do the job — and if so why are the killings continuing?

In other words, is he neglecting his duty and ought he to be fired? The ANC says Vlok doesn't take the situation seriously enough — it argues he could end the violence if he used all the powers at his disposal and says its ultimatum earlier this month was aimed primarily at showing government how strongly it feels on the issue

Clearly it's not that simple. A rational view of the ultimatum — with its set of conditions, deadline and penalties — is also a tacit plea for help. It is an admission that the violence has developed its own momentum, is out of the hands of the ANC and Inkatha and requires unprecedented police action to be ended. At the same time scapegoats are being sought by all parties.

There are of course many reasons for the violence. Much of it can be traced back to decades of apartheid neglect that denied blacks proper education and opportunities, and condemned millions to degrading lives in township ghettos where crime and violence flourished. For its part, the ANC, through its encouragement of insurrection and a campaign to make the townships ungovernable, must also share responsibility

But all players are culpable to some degree. the police, the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and other groups have all at some stage been accused of — or been involved — in violence.

The trouble is that while rapid economic growth will break the cycle of poverty which nourishes violence, it won't happen until the violence is stopped.

Is Vlok doing enough? He insists that he and the SA Police *are* doing all they can to end the violence "It is shocking to me that people are being killed One death is one too many." Yet the situation appears to be getting worse — and this raises the question of why Vlok is failing despite all the resources at his disposal and the vast array of security laws that the SAP has enforced with such vigour in the past.

Vlok argues that the nature of the violence has changed in the past 18 months. no longer is the State the primary target. The conflict is now mainly between rival political organisations and individuals which makes it difficult to predict and combat The minister argues that it would have been impossible for any government to prevent or deal with violence on the scale seen in SA over the past five years. "Most of the killings take place at night, and it is impossible to place a guard outside every door."

Yet he appeared to manage fairly well before President F W de Klerk's reforms changed the rules of the game. He used methods that certainly curbed unrest and reduced the number of deaths.

So: are the police being held back to placate foreign opinion?



Vlok . *interviewed by* FM's *Nigel Bruce and Chris Freimond*

Vlok says: "No. We enforced laws and detained thousands of people over a period of six years and it helped to calm the situation. In 1985 there were 17 000 unrest-related incidents, in 1986 there were 16 000. Then we declared the State of Emergency and the emergency regulations enabled detentions. We arrested many people responsible for violence, we couldn't prove it in court, but we had enough information to know that they were responsible. I was able to remove thousands of people from the streets

"The emergency regulations also allowed me to restrict organisations that were inciting and mobilising in the townships These actions calmed the situation. In 1987 there were fewer than 5 000 unrest-related incidents. In 1988 the figure started climbing and reached nearly 8 000. The following year it was nearly 9 000 Then we unbanned organisations and individuals. They were free to mobilise and organise and that's when violence started again In 1990 there were more than 17 000 unrest incidents "

Does this mean that only the reimposition of a State of Emergency can halt the conflict? Vlok doesn't believe so "I have the option to ask the president to declare a State of Emergency and ban organisations again — but under the present circumstances it's unthinkable."

He also feels the current situation does not warrant a new emergency — despite the level of violence

Nevertheless, he regards the conflict as extremely grave and is taking the ANC's ultimatum seriously though he believes it unfair to blame the police and government for the violence. He says he is prepared to resign if — based on facts — he is shown to stand in the way of a peaceful future.

Dealing with the violence is extremely difficult, he says The situation is often chaotic — and even when arrests are made, witnesses are often unwilling to testify in court because of fear of further violence.

Vlok also rejects ANC claims that police use unnecessary force in quelling riots or dispersing gatherings The use of live ammunition is a last resort, he says, and it's not correct that water cannon and teargas are no longer being used in crowd control.

The violence is almost always unpredictable most killings occur at night and it's almost impossible for the police to prevent them Flooding an area with police and troops is an effective temporary method of curbing violence, but there are not enough men to cover all areas and the conflict often flares again when they are withdrawn. Even the declaration of unrest areas and imposition of curfews has only a limited effect.

Nevertheless, Vlok is confident that the SAP will be able to stop the killing and does not feel restricted by political considerations. He will take whatever actions he deems necessary regardless of the political consequences.

"It is top priority to have law and order as soon as possible and as permanently as possible We can have more policemen — and government has already spent millions more on the SAP — but it won't help us if we can't get people to stop killing each other. This is why we favour negotiations."

The ANC's ultimatum puzzles him. "It

would have been far better for them to have come to talk to us. My door is always open. But I don't think they want to talk, they want to put the blame elsewhere I believe it's correct that they can't control their supporters on the ground. We are prepared to help them, but in the past they have demanded action and the moment we act they reject the action."

Vlok says every allegation by the ANC against the SAP is investigated He also accuses the ANC of not meeting its obligations — in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute of May 4 the SAP and the ANC were to have appointed representatives to serve on peace forums around the country Vlok says the SAP appointed 96 officers within three weeks but to date the ANC has put forward only 29 names.

"From our side the system is working, we are there and we have prevented violence on many occasions, but because of the shortage of ANC people it hasn't been working properly. We ask them regularly to appoint their people but they don't. This is why the open letter is completely unfair."

Vlok does support the ANC's call for an independent inquiry into the causes of the violence — but not only into police action which he says can be dealt with if necessary through normal judicial process.

He also dismisses the possibility of a ban on the carrying of all weapons, even as a conciliatory gesture to the ANC. In what borders on an excessively legalistic argument he contends that the courts have ruled that the mere carrying of a dangerous weapon is not an offence, particularly if the person carrying it lives in an area where he may need personal protection against attack.

But "traditional" weapons are not the main problem. Far more lethal arms are apparently flowing freely into Reef townships along well organised smuggling routes from Mozambique and Angola Soviet-made AK-47 rifles are the main trade There are said to be three main dealers, in Soweto, Thokoza on the East Rand and Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle

Vlok confirms the allegations and says the SAP is investigating

One tactic, paying bounties for turning in dangerous weapons — particularly AK-47s — has also paid off and figures are due to be disclosed shortly, says Vlok



Police action in Alexandra *trust is the big issue*

After the Nats came to power in 1948, they expressed their political dissatisfaction with the police by purging the SAP of English-speakers. Isn't a similar purge needed now — given what seems to be a distrust so widespread as to impede their efficiency? Language would not today be the problem, of course — but perhaps an unwillingness to change could be.

Vlok says. "I'm confident that the present officer corps will be able to adapt to the changes in SA I speak to them and reason with them and we are well on our way to changing the SAP's image and attitude The reason for our bad image was the application of unpopular apartheid laws We are scrapping them and our job will then be the enforcement of normal laws and crime combating techniques.

"To change our image we are working down from the top and will get down to the bottom as soon as possible. I know the people I'm working with, they are loyal to the country, the force and government of the day"

Police are no longer allowed to belong to political parties. The ban was part of a move to make them more professional and accountable to government. "They will serve the next government of SA," Vlok says. "I've no doubt about it."

Changing partners

To this end, "we are improving relations at grassroots We realise that the face of government in SA will change and the SAP must change accordingly At this stage 60% of the SAP is black, but only about 5% of officers are black

"We are busy changing this through training to make the SAP more professional to serve all the people of SA."

As for violence, "We are committed to ending it as speedily as possible, but we need assistance from the people. We are looking to the leaders to help us to control their supporters and then to the supporters to say that enough is enough. People must now stop killing each other and the leaders must stop fanning the flames of violence ..."

Countering violence with yet more violence merely pushes the country closer to the abyss of irreversible chaos.

The three main political players — F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi — must agree on a plan of action and seal it in a peace pact as soon as possible, and then sell it to their supporters.

An impartial police force has to guarantee the pact and crack down ruthlessly on those who contravene it.

It is in the area of substantiating this impartiality that Vlok has most to do. If the situation drags on for very much longer he must be deemed to have failed — a fact which will be an obstacle to negotiations and, as such, one which he should recognise and act upon. ■

FM 17/4/91.

LAW & ORDER

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THE DAY OF THE SCORPION

Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is patently a decent man working hard in unusually trying circumstances — and with limited resources — to contain a level of violence in this country which, whatever its complex causes, now has a sinister momentum of its own.

Our cover story in this edition is based on a lengthy interview with him in which he set out his point of view lucidly and with sensitivity. Obviously he cares deeply about what is happening. There is about him nothing to suggest the dogma or authoritarianism that we have learnt is so characteristic of an SAP general — characteristics that previous police ministers seldom overcame.

Well-meaning he may be, and better suited to the task than any of his predecessors of whom we can think, but unless he is able to use the resources at his disposal to bring peace quickly to this country, not only will it suffer economic and social reverse, he will not survive in politics.

His dilemma is that if he uses Draconian emergency powers to curb the violence, as he did successfully in the late Eighties, he will run headlong into the political constraint of his government's own reform initiative. He has neither the manpower nor the capability of disarming the country or otherwise preventing violence, which is sporadic and widely dispersed, unless black communities are prepared to co-operate. In addition, he has to convince the warring factions that the police force is capable of impartiality: a task made difficult by the police having been the most visible and, by its nature, most violent apparatus of oppression.

Only days after he spoke to us, and with great conviction explained that he believed he was winning and that turmoil would subside, Soweto was gripped by another weekend of horrible violence. He will have to forgive our scepticism. The proposed seizure of offensive weapons in conflict situations will assist if carried out impartially — but three observations need to be made.

First, the SAP might have been too much a part of oppression to be able to change its image while the present officer corps exists. It was not just the apartheid laws that caused the black community's hatred of the police; it was the manner in which those laws were applied by some of the men who are still serving today.

If Vlok thinks that by simply talking to his officers, or using an expert from the Department of Information to do so, he can transform what the blacks see as a Gestapo mentality into one closer to that of a London bobby, he is not in touch with reality.

Of course, as President F W de Klerk has observed, without the SAP, what is there to maintain law and order? It is a sobering point. But in the past the Nats have been quite ruthless in removing public servants whose political views, language proficiency or general attitudes were inconvenient. Why not do the same now? There are plenty of youngish generals in the defence force well trained in combat, with little ideological baggage, some education and political sensitivity who could be drafted into the SAP.

Then there is the ANC's Chris Hani himself. Nothing would be more sobering for him than a police division to command within the constraints of modern criminology and methods of maintaining public order. Offer him the job and see what happens.

The second observation is that in our view Vlok is mistaken if he believes that he can count on continuing Cabinet support, unless he begins to show progress very soon. Politically he won't survive if he blames the lack of will among ordinary people and the absence of an accord between the warring factions and government for his failure.

Vlok, at least in the short term, is going to have to make the resources at his disposal work more efficiently without any help from the politicians. To do so, he needs to be more creative in his search for solutions and more responsive to broad public opinion. That suggests he should be surrounding himself with the type of policemen capable of helping him find and apply new ideas. New minds are badly needed.

It is probably safe to assume that no senior officers who have served the apartheid regime with the enthusiasm it demanded can now be turned into the benign guardians of the individual rights of black citizens that Vlok probably imagines. That is asking too much.

The bulldozing of shelters, the creation of concentration camps for those communities dispossessed of their homes to fit the bantustan concept, the constant raids for pass law offenders or arrests of those who tried to seek refuge illegally in the cities from rural poverty, the sheer brutality of police arrest — these memories won't fade unless the faces of the physical perpetrators are seen to change.



Thirdly, whatever the proclivities of black communities towards violence, they have patently not been well served by the police in the past. Too often black violence has simply been isolated by a *cordon sanitaire* and left to subside of its own accord, which takes time.

Often pass offences — or other apartheid laws — appeared to be the focus of police attention instead of the investigation and prosecution of violent criminals. The ANC's self-defence plans, which cannot be countenanced in an orderly society, are a manifestation of the absence of appropriate policing of black communities, and of despair.

We hope that Vlok rises to the challenges ahead with imagination and resolve. And that the black communities will be quick to respond positively to his achievements. But we'd count on neither. ■

THE VIOLENCE

THE BLOOD-DIMMED TIDE

Is the country heading for anarchy and civil war? Is the ANC starting something it will not be able to stop? Is government doing enough to restore law and order? These questions are on everyone's mind

This week details emerged of a secret ANC discussion document on township self-defence units. On Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, calling for township residents to form such units, said they would not be much more than the equivalent of neighbourhood watches in white areas.

However, the document, as reported in *Business Day*, paints a different picture There are uncomfortable parallels with rightwing commandos, raising the spectre of private armies and a government impotent to prevent bloodshed borne of political and tribal rivalries, poverty and sheer criminality.

Compiled in conjunction with Cosatu, the ANC document suggests that at least 10% of township residents could be organised into such commandos.

Senior ANC spokesman Saci Macozoma, who had not seen the document when the *FM* spoke to him, said it did not mean the ANC was considering removing its suspension of armed action (agreed to in the Pretoria Minute in August). He said if this was discussed at all, it would have to come before the movement's National Consultative Conference in June.

"Isn't it obvious why there is such a document? People aren't getting protection from the police force and when we raise the issue we get abuse from the media," said Macozoma



Mandela
playing with fire

Admitting that he did not know how the ANC could train or control the numbers of armed people envisioned in the document, Macozoma said his understanding of defence committees "was the involvement of vigilant communities that patrol their areas The question of arming people has not been central "

Macozoma would not be drawn further on that point, other than to say the aim was defensive. But he admitted that the line between defensive and offensive could easily become blurred

"People in our communities are dying all the time," he said "It is terrible to see what is happening. They keep calling for arms and protection The police force is not impartial and there are persistent allegations that they assist in attacks. We can't keep moralising to those people and telling them to live on government promises "

The ANC document recommends physical exercise, the wearing of uniforms, political education and the collection of money to buy weapons that do not require a licence, such as air rifles and crossbows. It gives advice on setting up communications systems, building roadblocks and barricades with fortified houses.

Whatever the motivation, it sounds like preparation for war

Some rightwingers have claimed they are organising for war but the ANC appears to be moving into a dual game — negotiations on one hand, war talk on the other

It is a dangerous game and will lead to speaking with forked tongue ANC credibility will be affected and dissatisfaction in its ranks will rise if it keeps crying "Wolf!"

Government does not emerge blameless from the bitter escalation in violence (**see *Leaders***) but it is somehow going to have to convince the ANC of its bona fides in trying to stem the anarchic tide No state can allow private armies.

And still little attention is paid to simple but explosive socio-economic issues last week's fatal violence at Kathlehong, for instance, is said to have been sparked by a dispute over squatters' access to lavatories and taps. ■

TRYING HARD

A permanent judicial commission, to investigate aspects of the violence sweeping the country, was expected to be the main thrust of President F W de Klerk's response this week to recent ANC demands.

De Klerk, who is due to leave on a European tour at the weekend, was preparing the response as the *FM* went to press. His reaction will be coupled to the announcement in Cape Town on Tuesday by Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that so-called traditional weapons are to be outlawed at public gatherings.

Vlok told journalists that instructions have been issued that "axes and pangas carried in conflict situations" such as marches and meetings are to be confiscated by police.

De Klerk's response and Vlok's action are seen as a serious attempt to go some way to convincing the ANC that it is taking the violence seriously and to head off the threatened collapse of negotiations.

Vlok says the current unrest must be seen in perspective. Though the number of deaths is horrifying, there have in fact been fewer unrest incidents in the first three months of this year than in the corresponding period last year; if the current trend for April continues, there will be fewer than a third of the number of unrest incidents this year than there were in April 1990.

But, he says government remains "extremely concerned" about the violence and is committed to ending it as quickly as possible. The use of AK-47 rifles in attacks is particularly worrying.

Inside the AK-47 smuggling route

274

Sowetan 19/4/91.

FOCUS

By IKE MOTSAPI on Special Assignment for *Sowetan* Africa News Service



MBABANE - Behind the post office at Lomahasha on the Swaziland-Mozambique border, a man opened a plastic bag and showed me three AK-47 assault rifles. He said I could have all three for only R70.

I knew then that I had succeeded in tapping into the smuggling route along which the deadly Soviet-made military rifles are entering South Africa in growing numbers.

And in South Africa, they have gained notoriety for their use in faction fighting, political killings, bank robberies and other crimes.

Lomahasha, the main border post on Swaziland's boundary with Mozambique, is the main conduit through which the guns are coming into South Africa.

Food

I proved that almost anyone can buy one there for a few rands.

The little dorp, whose name means "to itch", is described by local residents as "a bed of criminals and arms smugglers"

Arms smuggling from Mozambique to South Africa by way of Swaziland is big business for people who have been making money out of the killings in South African townships.

There are two types of smugglers: the small, occasional dealers who may be regarded as amateurs in the business and the big buyers, the professionals.

The former are usually people who cross the border illegally from Mozambique into Swaziland with AK-47s looking for someone who will buy them for as little as R20 a gun.

They then use the money to buy food before crossing back into Mozambique.

The big dealers normally travel into Mozambique to fetch arms which, if they can be smuggled past the Swazi police and army roadblocks, are sold in Natal and on the Witwatersrand for large sums - as much as R6 000, according to the South African Police.

The source of the AK-47s, as well as Makarov pistols and ammunition for both, is reportedly the Renamo guerilla group fighting the Frelimo government in Mozambique.

The London newsletter, *Africa Confidential*, recently reported that Renamo had taken to selling its surplus weapons in South Africa to get funds.

However, my information is that Renamo as an organisation is not directly responsible for the smuggling.

Renamo

It is individual Renamo members who sell the weapons or exchange them for food, clothing, cigarettes and other goods

I went to Swaziland to investigate reports that AK-47s can be bought for as little as R20 at Lomahasha.

The area near the border post was so congested with people and vehicles it resembled a beehive.

Many people were carrying big bags filled with goods bought on either side of the border.

Most of the people crossing the border are Mozambicans.

I was met with great suspicion when I began questioning people about AK-47s. People did not want to talk to me.

I approached a woman who had just bought bread from a store near the border post. I gave her two pieces of chicken remaining from some I had bought on my way to Lomahasha and I bought her a cold drink.

This started a conversation that led to my meeting the man who called himself Alfonso.

Alfonso

"Talk to those people there," the woman said, pointing to Alfonso. "You should be very careful, though, because the police are always here."

I approached Alfonso, a Mozambican who said he had three children and no job and had to find food for his family every day. I told him I was interested in buying an AK-47.

"Are you serious?" he asked.

I said I was.

He took me and my Swazi guide to an area behind the post office. We stood there for some time It was obvious that Alfonso was trying to make sure that nobody was watching us.

Then he opened the plastic bag he was carrying and asked me to look inside. I was shocked to see three AK-47s.

My mind was filled with thoughts of being arrested for arms smuggling.

"Give me R70 and take the lot," Alfonso said. "The police can come here any time."

I asked Alfonso where he got the guns and he said he usually gets them from Renamo soldiers in exchange for food.

"They come around to my place looking very tired and hungry," he said.

I told him about the roadblocks and asked how I could pass through them with the weapons.

"That is your problem," he said "I need the money and the rest is for you to take care of."

I told him I was scared to buy the guns I apologised and gave him R10 for his trouble. He took the money and left, obviously angry with me.

In Mbabane I was told by Swaziland's CID chief, Inspector Azaria Ndzimandze, that the police are aware that South Africans and Swazis can buy an AK-47 for as little as R20 and a Makarov pistol for only R5.

"We are aware that it is easy to get these guns, particularly with American dollars," he said. "We are also aware that Lomahasha seems to be the nerve centre of the arms smuggling.

Arrests

"We are obviously concerned about this and we are doing our best to crack the smuggling, but it is not easy. We make regular arrests but what worries us most is that people are able to pass through the roadblocks with these weapons."

Inspector Ndzimandze said about 10 people were arrested each month with AK-47s and other smuggled arms as well as ammunition. He estimated that more than 500 weapons had been confiscated from smugglers so far this year.

"Obviously others got through," he said.

The smugglers used a variety of devices to get the weapons

*To page 7

Sowetan editorial on unrest angers police

By LANGA SKOSANA

The police have taken issue with *Sowetan* over Monday's editorial comment which accused the SAP of a lack of action in cases involving blacks. The leading article said the police served whites better than blacks. What has been your experience? Let the nation hear your opinion. Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise today and talk to him live between 4.30 and 5pm. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

THE Police have taken issue with *Sowetan* over Monday's editorial comment which accused the SAP of lack of action in cases involving blacks.

Sowetan's leading article said the police often failed to respond to calls by blacks.

"Perhaps the police, no matter what their new advertising campaign says, do not take calls from blacks as seriously as calls from white people.

"Perhaps, no matter what Mr FW de Klerk says, the police, for political reasons of their own, 'do not want to see peace in black communities,'" the editorial comment said.

Police public relations spokesman in Pretoria Colonel J Mostert and the regional commissioner of police in Soweto, Major-General J Swart both reacted to the editorial.

Mostert said he was disappointed at *Sowetan's* negative statements.

"We want to stress that the South African Police is an apolitical organisation and it does not get involved in political actions.

"We object to the statement that the SAP 'do not want to see peace in black communities' because of 'political reasons of their own'.

"The police treat people equally, irrespective of colour, race or creed and it is not true that the SAP 'do not take calls from blacks as seriously as calls from white people'.

"We wish to point out that there are black policemen serving their own communities," Mostert said.

Swart said police had reacted swiftly and quelled the violence when they heard of unrest at Nancefield Hostel last weekend.

"The SAP has every intention of policing Soweto properly according to internationally accepted standards of policing and we have come a long way towards reaching that goal.

"To be able to reach it, we need the help and support from you, the public of this city. We are definitely here for you," he said.

Stormy weather ahead for SA's peace process

(274) wlmail 19/4-25/4/91

There's a big storm ahead for peace — but all the players will have to ride it out, reports

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday called an all-party conference on the violence rocking South Africa to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

De Klerk made the announcement as the peace process headed into heavy weather with the April 30 deadline for the Pretoria Minute, the African National Congress' May 9 ultimatum on the violence and the ANC's June conference looming on the horizon.

However, all the major parties remain committed in the long-term to the negotiations — and have no option but to find their way back to the bargaining table once the storm is over.

And despite ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's rejection of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's plan for a multi-party conference on violence, the concept of a peace conference has been far from ruled out.

De Klerk said parliamentary and extra-parliamentary movements, government institutions, churches, trade unions and academics would be invited to the conference. He also announced legislation to provide for a standing commission into the violence.

But several obstacles still lie in the path of the government and the ANC.

The first is the wind-up date for the Pretoria Minute. According to the agreement between the government and the ANC, all the tasks laid out in the minute — including the release of prisoners and the return of exiles — have to be completed by April 30.

The date was further loaded at the ANC's December conference where it was decided that unless all the obstacles to the negotiations were removed on or before April 30, the ANC would consider suspending the negotiating process.

ANC negotiator Mathew Phosa said this week at least 1 362 identified political prisoners had still not been released, 32 of them on death row.

Nagging problems over indemnity have not been resolved, returning exiles are still being arrested on their arrival in South Africa and, to make matters worse, ANC NEC member Penuel Maduna was arrested at Jan Smuts Airport on Thursday.

The Pretoria Minute deadline is unlikely to be met, though it is not certain what the ANC's response will be.

"We will have to cross that bridge when we come to it," said Phosa.

However, the ANC will be under further pressure to suspend talks in the likely event of the government failing to meet its six demands on the violence, including the axeing of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

ANC spokesman have reiterated in the past few days that the ultimatum stands. Mandela has said, however, that if there is a serious response from President FW de Klerk on the movement's demands, then "the ANC will not be found wanting".

Malan's belated sacking of Civil Co-operation Bureau members and Vlok's attempts to distinguish between "traditional" and other weapons are not viewed by the ANC as going anywhere near to meeting the demands.

The ANC's leeway in finding compromises on the two deadlines is narrowed by the conference, due for June 26, when the performance of the leadership will be under scrutiny from a membership whose militancy was strongly in evidence during the December conference.

Some cynics say that if the government wants an ANC team prepared to compromise, it must let Mandela and the present team continue sounding a hard-line until the conference.

Negotiations, including unpopular compromises, can only proceed once the conference has been surmounted and the present pro-talks leadership is intact.

Even so, in its response to the violence during the past few weeks, the ANC has shown that it has to remain in touch with the feelings of its members on the ground — and cannot negotiate the New South Africa in disregard of its township constituency.

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19/4/91

Inkatha weapon smugglers 'exposed'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Weekly Mail said yesterday it had exposed a gun-running network supplying heavy weaponry to Inkatha supporters on the East Rand and had this week bought an AK-47 automatic rifle.

For R1 500, the paper said in a preview of today's edition, one could buy a used heavy weapon, carrying case, magazine of ammunition and basic training in use of the weapon.

One such network supplied AK-47s, Scorpion machine guns, Makarov pistols and shotguns to anyone who had enough money and could convince the buyer they were not a "comrade". The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok had responded by saying police had themselves exposed a number of gun-running networks since January, the Weekly Mail said.

The Weekly Mail said it would hand the weapons over to the police today. — Sapa

FW announces three-pronged plan to curb violence

Bload 19/4/91 (274)

CAPE TOWN — In a clear response to the ANC's ultimatum, President F W de Klerk yesterday announced a three-pronged initiative to curb violence and intimidation "reigning supreme in our country" and called on other leaders to accept joint responsibility.

In a statement yesterday he said despite comprehensive steps government had already taken, he had decided to set up a Standing Commission of Inquiry into the prevention and ending of politically inspired violence and to hold a two-day summit of interested parties.

In addition to these two new measures the security forces would from time to time implement increased emergency actions when the "maximum capability of the security forces will be applied".

"The violence and intimidation which is

BILLY PADDOCK

reigning supreme in our country is plunging whole communities into sorrow and suffering. Besides that, it is the single largest obstacle in the way to a peaceful future," he said.

Government would promulgate legislation to establish the commission in the near future. Draft legislation will be published soon for comment.

The main task of the commission would be to investigate:

- ☐ Politically inspired violence and intimidation;
- ☐ The identity of those involved in violence and intimidation; and
- ☐ Appropriate methods and steps to prevent and combat crime and intimidation.

"The purpose is not to make wild allegations or launch a witch-hunt about the past or to replace legal processes, but to establish facts on the balance of probabilities," De Klerk said.

The commission would operate under public scrutiny and be able to form committees It would be forward-looking and not interfere with existing legal processes and official investigations but it could take cognisance of these activities.

De Klerk said the summit would take place on May 24 and 25 in Pretoria and he was inviting all interested parties to have "in-depth dialogue" with government.

Apparently referring to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said he intended to involve some of the most prominent leaders, or their representatives, in the preparatory talks "to ensure the success of the summit".

"The main aim of the summit will be to call upon political and other leaders to assume co-responsibility for the termination of violence and to co-operate in reflecting on this serious issue."

The summit could also consider the draft Bill setting up the commission.

TIM COHEN reports that the ANC last night rejected De Klerk's proposals, saying they did not address the issues raised in the ANC's open letter.

The ANC said its initial reaction was that De Klerk's call for a summit on violence had been mooted by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok several days ago.

The ANC had rejected that idea as "unnecessary and diversionary", it said in a statement.

"The ANC has called for a Commission of Inquiry into police and third force actions

☐ To Page 2

Violence

Bload 19/4/91 (274)

☐ From Page 1

against the community that will be independent and will have full powers to deal with the violence.

"The present proposal does not seem to be aimed at achieving that objective"

ANC information head Pallo Jordan said last night De Klerk's statement called for a commission of inquiry into "violence and intimidation".

"You can bet your boots they don't mean by that their own violence," he said.

The ANC was concerned that government was using unacceptable methods of controlling violence, for example by shooting people indiscriminately. This issue would apparently not be addressed by the commission, he said.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he welcomed De Klerk's statement and the DP would assist in every way. He was doubtful that, even with all political leaders' co-operation, much would be achieved "as long as the cycle of recession, population growth, unemployment, crime, violence, lack of confidence, lack of investment and aggravated recession continues".

Sapa reports that CP leader Andries Treurnicht said last night his party was not involved in violence and would not hold talks "with the perpetrators of violence".

Gun-running networks smashed, claim police

Political Staff

THE police have broken up several weapons smuggling networks, seizing 362 AK-47 rifles and making several arrests since January, according to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Further arrests and seizures of weapons were expectedly shortly, but no further information can be divulged yet. Police are still trying to determine whether the suspects were linked to political organisations. They will be tried as soon as possible, at which stage all relevant information would be made public, Mr Vlok said.

Apart from the AK-47s, 37 other firearms, including Skorpion machine pistols and Tokarev and Makarov pistols, had been seized.

Mr Vlok said the availability of AK-47s was one of the most important factors contributing towards the unacceptably high rate of crime and unrest.

FW summit on violence

Call Time 19/4/91 274

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night called a national summit to try to curb the orgy of violence and intimidation sweeping the country.

The violence was the single largest obstacle in the way of a peaceful future, Mr De Klerk said on television, and spelled out a three-pronged initiative — including a permanent commission of inquiry — to combat it.

"The violence and intimidation which are reigning supreme in our country are plunging whole communities into sorrow and suffering," he said on the eve of his departure on a three-nation European tour.

This had necessitated additional measures to combat the twin scourges. However, a return to emergency rule should be avoided at all costs.

In an apparent reference to the ANC's ultimatum to the government, he said that in certain circles the impression was being created that the government was uncaring about the violence and insensitive to the suffering that it created.

"Nothing could be further from the truth. On the contrary, it is a source of deep concern and distress to the government, as indeed it is for all responsible persons and organisations."

The steps spelled out by Mr De Klerk are:

● The establishment of a standing commission of inquiry into the prevention of politically-inspired violence and intimidation and to track down the culprits.

● An all-party two-day summit in Pretoria next month among political, church, labour and business leaders and academic experts on ways of addressing and assuming "co-responsibility" for ending violence.

● Beefed-up actions from time to time to apprehend criminals, "warlords" and instigators of violence which would involve the application of "the maximum capability of the security forces".

Mr De Klerk said the major aim of the summit, to be held from May 24-25, would be to call upon the country's political, church and other leaders to assume co-responsibility for ending the violence

One of the purposes of the commission into violence would be to propose appropriate methods and steps to prevent and combat crime and intimidation.

"The purpose is not to make wild allegations or to launch a witch-hunt about the past or to replace legal processes, but to establish facts on the balance of probabilities," he said.

The commission would operate in the public eye and would be able to form committees and enlist the assistance of institutions and research organisations.

Any person would be able to report complaints of violence and intimidation to the commission.

Mr De Klerk noted that some of the special security actions to crack down on violence and intimidation might cause inconvenience to members of the public and he appealed for their understanding.

● Mr De Klerk's summit on violence was cold-shouldered last night in a statement by the ANC, who said it did not address the issue as raised in the ANC's open letter to the government.

"The call for a summit on violence seems to be the same that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, floated a few days ago. The ANC rejected that idea as unnecessary and divisionary," it said.

On the commission into violence and intimidation, ANC information head Dr Pallo Jordan said: "You can bet your boots they don't mean by that their own violence."

The ANC was concerned that the government was using unacceptable methods of controlling violence, like shooting people indiscriminately, he said.

● Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr De Klerk's statement "inasmuch as the President has taken responsibility on himself to try to contain and ultimately end the violence, and has refrained from pointing fingers at others"

● Mr De Klerk's announcement was a positive first step, said Mr Colin Eglin, chairman of the Democratic Party's caucus, who earlier this week called for a summit.

"While the government of the day has an overall responsibility, I do not believe that a white minority government is capable of solving the problem on its own," Mr Eglin said.

Inside the AK route

* From Page 6

through the checkpoints, he said, and mentioned as an example a number of AK-47s found by police inside a false extension of the petrol tank of a van.

The inspector's admission confirms the assertions by the South African Police that many of the AK-47s being used in robberies and political killings in South Africa come from Mozambique by way of Swaziland.

A few weeks ago Lieutenant Colonel R Reynolds, the head of SAP public relations in Natal, showed journalists some of the more than 1 800 AK-47s and pistols confiscated by police in Natal since the beginning of the year, together with more than 50 000 rounds of ammunition.

He said the weapons had come from Mozambique through Swaziland to Weenen. From there they would be distributed in Natal and on the Reef, selling for as much as R6 000 each.

Swaziland is paying a heavy price for the smuggling. There has been a big increase in armed robbery, often involving the use of AK-47s. Guns are easily available in Manzini, Swaziland's second largest town, where it is now considered unsafe to walk the streets at night.



Lieutenant R Reynolds (right), head of the Natal police liaison division, shows members of the Press some of the 1 800 arms confiscated by police in Natal since the beginning of the year.

The price of violence: Three AK-47s for R70

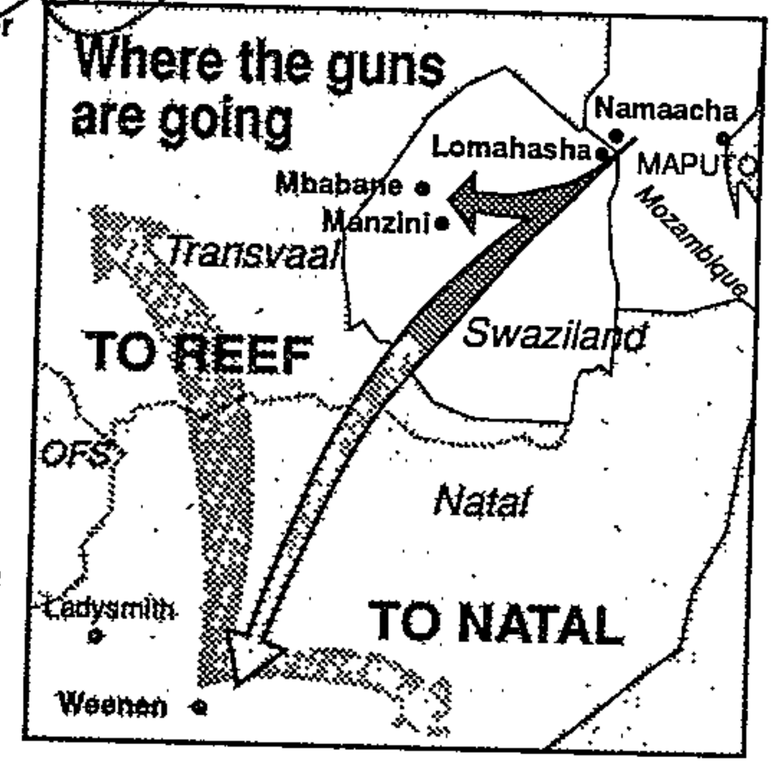
From IKE MOTSAPI
Argus Africa News Service



REPORTER Ike Motsapi with an AK47 assault rifle smuggled into South Africa, probably from Mozambique by way of Swaziland. This picture was taken when smuggled guns were shown to the Press by the police at Weenen.

THE little border dorp of Lomahasha is the main channel for the smuggling of guns from Mozambique into Swaziland and on to lucrative markets in South Africa.

From Lomahasha the guns go to Manzini and then to Weenen for distribution.



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The former are usually those who cross the border illegally from Mozambique into Swaziland with AK-47s, looking for someone who will buy them for as little as R20 a gun. They then use the money to buy food before crossing back into Mozambique.

The big dealers normally travel into Mozambique to fetch arms which, if they can be smuggled through the Swazi police and army roadblocks, are sold in Natal and on the Witwatersrand for large sums — as much as R6 000.

The source of the supply of the AK-47 Kalashnikovs, as well as of Makarov pistols and ammunition for both, is the Renamo guerrilla group that is fighting the Frelimo government in Mozambique.

The London newsletter, Africa Confidential, recently reported that Renamo had taken to selling its surplus weapons in South Africa to get funds.

However, my information is that Renamo as an organisation is not directly responsible for the smuggling. It is individual Renamo members who sell the weapons or exchange them for food, clothing, cigarettes and other goods.

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"They come around to my place looking very tired and hungry," he said.

(Turn to page 4, col 1)

Top-level probe into SA violence

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A STANDING commission of inquiry into the prevention and ending of politically inspired violence and intimidation has been announced by President De Klerk.

He has also announced a two-day summit for discussions between the government and interested parties on violence and intimidation.

There would also be increased security force actions where this was needed, Mr De Klerk said.

The purpose of the new commission would be to investigate:

- Politically inspired violence and intimidation;
- The indentity of those involved in such violence and intimidation;
- Appropriate methods and steps to prevent and combat crime and intimidation.

Mr De Klerk said that the purpose was not to make wild allegations or to launch a witch-hunt about the past or to replace legal processes, but to establish facts on the balance of probabilities.

"The establishment of the truth and objective and scientific evaluation can make a significant contribution to the prevention and the ending of political violence and the prevention of reconciliation.

"The idea is that the commission will operate in the public eye, will be able to form committees and will be able to enlist the assistance of institutions and research organisations.

"Any person will be able to report complaints in connection with violence to the commission. The activities of the commission will primarily be a forward looking one and will not interfere with existing legal processes and official investigations. It can, however, take cognisance thereof."

The summit will be held in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

Those invited will include:

- Political parties and movements, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary;
- Government institutions that are involved with the maintenance of law and order;
- Key figures, especially from the churches, the labour field, the private sector and communities concerned, on account of their particular interest in the issue of violence and intimidation.
- Experts from the ranks of academics and institutions with specialised knowledge in this field.

Mr De Klerk said it was his intention to involve some of the most prominent leaders or their representatives to preparatory talks to ensure the success of the summit. Participants would be given the opportunity to provide inputs before the time.

The main aim of the summit would be to call on political and other leaders to assume co-responsibility for the termination of violence and to co-operate in reflecting this serious problem.

Draft legislation providing for the new commission would soon be published for comment and would be considered at the summit.

FW calls summit in bid for joint action



President De Klerk

Mr De Klerk strongly rejected what he said was the impression being created in some circles that the government was uncaring about the violence and insensitive to the suffering that this caused.

The violence was a source of deep concern to the government as it was for all responsible people and organisations.

"The violence and intimidation which is reigning supreme in our country is plunging whole communities into sorrow and suffering.

"Besides that it is the single largest obstacle in the way to a peaceful future. The government is continuously involved, on many fronts, with the prevention and combating of violence and its effects.

"The comprehensive steps that the government has already taken have caused a decrease in incidents of violence but they have thus far not succeeded in ending the pattern of violence and intimidation."

This was why the government had decided to take new initiatives.

Existing actions by the police, supported by the Defence Force, would be continued.

"All legal means at their disposal will be used to apprehend criminals, warlords and instigators of violence and unrest.

"From time to time announcements will be made where these measures may cause inconvenience to members of the public and I ask for their understanding in this regard.

"Such actions, in themselves, cannot put an end to violence and intimidation unless we revert to far-reaching special measures, something that must be avoided at all costs.

"Much more than security action is required to end the violence.

"The co-operation of all political, church and community leaders in South Africa is required to end violence and intimidation.

"Instead of levelling accusations, often unsubstantiated, the leaders of those people involved in the violence must, jointly and individually, undertake concrete action," Mr De Klerk said.

- Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok announced that the police had, since January, exposed several weapon-smuggling networks and had seized large numbers of illegal firearms. Several arrests had been made.

Weapons seized included 362 AK-47 rifles and 37 other firearms, including Skorpion machine pistols and Tokarev and Makarov pistols.

Mr Vlok said further arrests and seizures of weapons were expected soon.

The suspects would be tried in open court as soon as possible.

MK cadres 'to take lead'

TRAINED Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres will lead the controversial re-activated township defence units — and that's official.

The ANC's Siphiwe Nyanda, a former "Operation Vula" accused and now Secretary for the National Campaigns Committee, vowed that he would be among scores of other MK members who would lead the defence units.

However, Mr Nyanda was also quick to point out that "the move should not be seen in a sinister way". The ANC should not be seen as forming a "private army", he said.

It was the duty of the civic associations to form the units, he said. "The ANC would participate through training schemes in self defence."

ABBEY MAKOE

Sakkie Macozoma, an ANC spokesman, confirmed the defence units were the initiative of the civic associations throughout the country. The programme, he said, had the blessings of his movement.

Mr Nyanda stressed that the units would not be affiliated to any political organisation. They would protect the entire community, he said.

Members of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and those of the Azanian People's Organisation, would play a role

● TO PAGE 2.

MK cadres

● FROM PAGE 1.

equal to that of MK members in the units, said Mr Nyanda.

He described self-defence as an "inalienable right that cannot be denied by any law in any country".

And in the case of the units in the townships, they would be answerable to no one but the community they served, he added.

Asked what weapons the defence units would use, he replied. "Anything." Residents had been urged to apply for fire-arm licences in large numbers. He would also not rule out the use of cross-bows.

He spoke of guns, spears or whatever residents had for retaliation against right-wingers in the police force and vigilantes in particular.

He was especially critical of the Inkatha Freedom Party, saying the police did nothing to stop it from "killing township residents".

Training, he said, would be based on discipline. This would be prevent the units from degenerating into "com-tsotsis" — township slang for a "comrade" who is also a thug — or vigilantes.

Surveillance of the enemy would be a priority, said Mr Nyanda. It was time black communities identified these enemies. He could not say what type of uniform unit members would wear but promised: "We are going to be able to identify one other."

Network 'has been in place for 5 years'

Star 20/4/91

EXCLUSIVE REPORT by ABBEY MAKOE

AN underground network of paramilitary township defence units has been in place countrywide, ready to be activated, for the past five years.

But as a result of former president P W Botha's clampdown on political activity in the mid-1980s, the secret residents' groups had remained "sleeper" units since 1986, Saturday Star learned in a series of exclusive interviews this week.

And only now — as the ANC and the Government prepare for a showdown over the issue — are they being activated.

This emerged at a secret meeting of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) in Johannesburg this week. Among other things, the meeting was aimed at formalising the duties of the resuscitated units.

See Speak Out on Page 2.

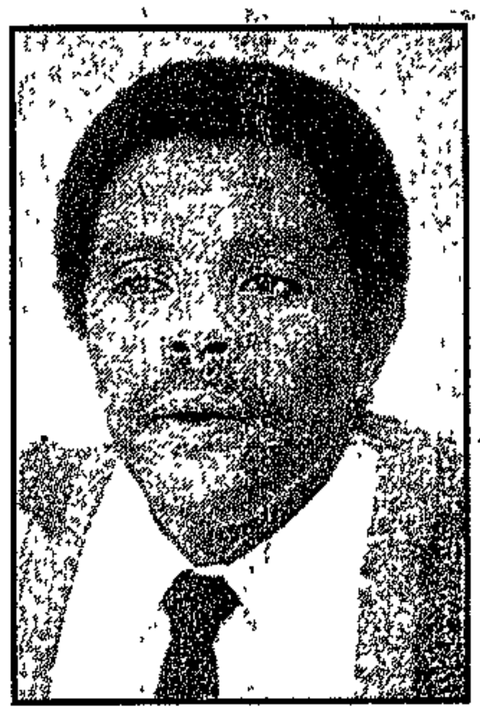
Earlier this week, the ANC disclosed it planned to establish defence units in the townships. Each unit would be headed by a trained Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier. The organisation indicated that defence unit members would be in uniform and carry weapons, including crossbows.

This prompted condemnation from the Government, which lashed out at the ANC's booklet "For the Sake of Our Lives", which outlines the structures of the defence units.

Captain Craig Kotze, Law and Order Ministry spokesman, described the booklet as a "recipe for civil war".

Now, the right wing is planning to form a people's security network (*volksbeveiligings netwerk*) to counter the ANC's self-defence units.

The Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) said last night it had no choice but to establish such a network because of the ANC demand for one man one vote, the united front between the ANC and PAC, the self-defence units and the inability of the Government to prevent a transfer of power.



SIPHIWE NYANDA: A trained MK cadre and former "Vula" accused, his ANC portfolio includes organising defence units.

Kgabisi Mosunkutu, Cast's vice-president, said the activation of self-defence units was a direct result of the incompetence of the "special constables" in the townships.

And Cast general secretary Sam Ntuli said the units should not be seen as a "fashion show".

● TO PAGE 2.

Defence units

● FROM PAGE 1.

Among the duties of the defence units, it was said in interviews with Cast leaders, would be the barricading of streets during attacks on residents and the slowing down or delaying of "the enemy's vehicles"

Training of the defence units' members would also include the "surveillance of red head-banded vigilantes", with whom Cast said it would not cooperate Star 20/4/91 +

Richard Mdakane, also a Cast executive member, revealed plans for a "defence rally" to be held in Pretoria between May 6 and 9 — the expiry date of the ANC's ultimatum to the Government.

ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma confirmed the defence units were the brainchild of Cast and, before that, the civic associations. Now, he said, the ANC was throwing its weight behind the programme

He would neither confirm nor deny earlier reports that the ANC had about 50 defence units already in place. Cast admits to having more than 50.

ANC secretary of the National Campaigns Committee, Siphiwe Nyanda, said MK's trained cadres, "including myself", would not sit back while "our people suffer at the hands of red headbanded vigilantes and extremist members of the SAP".

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday issued a stern warning. "If any person is found in possession of any weapon that police believe will be used in an offensive manner, they will be detained," he said

PAC information chief Barney Desai said his organisation would be having an "in-depth discussion on violence", which would include the defence units issue.

"It is a common-law right recognised throughout the world that if a person is attacked he has a right to self-defence."

BVB chairman Professor Alkmaar Swart said his organisation had been forced to take the initiative "in making the *volk* ready for action by helping to develop a disciplined and united security network".

BVB spokesman Jan Groenewald said the first step would be a *volk* security conference

Secret defence units exposed

FW summit ANC rethink

Cape Times 20/4/91 (274)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC has appeared to back down from its earlier snap rejection of President F W de Klerk's proposals for a summit on violence and standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation.

The apparent shift by the ANC yesterday came as the United States urged all parties to give the president's proposals serious consideration.

Before he left for Europe last night, President De Klerk said he was certain the ANC had not given the thumbs-down

The national working committee of the ANC's executive said it had agreed to consult the movement's structures and its allies further.

A full statement would be issued once this had been done.

Significantly, the ANC statement added: "The ANC once again reaffirms its total commitment to take all necessary steps to end urgently the violence that is sweeping our country"

Diplomats said yesterday that the ANC might have realised it would be falling into a trap if it rejected summarily moves to discuss ways of ending the violence and intimidation

Had the ANC stuck to its hard-line rejection, it could well have earned the censure of a number of foreign governments, including those that had been sympathetic to it

Danes vote to keep sanctions

— PAGE 2

Senior government sources said yesterday they were heartened by the ANC's relatively low-key response to Mr De Klerk's initiative, of which Mr Nelson Mandela had been told in advance.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Mandela before his announcement that the conference would go ahead even if the ANC declined to take part.

Sapa reports that Mr De Klerk said last night he had detected no specific rejection of the summit when he spoke to Mr Mandela about it on the phone.

He was adamant that cabinet members General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok would be present at the summit on violence on May 24 and 25.

"Obviously anyone from the government whose departments are involved in the crisis, should be there," Mr De Klerk said

The president's adamant stance was a clear indication he would not bow to the ANC's demand that the Ministers of Defence and of Law and Order resign by May 9.

The ANC's earlier negative response to Mr De Klerk's proposals came under fire from the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday

In a statement, the IFP said it would attend the proposed summit and would provide input for the standing commission of inquiry

Inkatha central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela said all responsible political parties and leaders owed it to the people of South Africa to do everything in their power to bring an end to the "senseless" violence

"We welcome the announcement that the invitation to the summit is extended not only to political parties. The IFP has always said the causes of the violence go beyond the political," Mr Mfayela said

"The ANC is refusing to support President De Klerk's initiative, supposedly because it does not address the issues raised in its open letter

"We cannot understand this as the State President has suggested an open and democratic way towards attempting to end the violence."

Meanwhile, government sources indicated yesterday that the proposed standing commission on violence would have an open-ended agenda. It would aim to react rapidly to on-the-ground cases

From page 1

Summit

Cape Times 20/4/91 (274)

of violence and intimidation.

The government is open to suggestions that a judge or retired judge should head the commission. However, it has acknowledged some parties might favour a "multi-partisan" commission rather than one that tried to be "non-partisan".

A spokesman for the American Embassy said the United States agreed with Mr De Klerk on the need for a summit at which there was the widest possible representation.

He said the US "welcomes any initiative that could end the violence and help provide for security in the transitional period".

"We also believe there is merit in the proposal for a standing commission of inquiry. We await word of who will compose the commission and note that the commission's composition and authority will be critical for its credibility and effectiveness.

"We hope all parties will give these proposals serious consideration."

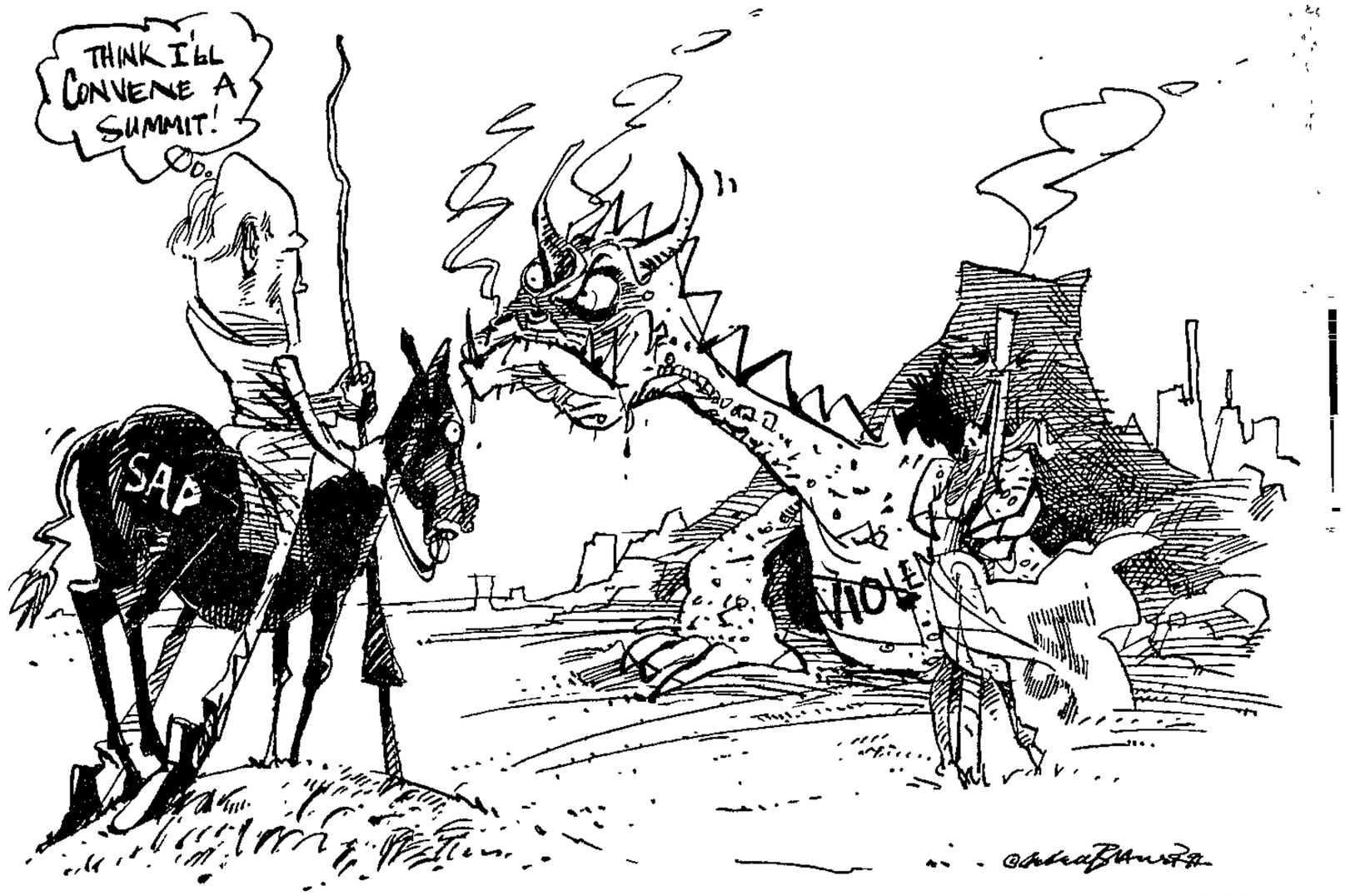
● The violence and the ANC's ultimatum to the government were discussed at a meeting between the South African Chamber of Business and the ANC in Johannesburg yesterday.

Certain "active proposals" emerged from the discussions, aimed at promoting reconciliation and negotiation, the Chamber said after-

Before leaving for Europe yesterday President De Klerk announced a new initiative to seek an end to the wave of violence sweeping South Africa. The crucial question now is: can his plan work and will it be adequate? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

Will F W's plan be able to curb violence?

w/l-Argus 20/4/91 274



A MESSAGE which President De Klerk could not afford to ignore on the eve of his new European tour came from various quarters this week.

In essence the call to him was: *Make the elimination of violence your number one priority. The violence is a national crisis which must be tackled at all levels of society and not by political leaders only Take the lead in a national campaign, involving all sections, to find ways of tackling effectively the country's most urgent problem.*

This message — or variations of it — may also be echoed by statesmen, diplomats and political leaders abroad when President De Klerk meets them on his three-nation tour.

It came as no surprise, therefore, when he heeded the call by announcing a new plan to try to curb the wave of violence sweeping the country. It has been hailed by many as a wise move, even though there are doubts as to whether his proposed national summit and permanent commission of inquiry will be effective and adequate to come to grips with the problem.

The big challenge now facing Mr De Klerk is to make his plan work It must show convincing results — and soon. Should it fail, he will be in trouble and will run the risk of losing the initiative in crucial peace moves.

ALREADY there are signs that the proposed Patriotic Front, to be launched by an ANC/PAC alliance in August, will seek a major role for itself in moves to curb violence. And the ANC was among the first critics this week to reject Mr De Klerk's plan, saying through spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma it will refuse to participate in the proposed summit meeting set down for May 24 and 25 or in the permanent commission to be established to inquire into ways of ending the violence.

The question arises: Can Mr De Klerk's plan work? Is it adequate and will it be effective in bringing an end to the violence?

Veteran politician Mr Colin Eglin, Democratic Party MP for Sea Point, who made the initial call to Mr De Klerk to take the lead in a new anti-violence initiative, seems satisfied that the plan meets the main requirements he had set out in his appeal

In parliament this week, Mr Eglin urged Mr De Klerk to lead a national campaign against violence and to call a peace summit involving leaders of all sections and interests in South Africa. He called on the president to make the elimination of violence the "number one priority" in coming weeks.

In an interview with Weekend Argus, he explained what he had in mind and why he had made this plea.

"Leaders of all sections of the community should be involved in a national campaign — not only political leaders, but also churches, business, labour unions, important community leaders — possibly from universities and community organisations — members of the legal profession, including judges, and experts on matters like social unrest."

MR Eglin emphasised what he regards as an important factor — that Mr De Klerk himself, as head of state, should launch such a campaign. This would underline the national urgency of the issue of violence. The campaign should be held on national and regional levels.

"The State President must be the man who puts himself on the line."

As part of the campaign there could be a national summit conference of leaders. This is what Mr De Klerk is now setting up.

As for the permanent commission of inquiry into the prevention of politically-inspired violence and intimidation, Mr Eglin did not ask for it in his proposals, but welcomes it as a constructive additional move.

"What is of critical importance now is participation by extra-parliamentary groups," he said.

For the processes of negotiation and reconciliation to succeed, they must take place not only at the level of national leaders, but at the level of community leaders and of the ordinary people of South Africa.

Because of this, Mr Eglin believes Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's plan for all-party talks to address the violence is not adequate. The plan is reported to have been rejected by the ANC and the PAC, while the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) welcomed it.

"The irony is that while political leaders are talking, people are busy killing," Mr Eglin says.

DR Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the new Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, told Weekend Argus the main thrust of any peace initiative must be directed at the establishment of definite peace-keeping structures "on the ground" and among communities that were victims of the violence

"I would be hesitant to support any summit of leaders to talk again about violence. This has happened twice with Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi. Even a peace accord was produced, but the main problem appears to be that there has been no implementation plan on the ground

"In other words, all the positive clauses in a peace accord need someone who can begin to implement them on the ground.

"My fear is that another summit of leaders will be called, they will hold talks and issue statements, but people will still die on the ground."

THE urgency of working out and implementing an effective peace plan was reflected by high-level unity moves between the PAC and the ANC this week.

One possibility emerging from these moves is this: if the government fails to get effective steps off the ground soon for curbing the violence, the proposed new patriotic front to be formed in August could seize the initiative in peace moves.

Such a prospect arises from decisions of the Harare conference this week where the ANC and the PAC entered into an alliance on the formation of such a front. It is to be formed at a conference in Cape Town to be attended by all organisations supporting calls for a constituent assembly

The issue of violence and a proposed transfer of power are to be dealt with by joint structures to be set up at the "patriotic conference". In a sense, this will be a multi-party summit — but indications are the government may not be included.

A significant change in the conference date has been made. Originally scheduled for March 21, it was postponed to an unspecified date in April or May Now it is to be held in August — which is *after* the ANC's crucial June congress where the organisation's new leadership and possibly its future direction are to be decided.

On the role envisaged for the "patriotic front" in seeking to curb violence, the ANC's Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa has said:

"This front would also serve to combat one of the most serious threats to the emergence of a democratic South Africa — that is, the violence unleashed in the townships."

be organised at local and tion. led Contralesa.

US denounces ANC bid to set up defence units

Star 22/4/91

WASHINGTON — The US government has condemned the ANC's intention to form defence units in black townships.

A US State Department spokesman said at the weekend that his department was opposed to the formation of any factional paramilitary forces in South Africa.

The spokesman said leaders of all political groups in SA should exercise maximum restraint on their followers in an attempt to stop the senseless violence

It was the responsibility of the South African Government to protect all its citizens, the spokesman noted.

The State Department welcomed the State President's initiative in calling for an all-party conference to end the violence.

The American government also agreed with President F W de Klerk that it was important for a wide range of individuals, organisations and parties to meet to discuss ways to end the violence.

The US also supported the proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence.

The spokesman said he hoped all parties would seriously consider the proposal. — Sapa

Violence an issue for FW in visit

Cutting from 22/4/91

From PATRICK CULL

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk starts his three-day visit to Britain today which will focus on the continuing violence and the need for investment and help in the creation of a new South Africa.

Government sources noted the talks were taking place against the background of the violence.

There was concern at the violence, what appeared to be growing differences between the President and Mr Nelson Mandela and whether this would have a negative effect on the negotiating process.

Another source said that at present British investors were waiting to see what would happen about the violence before they made a decision.

If hard questions are going to be put to Mr De Klerk, then Mr Mandela is not going to have it any easier when he arrives in London on Wednesday and would be would be asked his reaction to Mr De Klerk's three-point peace plan.

Sanctions

Meanwhile government sources said the decision by the Danish parliament to reject the European Community's decision to lift the ban on sales of iron, steel and Krugerrands, would not affect the ending of those sanctions by the other 11 EC members.

The source said the decision was obviously psychologically important, and it was hoped to set up meetings with the opposition Social Democratic Party, which had opposed the lifting of sanctions.

This morning, President De Klerk will hold a meeting with Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Overseas Development, Mrs Lynda Chalker, before meeting financiers.

In the afternoon he will meet MPs from all three parties before holding talks with British Prime Minister Mr John Major.

● The British Anti-Apartheid Movement announced a programme of activities aimed to tell Mr De Klerk to stop the violence and repression.

AAM chairman Mr Robert Hughes said in a statement President De Klerk had broken his promise to release all political prisoners and grant indemnity to exiles as well as repeal all repressive legislation.

The AAM will launch its campaign by presenting an open letter from MPs to Mr Major.

Major protests outside South Africa House and other venues were also planned for today.

US 'no' to ANC units

Sowetan 22/4/91

WASHINGTON - The United States government has denounced the ANC's intention to form defence units in townships.

The SABC quoted a United States State Department spokesman on Saturday as saying the government was opposed to the formation of any factional para-military forces in South Africa.

The spokesman said leaders of all political groups in South Africa should exercise maximum restraint on their followers in an attempt to stop the violence.

The spokesman also noted that it was the responsibility of the South African Government to protect all its citizens.

The State Department welcomed the State President's initiative in calling for an all-party conference to end the violence.

The US also supported the proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence. - *Sapa.*

Special team probes AK47 killing of mayor

Argus 22/4/91 Z74

JOHANNESBURG. — A special police team of detectives has been appointed to investigate the death of Diepmeadow mayor Mr Moses Khumalo who died in a hail of AK-47 bullets.

The team, headed by Colonel Chris Oosthuizen of the Soweto Murder and Robbery unit, will sift through all clues in the assassination of Mr Khumalo, police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said.

"No arrests have been made," Colonel Halgryn said.

According to family members, Mr Khumalo was on his way to visit a fellow councillor in Meadowlands about 11pm when he was attacked by gunmen.

His daughter Jacqueline said Mr Khumalo's car had been "shot to pieces" and that 18 cartridge cases had been found at the scene.

Mr Khumalo was due to leave on Saturday night for a two-week educational and training tour of Germany at the invitation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Two other greater Soweto mayors, Mr Oscar Maseko of Soweto and Mr MacFarlane Phenethi of Dobsonville, who were to have accompanied Mr Khumalo, left as scheduled.

● Six people were killed and six were wounded over the past 24 hours according to the latest police unrest report

In Newton, Wellington, a man who stoned a police patrol was killed when he tried to resist arrest by hitting policemen with a stick and then trying to throw a brick at them.

The bodies of two men and a woman were found with bullet wounds at Estephisini, Richmond, in Natal.

Two women were also injured during the attack.

At Kathlehong, Alberton, a group stoned a police vehicle and set a car alight causing extensive damage.

In another incident in the same area a group of people threw stones and attacked police with iron pipes. Police fired a number of rounds injuring two men.

At City Deep hostel, Johannesburg, police found the body of a man with hack wounds.

At Vosloorus, Boksburg, a gunman fired a number of rounds at two men. One man was killed and the other seriously injured. The attacker was injured when police fired a shot at him. — The Argus Correspondent, Sapa.

ANC 'still studying' plan for summit on violence

ARGUS 22/4/89 374

By TOS WENTZEL, Poitical Staff

THE African National Congress is to consider President De Klerk's proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence and for a summit on violence.

Ms Gill Marcus, a spokesperson for the ANC, said today that the movement had not rejected the proposal outright but would study it when more details were available.

She said the ANC's allies such as Cosatu and the SA Communist Party and the Mass Democratic Movement would have to be consulted.

Meanwhile the ANC's ultimatum remained in place. It threatened to suspend all exchanges with the government on a future constitution if certain demands were not met by May 9.

Ms Marcus said the initial impression remained that Mr De Klerk's proposal for a summit was the same idea which the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaaan Vlok had floated.

This had been rejected by the ANC as unnecessary and divisionary. The ANC had called for a commission of inquiry that would be independent and would have full powers to deal with the violence.

The latest offer could be considered when ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, returned from overseas at the weekend.

DRAFT BILL

Initial ANC reaction to Mr De Klerk's announcement last week appeared to be outright rejection. It said the proposal did not address the question of violence as raised in the ANC's open letter to the government but added that its national executive committee would respond in full in due course.

A draft Bill giving details of the proposed new commission will be published this week.

● See page 11.

Star 23/4/91

AAM tells FW to end violence

By Alan Robinson
Star Bureau

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement has told President de Klerk to go home and stop township violence.

The AAM chairman, Labour MP Robert Hughes, issued a statement saying the peace process was at risk because of Mr de Klerk's "broken promises".

"With just days left before the April 30 deadline by which political prisoners should have been released and exiles free to return home, Mr de Klerk should be in South Africa to ensure that the agreements he reached with the ANC are honoured, instead of arrogantly strutting around Europe claiming the mantle of the undertaker of apartheid."

Alleging that only a handful of political prisoners had so far been released, Mr Hughes asked how the black majority could be expected to trust Mr de Klerk's claim that he wanted a new democratic South Africa "when he breaks his promises on a matter as simple as the release of political prisoners".

We don't need armed vigilantes, says Vlok

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A Government call for people to form neighbourhood watches in their communities was in no way a call for them to arm themselves and form vigilante groups, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said last night.

"We want to impress on you the need for public participation in the fight to combat crime . The South African Police needs the support of our communities in this regard.

"But the neighbourhood watch system is under no circumstances to arm people — it is just to become the ears and eyes of the police in your community," Mr Vlok said.

Addressing a public meeting at the Amamzintoti Civic Centre, Mr Vlok faced a barrage of angry questions about the country's escalating crime rate.

A heavy police presence at the meeting dampened rightwing attempts at disruption. Uniformed and plainclothes policemen were scattered throughout the 250-strong audience and around the centre.

Mr Vlok said the police were well aware of the dangers of neighbourhood watch systems degenerating into vigilante groups, and would watch the development of all such systems very carefully.

He said that considering the "difficult period" South Africa was going through, it was "quite acceptable" for people to arm themselves for self-defence purposes.

However, patrolling the streets in one's community and going out in groups to attack other communities was a "recipe for disaster" which would only lead to heightened conflict, he said.

A determined group of rightwingers in the hall heckled Mr Vlok throughout, but no incidents occurred and the Minister responded to the jeers with humour

When a well-known rightwinger raised his hand to ask a question, he said "I see there is a man over there with his hand up Would you like to leave the room?"

Khumalo was assassinated, says IFP man

Diepmeadow mayor Moses Khumalo was "one of a long list" of Inkatha leaders who had been assassinated, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) central committee member Senzo Mfayela said last night.

Mr Mfayela said in a statement that over 150 IFP leaders had been assassinated in the last few years.

"We believe there is a systematic attempt to eliminate any leader who calls for peaceful change in this country. Moses Khumalo died for his beliefs. Even though he was an Inkatha leader, he believed in the democratic right of all to choose their own political associations and the way in which they wanted to work," he said.

Anger of black youths 'is misdirected'

Sowetan 23/4/91 (274)

By MOKGADI PELA

THE anger of black youth is misdirected and that is why townships are gripped with senseless violence, a caller told the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback show yesterday.

Mphiri, of Tsakane, told host Tim Modise youngsters must be taught who their enemy was, how to fight it, where it is to be found and when it should be attacked.



He blamed much of the violence on the lack of political tolerance and lack of knowledge about the struggle for liberation.

Tebogo of Welkom said the topic on violence deserved to be discussed over a longer period because blacks were "tired of the ongoing carnage in the townships".

Moepi of Spruitview condemned the violence and blamed it on apartheid.

He said it had destroyed the social structures and the community. He added that black people should be taught the value of human lives.

Lions

Kebane of Duduza said black political organisations had to be disciplined.

"I have attended several civic meetings where the so-called young lions were taught nothing except to harass other people. Parents have also abdicated their responsibility to correct the wrongs committed by their children."

He was also critical of the ANC's "defence units", saying they would escalate the violence which black people were tired of witnessing daily.

Proposals for ending violence

Political Staff 24/4/91 (274)

Proposals for the creation of a four-member standing commission into violence and intimidation will be introduced in Parliament only after the May peace summit, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has announced.

The draft Commission of Inquiry regarding the Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Act was published in yesterday's Government Gazette for comment — to reach the Department of Justice, Private Bag X81, Pretoria, before May 17.

President de Klerk last week announced peace initiatives, including a peace summit and a standing commission of inquiry on violence and intimidation.

Political and other leaders have been invited to the summit in Pretoria on May 24 and 25, but the Conservative Party has rejected the invitation and the ANC is still considering it.

The Government has also decided to promulgate legislation providing for a standing commission of inquiry into the prevention and ending of violence and intimidation.

Mercury 24/4/91

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Violence probe details spelt out

Political Staff

LEGISLATION creating a four-member Standing Commission into Violence and Intimidation will be introduced in parliament only after the May peace summit, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee has announced.

The draft Commission of Inquiry regarding the Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Act was published in yesterday's Government Gazette for comment, which should reach the Department of Justice not later than May 17.

President De Klerk last week announced peace iniatives which included a peace summit and the Standing Commission

'WITCH-HUNT'

All political and other leaders have been invited to the summit, to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and May 25, but the Conservative Party has already rejected the invitation and the ANC is still considering the proposal.

In addition to the summit, the government decided to promulgate legislation which provided for a Standing Commission of Inquiry into the prevention and ending of politically-inspired violence and intimidation.



Mr Coetsee



President De Klerk

The proposed commission, headed by a judge or senior advocate and operating in public, would investigate politically inspired violence and intimidation, identify those involved in violence and intimidation as well as appropriate steps to prevent and combat crime and intimidation.

The four-man commission will be appointed by the State President.

Announcing the iniatives, Mr De Klerk said: "The purpose is not to make wild allegations or to launch a witch-hunt about the past or to replace legal processes, but rather to establish facts on the balance of probabilities.

"The establishment of the truth and an objective and scientific evaluation can make a significant contribution to the prevention and the ending of political violence and the promotion of reconciliation"

The commission will be able to form committees — to be chaired by a member of the commission — and to enlist the help of institutions and research organisations.

Anyone will be able to report complaints in conncection with violence and intimidation and detainees will be able to make sealed representation. People appearing before the commission could receive witness fees such as those he or she would be given as witnesses in the Supreme Court.

Witnesses may not be represented by attorneys unless approved by the commission. The Gazette warned people whose bahaviour included

- Refusing to take the oath or giving false answers to questions.
- Insulting, disparaging or belittling the commission.
- Wilfully hindering the commission in its powers or performance of its duties.
- Wilfully interupting the commission. Offenders face a fine of R4 000 and/or one year's jail.

Although the commission will not interefere with existing legal processes and official investigations, it could take cognisance of them.

After an inquiry the commission will report to the State President.

Comment should be lodged in writing with the Director-General of Justice, Private Bag X81, Pretoria 0001 before May 17.



THATCHER TALKS . . . President F W de Klerk says goodbye to Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday after the two held talks in Mr De Klerk's hotel. Picture: AP

ANC warned on visit by Thatcher

Cape Times 24/4/91 (24)

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk said this week his government would see to it that the ANC did not wreck former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's visit to South Africa next month.

The President's warning to the ANC was delivered after he and Mrs Thatcher met for an hour at his Chelsea hotel to discuss developments in South Africa and details of her trip.

Commenting after their meeting, Mrs Thatcher said: "We had very good talks and I am delighted that South Africa is well on the way to becoming a democracy and rejoining the international community.

"There is a lot of hard work to be done still and negotiations to be concluded."

Asked for her views on the ANC's plans to wreck her visit, Mrs Thatcher said: "I hope they will not do that."

Mr De Klerk added immediately: "We will see to it that they do not."

Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd is due to visit South Africa soon after Mrs Thatcher. — Sapa

SACP unveils plan for units to defend local communities

274

Star 25/4/91

By Brendan Templeton

An outline for community defence units in which Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would play a leading role has been unveiled by the SA Communist Party.

In a paper presented by SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin at the University of the Witwatersand yesterday, a call was made for voluntary, community-based defence units.

Mr Cronin argued that, in the light of township violence, a highly organised and disciplined force was needed to protect the communities and ensure law and order.

"Failure will inevitably lead to a loss of confidence in the ANC and liberation movements. There is also the danger of widespread demoralisation among the masses if no solution is found," he said.

Once the defence units had been established, he foresaw the possibility of their being organised on a regional and even national level.

"Such a people's militia could in time merge with Umkhonto we Sizwe to form the basis for a people's army and police force in the liberated, democratic, nonracial South Africa we are struggling for," he said.

Although the defence units should not be affiliated to any specific political party or movement, he suggested that "Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, particularly exprisoners and those due to return from exile, must play a leading and active role in the establishment of the defence structures".

Because the Government allowed Inkatha members to carry "traditional weapons" and the AWB to organise military training camps, it could not prevent the establishment of township defence committees (TDCs), Mr Cronin said.

His paper — a guideline, not a blueprint — outlined detailed suggestions on how TDCs should be structured and operate.

Membership should be voluntary and TDC leadership accountable to community organisations.

Physical and weapons training, drilling and political instruction should take place regularly, Mr Cronin said.

No effort should be spared in winning over "misguided individuals to the people's side".

They were often forced against their will to attack communities or often take up arms out of ignorance.

"By neutralising them, we will be taking one of the most potent weapons from the enemy's arsenal."

Black soldiers and police also had to be won over, nor should any effort be spared in influencing their white counterparts.

Strong barricades and fortifications should be built and auxiliary forces trained.

First aid stations should be set up with the co-operation of doctors and nurses.

Tactical plans had to be worked out beforehand so that communities could arm and effectively defend themselves within minutes of an attack, Mr Cronin said.

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Proposed powers of violence probe listed

ALAN FINE

GOVERNMENT has published a draft Bill which, if enacted, would grant wide-ranging powers to a standing committee of inquiry into public violence.

The Bill details the composition and powers of the commission, plans for which were announced last week by President F W de Klerk as one aspect of a three-pronged effort to combat violence.

According to the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill, the commission would be chaired by a judge, former judge or experienced senior advocate.

The chairman would be aided by a person with legal experience and the President could appoint a further two people.

The commission would be able to summons people to testify before it under oath, or to supply documents. The Bill provides for a maximum R4 000 fine and/or a year in prison for anyone not complying, or for anyone committing acts equivalent to contempt of court.

Any person would be entitled, through an affidavit, to ask the commission to investigate any occurrence of public violence or intimidation.

A notice accompanying the Bill invites public comment by May 17.

Second victim of train attack dies

PRETORIA. — The death toll in the attack by armed men on Soweto train passengers on Tuesday afternoon has climbed to two.

A Soweto SAP spokesman said yesterday that one of the injured men had died in Baragwanath Hospital.

One woman died and 12 people were injured during the attack. Two of the victims are still in a serious condition.

In other unrest incidents over the past 24 hours, an unidentified man was critically injured at a squatter camp in East London when an attempt was made to burn him to death.

At Isipingo, near Durban, a man was killed when he was attacked by a group of men.

Bill on violence

274

Secretary 25/4/91

THE Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill would be introduced in Parliament after a commission of inquiry into violence had been established, the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has said. 25/4/91

Earlier this month President FW de Klerk announced initiatives to combat violence, including the establishment of a commission of inquiry.

The Bill was published in the Government Gazette on Tuesday. *Sapa.*

CITY NATIONAL

US concern about self-defence units

M6&S 25/4/91

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The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States government has told the African National Congress's Mr Chris Hani it is concerned that plans to create self-defence units in townships may turn South Africa into another Lebanon.

He said the US also indicated it intended lifting at least some sanctions regardless of appeals by the ANC and other liberation organisations not to do so until an interim government was in place.

Mr Hani, who is the chief of the ANC's military wing, said at a news conference at the Washington Press Club yesterday that senior officials from the State Department and the White House had expressed these views earlier this week.

Mr Hani who is also a member of the political bureau of the South African Communist Party, met Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Geoff Davidow and also talked to a member of President Bush's National Security Council, Mr Bob Frasure, on Tuesday.

Mr Hani said he had explained the basic reasons behind the ANC's open letter to President De Klerk in which demands were made to end the violence if the ANC was to continue negotiations.

He had also urged the US government not to consider lifting sanctions until negotiations for a new constitution started.

Within a month or two

Mr Hani said he had the impression that the Bush Administration planned to lift at least some sanctions within the next month or two, and showed no flexibility for the ANC point of view.

Mr Hani said the US officials had asked him about the ANC's proposed self-defence units and their possible negative effect on violence.

He said the proposal to form self-defence units was a consequence of the perception that the police could not protect black communities.

The ANC did not want the self-defence units accountable only to itself, which was why it was discussing them with other organisations.

The victims of the violence had demanded that the ANC do something to protect them.

To people who were concerned that the self-defence units could degenerate into forces involved in a Lebanon-type civil war, he said, the ANC had drawn up guidelines as to how they should operate.

The units would not attack police stations or the security forces.

"We will take strong action to ensure the self-defence units do not degenerate and we are ready to discuss them with the government," he said.

Mr Hani said whites did not understand the violence. Whites had organised their own civil defence units and neighbourhood watches to protect themselves, so the black community was entitled to establish defence units.

"We would like the government to have the same sensitivity about this which it displays towards the civil defence units," Mr Hani said.

THIS WEEK: LAWLESSNESS AND

Armed to the teeth, we're a nation gunning for disaster

W Mail 26/4 – 2/5/91.

About three million firearms are circulating in South Africa — and those are only the licensed weapons. 274

GAVIN EVANS reports

SOUTH Africa is rapidly becoming a nation of armed men and women.

Over the past year about 1,4-million firearms were licensed, meaning that today around 3-million firearms are owned by well over a million people. Most of these are white people — in fact, on average, there's one gun for each white adult.

Then of course there are the guns illegally owned — stolen, lost, or smuggled into the country. Most of these are possessed by black people — how many is anyone's guess, but the figure may be close to 100 000.

The firearms are used to protect, to prevent attack, to discourage crime. They are also used to commit murders, rapes and robberies, to massacre political opponents, and, in general, to promote the current rapidly spiralling crime wave.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok recently provided figures showing a staggering rise in violent crime. The 15 000 murders reported last year was 3 359 (28,6 percent) more than the 1989 figure. There were also 10 496 more robberies last year than in 1989 (19 percent).

Just about everybody — gunshop owners, police, opposition groups — seem to agree that something needs to be done about this, and that there need to be stricter controls on purchasing and safeguarding firearms.

"It is very difficult to assume that the freer availability of firearms doesn't lead to more violence," says Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Tian van der Merwe.

"I would like to see a stricter licensing system, more tightly controlled than is the case at the moment. The purchaser should be required to undergo training, and pass an exam in the maintenance, protection and safeguarding of his firearm."

This, in fact, is close to what the police are planning.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said that later this year tighter controls would come into effect.

The police are particularly concerned about the rapidly growing number of stolen and lost firearms getting into the wrong hands. The figure has been increasing steadily — from 1 602 reported in 1974 to 10 111 in 1986, for instance.

"It's a bad situation and the current controls are not good enough. So we are planning measures to help ensure that people who own firearms or apply for licences are capable of possessing them."

He said this would involve a practical and theory test for applicants administered by the police — "almost like a driver's licence" and stricter controls over where the firearms are kept.

At the moment to buy a gun all you need to do is choose it from the shop, and take delivery once you have produced a police licence for the weapon.

Perhaps because police assume that white males have completed military service they are not asked to produce certificates of competency, which blacks often are.

Along with the increased demand for pistols, revolvers, rifles and shotguns has come a growing number of arms dealers — 4 531 new dealers' licences were issued between 1982 and April 1988, for instance.

All dealers spoken to by *The Weekly Mail* were in favour of stricter controls, and most said it would have no effect on sales.

"As far as I'm concerned, stricter control and competency tests are great. They'll certainly have no effect on business," said the manager of Gunrunner in Orange Grove, who asked not to be named.

Rosettenville arms dealer Donovan Smith said most people in the business were happy about competency tests.

All parties seem to agree, however, that this will not solve the problem while there are so many illegally owned guns around.

HOW TO TACKLE IT

When rough justice is a way of life

What's the township view of the causes of the violence sweeping South Africa?

EDDIE KOCH and TSHOKOLO wa MOLAKENG investigate

CONSENSUS is hard to come by in South Africa's black townships these days. But when *The Weekly Mail* conducted an impromptu survey of people's feelings about the violence that envelops their lives, and the implications this has for the new nation in the making, it found a remarkable unity of opinion.

The wellspring of sectarian strife is an absence of credible institutions of law. The existing institutions are seen as extensions of apartheid with no moral authority. People resort to private justice, vengeance and the law of the jungle to survive. These are the common themes that came out of our interviews.

In other countries, during times of political upheaval and social stress, ordinary people turn to a party of law and order or a strong authoritarian leader to redress the problem. But this pattern is absent in South Africa. There is no social movement capable of meeting this need. Instead people have a fatalistic sense that they are left with only one mechanism with which to regulate their lives: violence.

"People turn to kangaroo courts, armed gangs, vigilantes and private hitmen to exact their own brand of justice," says an insurance broker from Mamelodi, who asked not to be named.

"They use rough methods. There are many who have died or have been injured by the punishment meted out by peoples' courts for instance. These are grieving parents, ordinary working class people, and they often want to exact vengeance for what has happened to their child or their relative. So they turn to some other groups who can retaliate. We get a spiral of resentment, vengeance and counter vengeance."

"This is one of the legacies of apartheid," says Graeme Simpson, researcher at Wits University's Project for the Study of Violence.

"Policing and the system of law and order has been seen to be serving a political function. This has led to a breakdown in faith that the police can operate as a normal crime prevention and law enforcement agency. So in every situation, criminal, political and personal, people tend to use private justice and vengeance to achieve their objectives."

The dominant view from the townships is that the police are to blame for this state of affairs.

"Everyone knows the police have failed to do their job and this is why our lives have become so cheap," says Alexandra resident Sam Makaepa.

"The government has failed to combat lawlessness. People have to protect themselves against crime and they have to organise themselves to do this."

Even though many of the activists who operate peoples' courts are seen to be operating under the banner of the ANC, there are only sporadic indications that this is leading to a backlash against the movement in favour of more conservative groups.

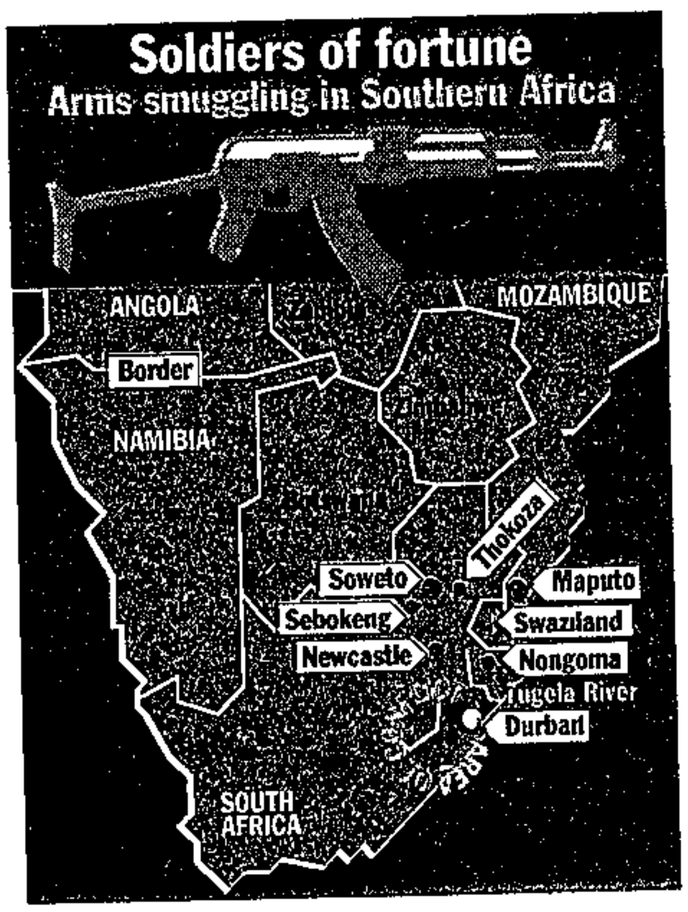
"Inkatha is not yet popular here in Mamelodi," says the insurance broker. "But when the youth are wild and uncontrollable the issue of protection comes in. What if one finds one's child has been savagely beaten. What if one is frustrated because you cannot go to the police to report this. Then you can call on the people who have the means to come and take vengeance for you. Inkatha has sent some people here and they may get some support."

THE ROUTES OF WAR

The smuggling of arms and ammunition which feeds SA's mounting township — and criminal — violence has led to accusations by many that the police are doing little to curb it. This is because a wealth of allegations about gun-runners and arms smuggling routes has been documented — some of it by the *FM*.

On December 14 we focused on arms smuggling, often by taxi operators, from Mozambique to major arms dealers in Sebokeng and Soweto. And, in an interview with Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok a fortnight ago, we asked whether police were aware of major arms dealers in Thokoza, Sebokeng and Soweto (*Leaders* April 19). Vlok said that he was and that police were investigating.

The accessibility of arms has been highlighted in other newspapers — the *Weekly Mail*, for example, managed to buy an AK-47 from a Thokoza arms dealer; and *The Star* has published details of alleged arms smuggling from Mozambique through Swaziland.



Arms from Mozambique are a fact. Last Sunday night police were reported to have

continued

shot dead four men near Komatipoort and seized a number of arms including 16 AK-47s and a grenade launcher. But the scale of the arms smuggling has been a matter of public speculation for some time and what has been seized so far is obviously only the tip of a huge iceberg.

In November the ANC submitted detailed information to government about alleged major township arms dealers and arms smuggling routes. That information appears never to have borne fruit to the organisation's satisfaction. In its recent ultimatum on violence the ANC said that "not a single arrest has been made and not a single arms cache uncovered, nor has the supply line been interrupted. The apparent incapacity of the SA authorities in this regard beggars description."

Even allowing for exaggeration, the overall picture of what is occurring suggests that the police have much to do.

Arms apparently come from a number of sources. There is trade from Mozambique, not only from Renamo bandits selling to people in Natal, but starving Frelimo soldiers who sometimes go without pay for lengthy periods and are selling arms across the supposedly heavily guarded SA border. In addition there appears to be a mysterious major arms seller based in Maputo who sells arms and ammunition at rock-bottom rates.

AK-47s are selling in the townships from as little as R150; and some newspapers have reported that in Swaziland an AK can be bought for as little as R20 — but that has not been confirmed.

The Scorpion and Makarov machine pistols are also extremely popular for their versatility and comparative smallness.

Arms and ammunition are often transported separately and usually in specially converted vehicles, generally taxis. They are sometimes conveyed in coffins in the back of minibuses or other vehicles. A major ammunition route cuts through the eastern Transvaal and Nelspruit while arms also appear to come down through the less populous areas of KwaZulu to either Durban or Johannesburg, with a major arms storage area reported in the Nongoma district.

Arms are also filtering down — though to a far lesser extent — from the Angolan border, reportedly from Unita rebels.

Fanyana Shiburi, of the SA Black Taxi Owners' Association, says they have heard rumours of taxis being involved in arms smuggling and are investigating the allegations.

Hostels have become major arms storage and sorting houses in many areas around Johannesburg. *FM* investigations at hostels have not only found prolific arms manufacturing centres — pangas and spears are being honed from pipes and even car parts — but residents claim that firearms are being stored and relocated from these sites. The *FM* has also seen firearms ranging from rifles to AK-47s being displayed at some hostels, some of which are now being run along military lines, with "captains" heading military wings of some organisations.

Major Reg Crewe of the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria was able to give little information on police progress into the illegal arms trade, other than to repeat figures given by Vlok last week of arms seized by police this year — 362 AK-47s and 37 weapons of "communist" origin. He could give no information on the seizure of ammunition or how many people had been charged.

Crewe dismissed rumours that there were corrupt elements in the police and the SADF involved in illegal arms smuggling and selling — though this is a common township claim.

Charlene Smith

'Industrialists keen to invest in SA' . . .

Violence keeps Japanese at bay

Cape Times 26/4/91

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By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

VIOLENCE and unrest are the only reasons Japanese industrialists have not yet invested in SA on a large scale, says Clem Sunter, chairman of the gold and uranium division of Anglo American Corporation.

On a visit to Cape Town yesterday he said he had found, when he went to Japan in September, that they were "desperately keen to invest in SA" and use this country as a base for exports to the rest of Africa.

They wanted to manufacture light electrical goods, such as transistor radios, here for export.

"The only thing that has kept them from doing it is the violence. One leading industrialist told me 'violence has made us put our hands back in our pockets'.

"If we can obtain a degree of tranquillity I think the Japanese will invest here.

"They have already done incredible things in SA — the Toyota plant in Durban is one of the most highly productive in the country."

Sunter forecast two years ago, at a seminar in Bellville, that the Japanese would become big buyers of real estate along the Atlantic coast.

Yesterday he cautioned: "I don't know what laws will govern foreign ownership of new businesses and property in the future SA.

"But, talking to Japanese businessmen, my belief that they want to invest here has been supported by their comments."

There would be a tricky balance between the need for everyone in SA to have access to land and resources and for the creation of new jobs.

"My balancing mechanism is very much in favour of attracting foreign investment.

"We have got to have a growth rate of between 5% and 10% for 10 years to eliminate poverty."

David Bridgman, executive director of Wesgro, commented "Potential investors are definitely troubled about the unrest position."

But "we are getting an enormous number of people starting to take an interest in SA.

"Whether these inquiries will turn into actual investment I don't know. Such investment is not a short-term thing.

"We are worried about violence, not only in case it frightens investors away but for the whole future of SA.

"But the more we can be seen taking action to get on top of our problems, such as starting negotiations, the more attractive SA will seem as a place to invest."

Call from supporters for protection

ANC's self-defence units will be armed

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC's controversial self-defence units, some of which have already been formed, will be armed with rudimentary weapons and automatic rifles — and trained by black policemen, soldiers and Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The structure and rationale behind the units was sketched this week in an interview with senior ANC member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Before December's consultative conference, the ANC leadership had calls from supporters for protection against the violence ripping across the Reef.

Emasculated

But the ANC — or at least its military wing — had been emasculated by the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

As one senior MK member said: "In the past people knew we would retaliate if they were attacked. In a sense we have been grounded by the suspension of the armed struggle."

The response from the consultative conference was a well-supported initiative that the ANC should start a well-supported national self-defence structure, Mr Cronin said.

This was a month after the ANC, South African Communist Party and Cosatu alliance had produced a 35-page document called *For The Sake Of Our Lives*, a publication which has since been sent to townships.

"It is not a set of orders or a blueprint; it offers advice for people on the ground on how to set up self-defence units."

According to the document, a township of some 20 000 residents should have a command structure of eight people, elected or selected by organisations on the ground.

This command would comprise a commander, deputy commander, first aid and communications specialists, company commanders and platoon and section leaders.

Times of crisis

In times of crisis, according to the document, the command structure would assume control.

"But only then. At all other times the command is answerable to the community. It is not a military elite," Mr Cronin said.

A company would be 500-strong and could be sub-divided into five platoons of 100 each which could be further broken down into sections of 20.

Mr Cronin said uniforms had not been mooted because "we are talking of a civilian structure".

However, it was likely that units would wear uniforms to boost morale, bolster discipline and make members visible.

All residents, irrespective of sex or political affiliation, could serve in a self-defence unit if they so wished.

"These units must not become the private armies of the ANC, SACP or whoever. They must be structures answerable to the community and their objective must be to defend residents and the community."

If self-defence units were to be effective and serious, they had to be organised on para-military lines, he said.

"Some people may balk, but the answer is simply that the fire-brigade and ambulance service operate on para-military lines. When there is a crisis, such as a township being invaded by some 5 000 men under escort from people in uniform, no domestic civic organisation, ANC or SACP branch can defend them.

"They must have a command structure, people who have been drilled, trained and equipped to defend them."

He said the greatest victory for any unit would be forcing an advancing party to retreat without a single shot fired or anyone being injured or killed.

Asked if the self-defence units would not plunge South Africa into a Lebanon-like situation, he said they were necessary to bring an end to the violence.

"Some people may reap short term gains from the violence, but in the end all South Africans will be losers. We want to stop the violence."

The ANC and SACP had not given up on negotiations, he said.

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for South African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said having all kinds of militia around would create a danger of conflict.

There was an added danger of the "emergence of a warlord situation where armed bandits become the propelling force in society".

However, this had to be offset against the fact that the SADF, police and "murky people, who have not been called to heel are protecting, whether overtly or covertly, a political system and an ancient regime".

The response of whites was to hire security firms which were militias or armed men riding around. "They, too, are unaccountable."

His own response had been to put a fence around his home, he said.

"What are the people in the townships supposed to do? That seems to me to be the heart of the matter: how are people going to get security when there is no intrinsic security in society?"

It would be ill-advised "if you are arming your way to security. I can arm myself to the teeth and be as insecure as the man who leaves his window open at night."

He said there was no substitute for a political settlement of which all South Africans could be part. "That's the greatest security all of us could have."

Speaking in her personal capacity Ms Hilary Elliott, of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, said that seen from the ANC's perspective, establishing self-defence units was a "natural" thing to do

Vigilante groups

"Where the fear comes in is in terms of the violence that is happening and the question of arms if we are talking about vigilante groups, whichever part of the community they come from."

It was not a question of colour, but a question of whether self-defence units were desirable.

"If they are, it is a sad commentary on the state of our society."

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were completely opposed to private armies such as self-defence units, so-called wenkommandoes or vigilante groups.

Satour may reopen office down under

THERE is a possibility that the South African Tourism Board will reopen its office in Australia.

The executive director of Satour, Mr Spencer Thomas, said that as a result of the political reforms in South Africa, Satour might be allowed to reopen its Australian office.

Mr Thomas said that despite the lack of an office, a record 23 000 Australians had visited South Africa last year. — Sapa.

ANC in clampdown Crack troops upset

W/E ARGUS 27/4/91 (276)



Picture. ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

Teaching UCT dance students a thing or ... is visitin: Russian choreographer and

Top coach in SA to

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The deployment of the crack 32 Battalion in strife-torn Transvaal townships "to quell violence" is causing concern among residents and the ANC.

The much-feared black, Portuguese-speaking unit comprises former FNLA fighters from Angola At the end of the Namibian war, the unit was resettled in the Northern Cape.

Since then the unit has, according to former commander of the unit Colonel Jan Breytenbach, been used "most effectively as a neutral force to quell violence in the Natal and the Transvaal townships"

Unit effective

He said the unit was not liked by the ANC This was because it was effective "The unit is Portuguese-speaking and cannot be easily influenced or infiltrated"

Top ANC officials, including Umkhonto We Sizwe commander Mr Tokyo Sexwale, have demanded to know why the unit has been brought back

Mr Sexwale said it was thoroughly discredited politically. "Nobody wants them. They are mercenaries from Angola They don't speak our language and don't know our country."

He said the unit's role had become suspect because in certain "Third Force" vigilante attacks, victims had said they had overheard their attackers speaking Portuguese.

Last year ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela suggested that highly trained Renamo-type professional killers were conducting attacks as part of a sinister "Third Force" intent on destabilising the peace process.

It was in August last year that the government first sent crack army units, including 32 Battalion, into Transvaal townships in an attempt to stop the spreading violence.

The latest issue of Mayibuye, the ANC's mouthpiece, says soldiers from the unit had become unpopular

According to Mayibuye, soldiers allegedly grabbed schoolgirls and fondled them. "Residents have been campaigning for the removal of these troops."

In May last year, when the unit was deployed in Natal, residents complained that troops had allegedly been involved in rape and theft. The SADF and police said they would investigate.

SA Defence Force director of public relations Brigadier A H Louw said "The unit is used in support of the police."

Unit asked for

He rejected allegations of the unit's involvement in promoting violence. "Local residents specifically requested their presence rather than that of any other unit."

Brigadier Louw dismissed claims about misconduct and said: "It is an old ploy to vaguely accuse effective security force elements of all sorts of wrong-doing because they stand in the way of those wishing to enforce their will on others, often through violent measures"

'Plan to wipe out ANC men'

THE ANC yesterday released details of what it called an elaborate plan to cripple the organisation between April 30 and May 9 – the deadline it has set for the government to deal with the internecine violence or face a suspension of constitutional negotiations.

Part of this strategy, according to a statement read by the organisation's secretary-general Alfred Nzo, was the assassination of key regional and branch officials.

"Information gathered indicates there are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV region. The offensive is planned for the period leading up to May 9. Among others, this is aimed at scuttling the January 29 ANC/IFP peace accord

■ To Page 2

'Plan to wipe out ANC men'

■ From Page 1

and undermining the ANC's open letter to the government," Nzo told a media conference at the Mandela home in Soweto.

By late afternoon yesterday police announced that immediate arrangements have been made for a senior police officer to contact the ANC about the alleged plan.

Captain Craig Kotze, speaking on behalf of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, urged the ANC to provide police with all relevant information at their disposal so they could investigate and, if necessary, take preventive steps.

Nzo earlier said his organisation, after lengthy investigations, had discovered that Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives had been specifically deployed in Reef townships since the ANC's public ultimatum to the government.

"This occurs after completion of military training in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. These bases are manned and the training done by members of Koevoet, 101 Battalion and other arms of the SADF.

"The hostels are divided into regiments, with trained IFP Youth Brigade members allocated to the various hostels to keep control and lead attacks. Both in the PWV area and Natal, a campaign of eliminating ANC members has been set in motion," Nzo alleged.

He also said the ANC was aware of a massive delivery of weapons to various places in the Witwatersrand.

To prevent the carnage before May 9, the ANC had alerted the government about the planned attacks and was in the process of briefing its structures. It had also contacted the IFP. – Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

'Assassination plot to scuttle peace process'

ANC says 'third force' is out to sow destruction

THE ANC claimed yesterday that destructive plans were afoot to scuttle the peace process in South Africa.

In a startling claim, the organisation said these included the assassination of its key officials and large-scale distribution of arms.

And ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo was adamant that his organisation would not attend the government's May 24-25 summit on violence.

The organisation also reiterated its controversial demands made in an open letter to the government two weeks ago. It repeated that if the government failed to respond to these demands by May 9 it would pull out of all peace negotiations.

Mr Nzo said the ANC had information of an offensive by perpetrators of violence aimed at halting the peace process.

These perpetrators, among them "state agencies", were out to scotch the peace accord between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and were also out to undermine the ANC.

These plans included:

- The assassination of prominent ANC members.
- Increased attacks in factories, townships and on trains targeting weekend and May Day rallies by the National Union of Mineworkers.

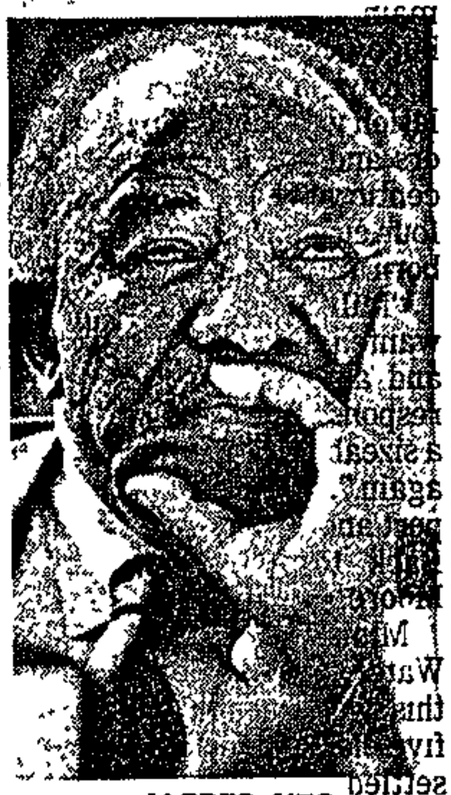
Opposed

- Increased vigilante mobilisation. This included a terror campaign forcing hostel dwellers to pay levies to buy weapons and training of Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives by the SADF in camps in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal.

The ANC said it had information that most *indunas* (leaders) in hostels opposed the ANC-Inkatha peace accord and were actively attempting to sabotage it.

The ANC accused a "third force" of being responsible for the recent assassination of Maritzburg Inkatha leader David Ntombela.

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN



ALFRED NZO
ANC knows

Mr Nzo said: "These facts clearly indicate that there are organised forces within and outside the state bent on sowing fear, death and destruction within African communities.

"Though the primary aim is to discredit and weaken the ANC, it is also aimed at proving the racist notion that black people are not yet fit to rule.

"The fact that the state refuses to uncover and act against these bandits reinforces our assertion that they are involved in these acts of destabilisation."

SAP spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that a senior police officer would contact the ANC on its allegations.

- A Ministry of Defence spokesman, Dr Das Herbst, said last night: "Mr Malan has repeatedly denied claims of a 'third force' and so-called 'secret agencies' in the SADF" intent on destabilising the country."

FW set to tackle violence in budget vote

B10ay 29/4/91

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BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk returns to Parliament today after his successful European trip to begin his budget vote, which is likely to focus on the violence blocking much of the new foreign investment he sought in Europe.

It is expected that a review of security legislation, particularly changes to the Internal Security Act of 1982, will be placed before Parliament this week.

A senior source said De Klerk might announce these changes in an attempt to take the sting out of opposition attacks that government had been dragging its heels over the prisoner release programme, his continued support of Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and the SAP's inability to contain the violence.

Opposition political parties in Parliament, especially the DP, have indicated they would be "going all out" during the President's vote to attack him on his stance towards Malan.

The DP would again call on De Klerk to institute a judicial commission of inquiry into the CCB, giving all who testify immunity from prosecution "so that we can get to the bottom of what actually happened", MP Tian van der Merwe said.

Diplomatic and other sources said the ANC's negative response to De Klerk's pre-European tour announcement of the summit on violence, despite the fact it might attend, was a blow to the President's initiative. A lot more would be required to be done to reduce the violence.

De Klerk could also expand on the indications he gave in London and Copenhagen last week that negotiating partners could be allowed to have a say in policy formulation at Cabinet level. He said the various negotiating partners could be given a voice in important policy decisions at both legislative and executive levels.

● Comment: Page 6

about 0.5% last year with an increase in

SAP 'hobbled by unrest, protests'

B1Day 29/4/91.

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Unrest and mass action took up so much of the police's time and manpower last year that crime prevention was greatly hindered, Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said in his annual report released at the weekend.

Van der Merwe said large-scale urbanisation, squatting, unemployment and deteriorating economic conditions had contributed to higher crime levels, particularly murder, robbery, vehicle theft and housebreaking.

Police efforts to protect hostel residents and squatter communities had also interfered with normal police duties.

During the year, 68 policemen died in unrest-related incidents and another 13 were killed in terror attacks.

Van der Merwe said growing right-wing violence and the creation of self-defence units in white and black communities had contributed to destabilising the security situation.

There were 254 terrorist attacks last year, of which 87 were aimed at the SAP.

Van der Merwe said the current "radical fermentation" process would continue in the short and medium term, which would raise the level of tension and violence.

The situation was complicated further by a lack of control by opposing groups over their followers and supporters.

Last year 1 599 090 general offences were reported to police — an increase of 8,5% over 1989, the largest annual increase in 10 years. Of these cases, 53,11% were solved.

Public violence cases increased by 49,8% to 4 756. A total of 20 321 rape cases were reported.

Burglary on business premises increased by 27% to 65 755 cases, and on white homes by 22,4% to 108 828 cases.

Van der Merwe said the incidence of unprovoked murder was causing particular concern.

He added the target of increasing the police force by 10 000 members could be achieved by June.

Improvements in police salaries and benefits had resulted in an increase of 7 119 members since July last year.

Cape Times 29/4/91
274

At least nine dead in unrest around nation

PRETORIA. — Nine people died, including a town councillor from Umasizakie near Graaff-Reinet, and four policemen injured in unrest incidents around the country at the weekend, police said.

Umasizakie town-councillor Ms Regina Allam and a friend, Mr Jimmy January, were stabbed to death by four unidentified men on Friday night while on their way home, the police duty officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant Elizabeth Botha, said.

The body of a man with bullet wounds was found by police on Saturday at Matxontyo Location near Table Mountain in Natal, the official police unrest report said yesterday.

A man was shot and killed by an unknown gunman on Friday at Mountain Rise near Maritzburg, Saturday's unrest report said.

Police also reported on Saturday that a man was killed and two men were slightly injured when two groups attacked each other at a bus stop at Verulam near Durban.

A man was shot and killed and a woman injured at Greytown industrial area, Natal, when gunmen fired at them. The stabbed body of a man was found in the same area.

The body of man with stab and hack wounds was found at Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone.

The body of a woman with bullet wounds was found at Soweto's Merafe station after a police patrol heard shots. A man was injured at Merafe when a group of men fired shots at him.

At Khayelitsha, a policeman was injured on Friday when a group of unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at a police vehicle.

Two policemen were shot and slightly injured while on partol at Mpamuza near Maritzburg.

At Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, a group of people on Friday attacked and looted a brewery truck, causing extensive damage. When police arrived, the group started throwing stones at their vehicles, injuring a policeman. — Sapa

ANC claims hit squads are to strike

Sowetan 29/4/91

THE ANC has exposed what it called was a covert assassination plot against ANC leaders in the run-up to its May 9 deadline for the Government to halt the bloody violence in the country.

Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary general, told a news conference at deputy president Nelson Mandela's Soweto home that assassins had been trained at bases run by members of the counter-insurgency unit Koevoet, the 101 Battalion and "the arms" of the SA Defence Force.

"Information gathered indicates there are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV region," he said.

As part of the April 30 to May 9 plot, Nzo alleged, weapons had already been moved to the Witwatersrand.

But, the SADF dismissed the allegations, saying it was a bid by the ANC to justify the violence it planned to commit during this period.

"This is an attempt by the ANC to create a climate to justify whatever violence they may be planning over the period leading up to their so-called deadline of May 9," they said in a statement.



ALFRED NZO

The ANC did not mention any leaders on the hit-list, but said security had been stepped up to protect probable targets in the organisation.

In further moves, the organisation had initiated discussions with other political organisations, including Inkatha.

Nzo told the news conference Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives had been deployed in Reef townships to carry out the killings.

The deployment had started soon after the ANC gave the Government an ultimatum to quell the violence, he added.

He said assassins were trained at bases in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal and were given employment through security forces when they reached the Transvaal.

"The hostels are divided into regiments, with trained IFP Brigade members allocated to the various hostels to keep control and lead attacks," Nzo said.

There was no immediate commment from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Nzo said while the main design was to weaken the ANC, the plot was also aimed at eroding gains achieved in peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha to halt the violence which has killed 5 000 people in five years.

Nzo said it had informed the Government of the plans, but Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze effectively denied this.

"We urgently appeal to the ANC to provide us with all the relevant information at their disposal to enable the South African police to investigate the claims and if necessary take preventive measures."

The ANC secretary general reiterated his organisation's position it was firm on its May deadline.

He added there had not been any discussions with the Government to discuss the ultimatum. The ANC has told the Government it wants Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok fired, among other demands.

"The deadline and conditions of May 9 stand," Nzo said. - *Sapa.*



When push comes to shove . . . an ANC bodyguard confronts Hendrik Claasens after he and a group of rowdy rightwingers invaded the stage at the University of Pretoria campus yesterday, just before a speech by ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Report on Page 3. Picture: Jon Hrusa

● FW warns of civil war ● Cosatu threatens general strike

Torrent of protest looms

Star 30/4/91

By Andrew Walker

The first of two crucial deadlines was reached today, with the Government and the ANC and its allies in a confrontation that is set to ignite massive protests.

The deadline for the release of political prisoners and detainees arrived amid acrimony and a background of violence which has brought South Africa to a new crisis, as the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to the Government to make moves to end the fighting approaches

Public accusations between the main extra-parliamentary players in the negotiation process reached a crescendo last night as State President F W de Klerk warned that the country was [illegible] civil war

And the Congress of South African Trade Unions said speakers at May Day rallies would threaten a general strike unless the Government acted to stop violence

First protest actions aimed at the two deadlines were scheduled for later today by the ANC Youth League

It threatened to "occupy" the Union Buildings and march on Parliament, government buildings and foreign embassies in a campaign to highlight "the Government's failure to stop the violence"

Last night President de Klerk, announcing the creation of a fund to aid the victims of violence which has claimed 61 lives in Soweto and Alexandra in the last three days alone, made renewed peace talk proposals

They were immediately rejected by the ANC and its backers, who accused him of creating a smokescreen to hide reluctance or inability to end the fighting.

The vast public divide between the Government and the ANC was made clear in a press statement issued in Johannesburg last night after a meeting of the national executive committees of the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

Accusing the Government of "once again" failing to take seriously warnings of pending attacks on its members, the Tripartite directly accused President de Klerk of failing to stop the township slaughter.

"De Klerk has not demonstrated any willingness to end the violence," said the statement. "His proposal for a Mandela-De Klerk-Buthelezi meeting, and his proposal to convene a multi-party conference on the violence, are a diversion from the issues raised in the Open Letter (issuing the May 9 ultimatum) and subsequent information released.

"De Klerk is trying to build a smokescreen to conceal his own reluctance or inability to take immediate and effective action."

The statement rejected President de Klerk's proposal for a standing commission on violence, calling instead for an independent commission of inquiry and an international judicial committee to monitor violence.

● To Page 2

Crisis looms

● From Page 1

Star 30/4/91

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance was discussing a Peace Conference to be formulated as "a culmination of a broad national campaign for peace"

The statement warned of a major political and economic crisis facing the country

"Retrenchment — up to 150 000 workers stood to lose their jobs in the next 12 months — "meant a disaster of national proportions faced our people.

"The Alliance will throw its weight behind the campaign to stop retrenchments"

Chief Mangusuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the ANC in Natal had a hit-list of top Inkatha officials and said there was a plan to kidnap two of his children. Star 30/4/91

The ANC described such allegations as preposterous.

Chief Buthelezi, accepting Mr de Klerk's invitation to himself and Mr Mandela to peace discussions ahead of the propsed May 24-25 summit on violence, said: "The ball is in Dr Mandela's court."

Addressing Parliament yesterday, President de Klerk said that a "violence psychosis" was threatening to delay or disrupt negotiations.

The leaders of people who were continuously involved in violence had a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

Mr de Klerk said South African leaders stood before a decisive choice on politically-related violence and intimidation:

"Either they play politics with it, or they come together and co-operate in seeking solutions."

● More reports — Pages 3, 6, 7 and 14

Oil cash will finance bid to halt violence

As much as R2 billion freed by the reduction of South Africa's strategic stockpiles of oil is to be used for development programmes, including projects aimed at ending township violence, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Parliament
1991



Introducing the debate on his budget vote, he also announced that legislation would be introduced to create an emergency fund for victims of violence.

Mr de Klerk said sanctions and threats of sanctions had forced South Africa to invest a part of its savings in strategic supplies. This was an unproductive form of investment which had contributed to the unfavourable showing of economic growth and job creation.

South Africa's relations had, however, improved so much that it had been decided to reduce the strategic stockpiles of oil.

Taking into account the funds which were still needed to finance energy-related projects, about R1 billion could be made available for other uses in the coming year.

"As the country's economic relations with the rest of the world are normalised, and strategic supplies are further cut to internationally accepted levels, this amount can be raised to a maximum of R2 billion.

"This is the amount that will be available when the energy projects that the Government has committed itself to have been financed."

Because of the lack of stability and the high unrest in many communities, part of the money would be used to fund projects that would contribute to furthering social stability and order.

Some of the matters that could be considered were the erection of clinics, sport and recreation facilities, schools, and providing land for informal settlement.

The projects would be co-ordinated with manpower training programmes to ensure as much job creation as possible.

Mr de Klerk said representations had been made from time to time from many quarters on aid for victims of violence.

He said the Government was most sympathetic. "I am of the opinion that the Government should consider measures by which violence-ridden communities may be assisted in the provision of basic, short-term necessities such as food, clothing and blankets.

"Consequently, I have asked the Minister of National Health (Dr Rina Venter) to prepare legislation of which the main aim will be the establishment of a social emergency aid fund through which financial support may be given to welfare organisations and other approved institutions to render emergency aid in violence-ridden communities."

He hoped the law would be finalised this session.

The Government was prepared to make a substantial contribution to the fund, and he was convinced that the public would contribute generously as well. He expected it would be possible for the international community to support the fund. — Sapa.

We can't go on like this, says FW

Star 30/4/91

Violence on the Left and threats of counter-reaction had led to polarisation which could end in civil war, **President de Klerk** said in Parliament yesterday.

"We are picking the bitter fruit of the past. What has happened, has happened, but what is happening now is a blemish on us and we can do something about it," he said, introducing debate on the State President's vote.

"We can't go on like this. Violence and intimidation must end as it is undermining the prospects of South Africa."

Mr de Klerk said he had made his opening speech to Parliament in February with a positive attitude and he still had as much trust in South Africa and its people.

All positive steps were, however, being delayed and even threatened by mindless violence and intimidation which had developed into a culture of violence.

There was a perception inside South Africa and in some overseas countries that violence was justified.

Violence had come to the fore in many aspects, with young children burning down schools, black communities being torn apart and almost destroyed, "not to even talk about necklaces".

"The reforms of the Government are not the cause of the violence — it was established during the era of separate development. Any attempts, during this debate, to blame the violence on reform would be misleading." 274

Stone-throwing and burning tyres had become a symbol of how deeply violence had been established in everyday life.

Mr de Klerk renewed an invitation to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkhata Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in elevating the question of violence above party-political manipulation. "I'm sure neither of them doubt my sincerity."

He invited them to join him in "allowing discussions we began in March to take place now — such a discussion could also serve in preparation for the meeting (summit on violence) on May 24 and 25."

To break the spiral of violence, "we need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society — the time has come for them to speak up in public".

To stop violence, the culture of violence in South African society had to be cured. In that spirit, there were elements in the latest ANC statements that could have negative effects.

Inasmuch as these statements were an expression of a "cry for peace", however, as had been spelt out in newspaper advertisements, "I welcome them — then they are an echo of the cry in the hearts of all peace-loving South Africans. To that I will listen. It is also a cry from my heart. Therefore, I renew my invitation to the ANC to discussions with the Government."

The Government had made itself available for a solution-oriented discussion on the problem of violence with all leaders on May 24 and 25.

"We must bring an end to violence and accept co-responsibility," Mr de klerk said. — Sapa.

ANC rejects Buthelezi call for talks on violence

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's call for all-party talks on violence has been accepted by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — but the ANC and its allies have rejected it.

Dr Buthelezi said last night the Inkatha had constantly held out a hand of friendship to the ANC in its quest for a multi-strategy approach to end apartheid and black-on-black confrontation.

"We are unreservedly committed to pursuing political objectives through peaceful means.

"Wherever possible I have brought the ANC into joint peace initiatives. We reached an accord with the ANC on January 29 to banish violence.

"We have established a 12-a-side ANC/IFP peace committee to pursue this objective.

"I value the State President's call for himself, ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and me to meet. I agree that we should talk about peace.

Summit call

"I support Mr De Klerk's call for a summit conference on violence. I have pledged to be there and to do what I can to make the summit successful."

He urged Mr Mandela to abandon confrontation.

"This can only escalate violence and lead to further bloodshed.

"I call on him now to cease making impossible demands on the government under the threat of withdraw from negotiations."

In a joint statement today the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu said Mr De Klerk had not shown any willingness to end the violence.

His proposals for a Mandela-De Klerk-Buthelezi meeting and for a multi-party conference on the violence were a "diversion" from the issues raised in the ANC's open letter to the government on the issue.

"Mr De Klerk is trying to put up a smokescreen to conceal his own reluctance or inability to take immediate, effective action. We therefore reject his proposals.

"Similarly we do not accept the standing commission proposed by Mr De Klerk because such a commission will not have the necessary credibility and effectiveness as it is entirely state-appointed."

The three organisations had consistently demanded that an independent commission of inquiry be established to investigate all aspects of the violence.

"We call for an independent international judicial committee to be established immediately to monitor and report on the violence.

Attack plan

"On Saturday the ANC had disclosed the existence of a systematic plan to attack townships, to disrupt May Day rallies and to assassinate all levels of leadership of the democratic movement."

But the government had failed to take these warnings seriously.

"It has failed to prevent the public carrying and displaying of dangerous weapons and in several cases the police have actively connived in the violence."

The wave of violence was the greatest obstacle to the negotiation process. **See page 7.**

Argus 30/4/91 p 7

F W calls on leaders to end violence

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has called for a massive effort by all the leaders in society in order to break the spiral of violence.

In the first speech in the debate on his budget vote in parliament, he renewed his invitation to the ANC to have discussions with the government. He believes that it is possible to resolve the difficulties between the two sides.

He also invited Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet him and join him in declaring war on violence and intimidation, to co-operate with him in bringing violence to an end and to elevate violence above party political manipulation.



Mr Mandela



Chief Buthelezi

VIOLENT PSYCHOSIS

He warned that the violent psychosis was in danger of plunging the country into civil war.

Speaking at the start of the debate, he said he continued to feel confident about the future but the worrying question of continuing violence remained.

The dynamics of the reform and development process were being delayed and even threatened by the senseless political and criminal violence.

Mr De Klerk said that a culture of violence had developed in South Africa.

A perception had developed in the South African society, and also among certain groups overseas, that violence was justifiable in South Africa's present situation.

A reactive culture of violence had also developed and at present there was a psychosis of violence on both sides of the political spectrum.

The country was reaping the bitter fruit of the phase that lay behind it. Recriminations and arguments about cause and effect would not help. What was past was past.

Violence and intimidation had to come to an end.

The government, the ANC, Inkatha and the church leaders were all saying this, yet the violence continued.

"To stop violence we have to cure the culture of violence in our society. In order to do so we once again need the co-operation of every political leader, every church, educational and community leader."

This was why he had called for the special summit on violence next month.

The government was determined to ensure that those who acted in the name of the law did so with clean hands and with meticulous impartiality.

The leaders of those who were involved in violence had a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

Those who had a tradition of carrying cultural weapons should make doubly sure that the symbols they carried remained symbols of their true culture.

Those who were not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically should realise that the time for armed struggle was over.

Mr De Klerk said he was prepared to listen to ANC statements that had been described as "a cry for peace" because this was also a cry from his heart.

This was why he was renewing his invitation to the ANC to have discussions with the government.

The proposed standing commission on violence would allow everybody to make contributions to solving the problem.

DREAM OF NEW SA

Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said the dream of a new South Africa with simplistic slogans of one-man-one-vote was in reality a nightmare in which violence was rampant. If a government admitted that it could not control violence it was on the brink of chaos.

Dr Treurnicht expressed his disappointment at the government's involvement in talks with the ANC because the movement was making fraudulent claims.

Mr Mandela misled the government by saying he wanted peace while the ANC had a secret agenda.

The ANC was the cause of violence and the blame must be put at its door.

EXCLUSIVE

'If the murder and mayhem continue, my thoughts about the future are bleak indeed'

How can the killing be halted?

Viewpoint on Violence



By Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, writes for The Argus on the violence, the reasons for it and how it can be curbed.

He asks whether South Africans of all political persuasions can get together and say: 'Enough is enough' and react positively.

He asks whether there is a national will in South Africa 'strong enough to do what has to be done to stop the rot.'

He says all South Africans who care must stand up and be counted.

Chief Buthelezi pledges the full support of the Inkatha leadership for such an endeavour.

I AM asked about the violence.

"What are you going to do about it, Buthelezi"? "What's really going on?" Some accuse and point fingers at me and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Others empathise, share my horror, but nevertheless still look to me for solutions.

It's as though Mangosutho Buthelezi has, hidden away, some kind of magic wand that I can personally wave over the country and all will be well

If only that could be so.

To encapsulate, in several hundred words, the complexities of the issue is a near-impossible task. I could go into political history; various disastrous anti-apartheid strategies which have hideously backfired. I could concentrate on the present. I often write of socio-economic causes and effects, of what racism has done.

And what of future implications too? If the murder and mayhem continues my thoughts about the years ahead are very bleak indeed Genuine multi-party negotiations will be jeopardised. I can spell out ongoing ramifications, as I see them, that do not make for pleasant reading

Let me first of all say, again, that I am committed to peace I loathe what is happening. I want no part of it. The Inkatha Freedom Party has never embraced violence as a political tactic and we are genuinely appalled that our members and supporters have been drawn into the carnage for many and various reasons.

Playing political games with people's lives has never been on Inkatha's agenda. Any party which sets out to gain power in a post-apartheid South Africa through thuggery, intimidation and undemocratic manipulation will soon suffer the consequences. The ghosts of the butchered will haunt them.

One cannot stand back and intellectualise at a safe distance about what is happening So-called "evidence" is touted as the truth one day — the true facts revealed on another.

Sides are taken to the advantage of some and the detriment of others. Relevant information is sidelined, conveniently forgotton, even hidden. "Independent" sources of information are often partisan; "authentic" research biased.

Democratic aims and ideals lose out every time.

We live in a polarised, confused, unstable, society Surveys nevertheless claim to reveal accurate perceptions amidst the turmoil!

There seems to be a pattern in the media at present of asking "who is the real cause of the problem?" and then, depending on the inclinations of the authors, fingers are pointed in various directions And the bodies pile up in our mortuaries.

I lie awake at nights thinking of the more than 140 Inkatha leaders — central committee members, branch chairpersons, secretaries, treasurers — who have been assassinated. I knew them personally. Some of their children died alongside them.

There is no doubt in my mind that they are systematically targetted. There were death lists and their names were on them. Who next?

There are people in our society who have become dehumanised killing machines — some mindlessly, others with specific agendas. That is the reality of the situation.

We have pages and pages of the names of more than a thousand Inkatha members that we know of who have been slain. There are more. Some have disappeared, abducted, and have never been seen of again. On one night 14 Inkatha Youth Brigade members were hacked and burnt to death. I had to face their parents.

There is no doubt in my mind that our leaders have been systematically targetted; that it is political. There is no doubt that revenge is in the minds of many; that there is deep anger.

Last Sunday Mr Moses Khumalo, a senior member of Inkatha and the Mayor of Diepmeadow in Soweto, was buried. He was attacked by an AK47 and a grenade After his funeral the buses of some mourners were stoned. In a flash there was bloody reaction.

A week before Mr Khumalo's assassination, Mr Hlela and Mr E Khumalo, chairman and vice-chairman of an Inkatha branch in KwaMashu were shot dead. Last December Mr Pat Mbatha, Inkatha's West Rand (Soweto) chairman, a party stalwart since our inception in 1975, was shot four times in the chest. He too lies buried.

There are more than 5 000 Inkatha members in Natal/KwaZulu and the Transvaal who are homeless refugees seeking shelter where they can. Help us, they say to me. Do something.

And what of the others, their pain? I grieve for them too It's all so senseless and barbaric.

I write of Inkatha's dead in their memory. It is late at night and I recall the faces, the wisdom, the laughter of people that I knew who could have, had they lived, made magnificent contributions to building a better future for all South Africans.

The Editor-in-Chief of The Argus has asked me to explain "how best", in the circumstances I have described, the violence can be countered

Destruction

I look at newspaper and magazine articles on my desk filled with words implying that Inkatha's leadership is either overtly, covertly, blindly or cynically orchestrating and/or assisting in ruthlessly perpetuating the death and destruction, heartache and suffering. I am dumbfounded.

That's all very well Buthelezi, I'm told, do something I plead and I beg for peace. At hundreds of meetings over the years Inkatha's leadership has called for decency, for democratic behaviour. Our people are shot at on the way to the rallies and going home Their buses are stoned and ambushed.

The cry goes out ban all cultural weapons. I and the Zulu nation are admonished for wearing and possessing Zulu regalia.

Meanwhile, more than 80 percent of all deaths, I'm told, are caused by sophisticated weapony.

Next on the agenda. Government/multi-party talks on the violence I'm all for them. The Inkatha Freedom Party will be there.

The ANC/SACP appears to say it won't, while mobilising its armed "defence units", trained by its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. ANC youth leaders talk of "seizing" guns from white homes.

ANC Secretary-General Mr Alfred Nzo gave a Press conference last Saturday warning of impending violence. He gave no evidence that I know of to corroborate ghastly portents of what they say is to come. I know nothing about it. And if and when there is bloodshed, they will say "I told you so ..." and lay the blame squarely elsewhere.

Who wants peace and who is playing games?

Throughout suburban South Africa families are being robbed, murdered, terrorised

Thugs and gangs have fiefdoms in ungovernable, poverty-stricken, townships. Children hold sway over their parents and bash up their teachers. Street committees and "civic" associations lay down their demands Comply or else Political "commissars" board trains and lecture their captive audiences

"Defence units", filled with a lost generation of angry, deprived and manipulated youths will, I foresee, turn hard eyes on perceived "transgressors".

Defence, offence Attack, counter-attack Denigration, name-calling, lost tempers People are fed up, at the end of their tether.

The writing is on the wall Total anarchy looms.

What do I think? All South Africans who care must have the guts now to do something about it. Stand up and be counted.

Do we sit back and as time goes by issue ultimatums, blame and attack, in turn, the government, various of its Ministers, the police and defence forces, the NP, the ANC SACP alliance, the IFP, PAC, AZAPO, CP, AWB — whomever?

Or, can we get together and jointly say "enough is enough" and act positively? Cures are often not pleasant Hard lines will have to be taken and adhered to

Is there a national will in this country to do what has to be done to justly stop the rot? Who is going to join forces in this endeavour and who is going to equivocate? Who will make excuses for those who find reasons to stay out?

I am saying now that the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party would give its total co-operation to such an all-embracing endeavour. If some members and supporters are found to be transgressors along the way, so be it. They too must face the consequences.

Impartial justice and law enforcement during this time will be vital A culture of political tolerance and fairness must be propagated vigorously by all the means at our disposal The media must be scrupulous in its reporting and commentaries It will carry the awesome responsibility of spreading a large part of the message. Education, caring and compassion must be an integral component of this offensive for peace Leaderships must show the stuff they are made of.

Is there sufficient strength in our society, a genuine desire for decency, an honest resolve by all concerned to cut out party-political, selfish, one-umpmanship and get on with the job of putting South Africa first?

FW $1bn plan

Oil billions to pay for relief to violence victims

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday launched a fresh initiative to curb the recent spiralling violence which has claimed at least 50 lives since Friday.

Mr De Klerk also announced two new funding projects — one financed by the selling off of strategic oil reserves — to address some of the underlying causes of violence and bring emergency relief to its victims

He made an impassioned plea for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in a crisis "mini summit" to work out a joint plan to crack down on violence and intimidation

Introducing the debate on his budget vote Mr De Klerk said that up to R2 billion freed by the reduction of South Africa's strategic oil stockpiles would be used for development programmes — including projects aimed at ending township violence

He acknowledged that poverty, joblessness and unacceptable social conditions were contributing to the violence sweeping the country

Outlining the first aim of the two-pronged initiative, Mr De Klerk said about R1bn would be used this year to further social stability and order by funding projects such as the erection of clinics sport and recreational facilities, schools and the provision of land for housing in poor communities

The money would come from selling off oil reserves

As economic relations with the rest of the world continued to improve, the amount could be raised to R2bn

Disavantaged communities would help to identify facilities needed and, where possible, also contribute labour The projects would be co-ordinated with manpower training to ensure as much job creation as possible

A committee of ministers headed by the Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Dr Dawie de Villiers, would evaluate and co-ordinate projects, which would include the repair of the vital road infrastructure

The second part of the initiative will be the establishment of a Social Emergency Aid Fund to channel short-term relief in the form of food, clothing and blankets to violence-ridden communities

The fund, which would be established in terms of legislation during the current session of Parliament, would channel financial support it received from welfare organisations and other approved institutions

Mr De Klerk committed the government to match "substantial contribution" to the proposed fund and expressed the hope that the South African [illegible]

To Page 5

- **FW cautions on cultural weapons** — Page [illegible]
- **Don't trust FW totally, UK warned** — Page [illegible]

From page 1

would contribute to the fund and was confident that it would be possible to get international support as well.

He warned that the "violence psychosis" and culture of violence gripping the nation was in danger of plunging the country into "civil war"

"We can't go on like this," he told Parliament. The "senseless politically motivated violence and intimidation racking the country was jeopardising reform, economic development and the future prospects of South Africa.

Turning to the latest instance of on-the-ground violence, Mr De Klerk said that some black communities were being torn apart and "almost destroyed".

Mr De Klerk said he accepted that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi — as leaders — wished to see an end to violence "I know that neither of them doubts that I am just as serious about it"

He invited the two leaders to join him in discussions on violence which would precede the proposed Pretoria summit on violence next month.

Mr De Klerk also proposed that they jointly "declare war" on violence and intimidation, co-operate to bring violence to an end and elevate the question of violence "above party-political manipulation".

"The whole country wants this to happen — indeed, even the entire world

"Let us act in such a way that history will never be able to say that we failed as responsible peacemakers," Mr De Klerk said in what amounted to an impassioned plea for joint action

Mr De Klerk issued a challenge for all leaders to attend the proposed peace summit in Pretoria by saying: "The time has come for the men of peace to gather."

He added: "If we stand arm-in-arm, we will be able to turn the tide of violence"

To break the spiral of violence, South Africa needed "a massive effort" by all the leaders of society — political, religious, educational and community.

"The time has come for them to speak up in public. We need an outcry against violence"

However, more was needed than mere statements opposing violence, and it was for this reason that he had called a special all-party summit on May 24-25.

Mr De Klerk said the solution to the problem of violence did not lie in apportioning blame or issuing ultimatums "Confrontation among leaders will merely fan violence."

In an apparent reference to the ANC's planned nationwide mass action programme, he said: "Let us be careful how we demonstrate or protest, so that those who follow us do not get caught up anew in the spirit of blood and flames."

Mr De Klerk said the government was totally committed to the peace process. "We are not playing games and we don't have a hidden agenda.

"If anyone is playing games, we want to know it The truth must prevail" This was one of the reasons for the proposed establishment of a Standing Commission of Inquiry into violence and intimation.

"Simultaneously, the leaders of those who are continuously involved in violence have a special responsibility to discipline their followers."

In a side-swipe at Inkatha, he said those who carried traditional weapons should make doubly sure that the symbols they carried in their hands remain an expression of their true culture"

And in an apparent reference to the ANC, he said "Let those who are not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically, realise that the time for armed struggle is over"

Buthelezi: ANC out to kill my kids

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he had been given an urgent warning at the weekend that the ANC planned to abduct and kill two of his children.

However the ANC last night dismissed the allegation as "preposterous".

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi also said he had information that the ANC branch in Natal had a hit list containing the names of prominent IFP officials, including its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Chief Buthelezi said the warning was "urgently given". "I don't know the truth of it. There are certain elements in the ANC quite capable of such a thing."

This was happening despite the fact that all South Africans wanted peace. In the light of calls for peace, he would attend President F W de Klerk's peace summit on May 24 and 25.

"Every political party will go except, of course, the ANC, which refuses to come out for peace in the most august national forum that could be created."

Chief Buthulezi also lashed out at Mr Nelson Mandela, accusing him of making "petulant" midnight phone calls. — Sapa

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Cosatu threatens a general strike

Victims of violence to get govt aid

(274)

Bday 30/4/91.

BILLY PADDOCK, TANIA LEVY and TIM COHEN

IN THE aftermath of another weekend of township killings, President F W de Klerk announced the formation of a fund to assist victims of unrest while Cosatu and the ANC disclosed plans for mass protests over the violence — including a possible general strike and a sit-in at the Union Buildings today.

In Parliament De Klerk reiterated his appeal to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to form a "troika" with him to address the violence and to support his "summit" on the matter.

National Health Minister Rina Venter would prepare legislation to establish a Social Emergency Aid Fund

He said government would contribute a substantial amount to the fund.

Meanwhile, Cosatu threatened to call a general strike unless government acted effectively to stop the violence

The labour federation said its central executive committee had decided "radical action was needed to put an end to this senseless carnage".

It blamed government for the violence and said employers shared responsibility because they had not pressured government to ensure workers were safe.

It called on its members to arm themselves and join township self-defence units

Cosatu said it rejected government's call for a summit as "window dressing at a time when our country is burning". It said the state's failure to apprehend killers indicated it was itself "deeply implicated"

A meeting of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu executive committees yesterday endorsed the ANC's May 9 deadline on violence and rejected the summit as well as the proposed standing commission of inquiry.

The ANC Youth League announced yesterday it would "occupy" the Union Buildings and "target" Parliament, embassies and government buildings today.

● More than 60 people died in weekend clashes Page 2
● How De Klerk proposes to tackle the violence Page 4
● The background to Cosatu's threat Page 4

League leaders said in Johannesburg they were launching a "campaign of challenge" to highlight government's failure to stop violence, as well as the ANC's April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

De Klerk said government was determined to ensure security forces acted with "clean hands and meticulous impartiality" and firm steps would be taken against those who did not.



Strong dollar pushes rand to 19-month low

ANDREW GILL

FOREIGN exchange markets were hit for a six yesterday as the dollar bounced to recent highs against major currencies, dragging the rand to its weakest level in 19 months.

Late profit-taking saw the US currency come off its earlier highs but dealers believed the dollar was on the way to even higher levels in the medium term. The rand ended at R2,8153 from Friday's R2,7888 close.

The volatility followed a weekend meeting in Washington of the major Group of Seven nations which failed to take action against the dollar and heartened traders into heavy buying.

Reasonably heavy profit-taking late in European trade saw the dollar lose over a

De Klerk announces violence relief measure

B1 Day 30/4/91 · (274)

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk urged ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday to join him in addressing violence.

He said government would set up an emergency fund to assist violence-ridden communities with short-term necessities such as food, clothing and blankets.

Introducing his budget vote, he criticised political leaders for misusing the violence for party-political gain, and called on all leaders to join hands with him and declare war on violence.

He said people in stricken areas had few measures to safeguard their livelihoods during violent disruption. Communities' support systems had been destroyed in many cases, and because of this he had asked National Health Minister Rina Venter to prepare legislation to establish a Social Emergency Aid Fund, which would be submitted during this session of Parliament. Government would contribute to the fund and it was hoped it would gain international support.

The fund would distribute finance through welfare organisations and other institutions approved to render emergency aid in the communities.

He said all the positive developments so far and those to come through negotiations, including much-needed foreign investment, were being hampered by the senseless violence that had developed into a culture during the past few years. There was a violent psychosis at both ends of the political spectrum, and because of the polarisation, there was a real fear that a civil war could result.

Co-operate

To break the spiral of violence, all leaders needed to get together to find solutions.

De Klerk reiterated his call for a summit on violence on May 24 and 25 and called for political, church, educational and community leaders to co-operate with him on this and the Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence.

It was counter-productive for leaders to apportion blame and issue ultimatums because confrontation among them would merely fan the flames of violence.

Government was determined to ensure that the security forces acted with "clean hands and meticulous impartiality", De Klerk said.

Referring to Buthelezi and Mandela, he said leaders of those continuously involved in violence had a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

Those who traditionally carried weapons had to make doubly sure these remained a symbol of their culture, and limit their use to cultural occasions. Those not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically should realise the time for armed struggle was over.

He called on Mandela and Buthelezi to allow discussions begun in March on the formation of a Troika to take place urgently.

The critical problem of violence could not be solved by public declarations, rhetoric or threatening ultimatums, and he was not going to enter the fray by issuing a counter ultimatum to the ANC on its role in intimidation and violence or its not adhering to undertakings in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Summit.

Cosatu blames govt for township violence

B 10 am 30/4/91.

TANIA LEVY

COSATU yesterday threatened to call a general strike unless government acted to to stop township violence.

Thousands of workers would also strike if there were attacks at Workers' Day rallies or during the lead-up to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to government.

In a statement yesterday Cosatu's central executive committee said it was unanimous that "radical action was needed to put an end to this senseless carnage".

It laid blame for the violence squarely at government's feet and said employers shared the responsibility because they had failed to put pressure on government to stop the violence that was causing many of their workers injury and death.

The committee met at the weekend to consider reports from its own structures, the ANC and SACP, about the violence and about an offensive planned to coincide with Workers' Day rallies and the lead-up to the May 9 deadline.

The statement said information that elements of the security forces together with hostel warlords planned to attack people had been independently corroborated by the ANC and Cosatu.

The organisations believed the threatened offensive had three aims:

- To disrupt activities of the mass democratic movement such as Workers' Day rallies and the ANC signature campaign;
- To provide an answer to the ANC's May 9 deadline to government; and
- To sabotage the January 29 peace accord between the ANC and Inkatha.

Cosatu said it rejected government's call for a conference on violence as "window dressing at a time when our country is burning".

It had been presented with evidence directly linking elements of the state to the violence, it said.

The trade union federation supported the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to government to stop the violence.

It unanimously agreed that government had the capacity, if it wished to use its full investigative powers, to apprehend those responsible for orchestrating the killings.

"The state's failure to do so indicated that it lacked the political will and was itself deeply implicated."

Intensify

United mass action was the only way to force the state to stop the massacres.

Cosatu's executive committee resolved to intensify pressure on employers to demand action from government and to act against those fomenting violence in factories.

It called on members to arm themselves and actively participate in self-defence units in a disciplined and organised way.

They should also isolate perpetrators of the violence in hostels, trains and in the workplace.

ANC youth to stage protests in city, Tvl

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Youth League will stage a nationwide programme of protest action today, including at Parliament in Cape Town and the Union Buildings and five embassies in Pretoria, in support of an ANC deadline to the government which expires at midnight tonight.

Releasing details of the programme at a media conference here yesterday, the ANCYL said that if the government did not meet the demands it would recommend to the ANC leadership that the negotiation process be suspended "with immediate effect".

Permission

The ANCYL said it would hand in petitions at Parliament, the Union Buildings, the Appellate building in Bloemfontein, other courts countrywide, and the British, US, Japanese, German and Hungarian embassies.

The ANCYL had not requested permission for the mass action programme and did not intend to apply for permission, the league said.

"The aim of the action is to express our revulsion at the failure of the government to honour undertakings that it entered into with the ANC," the ANCYL said in a statement read by its national chairman, Mr Peter Mokaba.

It said the government should have allowed all exiles to return by the end of 1990 and released all political prisoners by April 30, 1991. — Sapa

Cosatu threatens general strike

Cpt Times 30/4/91 (NAAD4) 274

Own Correspondent

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It called on members to arm themselves and actively participate in self-defence units in a disciplined and organised way.

Triparty rejects commission

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday called for an independent international judicial committee to be established immediately to monitor and report on the current violence.

"We do not accept the standing commission proposed by Mr F W de Klerk, because such a commission will not have the necessary credibility as it is entirely state-appointed," a joint statement said.

"Since the outbreak of violence, our formations have consistently put forward the perspective of a Peace Conference to be convened by an independent body."

Resolutions were taken to strengthen relations between the three organisations. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 30/4/91 (24)

De Klerk cautions on use of weapons

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has called on those who carry traditional weapons to "make doubly sure that the symbols they carry in their hands remain an expression of their true culture".

Speaking during yesterday's debate on his budget vote, Mr De Klerk said, in a clear reference to Zulus: "Let them limit their use to truly cultural occasions and in an environment in which they cannot be misused."

He also called on those who were "not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically" to realise that the time for armed struggle was over.

Apparently referring to the ANC, he said that South Africa needed "tolerance and compliance with universally acceptable democratic rules".

He added that there were signs at present that violence was being misused for party-political gain.

"I am not prepared to be a part of this," said Mr De Klerk.

"It would be easy, for instance, for me to place the ANC before a counter-ultimatum. They are extremely vulnerable because of their role in violence and intimidation.

"They are also vulnerable because of their neglect to implement their undertakings in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Summit meticulously," said Mr De Klerk.

But he added that there were elements of the latest ANC statements which could be interpreted as a "cry for peace" and he welcomed them.

"Therefore, I renew my invitation to the ANC to discussions with the government," he said in a reference to the May 23-24 summit he has called on violence.

Mr De Klerk also warned right-wingers against contributing to the spiral of violence.

FW in bold bid for peace

Sowetan 30/4/91 (274)

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday launched a two-pronged attack on the ongoing violence which he said would lead to civil war if left unchecked.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

In a dramatic plea for peace, De Klerk invited ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the violence - before the proposed Pretoria peace summit scheduled for May 24 and 25.

Speaking in Parliament during his budget debate, De Klerk also announced that the Government would free R1 billion to ease the suffering of violence victims and to create conditions of economic growth.

He said: "The culture of violence (in South Africa) will lead to a polarisation which will culminate in civil war. There exists today a psychosis of violence on both sides of the political spectrum."

There was a perception inside South Africa and in some overseas countries that violence was justified.

Oil reserves

Because of sanctions and economic pressure, it had become necessary for South Africa to stockpile large amounts of its financial reserves in oil.

But because South Africa's relations with the rest of the world had changed, Government had decided to free within the next year about R1 billion in oil reserves, De Klerk said.

Should South Africa's international economic relations improve, another R1 billion could be freed.

De Klerk said the victims of violence could not be helped by political sloganeering and rhetoric, nor by apportioning blame in all directions.

Therefore, the funds to be made available would be put into programmes and projects to aid victims of violence, he said.

Job creation programmes, establishing clinics, primary health care services, sport and recreational facilities, schools and the provision of land for informal settlement, are some of the areas the Government plans to look at.

"The problem is that people, especially in the stricken areas, have virtually no means of their own to safeguard their livelihoods in times of violent disruption.

Violence-ridden

"The support systems which normally exist in communities have been paralysed in many cases or destroyed to a large extent.

"In this regard I am of the opinion that the Government should consider measures by which violence-ridden communities may be assisted by providing basic short-term necessities such as food, clothing and blankets," De Klerk said.

Legislation will be tabled in Parliament within weeks aimed at the creation of a social emergency aid fund for violence-ridden communities.

In his invitation to Buthelezi and Mandela, De Klerk said: "I invite them to join me in declaring war on violence and intimidation.

"To co-operate with me in bringing violence to an end.

"To join me in elevating the question of violence above party political manipulations.

"The time has come for the men of peace to gather. Do not let your abhorrence of what is happening sweep you into the torrent of emotionalism.

"Let us the leaders of our people, remain cool and steadfast."

Sisulu calls for unity, peace

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA was facing a grave period politically and economically but at the same time it was an important and challenging time, said ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Speaking in Laudium, Pretoria, at the launch of the ANC's signature campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government, Sisulu pleaded for peace.

He also called on South Africans to unite for a peaceful future.

At the Groote Schuur meeting between the ANC and the Government both sides had been confident about the future as well as the peace process developing speedily.



WALTER SISULU

Yet, in a short space of time, doubts began to emerge, Sisulu said.

The confidence created at the Groote Schuur Minute was now being undermined by violence.

The ANC understood that violence would undermine the possibility of negotiations and the organisation could never be part of violence which had destabilised the country.

Stressing the ANC's concern about violence ravaging the country, Sisulu said the ANC's open letter to President FW de Klerk demanding an end to the violence before May 9, was not a demonstration but an expression of a real desire for the creation of a new situation.

The demands were intended to create peace in the country.

Sisulu said the ANC had made several attempts to create peace, including a meeting with the Inkatha executive.

Some forces, including the Government, were exploiting the violence. The Government's aim was to weaken the ANC, he said.

Violence had created a loss of confidence, especially in the Government. That was why the organisation had not responded favourably to the proposed peace summit.

Sisulu said he did not want to express any views on the peace summit as it was still being considered by the ANC.

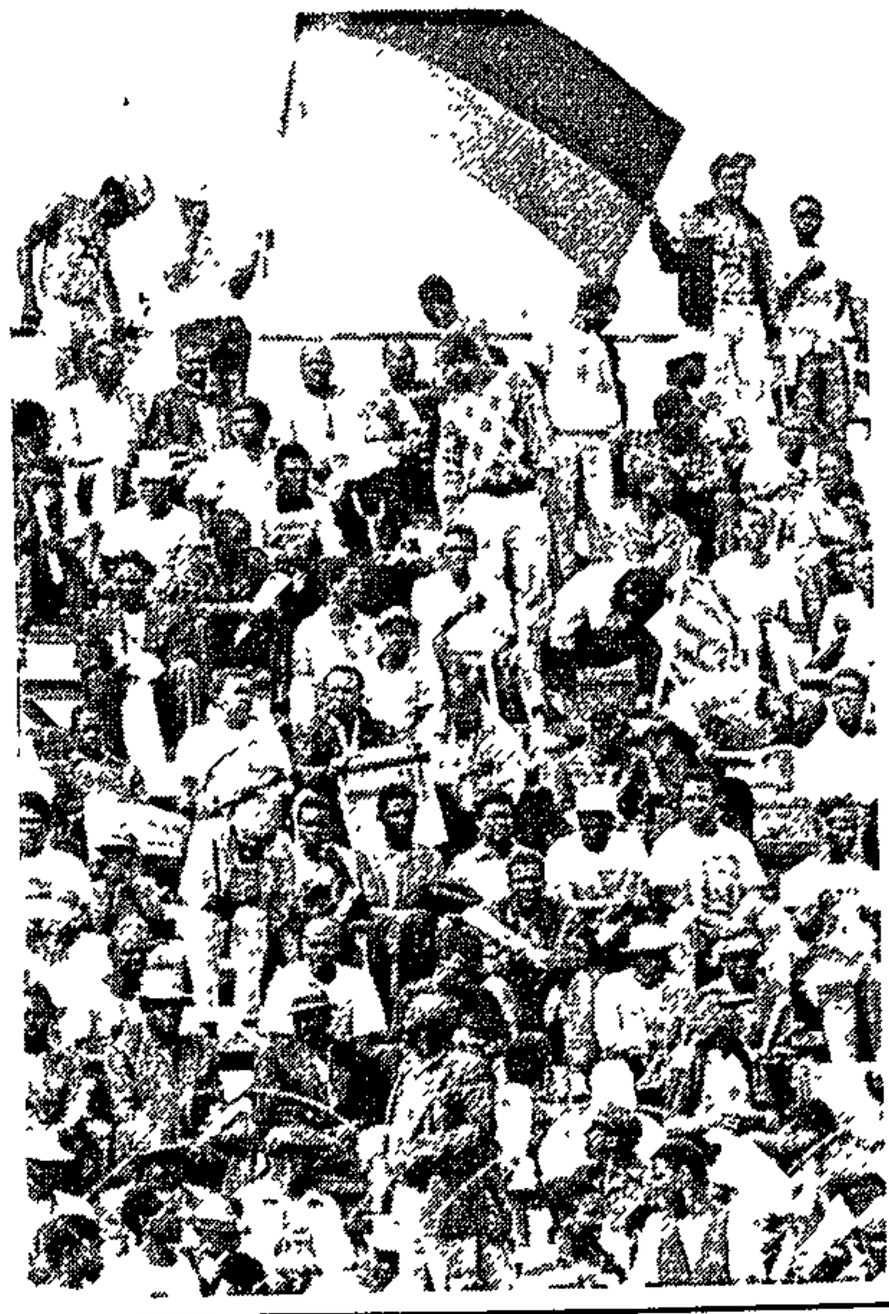
RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1991

MAY.

The next eight days are crucial, says Mandela

(1991) (274) B1Day 2/5/91



VEREENIGING — The eight days before the ANC's May 9 deadline to government to end violence would determine whether hopes of moving quickly towards a democratic society were to be dashed before negotiations had begun, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a Workers' Day rally in Sebokeng yesterday.

"Those who say they are sincere in their desire for peace must now prove this, by controlling and bringing an end to this violence or else admitting their complicity in it.

"Unless, of course, the government is saying to us that they are incapable of controlling their own police and army," Mandela said.

"And if this is what they are saying, then surely we must consider whether such a government is a credible negotiating party, and in a position to help bring an end to apartheid?

"We continue to say that he (De Klerk) can stop the violence if he wishes to do so."

Our Political Staff in Cape Town reports Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer said the ANC was delaying negotiations because of its internal problems.

He told Parliament this week it was possible the uncertainty bedevilling the ANC would remain until after its congress in July.

It was possible the ANC did not want to be seen by its supporters to be reaching too many compromises with government, or there could be "uncertainty in its own ranks about how to handle the complexities of normal politics".

DARIUS SANAI reports ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo yesterday blamed unnecessary bureaucratic delays for government's failure to release all political prisoners and indemnify exiles by Tuesday.

Addressing a rally in Soweto, Nzo warned that "nationwide campaigns will be unleashed" by the ANC on May 9 if government did not agree to its violence-related demands. He did not specify what the campaigns would entail.

PATRICK BULGER reports a Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) spokesman said 40 death row prisoners and 18 inmates of Pretoria Central Prison had embarked on a hunger strike yesterday, accusing government of reneging on its April 30 agreement to release political prisoners.

A Correctional Services Department spokesmen said it was not policy to comment on hunger strikes.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that President F W de Klerk on Tuesday launched a stinging attack on the ANC's failure to meet its commitments on the release and indemnity procedures.

He said in Parliament government had met its commitments to release political prisoners — to date a total of 933 — but the ANC had been dragging its feet.

"However, I also rejected the release applications of 364 people because of the seriousness of their crimes."

He said government was on schedule in processing release and indemnity applications "Any allegation to the contrary is propaganda."

'We need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society'

Time for men of peace to gather

In parliament last week, President F W de Klerk spelt out his view on violence and what was needed to bring it to an end.

He repeated his call to Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in declaring war on violence.

Viewpoint on Violence



By FW de Klerk

A culture of violence has developed in South Africa. Among other things it has the following characteristics:

A perception has developed in the South African society, and also among some specific groups overseas, that violence is justified in our situation.

Violence has been raised to a justified method to settle political and social disputes. This culture of violence has come to the fore at all levels.

Justification for this culture of violence was given in some quarters which raised each stone-throwing youth to a hero.

Many of our political and spiritual leaders kept quiet and looked the other way in the name of liberation.

On the other hand, a reactive culture of violence also took root. Today there is a violence psychosis on both sides of the political spectrum. Also in the counter-reaction to violence one sees more signs of a justification of violence. This leads to polarisation which can land us in civil war.

The phase in which we are now is a disgrace and a blot on the name of our society and we can do something about it.

In spite of the fact that what had always been presented as the main causes of violence — the banning of organisations and limits on the normal political processs — has been removed, violence and intimidation continue. From the ranks of the right people, who have full political rights, directly and indirectly instigate violence with contemptuous disregard for democracy.

This cannot continue.

Violence and intimidation must come to an end.

In order to break the spiral of violence we need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society. The time has come for them to speak up in public. We need an outcry against violence. Violence must be condemned, for in violence there is no future for South Africa.

However, more than this is required. To stop violence we have to cure the culture of violence in our society. And in order to do so, we once again need the co-operation of every political leader, every church, educational and community leader.

This is why I called for the special summit on violence later this month. The time has come for men of peace to gather.

My earnest appeal to all South Africans leaders is: do not allow your abhorrence of what is happening sweep you into the torrent of emotionalism.

Let us, the leaders of all our people, remain cool and steadfast, let us be pillars of sanity and reason. If we stand arm in arm we will be able to turn the tide of violence.

Whatever our differences, let us put South Africa first.

It is not a solution either to apportion blame and issue ultimatums. Confrontation among leaders will merely fan violence.

We should be careful of what we say lest we fuel the flames of intemperance. Let us be careful how we demonstrate or protest so that those who follow us do not get caught up anew in the spirit of blood and flames. Let us desist from taking the law into our own hands and thus further erode the authority of our law enforcement agencies, for then we shall open the gates to the law of the jungle.

On the side of the government we are determined, whatever the cost, to ensure that those who act in the name of the law do so with clean hands and with meticulous impartiality.

Simultaneously the leaders of those who are continuously involved in violence have a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

I am of the opinion that the critical problem of violence and intimidation cannot be solved by public declarations, by rhetoric or threatening ultimatums.

In that spirit there are elements in the latest ANC statements that could have the same negative effects. Inasmuch as these statements are an expression of a "cry for peace", however, as has been spelt out in newspaper advertisements, I welcome them. Then they are an echo of the cry in the hearts of all peace-loving South Africans. To that I will listen. It is also a cry from my heart.

Therefore I renew my invitation to the ANC to have discussions with the government. I believe that it is possible to resolve the difficulties between the government and the ANC in this way. Therein lies the solution.

A standing commission on violence and intimidatiom has been proposed and there is an opportunity for everybody to make contributions.

Important measures have been introduced in respect of improved control over dangerous weapons.

The problem of hostels has been receiving the government's attention for some time

I invite Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to:

- Join me in declaring war on violence and intimidation;
- Co-operate with me in bringing violence to an end;
- Join me in elevating the question of violence above party-political manipulation.

The whole country wants to see this happen, indeed even the entire world. Let us act in such a way that history will never be able to say that we failed as responsible peacemakers.

Six West Cape headmasters forced to quit

By BARRY STREEK

SIX Western Cape principals have been forced to leave their schools because of conflict and tensions, according to the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

And the principals of three colleges of education had been withdrawn "because their personal safety was in question and because their continued presence could permanently impede the activities of the institutions".

Dr Van der Merwe said in reply to questions, tabled by Mr Jan van Eck, DP Claremont, and Mr Andrew Gerber, CP Brits, that the school principals — five white and one black — were currently employed elsewhere by his department.

All had left the schools because of tension or conflict between themselves and the parent, teacher or student bodies at the schools.

Since February 2 last year the principals of the colleges of education at Phatsimang in Kimberley, Kagisanong in Bloemfontein and Mphohadi in Kroonstad had been withdrawn permanently.

There were specific reasons for withdrawing them, but it boiled down to the issues of personal safety and their presence impeding the activities of the institutions.

Dr Van der Merwe added that he did not propose to reinstate any of them.

46 killed in two Renamo attacks

CAPE TIMES 2/5/91

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 46 people were killed and scores injured in two guerilla attacks in southern Mozambique and some 2 000 refugees poured into South Africa seeking sanctuary, it was reported yesterday.

Renamo anti-government forces attacked two settlements in Gaza Province, which adjoins South Africa, killing and wounding residents and sending hundreds of people fleeing for safety, said the reports.

South African officials said about 2 000 men, women and children crossed the border into South Africa after guerillas attacked the town of Ressano Garcia in Mozambique, just across the frontier near Komatipoort, on Tuesday night.

Renamo attacked with mortars, heavy machineguns and rocket launchers, officials said. It was not clear if guerillas or Mozambique government forces hold the town.

At least six people were killed and 60, mostly children, wounded in the attack. South African army and police units treated the wounded after they crossed into South Africa.

The SAP station commander at Komatipoort, Lieutenant Johan Combrink, speaking by telephone to Johannesburg, said the attack "was so loud, everyone in Komatipoort could hear it".

Forty people were killed and 13 wounded in a separate Renamo attack on the same night, on the "April 7" commune 150km to the north-west, AIM, the official Mozambique news agency, reported yesterday.

Guerillas set fire to houses and looted the commune village before being driven off by government troops, AIM reported. Government forces claimed they killed two guerillas, it said.

Last Friday 16 people died when a Renamo unit ambushed a convoy of traders' vehicles in the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

A sixth round of peace talks between the Mozambique government and Renamo is scheduled to begin today in Rome. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

ANC to throw weight behind mass education

CAPE TIMES 2/5/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is planning a massive focus on education, criticising school boycotts and calling for more classrooms and a new respect for learning.

In a policy document to be submitted to its July congress, the ANC also proposes a state-aided mass literacy programme with the help of newspapers, radio and TV.

The ANC says massive opposition to education over the past 15 years has resulted in a "gradual but definite erosion of the need to learn".

Scholars and students had stayed away from school for long periods of time and had fought pitched battles with the army and police. As a consequence "a whole generation of the youth of the country have grown up believing that education and learning are of no value".

"This attitude is understandable but it is wrong and it will take a long time to correct," the document says. This had highlighted the need for a new respect for learning and the institutions of learning "and for the discipline which these will demand"

In a section on education policy, the document calls for a mass literacy programme.

Major's popularity put to test

LONDON. — British local council elections today will test whether new premier Mr John Major's personal popularity can win votes for his battered Conservative Party with a general election perhaps only months away.

When Mr Major replaced Mrs Margaret Thatcher last November, the Labour Party's Mr Neil Kinnock was widely seen as losing his electoral trump card.

Mrs Thatcher's strident style had helped boost Mr Kinnock in the opinion polls.

A recent survey showed 41% of voters believe that Mr Major is the right person to run the country. Only 27% opted for Mr Kinnock. — Sapa-Reuter

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Whites are warned on bloodshed

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Sowetan 2/5/91

By IKE MOTSAPI and KAMIL SINGH

WHITE South Africans could experience the same terror and bloodshed that has plagued black townships in recent months, the Congress of South African Trade Unions warned yesterday.

Mr John Gomomo, second vice-president of Cosatu and a member of the executive committee of the South African Communist Party, made the warning when he addressed about 10 000 people at Orlando Stadium during the first official May Day celebrations.

"I am calling for the resumption of the armed struggle if blacks hope to achieve their freedom," he said.

"We have realised that the De Klerk government is not serious in negotiating a peaceful settlement.

"The African National Congress should withdraw from the negotiating table until all obstacles, like the unconditional return of exiles and release of political prisoners, are overcome.

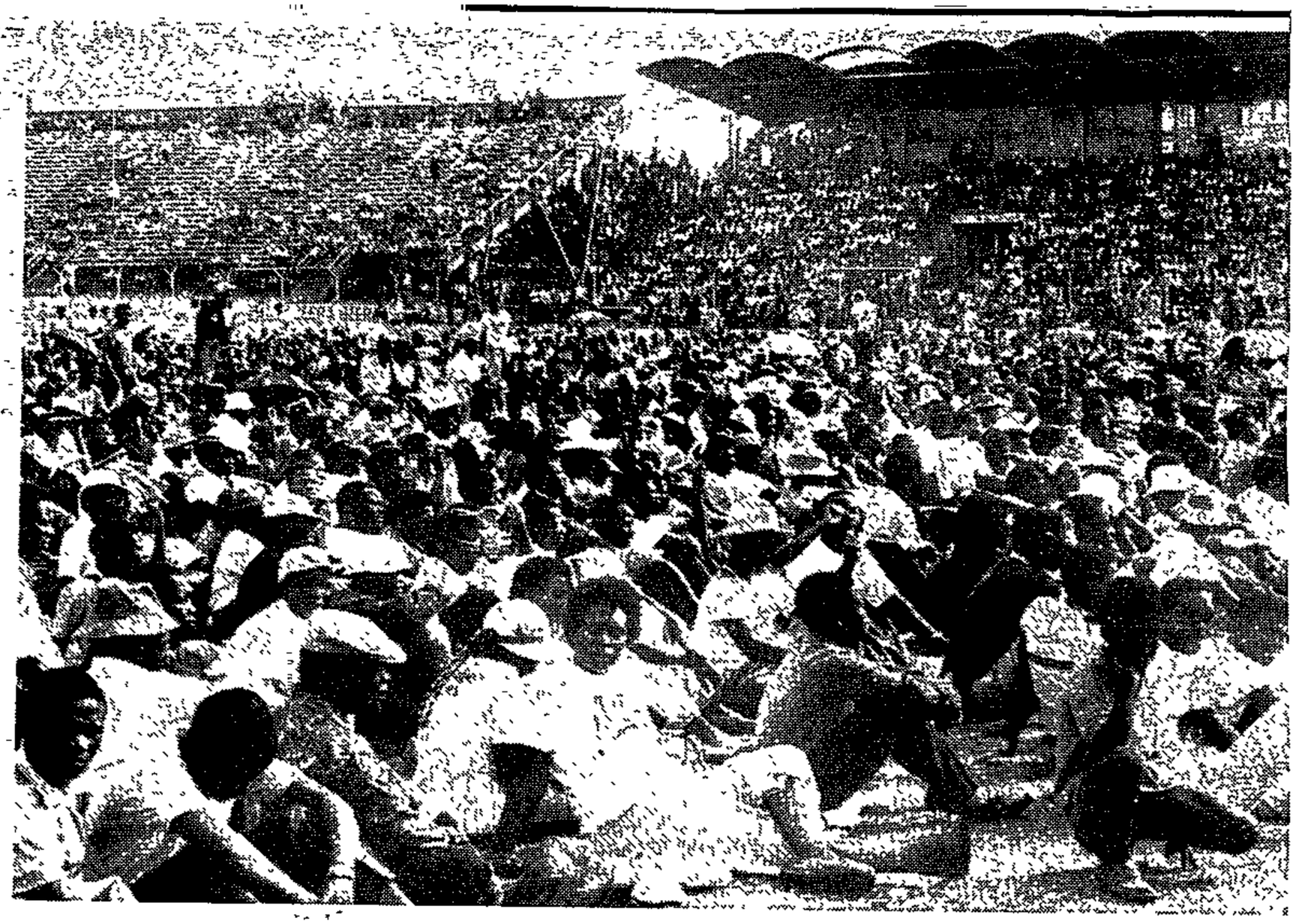
"The struggle should be intensified until apartheid is eradicated.

"To achieve this, every black person should arm himself with AK-47 assault rifles.

"Every house in black townships throughout the country should be a base for Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres."

Gomomo said these methods had, in the past, led to victories such as the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations.

"We should make it clear to De Klerk that blacks are not prepared to abandon the AK-47s because they helped us to achieve a lot of things which includes negotiations with the Government," he said.



Part of the crowd that flocked to Atteridgeville's Super Stadium in Pretoria yesterday to commemorate the first official May Day rally. The Cosatu-organised rally was addressed by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu. Pic: VELI NHLAPO

'Summit still on — even without ANC'

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The summit on violence and talks leading up to the multiparty conference would go ahead with or without the ANC's participation, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"We regard the ANC as nothing more or less than an important potential negotiating party — as one of the many negotiators, albeit an important one," he said.

He said it seemed the ANC would not participate in the summit on violence. But, with the deterioration of the violence, government could not relinquish this initiative.

"The door for the ANC to participate would remain wide open and I would welcome it if their final decision was to participate," he said.

Referring to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, he said the negotiation process must retain its momentum and the ANC should play a constructive role in this. Notwithstanding its "fancy footwork" over negotiations, it was a central party to the process and could not escape from the circumstances it had helped create.

He understood the ANC's position and his impression was it would not be ready for negotiations or the multiparty conference before its July conference.

"Nobody can expect government to wait

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Summit

☐ From Page 1

for the ANC before the process of peace begins. Therefore this issue will enjoy the highest priority with or without the ANC before July 1991," De Klerk said.

He said a broad consensus regarding many issues affecting the multiparty conference had been established among majority parties in Parliament and the self-governing states. Good progress was also being made in the ANC/government working group dealing with the subject.

De Klerk said provisions on intimidation were inadequate and steps were being taken to strengthen them, possibly by broadening definitions. He did not elaborate.

FW 'owes explanation on third force operations'

274

SO weten 3/5/91

GOVERNMENT owed the people of South Africa an explanation, the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Zac de Beer, said in Parliament this week, reports ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

In the light of continuous allegations of "a third force" operating in the ongoing violence as well as the findings of various judicial inquiries - State President FW de Klerk owed the country and explaination.

"The ANC insists that a third force, hidden somewhere within the security machinery, is a major cause of violence.

"There have in fact been a number of killings which were extremely hard to attribute to clashes between Inkatha and the ANC, which have seemed to indicate that some mysterious force is indeed at work..," De Beer said.

Referring to the recent "confession" by a former policeman, Mr Sipho Madlala, about his involvement in the killing of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, De Beer said that the country was waiting for a confirmation or denial from Government.

"Of course, this is a police matter at this stage, but Mr Madlala is reportedly asking for the State President's assurance that he will be safe if he comes out of hiding.

"Surely he is entitled to this?" De Beer said during his comment on State President FW de Klerk's Budget Debate speech in Parliament.

"This may be a matter of first-class national importance," De Beer said.

He requested a comment from De Klerk, and said that a comment would augur well for th unity the President was trying to forge in the country.

SA violence 'like Mozambique'

Cape Times 3/5/91 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday expressed its concern over continued violence in the black community, and warned that the violence was gradually assuming proportions similar to Mozambique's and Angola's.

This was characteristic of the kind of violence initiated by counter-revolutionary forces immediately after the independence of many African countries, with the exception of Zimbabwe, where "the able leadership of Zanu (PF) and Zapu was able to crush this phenomenon before it could destroy the gains of the Zimbabwean people".

Azapo accused the government of using tactics which include:

- **Destabilisation in the form of killings.**
- **Division of the liberation movement by encouraging individual talks. —,Sapa**

Debate on violence to proceed

Star 31591

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has vowed he will continue with his planned multiparty conference (MPC) on violence, with or without the ANC.

But the door would remain wide open.

"We will keep their places," he told Parliament yesterday.

At the same time, the Government seems to have accepted that there will be a temporary breakdown in negotiations with the ANC when its May 9 deadline ultimatum on violence expires.

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote, Mr de Klerk said it now appeared as if the ANC would be ready to join the negotiation process only after its national conference in July.

He said the ANC would be granted time until July — although the Government wished to express its serious concern about the radical tendency in the organisation

However, as far as the MPC on violence was concerned, the Government could not wait for the ANC.

Mr de Klerk said his intention was not to undermine the ANC or put it in a bad light. And he had no hidden agenda, he said.

"But we want to start the multiparty conference as soon as possible, and we don't apologise for that. We are in a hurry," he said.

Referring to the ANC's ultimatum that it would pull out of negotiations by May 9 if seven demands were not met, he said he understood its problems.

But the negotiation process had to maintain its momentum, he said.

The ANC remained central to the process and could not escape from the demands of circumstances which it had helped create.

Mr de Klerk said the demands in the ultimatum could be dealt with at the conference on violence.

The demands are

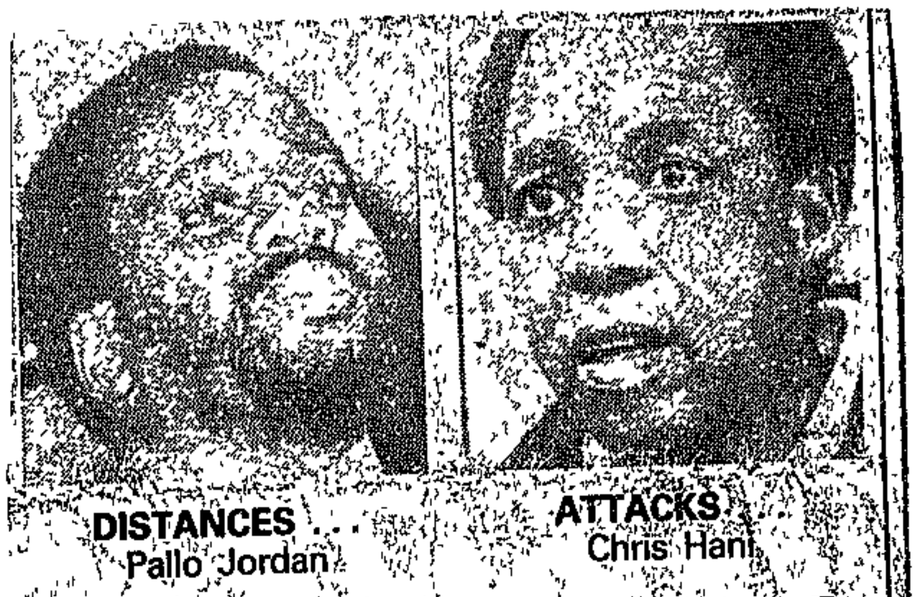
- The sacking of Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.
- Public dismantling of special counter-insurgency units.
- Suspension of police officers implicated in the Sebokeng massacre in March last year and the Benoni and Daveyton shootings of March 1990, pending inquiries by a commission.
- Satisfactory assurances that security forces would use civilised methods of crowd control.
- Laws be introduced to outlaw the carrying of traditional weapons.
- Steps be taken to phase out hostels and other labour compounds.
- An independent inquiry to probe complaints of misconduct by the security forces

ANC sources suggest that a meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk — the panacea for all negotiation ills in the past — is unlikely this time

In the run-up to the ANC national conference, Mr Mandela is under too much pressure from the grassroots who are already critical of him for giving too much away in his talks with Mr de Klerk.



President de Klerk . . . we are prepared to work with every party and organisation that shares our commitment to peaceful solutions.



Hani statement 'not ANC policy'

Cape Times 3/5/91 (204) (274) (289)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday dissociated itself from reported comments by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani that the organisation would destabilise SA to discourage investment if the US lifted sanctions.

Mr Hani was reported to have said in an interview with National Public Radio in the US that "it is not in our interest to stabilise the country".

ANC publicity chief Mr Pallo Jordan yesterday reiterated statements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that blacks would feel "deserted" if US sanctions were lifted and this would result in unrest.

Mr Jordan said he did not know whether Mr Hani had been incorrectly quoted or whether he had made the comments, but the ANC's official position had been specified by Mr Mandela.

Sapa reports that Mr Michael Abraham (DP Tongaat) said yesterday that Mr Hani's utterances were irresponsible.

Speaking in the State President's Budget Vote, Mr Abraham said: "The problem with Mr Hani is that he wants to go forward in reverse gear."

Big rush to buy guns

Cape Times 3/5/91 (BB) (27C)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — There has been a dramatic leap in the sale of firearms to South Africans confronted with a steady increase in serious crime, police statistics released yesterday showed.

A police spokesman said the issuing of gun licences jumped by 74% in 1990 when compared with about 123 000 licences granted the previous year.

Gunshop owners said many of the buyers were first-time buyers who were buying handguns for "self-protection".

Police attributed the increase in the number of applications to the increase in crime and the unrest in the country.

Statistics published in the SA Barometer in February this year showed a 28,59% increase in murders from 1989 to 1990, bringing the number of murders per thousand population to 39 — about six times the United States rate of eight or nine per thousand.

A Bill tightening control of firearms was introduced in Parliament in March.

FW will not wait

Cape Times 3/5/91 274

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is to go ahead with his plan for a summit on violence, with or without the ANC.

At the same time he outlined a 10-point plan to combat violence.

Addressing Parliament, Mr De Klerk said the government could not give up the initiative just because the ANC was not prepared to participate.

"We regard the ANC as nothing more or less than an important potential negotiating party — as one of the many negotiators, albeit an important one," he said.

"The door for the ANC to participate will remain wide open."

Referring to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, he said the negotiation process must retain momentum and the ANC should play a constructive role.

He understood the ANC's position and the impression he gained was that the organisation would not be ready for negotiations or the multi-party conference before its July conference.

While the ANC will be given this period before embarking on multi-party negotiations, the aim of the government remained that the momentum of the negotiation process and democratisation had to continue, Mr De Klerk said.

"Nobody can expect the government to wait for the ANC before the process of peace begins. Therefore this issue (talks and democratisation) will enjoy the highest, absolute priority with or without the ANC before July 1991."

He said through bilateral and multilateral dialogue and negotiation, a broad consensus regarding a number of issues affecting the multi-party conference had been established among majority parties in Parliament and the self-governing states.

Good progress was also being made in the working group of the government and the ANC.

He said certain aspects of the "own affairs" concept which were possible to deal with administratively without constitutional amendments were receiving attention. The government is looking at rationalising wherever this was possible, without impinging on the principle of protecting minority rights.

Mr De Klerk said the current provisions on intimidation were inadequate and steps were being taken to

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strengthen the provisions, possibly broaden the definitions.

He said his plan to combat violence was "fair and positive", but could only succeed if the co-operation of the public and every political leader was obtained.

The 10 points in the plan are:

- The police, supported by the SADF, will continue to deal with the problem firmly and impartially.
- The police force will be strengthened as a high priority.
- The entire community will be involved in a strategy against violence — this is one aim of the summit in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.
- A standing committee will be established under the chairmanship of a judge or senior jurist to investigate complaints of violence.
- Special programmes will be launched to promote job creation and to deal with adverse social conditions.
- Control of dangerous weapons is to be intensified.
- A special fund is to be created to help victims of violence.
- The upgrading or conversions of hostels is receiving special attention.
- Just security legislation is being maintained, but divested of elements which impede the democratic process.
- The process of reconciliation and negotiation will be continued.

DP to propose peace network

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is to propose a network of multi-party task groups across the country as a way to contain the spiralling violence.

The DP will also urge — at tomorrow's peace summit in Pretoria — the adoption of a code of conduct for political parties and organisations to reduce conflict and intimidation between competing parties in the run-up to a new dispensation.

The proposals, announced at a press conference in Cape Town yesterday, have also been forwarded to the President's office.

A document, entitled "Containing violence — the peace management dimension", confines itself to short-term tactical proposals on curbing violence.

It submits that the police are not coping with the violence sweeping black townships because of indadequate manpower, training and discipline.

"In some cases police motivation is unsatisfactory and there is evidence of partisanship. As a result, police credibility is low and public confidence shaky."

Question mark

The document, which the late MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, played a major role in compiling, said there were two further considerations which complicated efforts to curb violence:

- As a result of historical racial divisions and non-existent communication between the police and people in the black townships black leaders and the police were mutually suspicious of each other and regarded one another as "the enemy".

- The sudden turnabout in the political situation since the total onslaught era placed a question mark over the degree of loyalty the government could expect from the security establishment.

The section dealing with the need for broader public involvement in containing violence proposes the establishment of national, regional and community level anti-violence or peace task groups which would include representatives from all significant political movements.

The DP states that broader public involvement would:

- Restore public credibility.
- Forge a common peace strategy for all political players via joint responsibility and joint decision-making.
- Establish factual evaluations in unrest incidents.
- Address shortcomings in training, equipment, communications and deployment.

The DP emphasises that the essence of this proposal is "rapid response".

The task groups would help to establish communication networks in all potential unrest areas, establish credible early-warning systems, act as a conduit for dealing with political and other pressures and monitor — and where possible mediate in — conflict situations.

'Clean hands' disqualify govt — PAC

Political Correspondent

THE doctrine of "clean hands" disqualified the government from convening a summit on violence, the PAC said in an open letter to President F W de Klerk yesterday.

"The state must recuse itself from the convening chair as it is a party to the conflict and has an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations," the PAC in the letter which spelt out its reasons not to attend this weekend's summit.

However, the PAC said it could appreciate the motivation of those oppressed persons who were attending the two-day conference in Pretoria.

"We appreciate your desire to see an end to the violence ... (but) ... we do not think that you will achieve much as a crucial part of the agenda must be to advance the designs of the state."

However, the PAC added that it regretted that the oppressed had not first met before meeting Mr De Klerk.

In the open letter the PAC said it would continue to work closely with the ANC, Azapo and Inkatha in a bid to end the violence and to prevent "a Beirut situation" in the country.

It noted that the blame for the violence was "not solely that of the regime."

"Sections of the liberation movement have used or are still using the barbaric necklace murders, children run so-called 'people's courts' with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices."

In his reaction last night the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the PAC was apparently not prepared to become involved constructively "in any way whatsoever" in any future talks or negotiations.

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Church leaders bid to start peace talks

W/Mail 3/5-9/5/91 (2774)

pared to participate in De Klerk's summit.

The intervention of the churches came as South Africa entered a week which Mandela described as "crucial".

Speaking at a May Day rally in Sebokeng, he warned that the next few days would "determine whether or not our hopes of moving forward quickly towards the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist democratic society in our country are to be dashed even before we have begun to negotiate".

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has threatened to call a general strike if the government does not respond seriously to the deadline

The violence — and the perceived complicity of security force members on the side of Inkatha — has generated intense anger among rank and file ANC members. This week many were saying the only solution was to destroy Inkatha by force.

Chikane said in a statement yesterday the only way to avert the violence was for the government to stop it. He said he was hopeful the meetings with De Klerk and Mandela could find a solution to break the deadlock.

De Klerk first called a peace conference, scheduled for May 24 and 25 in Pretoria, two weeks ago. He said in parliament on Thursday that the ANC's participation in the conference was important but the government would proceed even if the ANC were not there.

The ANC has rejected both any troika arrangement involving Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi and the peace conference, if it is to be hosted by the government. The ANC did not reject a peace summit outright, but said it would have to be called by an organisation or person not a party to the conflict.

De Klerk warned in parliament on Monday that the country was slipping towards civil war and the culture of violence in the townships had to be healed.

However, the security forces were yet again in the forefront of criticism for their handling of the violence. The conflict in Soweto was sparked by Sunday's funeral for the assassinated mayor of Dobsonville, Moses Kumalo, where *rooidoeke* went on the rampage, slaughtering residents while police apparently stood by doing very little to prevent it.

And despite police assurances that they would strictly enforce the curfew in Soweto from Tuesday night to prevent bloodshed during May Day celebrations, the death toll in the aftermath of Wednesday's clashes stood at 37 by late Thursday.

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo, charged at a May Day rally this week that the ANC could not be blamed for concluding that De Klerk had a "double agenda": "Even if De Klerk does not encourage them openly, he certainly has done nothing to stop the anti-peace forces."

Chikane said the events of the past days confirmed ANC reports that there were plans to wage war against township residents between April 28 and May 9 "to create a situation where no agreement can be reached between the De Klerk government and the ANC to bring negotiations back on track".

Weekly Mail reporters in Soweto this week witnessed a determined bloodlust from both the red-headbanded Inkatha supporters and the white-headbanded ANC "comrades".

ANC spokesman Saki Makozoma said yesterday the current violence bore out the ANC's prediction last weekend that a major offensive was being planned against the movement.

Real hopes for peace emerge

Back from the brink

w/mail 3/5-9/5/91

274

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

CHURCH leaders have launched a fresh peace initiative in a bid to break the political deadlock and draw South Africa back from the brink of civil war.

As intense violence continued to rage in Soweto and other Witwatersrand townships this week, the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, was engaged in shuttle diplomacy aimed at drawing all parties to the conflict to the peace table.

Church leaders were arranging to meet President FW de Klerk on Friday morning to discuss their proposals.

Chikane and Dr Beyers Naude met with African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela on Thursday. On the agenda were the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, De Klerk's proposal for a peace summit and for a troika meeting between De Klerk, Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is understood that the SACC has won the backing of the ANC for the notion that the churches should host a multi-party conference on violence — taking over this role from De Klerk.

Chikane met on April 23 with Buthelezi, who is pre-

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Traditional weapon? Residents of 'Chicken Farm' squatter ca to defend their area, armed with a medieval-style axe

VIOLENCE

AN AIR OF CRISIS

FM 3/5/91 (274)

Government's decision to sell part of the strategic oil stockpile — to raise about R2bn for socio-economic upliftment among disadvantaged communities — is part of a wide-ranging new strategy aimed at curbing political violence and restoring foreign investor confidence in the country.

The decision, announced in parliament this week by President F W de Klerk, follows repeated warnings from political and business leaders during his whistle-stop European tour last week that no foreign funds will flow into SA unless the spiral of violence is broken.

Confronted by twin ultimatums from the ANC to meet the goals of the Pretoria Minute and to create a climate conducive to constitutional negotiations before May 9, De Klerk said legislation would also be introduced in the present session to create an emergency fund for victims of violence. Whether this will save the day for negotiations remains to be seen.

Ultimately, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles — another stumbling block on the road to real negotiations — rests with De Klerk. As the *FM* went to press De Klerk told parliament he intended to address the question this week.

The US Congress, which is already involved in meetings on the scrapping of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, requires De Klerk to fulfil four of five measures for the lifting of sanctions: the release of political prisoners; the start of negotiations; the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts; and the ending of the State of Emergency.

But escalating violence is emerging as the real problem.

Last weekend 48 people died in violence in Natal and the Transvaal, 22 of them massacred after Inkatha impis attacked them in full view of a strong police contingent in Soweto, following warnings by the ANC two days previously to government that such an attack was imminent.

Colonel Jac de Vries, regional head of PR for police in Soweto, who was present during Sunday's massacre, told the *FM*: "It was not possible to prevent any deaths." Police fired "birdshot and teargas in one instance during the procession."

De Vries said there were "sufficient policemen who were properly armed" and who, after the killings, "escorted" the impis "back to Dube hostel. We didn't confiscate any traditional or other weapons or arrest anyone." He said he could not arrest anyone before investigations had been completed as "there were about 3 000 or 3 500 people; if I had arrested them it would have been illegal."

Yet in terms of new government legislation traditional weapons may not be displayed at public rallies nor during potential unrest situations, and the funeral clearly fell into both categories. De Vries's excuse was that "it would have created more problems if we confiscated the weapons."

Hundreds of political prisoners will be released this week and a revised new Bill to replace the Internal Security Act (a Harare Declaration and Pretoria Minute obstacle to negotiations) will be tabled. However, it is already clear that a core group of political prisoners, in particular, Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, will remain in jail while the ANC



De Klerk ... *a test for leadership*

and government bicker about their release.

Though De Klerk claimed in Europe last week that there were fewer than 200 political prisoners in jail, General Fred Munro, director of Prisoner Control of the Department of Correctional Services, revealed in an audit committee meeting to determine the numbers of political prisoners last week that there were 4 000 unrest-related prisoners.

There are also almost 1 500 political prisoners in jail and a similar number are trialists in just over 200 continuing political trials.

De Klerk has renewed an invitation to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkhata Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in elevating the question of violence above party-political manipulation.

"I am sure neither of them doubts my sincerity," he said.

De Klerk added that he thought the critical problem of violence and intimidation could not be solved by public declarations, rhetoric nor threatening ultimatums. In that spirit, there were elements in the latest ANC statements that could have negative effects.

In as much as these statements were an expression of a "cry for peace," as had been spelt out in newspaper advertisements, said De Klerk, "I welcome them — they are an echo of the cry in the hearts of all peace-loving South Africans. To that I will listen."

He invited the two leaders to join him in "allowing discussions we began in March to take place now — such a discussion could also serve in preparation for the meeting (the summit on violence) on May 24 and 25."

To break the spiral of violence "we need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society — the time has come for them to speak up in public." Violence on the Left and threats of counterreaction led to polarisation which could end in civil war, said De Klerk.

To stop violence, the culture of violence in SA society had to be cured, said De Klerk. "And in order to do so, we once again need the co-operation of every political leader, every church, educational and community leader. That is why I called for the special summit on peace ... the time has come for the men of peace to gather."

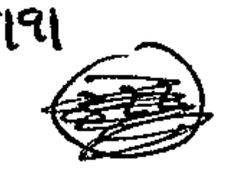
Though some senior ANC officials believe the movement should respond positively to government's mooted summit on violence, few in the ANC, academia or political circles believe that yet another round table of talking heads can end the violence that has claimed the lives of an average seven people a day this year and about 10 000 lives since 1985.

In a sharply worded speech to the National Union of Mineworkers at the weekend, Mandela said: "If only 100 whites in this country had been killed through violence there would have been a revolt and government would have been overthrown ... In any democratic country in the world where 13 people are killed in one massacre (a reference to last month's Alexandra killings,) the head of state would have come forward condemning it and expressing sympathy to the next of kin. De Klerk has not once done this."

All sides need to move urgently to end violence, meet the criteria called for in the Pretoria Minute and get negotiations back on track. Anything less will have the gravest consequences for SA's political and economic future. ■

EDUCATION FM 3/5/91

PENS DOWN



For the first time in the history of white education a strike by teachers looks a possibility. At this stage it seems only a meeting

'Overcrowding, lack of services at root of much of the trouble'

Leaders must campaign for peace

Leader of the Democratic Party Dr Zac de Beer says "each one of us has a very clear duty to contribute whatever he or she can to the checking of the killing and maiming which threaten our hopes of building a nation."

Dr De Beer says that in the short term there are things that can be done quickly.

Viewpoint on Violence



By Zac de Beer

THE violence is deep-rooted and its causes are extremely complex. Yet each one of us has a very clear duty to contribute whatever he or she can to the checking of the killing and maiming which threaten our hopes of building a nation.

Short term

It seems to me that there are only three things that can be done quickly, and the sheer size of the townships make them all very difficult.

The first, of course, is to step up the policing of the affected areas. Trained personnel are scarce and we have a crime wave to fight: but the control of the violence must get top priority.

There must be additional recruiting and training of police personnel.

One weakness in the capability of the police is the lack of rapport between them and many township residents, mainly a legacy of the apartheid years.

This will not be easily or quickly overcome, but there must be a conscious plan to break through and establish confidence. It may be worth thinking of a distinctive badge of some kind to be worn by those police who are engaged in the combating of the violence.

Certainly — and I am sure this is happening already — police must take special care to seek out and talk to community leaders, with the aim of enlisting their co-operation.

There must be close monitoring. This will be best carried out by mixed groups of people, both from outside and from within the townships. Data processing systems must be developed for the co-ordination of information received.

The third short-term step that must be taken is political leadership and pressure. I believe that every leader of stature will be prepared to help.

There must be whistle-stop tours of the affected areas by joint groups consisting of leaders from the ANC, Inkatha and other parties, including the parliamentary ones

"They must share platforms, be seen together, appeal to the people to stop the fighting and put their faith in the journey that is coming.

As always with social problems, the long-term solution depends upon identifying and eliminating root causes.

Like so much else in our country, the violence has its roots in the apartheid years.

The perception among black people that there would be no justice for them, the proverty and neglect, the social and family disintegration caused by decades of pass laws, the rising political tensions of the struggle — these are at least some of the causes that must be removed. But how?

Surely we must proceed with all deliberate speed to set up systems of local government which can have the respect of the people, and which may be able to provide some discipline, and even more important, some moral leadership away from violence.

The impasse which exists at the present time simply must be brought to an end.

One does not have to believe that all local councillors are corrupt in order to realise that they were elected by a system which most of the people rejected.

One does not have to condone the disgraceful assaults on such councillors in order to see the need to change the system.

Of course, the awful social conditions in most of the townships are a fertile breeding ground for violence as well as for crime.

Overcrowding and lack of basic services are at the root of much of the trouble. There are strenous attempts under way to improve matters, though it will certainly take a long time to make any real impression on the size of the problem.

Linked to though distinct from the matter of social conditions is the whole question of the national economy. Nothing would do more to improve the quality of township life than a strong economic upswing with the job creation that would accompany it.

As John F Kennedy once said: "A rising tide lifts all boats." Six percent growth is more vital than anything else, though, growth depends upon investment and investment depends on confidence — and confidence must depend to a considerable extent upon the cessation of the violence. This is almost a Catch 22 sort of situation.

Catch 22 it may be, but we have to break out of it somehow. The president spoke on April 29 of the culture of violence that is threatening our country.

Rightly, he attributed it quite largely to the errors of the past. The apartheid years were anything but conducive to the upholding of human dignity. The armed struggle, and the reaction to it, held life cheap.

Violence is being used as a political weapon and, always lurking in the shadows, there is the threat of a major ethnic clash.

Mere words will not achieve much, but a formal undertaking by political leaders right across the board to campaign jointly for justice and peace may offer more hope.

There is already a clear move away from capital punishment, and this in itself tends to increase the respect for human life. Human dignity is the supreme value.

The task is so formidable as to be almost overwhelming. But we are being swept down the rapids of the river of our history, and when you are in the rapids you must swim for your life.

"Certainly — and I am sure this is happening already — police must take special care to seek out and talk to community leaders, with the aim of enlisting their co-operation.

"The third short-term step that must be taken is political leadership and pressure. I believe that every leader of stature will be prepared to help."

Trained personnel are scarce and we have a crime wave to fight: but the control of the violence must get top priority.

(274) ARCT 3/5/91

Peace summit will go ahead, says De Klerk

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk has made it clear he will press ahead with this month's peace summit in Pretoria even if the ANC declines to take part.

But the government's "fair and positive" plan to stop the killings and resolve causes of the violence needed the support of everybody and his efforts would be guided by the principle of inclusivity. He would welcome the ANC's support for the initiative.

Thankless task

Mr De Klerk also told parliament in a wide-ranging speech during the debate on the presidential budget yesterday that the government remained committed to getting a multi-party conference under way as soon as possible, and that there was no turning back to the "dead-end" of pre-1990 policies such as the state of emergency and the banning of organisations.

This would lead to rapid international isolation, increasing terrorism and a situation ripe for revolution.

While promising swift action against members of the security forces who did not act impartially, Mr De Klerk praised the police for the thankless task they did, and gave his full backing to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan.

Clearly spelling out the government's relationship with the ANC, Mr De Klerk said there was neither a state of "enmity nor amity" between the two and that the government's commitment to negotiations did not mean it agreed with everything the ANC said or did.

Indeed, there were fundamental differences on key issues, and, while the government recognised the ANC was an "important" negotiating partner, there would not be "anything like a close relationship with the ANC as long as it has the South African Communist Party as an ally".

Differences between parties should be thrashed out at the negotiating table, and the emphasis of the moment, he said, must be on getting a multi-party conference going.

Good progress had been made towards this goal.

Among key agenda items for the conference were:

- Measures to include negotiating partners in executive and legislative decision-making. (Mr De Klerk said he did not have a "negative attitude" to the idea of a Cabinet "which would include a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans", and if there was consensus on this, it would merit "serious consideration".)

- Ways of phasing-out own affairs, although he was not prepared to consider piecemeal amendments to the Constitution. (Rationalisation of own affairs had already begun, he said.)

He said the government was not prepared to allow the "momentum of the reform process to be sabotaged by people or parties that are merely seeking to use it for selfish motives, such as destabalising the country".

Mr De Klerk said that while the ANC's participation in the peace summit this month would make an important contribution, the summit would go ahead regardless.

Responding to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, Mr De Klerk said the movement had a constructive role to play in the talks process; it was central to the process and could not now escape from the challenges it had helped to create, and its latest demands were the very subject of the summit.

"I am not without understanding of the problems in the ANC," he said. It was clear that the movement would be ready for negotiations only after its national conference in July.

Tragedy ahead, warns Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC social welfare chief Mrs Winnie Mandela has warned that South Africa is heading for tragedy.

She issued the warning yesterday while touring neighbourhoods hit by faction fighting.

Looking strained, Mrs Mandela visited a home in Dube, Soweto, where a woman had been killed yesterday.

Viewing a blood-spattered room, she said: "South Africa is facing a growing tragedy. This is the kind of violence that has gripped the country." — Sapa.

SA security laws to 'change'

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday announced far-reaching changes to security legislation in South Africa — but stopped short of scrapping detention without trial.

Mr De Klerk told Parliament that the Internal Security Act would soon be stripped of "those elements which impinge on the democratic process", including the banning and preventive detention of individuals.

The provisions allowing the government to declare organisations illegal and detain persons for questioning would be "amended drastically" but not repealed entirely.

Mr De Klerk said during his budget vote that the controversial 1982 Internal Security Act (ISA) would be purged of those provisions which had an inhibiting effect in the participation in normal political activities.

These included the scrapping of those stipulations which provided for:

- The restriction or preventive detention of persons.
- The banning of publications and restrictions on newspapers.
- The barring of certain people, including communists, from standing for Parliament or practising as lawyers.
- The bar on promoting communism.

Mr De Klerk said the provisions which allowed for the declaring of organisations illegal and the detention of persons for questioning would be drastically amended.

The necessary legislation would be clarified by the Minister to Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in the "next few days".

In his address, Mr De Klerk said that the government would go ahead with the proposed all-party summit on violence whether the ANC attended or not.

The ANC latest rejection of the government's peace proposals were "unfair and removed from reality" and the search for peace would continue — with or without the ANC, he said.

The government was "positive" about the need to give non-parliamentary parties a voice in important policy decisions during the period of transition.

The multi-party conference would be the appropriate forum to discuss the best ways to achieve this at the executive and legislative levels.

The politics of violence

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Is the killing part of a Government master plan?

PATRICK LAURENCE

APARTHEID is disintegrating as its legislative pillars crumble before President de Klerk's reformist assault. Yet political violence intensifies and the spectre of civil war haunts the nation.

Breyten Breytenbach, renowned Afrikaans poet, perspicacious thinker, "prison graduate" and long-time opponent of apartheid, offers an explanation of the paradox.

"We are now living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes," he says.

The objective of the apartheid apparatchiki is to prolong the dissolution; their hope is that the African National Congress, burdened with "internal contradictions and the weight of popular expectations", will split fatally.

The war against anti-apartheid forces has changed form but not ceased: "For the authorities 'negotiations' is a means of continuing (their) war of attrition against the population of South Africa."

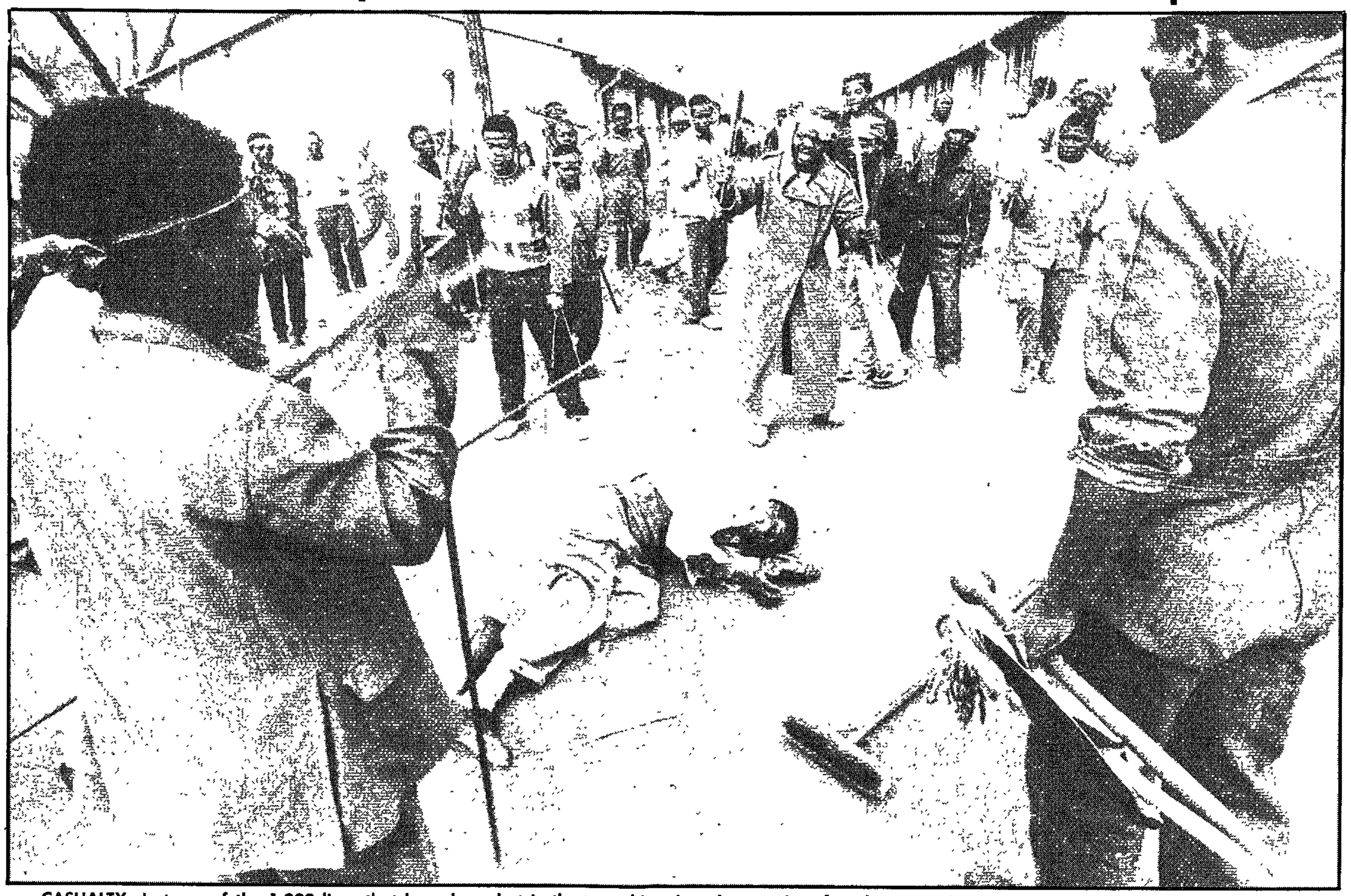
Their chosen instrument for the new underground war is, he asserts, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

President de Klerk's men, he says, have "stretched out red hands to take the hand of Buthelezi and to hoist him into a position of national eminence".

Mr Breytenbach's powerful exposition is not new. Its core is found in the ANC's open letter to Mr de Klerk, released on April 5. In it, the ANC accuses the security forces of assisting or, at the least, conniving in attacks on ANC-aligned forces or communities by Inkatha vigilantes.

Their purpose is twofold: to weaken the ANC and to boost Inkatha's image from that of a "minor actor to the third major player" after the Government and the ANC.

These assertions preface the ANC ultimatum to Mr de Klerk to accede to seven demands, including the dismissal of his Ministers of Defence and Law and Order who, in the ANC's view, are part of the problem, not the solution.



CASUALTY: Just one of the 1 000 lives that have been lost in the townships since August. As reform has gained momentum, so the violence has intensified.

portunities to exercise real power, are manouevring for advantage. Rivalry is high. The atmosphere is volatile. It is no coincidence that fighting between Inkatha and ANC forces flared up anew in March 1990, shortly after Mr Mandela's release from jail the month before.

The situation has been compounded by tribalism or "ethno-nationalism". The intra-black violence which has cut like a scythe through black townships around Johannesburg since last August, claiming at least 1 000 lives, has a distinct tribal dimension.

At its cutting edge, it has frequently pitted Zulu migrant workers, proclaiming loyalty to the Inkatha Freedom Party, against Xhosa-speakers. Xhosas have themselves frequently been migrant workers or squatters living close to Zulu-controlled bachelor hostels.

Men have been killed because of their tribal affinity. Ideological loyalty has been frequently irrelevant

The Inkatha Freedom Party started life in 1975 as a specifically Zulu movement. Since then Inkatha has undergone two important changes, opening its ranks first to all blacks and then, less than a year ago, to all races. Even in its newest form, however, it remains a largely Zulu organisation.

The ANC is a supra-tribal organisation, but most of its key posts are occupied by Xhosas. The ANC's president, deputy president, general secretary, foreign secretary and information chief, are all Xhosas. So, too, is the chief of staff of its underground army, Chris Hani.

Xhosa pre-eminence in the ANC's top leadership is matched by the small number of Zulus in its upper ranks. Jacob Zuma, the ANC intelligence chief is one of the few prominent Zulus in the ANC's top leadership.

The imbalance — Zulus are the biggest ethnic group in South Africa — explains why less sophisticated Zulus refer derisively to Mr Mandela as "a Xhosa man" and to the ANC as "Xhosa-isation".

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A similar perspective emerges in - South African Communist Party ...nal Umsebenzi. It concedes that ... de Klerk has scrapped, or is in - process of scrapping, the major ...rtheid laws But, it adds, the dis...antling of apartheid requires more ... repeal of "racist laws".

It defines apartheid as the politi...l power of an "illegitimate minori... regime", buttressed by its security ...ces and laws, and the economic ...wer and privileges of the white ...inority, accumulated after "dec...s of National Party oppression".

It lambasts President de Klerk, ...cusing him of praising the security ...ces — "which continue to harass, ...tain and even kill black people" — ... of keeping silent about disband... death squads

These assertions raise the question whether Mr de Klerk, whose polit...l line of succession goes back to ... founding fathers of apartheid, ... finally abandoned apartheid or ...ther he has merely changed its ... form.

To re-phrase the same question is de Klerk's primary objective still ... maintenance of white hegemony ... has he merely changed the ter...rain to eliminate world hostility, roll back sanctions, strip the ANC of its world allies and ability to pursue the struggle more effectively?

Those who see Mr de Klerk as an apartheid wolf in reformist clothing can adduce arguments, if not evidence, to support their view.

One is his initial reluctance to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the activities of death squads after three ex-policemen claimed to have assassinated anti-apartheid activities on orders from above and after the existence of a secret defence force unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, was uncovered.

Another is his subsequent refusal to authorise Judge Louis Harms, who conducted the inquiry, to investigate the murder of the Namibian lawyer Anton Lubowski despite prima facie evidence that his assassins were CCB operatives.

His apparent reluctance to take action against Defence Minister Magnus Malan after the CCB was sharply criticised by Mr Justice Harms falls into the same category.

The security forces, for whom Mr de Klerk is finally responsible, have been sharply criticised by two judges. police for their role in the Sebokeng township shooting of March 1990, and soldiers for their actions in another massacre in the same township six months later

Then there is the statement, made late last month, of a military policeman, Sipho Madlala. He admits that he was part of a secret hit squad which ambushed and murdered the Natal anti-apartheid leader, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, in February.

The murder weapons were unlicensed guns confiscated by the police. They were chosen, Mr Madlala avows, to prevent the killing being traced to the security forces.

Mr Madlala's statement, judging from accounts of it published in the Natal Witness and City Press, is reminiscent in lots of ways of the sworn testimony of three policemen who confessed to assassinating another anti-apartheid man, Griffiths Mxenge, in November 1981.

These events must be juxtaposed against another development the growing belief in the National Party that it can lead a grand coalition of "Christian" forces to victory against the ANC in a one person, one vote election.

The National Party's conviction that it can abolish voting apartheid — racially segregated voters voting for racially separate institutions or chambers — and still retain power is spelt out by the Afrikaans journalist Anne-Marie Mishke.

It rests on the belief that the National Party and/or its allies will win a majority of white votes, garner a substantial share of votes from the Indians and the coloureds — racial minorities, like the whites — and win a respectable share of votes in the black community.

The belief that it can attract a significant proportion of black votes, directly or indirectly, depends on three inter-related assumptions, all of which are to be found in white folklore about black compatriots.

First the ANC is Xhosa-dominated and that therefore there will be an inclination by blacks who are not Xhosas to look for an alternative to the ANC.

Second. rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC is so strong that the Zulus — who form the bulk of Inkatha's supporters — see the National Party rather than the ANC as their natural ally in the struggle ahead.

Third: the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party will tilt the Zionist Christian Church, the biggest independent black church, into the National Party fold.

It is, of course, quite within the rules of democracy for the National Party to strive to win the anticipated post-settlement one-person, one-vote election through a judicious mix of political manouevring and bargaining for allies.

But do its political stratagems extend to the application against the ANC of the technique of destabilisation, perfected in the 1980s as a lethal weapon against neighbouring states suspected of supporting ANC guerillas?

The ANC, dismissing emphatic denials from Mr de Klerk, his Ministers of Law and Order and Defence and Chief Buthelezi, contends that they do. Mr de Klerk, the ANC says, has a double agenda: he wants to talk to it but he also wants to weaken it.

It is, however, less than rigorous, if not facile, to attribute the violence threatening to engulf South Africa solely to the machinations of the apartheid state or to "elements in the security forces" acting without orders.

The ANC's hands are not clean. Its cadres, driven by an intolerant zealotry, have been involved in clashes with the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation. Members of its guerilla army are suspected of killing dissidents from their own ranks and black people deemed to be informers or collaborators, of whom Mayor Moses Khumalo of Diepkloof, an Inkatha man, is the latest example.

South Africa is undergoing a major transition. Even those who argue that apartheid is not yet eradicated acknowledge that the changes initiated by Mr de Klerk are fundamental; the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle and its bid to use the "legal space" created by Mr de Klerk's reforms to advance its cause is an indirect admission that the changes are profound.

Transitional phases in widely different societies are often violent. South Africa is no exception.

Black political forces, sensing opThe ethnic skewering of Inkatha generally, and of the ANC at leadership level, means that Inkatha-ANC rivalry degenerates all too easily into inter-tribal conflict.

To recognise the importance of tribal rivalry is not, however, to contend that it is the primary cause the conflict. The situation is more complex.

Additional underlying causes of violence are deeply embedded in South Africa society They include

- Ideological intolerance (for which the apartheid must bear at least a portion of the blame).
- Population explosion (the annual growth rate in the black community is nearly 3 percent).
- Low economic growth rate (it has been a mere 1,5 percent a year for the past decade).
- High inflation (since 1980 it has averaged around 15 percent)
- Escalating unemployment (by the turn of the century, even if the economy grows at 3,5 percent a year; more than 50 percent of the workforce could be unemployed).

Before these structural causes of violence can be remedied, however, the violence itself must be halted

It is a daunting challenge for the nation's leaders.

Paramilitary units 'add to violence'

(Star 4/5/91) (274)

MARK SUZMAN

FROM AWB commandos to ANC defence units, new paramilitary forces are springing up, all asserting their claim to be protecting their communities from crime and violence

To some observers, however, these organisations are a prescription for disaster Rather than stopping the violence, they believe they will only provoke further unrest.

Others have drawn parallels to the early failure of the kitskonstabel system, noting the problems that befell the townships when large numbers of poorly trained but well-armed policemen abused their authority

According to Derrick Fine, a researcher at the Legal Education Action project of the University of Cape Town's Institute of Criminology, in the past the kitskonstabels repeatedly misused their power and as a result became part of the problem rather than a solution

Sub-culture

In all, by 1989 over 1 000 complaints had been brought against these special policemen including theft, rape, assault and murder

Describing the system as an extension of "black-on-black policing" that was first started by using black armies and police forces to keep control in the homelands, Mr Fine notes that this form of keeping order has helped generate a subculture of organised violence

The latest such organisation to be mooted has been the Township Defence Units proposed by Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal' (CAST) and endorsed by the ANC and the SA Communist Party

According to CAST secretary general Sam Ntuli, over 50 such defence units are already in place, many of them reactivated "sleeper units" from the township unrest of the mid-1980s More may follow.

A recent document by the ANC, "For the Sake of Our Lives", sets out a series of guidelines for such units, asserting that defence units be formalised into a series of 500-man companies that will be trained to defend their townships

Envisaging a force of 2 000 to protect a township of 20 000, the report, largely drawn up by the SA Communist Party, endorses the wearing of uniforms, constant drilling, "political education", martial arts classes and use of weapons like crossbows until sufficient firearms can be procured

Nevertheless, Mr Ntuli insists that any comparisons to the kitskonstabels are spurious because they operated in opposition to the community while the defence units are designed to defend it.

And although he admits that MK members would feature prominently in the units, he denies that they would become a political army for the ANC "Even Inkatha members would be free to be elected by a street committee."

But when pressed on the question of whether MK and SACP involvement, especially with regard to the question of political education, did not already imply some kind of partisanship, Mr Ntuli said that he could not discuss training as the issue was still "very sensitive".

Nevertheless, in justifying their existence by the principle of self-defence, the units bear a distinct resemblance to their political opposites, the Boerekommandos organised by the AWB.

According to AWB leader Eugene Terre-blanche, the commandos, which claim to have tripled in size since their formation early last year, provide training in methods such as "handguns, shotguns and karate" for people to defend the white communities, and are supplemented by a "brandwagte" group of women and children who also receive weapons training

'Takeover'

"The commandos are there to protect our people from the total takeover by the ANC They (the ANC) have declared war and we must defend ourselves," he asserts.

But while these two groups are the most conspicuous, other organisations are considering creating their own defence forces

On the right wing, the Blanke Vryheidsbeweging has announced a plan to set up a "people's security network", while the Transvaal Agricultural Union has announced it is also considering setting up "independent defence structures" to protect land and property.

In addition, the PAC is reportedly discussing similar structures, while Inkatha "impis" have already transformed themselves into loose defence units.

And as Graeme Simpson, acting director of Wits University's Project for the Study of Violence, notes, the key theme to all of these units is the notion of self defence

"The underlying assumption is that an externalised enemy is directed against an internal community. But it fails to recognise the reality that the community is often politically divided against itself," he said

Whatever the source, the South African Police unequivocally reject the formation of such private defence groups.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said the SAP accepts the right of any individual to protect himself or his family but rejects the concept of "so-called self-defence units".

"They do nothing but polarise the sitation further. It is a recipe for violence, bloodshed and even civil war"

Perception

Nevertheless, as Mr Simpson notes, a large part of the motivation for these private armies lies in the public's perception of the SAP itself

"The problem is that in the minds of many people the SAP is not a credible law enforcement agency in the context of political conflict."

In addition, he argues that as the violence continues it becomes increasingly less political and generates its own subculture of warlords and fighters who depend on the continuation of such conflict for their livelihood

To end the violence, Mr Simpson says, two main things are necessary: a rapid political settlement to ease uncertainties on the ground, and a reconstituted police force that can win the trust of the communities it purports to protect.

"A new image is not enough. To regain credibility, we need a new police force that relies on the expertise of the old SAP, but is independent from it and accountable to civilian authorities," he asserts

And in the meantime, the potential for further conflict, as more and more people start patrolling the streets to defend themselves, continues to escalate.

Clerics 'hopeful' after talks with FW

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CHURCH leaders emerged from hour-long talks with President De Klerk yesterday hopeful that a damaging negotiations deadlock over the ANC's May 9 ultimatum could be averted.

The clerics, who had also had discussions with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said in a brief statement that although the situation remained "delicate and complex" they were "convinced there is a willingness on both sides to bring the threatened deadlock to an end".

They said they had intervened because of the "tragic" implications of the "crisis". They believed their role was to encourage the politicians to meet and resolve their differences.

Growing dissent

The clerical intervention follows growing dissent between the government and the ANC, mainly focused on violence and ways to end it.

One of seven church leaders, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Rev Frank Chikane, said: "We hope that after this (the discussions) there will be processes that will assist in ending the threat. We have seen a willingness of both sides. We are quite hopeful."

Mr De Klerk did not issue a statement after the meeting and the clerics would not be drawn on what processes they believed would be effective in resolving differences between the government and the ANC.

They declined to give details of the "sensitive nature of the discussions", insisting they did not wish to "rock the boat", but rejected speculation that an SACC-sponsored peace summit to replace Mr De Klerk's proposed summit was on the agenda.

Not mediators

Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SACC, said. "We have not yet said anything about that. That was not the subject of our discussion. Our concern is that if the threatened deadlock is not resolved, then all other processes can be threatened."

He said: "We do not pretend to be mediators. Our duty is to encourage the different parties... to come together and talk so that we do not land up in a tragic situation."

Mr Chikane said: "Once the threatened deadlock is resolved, then the politicians should meet to work on the details of how to go into the future. It is not our role to determine how they should do this.

"We have come in because of the crisis which we feel has serious implications for the country and all South Africans."

Dr Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, said that given the level of violence, there was a "great need for the leaders to get together".

New attitudes

"We are here to see what we can do to encourage people to meet. It is not for the church to find new structures, economically or politically. The role of the church is to inculcate new attitudes."

He added: "I have an idea that on the grounds of what the President said, he is willing to do what he can and it is clear from the ANC's side that there is a will to find a peaceful solution."

● The full church delegation comprised Dr Mgojo, Mr Chikane, Bishop Reginald Orsmond, deputy president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop Laurence Henry of the Catholic Church, Dr Johan Heyns, Sheikh N Mohammed of the World Conference on Religion and Peace and president of the Muslim Judicial Council and Rabbi A Seltzer of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation.

Barney Desai, secretary for publicity and information of the Pan Africanist Congress, who was invited to express his views on violence, along with other political leaders as part of the series Viewpoints on Violence, says peace is a pre-condition to the PAC's efforts in building a democratic future for South Africa.

PAC seeks peace, says Desai

Viewpoint on Violence



By Barney Desai

THE Pan Africanist Congress has with consistent regularity at all its meetings, nationwide and internationally, appealed for peace. We see peace as a pre-condition to our efforts to build a democratic future for our people

At our first meeting with the full national executive of the African National Congress in Harare last month, both executives debated the wide violence ravaging our people, at great length. I am of the opinion that our resolution to this terrible problem needs airing to as wide as possible an audience, more particularly since Chief Buthelezi's exclusive article in The Argus (on Tuesday) on the subject.

Our meeting decided, and I quote, "to draw the attention of our people and the world to the fact that the principal source of this violence is the South African government.

"Employing special counter insurgency units such as the CCB, Koevoet, Battalion 32, the Askaris and the Z-squads and others to repress and terrorise the national liberation movements and other democratic forces, during the 1984-86 uprisings, the government established special auxiliary units such as the Witdoeke, and other vigilantes as its own specialised agencies for crushing the democratic resistance in a number of communities. What we are seeing today is the generalising of the method of repression."

PAC/ANC were not unmindful of the violent activities of persons in our own ranks who have also been culprits in this respect.

We resolved to identify and speedily isolate those among us who indulge in attacks on our supporters and of other political organisations, with a view to preventing the government and its agencies from exploiting such tensions for their own ends.

"All organisations should desist from making hegemonistic claims on the territory of residential, townships or educational institutions

"All organisations should encourage a culture of political tolerance and democratic practice among the oppressed."

We stressed that "all organisations should undertake to isolate and discipline those of their members who are perpetrators of inter-organisation violence ... No person/s should be forced to participate in political campaigns through coercion."

Realising that much of the violence takes place at township levels it was resolved that "civics and other grassroots structures should be democratised and strengthened by making them fully representative of all shades of political opinion within the community"

PAC has had its problems with ANC structures (especially because of their hegemonistic tendencies) at Komga, Vosloorus, Munsieville, Bekkersdal and Crossroads to mention a few places. In some cases issues have been resolved and in others more resolute action needs to be taken by our leaderships

It is noteworthy that because we have no regard for the impartiality of the security forces and suspect a hidden agenda, we decided at Harare not to do any buck passing on this vital issue and we resolve in the event of violence in any area that troops and police should not be called in to restore order, instead the leadership on the ground and regional executives and NECS be called in to resolve problems and arbitrate on the differences between us.

The PAC will not confine its activities in this regard to our relationship with the ANC.

As an organisation we have decided to meet with Inkatha Freedom Party at the very earliest opportunity. This matter is well in hand

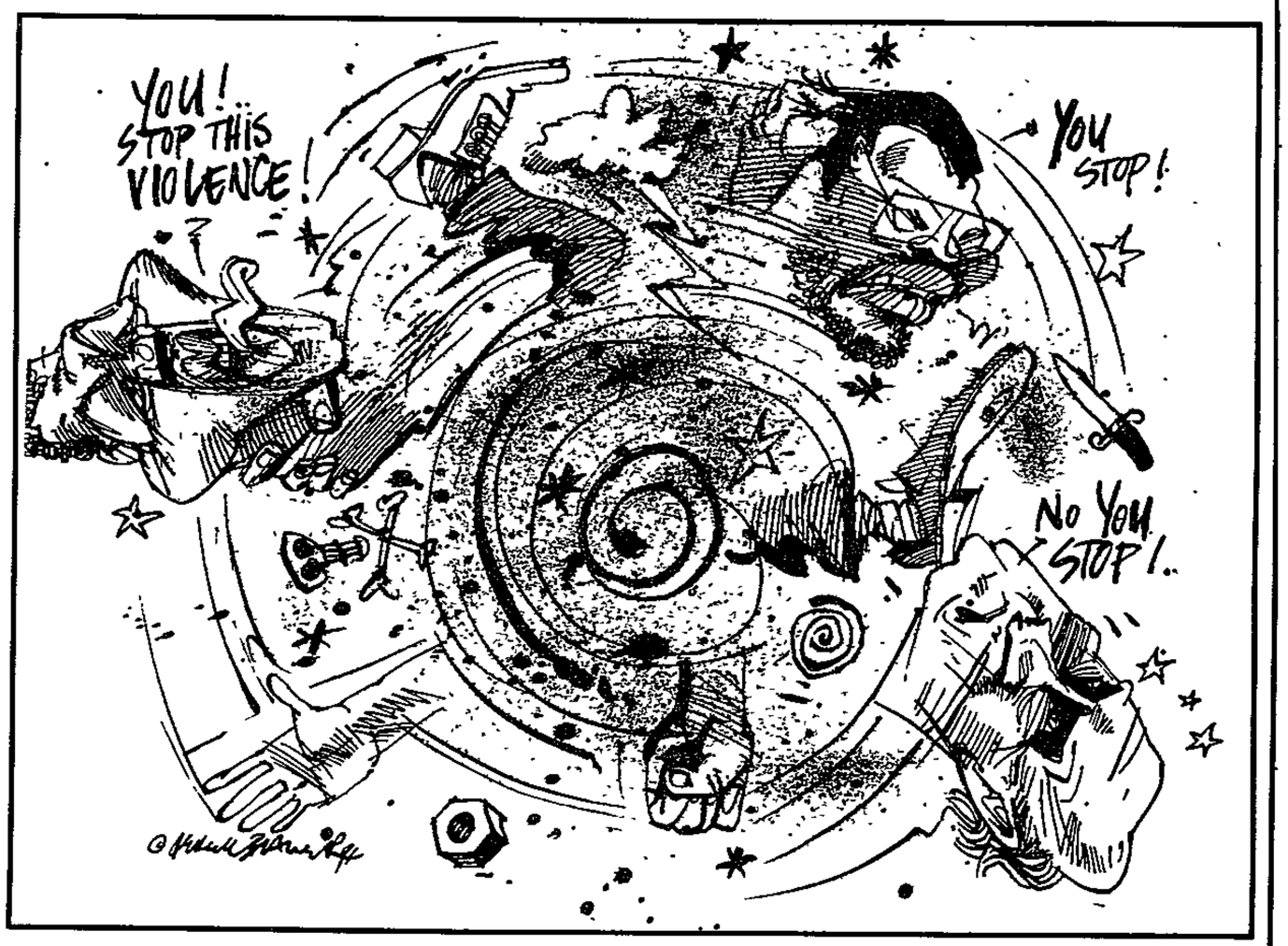
On a general note let me add that PAC is minimally involved in violence but maximally concerned at the ravages violence is causing to our people.

We are extremely distrustful of the "forces of law and order" because we do not expect protection from a majority of that force who are poisoned with racism and nutrured in the school of brutalising our people. One speech by Mr De Klerk is not going to act "like a magic word" to erase the hate that the SAP has for us nor the same feelings we harbour for them.

The most expeditious and lasting way out of these war zones is the speedy establishment of a legitimate authority which can only come about by the creation, with utmost speed, of a Constituent Assembly which will definitely answer the question of a legitimate government with authority over law enforcement agencies. There are no short cuts. In the meantime I don't think that our grave situation warrants an Inkatha spokesman declaring war on the ANC and SACP.

Let our problems be resolved at the ballot box and not in the arena of the panga and the AK. We must speak to each other as human beings who have a common objective.

We believe that in going ahead to organise a Patriotic Front conference in August we are doing more for peace than all the proposals coming from the government.



New hope for peace

Cape Times 4/5/91

J74

By BARRY STREEK

CHURCH leaders hope to break the deadlock between the government and the ANC over the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

A delegation of religious leaders met President F W de Klerk yesterday after having met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela the day before.

The discussions concerned the violence, particularly in black townships — where 97 people have died this week, and the ANC's ultimatum which expires on Thursday.

Speaking after the meeting, the delegation said they feared an escalation of violence after that date

The delegation, which met Mr De Klerk for 90 minutes, was led by the president of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Khoza Mgojo.

TRUCE ATTEMPT IN SOWETO FAILS

See PAGE 2

Afterwards, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said: "There is a willingness on both sides, so we are hopeful that we will achieve peace."

The deputy moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, who was part of the delegation, said: "On the basis of what the State President said, it is very clear that he at least is willing to do what he can do, and it is also clear that on the side of the ANC, and particularly of Mr Mandela, there is a desire to resolve South Africa's problems peacefully."

The delegation, which included the president of the Muslim Judicial Council, Sheik Nazeem Mohammed, and Rabbi Arthur Seltzer of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, said in a statement: "We are convinced that there is a will on all sides we have met to bring this threatening deadlock to an end.

"Although the situation is delicate and complex we believe that there will be an effort to bring violence to an end."

To page 3.



PEACE BROKERS . . . Church leaders Dr Khoza Mgojo, the Rev Frank Chikane and Professor Johan Heyns after meeting President F W de Klerk yesterday to broker peace between the government and the ANC.

Inside:

ANGLO'S PLAN FOR MODEL WINE ESTATE

See PAGE 15

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From page 1

Cape Times 4/5/91

Church

A spokesman for the President's office said Mr De Klerk would not issue a statement on the discussions.

Rabbi Seltzer represented the Chief Rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues in South Africa, Rabbi Cyril Harris, in the talks.

The other members of the delegation were the deputy president of the SA Catholic Bishops Conference, Bishop Reginald Orsmond, and the Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Henry Laurence.

After the discussions, Dr Chikane said: "We are hopeful that ... there will be processes that will assist in resolving the threatening deadlock.

"Once the threatening deadlock is resolved, the politicians can meet and work out the details of how they go into the future. It is not our role to determine how they should go about this."

Dr Mgojo said: "Our duty is to encourage different parties to come together and talk so that we don't land in a very tragic situation in this country."

Professor Heyns said it was known that because of the violence in SA there was a great need for leaders to come together.

"We are here to see what we can do, to encourage people to find a political solution."

Dr Chikane said the violence was threatening to torpedo the peace process and there were forces at play that really wanted to keep the violence going.

"Because of this violence we have reached this crisis. The major obstacle is violence," he added.

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

So near, but so far apart



AS violence in our townships continues unabated and the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to the government nears, the separate realities of white and black South Africa become apparent.

On the one hand we have the affluent and orderly white suburbs where one death by violent means raises an outcry from the white community and prompts police action.

On the other hand we have the squalid and violent black townships where hundreds of deaths in one night hardly raise an eyebrow.

The contradictions of apartheid are clearly manifesting themselves.

Whites say they do not understand why blacks should slaughter each other.

They see the differences as simply tribal – Zulus against Xhosas or the ANC against Inkatha.

To black people it is not as simple as that.

Apartheid has forced us into this untenable situation. Racist legislation divided blacks ethnically for more effective rule.

Zulu and Xhosa hostels – a result of the migrant labour system and the homelands – went even further to divide people.

In the townships residents were also divided on ethnic lines, resulting in tribal areas like the Sotho Section, Shangaan Section and Pedi Section.

One justification by the architects of apartheid is that blacks prefer to stick to their own tribal group.

If this is the case, why have whites not been divided on tribal lines, where Portuguese or Germans are forced by law to live separately?

Because of apartheid, the mainstream white community has been aware only of its own narrow existence – a white South Africa where blacks are born to serve – and have been ignorant of life on the other side of the colour line.

They dare not open their eyes to the grim reality of black South Africa, to the poverty and humiliation of discrimination.

They prefer to live in a world of make-believe.

So it comes as no surprise to hear that many whites would back Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a black presidential candidate.

Though the fearsome weapons wielded by Buthelezi's followers instil terror in their hearts and their sensibilities are offended by reports of deaths between ANC and Inkatha adherents, this violence is very far removed from them.

At the end of the day, they will realise how wrong it was to allow two such polarised worlds to develop.

I was talking to a white friend about Prof Chris Barnard's announcement that he was quitting South Africa because of the escalating violence.

It was not Barnard's haughty attitude that upset him, but his cowardice and double standards, he said.

How could Barnard have been nurtured by apartheid all these years and when the system is about to crumble, leave?

"I hate such people," confessed my friend, "they want to have their cake and eat it.

"They call for apartheid to be scrapped but they want their status and position unchanged."

It appears there is still a lot that President De Klerk and other leaders must do to redress the damage inflicted by apartheid.

It is not enough to remove apartheid from the statute books. Attitudes have to change.

And black leaders? The violence has exposed their limitations. They are either too far ahead of their followers or lagging somewhere behind.

As one observer put it: some of our leaders spend more time promoting their image rather than looking at the aspirations of the people they are supposed to lead.

This observation is not far from the truth.

☐ NEGOTIATIONS

Why we need adult control again . . .

JABU MAPHALALA looks at our "lost generation" and warns we may be heading for a situation like Cambodia's Khmer Rouge.

LEGEND has it that a traveller found an old man sitting on the side of the road and asked: "What became of the black people of Sumer?

The old man replied: "Ah, they lost their history, so they died . . ."

People learn from their past to avoid making mistakes which have already been made.

In African mythology the living impart the knowledge they have learned from the dead to their offspring.

For the people of Sumer the link between the dead and the living was broken and they lost their wisdom and died. The same is happening to the black people of South Africa.

Hardly a day passes without people killing each other.

Looking back, it seems this process started almost 15 years ago following the "Soweto Uprising".

It was after that period that the social fabric of our society started to unravel.

The youth, by challenging Pretoria, assumed a role that had in the past been that of their parents.

No mechanisms were provided to ensure the continuity of adult control and thus June 1976 marked the beginning of a process which ultimately robbed the youth of parental leadership in civic matters.

The warning of what might happen in "the struggle", was made about three decades ago by Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

He warned that as soon as violence breaks out, people "will be taken up with it and give vent to their pent-up emotions and feel that by throwing a stone or burning a particular building, they are small revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary warfare".

After 1976 it was the youth who threw stones and waged running battles with the police.

Education became less of a priority. Some people objected silently while waiting for "the true leaders" to return from prison and exile to sort out the mess.

After 1983 people could only be listened to if they had "a mandate". Thus when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned against the "liberation before education" mentality, few listened as the advice came from the "wrong mouth" – even though it was good.

Today we have a "lost generation" of youth who are unemployed, unskilled, under-educated, and in some cases, "unemployable".

These are the people who have tasted power and now run the lives of residents through street committees, "people's courts", and through the enforcement of stayaways and boycotts.

Dissatisfaction with how these things are run has given people with ulterior motives opportunities to take advantage of the situation. Today we hear about "third forces" being involved in the Reef fighting.

About a year ago when Nelson Mandela asked fighting groups to "throw their weapons into the sea", it was reported that some of the "youth" tore his picture from their T-shirts.

It is ironic that the crumbling of the "pillars of apartheid" may well contribute to a process of decay in black society.

The removal of the Group Areas Act may also bring about a form of brain drain, removing expertise and positive role models from black townships.

Not because some people want to live with white people, but because they prefer to live in peace with their families.

What will happen to the people who cannot escape the psychologically damaging effects of the ghetto?

A few years ago, a black American congressman commented that while desegregation in America was a positive thing, it removed positive black role models from the ghettos. The new role models became the materially successful people like pimps, prostitutes and drug dealers.

With unemployment so high in this country, we seem to be headed in the same direction.

Statistics show that environmental factors play a very important role in a child's psychological and mental development. A child from a disadvantaged background has a smaller chance of succeeding in life than a child from an advantaged background.

The problem we face in South Africa is that members of the "lost generation" constitute a large section of our society.

We are not yet close to being a society ruled by uneducated unskilled and heavily armed youth similar to the Khmer Rouge rule in Cambodia, but we seem to be headed in that direction.

How long can we hope to survive when we continue like this?

Something has to be done urgently to help channel the energy and enthusiasm of the youth and to bring back adult control. The time to put national interest above political ones and rebuild the broken structures of our society is now.

Save SA from carnage – Rockey

S/Press 5/5/91 (274) (109)

POLITICAL leaders in South Africa should do everything in their power to rescue South Africa from the current culture of violence and disregard for human life, the leader of Bophuthatswana's banned People's Progressive Party (PPP), Rockey Malebana-Metsing, said this week.

Malebana-Metsing is currently in exile in London. He fled Bophuthatswana after the abortive coup in 1988.

Speaking in an exclusive interview, Malebana-Metsing said all South African leaders were responsible for the maintenance of law and order "now and in the future".

"This culture of violence which we (political leaders) are responsible for today, will haunt our country tomorrow, unless we commit ourselves fully to the process of peaceful change and political tolerance," he said, calling for the current phase of negotiations to be speeded up to "overtake the carnage that is engulfing South Africa".

Malebana-Metsing said the situation in both Bophuthatswana and South Africa was a matter of grave concern.

"I am, however, happy that Mangope has realised Bophuthatswana cannot afford to be outside the processes of change taking place in South Africa.

"The people of Bophuthatswana are South Africans by birth and have the right to directly participate in the process of change.

"He must make Mangope's position clear now within the process – rather than waiting to see what direction the process is going to take," he said.

Malebana-Metsing said any responsible leader who holds the future of a given number of people in his hands "must allow other political groupings within his territory to participate in the democratic process, otherwise he stands outside the spirit of the times".

"I therefore call upon Mangope to release all political prisoners and to unban all political parties, including the PPP, to allow them to campaign freely.

"I find it strange that while South Africa is freeing political prisoners the same is not being done in Bophuthatswana. Mangope cannot defeat the aspirations of the people by denying them freedom of association and of speech," he said. – ANO



Malebana-Metsing . . . Bop's people are South Africans by birth and have a right to take part in the process of change

Open that fist of anger - FW

(274)

Sowetan 6/5/91.

By KAMAL SINGH

THE church and the State should act together to rid the country of the plague of violence besetting the country, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the official opening of the International Pentecostal Church in Zuurbekom, De Klerk said God had granted each member within the church the ability to promote love, peace and harmony.

He told about 20 000 people that churches were well-equipped to feature in moulding a future of peace and hope.

"The attainment of peace and hope is not only the responsibility of politicians, police and civil servants, but the duty of us all."

He said the State and churches were partners in spreading the message of hope, peace and reconciliation.

De Klerk was guest of honour at the inauguration of a hangar-like church built outside Soweto by the International Pentecostal Church.

The church has 165 branches in the country, the homelands and neighbouring countries.

Construction of the church, under the guidance of the Reverend Frederick Samuel Modise, started in December 1986.

The complex is a dream come true for Modise.

He founded it in 1962 and claims to have three million members throughout Southern Africa.

De Klerk said: "In this partnership and pursuit of peace and justice, each has to work according to its rules and discipline.

"The State should not prescribe to churches how to spread the gospel or conduct prayer meetings.

"However, the State has the right to protest when churchmen indulge in politics.

"Christ should not be turned into a political agent.

"The Bible does not contain any political prescriptions. The church also has the right to take the State or politicians to task if they indulge in excesses."

He said the message that should be spread was that the clenched fists should open and become praying and working hands.

"The fist, clenched in anger, cannot bring a peaceful future. We need to get rid of the envy, hatred and lust for power - all propellants of violence," he said.



PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK

'Neutral' summit envisaged

Business may be drawn into violence talks

B1 Day 6/5/91. (274)

A MAJOR role for business in ending township violence is expected to be proposed by senior leaders of the alliance made up of the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

Alliance leaders were scheduled to meet yesterday at an undisclosed venue to begin developing further strategies on the violence and to consider a summit convened by "neutral" parties — probably religious and business groups.

Their initiative comes at the start of the week marking the expiry of the ANC's May 9 deadline to government on steps to end the violence. It would provide the ANC with an alternative to government's proposed May 24 summit with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi which the ANC has criticised.

Church sources, who met President F W de Klerk last week for talks on the violence, said yesterday there were encouraging signs that the ANC and government were being increasingly flexible in an effort to overcome Thursday's deadline.

One source said it was expected that yesterday's alliance meeting and a meeting today of the ANC's national executive committee would seek ways to address the violence without calling off negotiations as threatened in the ANC ultimatum.

It also appeared virtually certain that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk would meet before Thursday to

ALAN FINE
and TIM COHEN

thrash out ways of overcoming the current impasse, the source said.

Alliance sources said they recognised the need for interaction between affected parties on the violence. However, the present mood in the townships and De Klerk's "failure" to act on previous communications from the ANC on violence, meant attendance at a government-convened summit was likely to be rejected.

A summit convened by parties not directly linked to the violence was therefore seen by some ANC, SACP and union officials as the solution to the deadlock.

The sources said the alliance welcomed the initiatives of the Rev Frank Chikane and other SA Council of Churches leaders. However, it also recognised that "certain parties" (presumably Inkatha and, possibly the NP) might perceive the SACC as being too closely aligned to the ANC.

The inclusion of NGK and Catholic Church representatives and leaders of the Muslim and Jewish communities was therefore seen as necessary to the initiative. The further broadening of the initiative would probably aim at encompassing leading business groups like the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa).

☐ To Page 2

Violence

B1 Day 6/5/91 (274)

☐ From Page 1

Significantly, in what was perhaps the first informal approach by the alliance to business on the issue, the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) asked Seifsa to state its views on the violence at the last round of metal industry wage negotiations.

The second prong of the alliance's plan would be one or more forms of mass action.

The rationale for this was the belief that government was still not adequately convinced of the urgency of the situation.

Meanwhile Sacob has called for nationwide support of the President's conference on violence and for all participants to put aside sectorial interests to achieve peace and stability.

In newspaper advertisments today, Sacob says the violence and its impact on the economy will undermine confidence in the prospects for peaceful change.

This will lead all inhabitants on a downward path to poverty and despair, the advertisment says.

Sacob says it has held discussions with government, the ANC and Inkatha and is convinced that each group perceives the others to be contributing to the problem.

Sacob's advertisement calls on all participants striving for a new SA to display the necessary leadership and statesmanship to acheive peace.

De Klerk's conference would be a "starting point" where the foundations for a new strategy against violence must be laid, it says.

● Comment: Page 6

Platform for concerned businessmen

B|Day 6/5/91

TIM COHEN

AN organisation has been formed to provide a platform for business concerned about political issues affecting the economy.

The organisation, which includes several well-known businessmen, has not adopted an ideological stance but will "speak out" on any issue which affects growth or stability in SA, says spokesman Mariette van Niekerk.

Prominent among the members of Businessmen for Growth and Stability is former Kersaf chairman Dick Goss.

"We feel that businessmen should play a more active role", says Van Niekerk who runs an international marketing business.

The organisation was formed after informal discussions between a handful of businessmen who were concerned about developments in SA which would possibly affect investments and economic growth.

She described the organisation as a "dynamic" group of people who were not prepared to wait for others to come forward with information.

The organisation, which has about 50 members, would only involve itself with political issues affecting SA's growth potential.

Dhlomo issues plea for talks on peace

274

B|Day 6/5/91

THEO RAWANA

ANC and Inkatha leaders must talk peace and avoid the temptation to use violence to entrench their political positions, Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo said on Saturday.

Addressing the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) annual meeting in Johannesburg, Dhlomo also urged the ANC and government to "pick up the broken pieces of reconciliation and engage in dialogue once more".

Dhlomo, a former general secretary of Inkatha, said: "Political power and influence obtained over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people is not worth having.

"In this regard, ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace, difficult as this is at this time. There is no alternative to peace and reconciliation."

He said: "A grave responsibility rests with Messrs Mandela and De Klerk in this regard, and we pray that they accept this responsibility and reopen talks in a spirit of patriotism. For them, too, there is no alternative to peace."

Warning against following the path of conflict and revolution, Dhlomo said:

Mapping out what could be done to avoid a dark future, Dhlomo said astute political leaders encouraged their followers to prosecute the struggle simultaneously on all fronts — political, economic, cultural, spiritual and intellectual.

"...it is only total struggle that can yield total liberation. Political power devoid of economic power frustrates; political power underpinned by economic power liberates," he added.

Dhlomo encouraged Fabcos to accelerate its attempts to establish "a poor peoples' bank".

In the present situation, financial institutions expected a poor person to prove how rich (and not how poor) he was when he tried to raise a loan from them.

This anomaly would not be corrected by white financial institutions. It had to be corrected by Fabcos and other black business organisations, he said.

At the same meeting ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki called on all leaders in the SA political arena to address urgently the question of violence. He said the ANC recognised that some violence emanated from its members.

Soldiers

"There is some violence by people saying they are acting on behalf of the ANC. But we have agreements with Inkatha, and the Natal committee's work on this violence is still going on," Mbeki said.

Recently, unknown people entered Dobsonville Hostel, drove out legal residents and attacked people, he said.

"Who are these people, and why are the security forces not dealing with them?"

Mbeki said he told government to move police from the streets of Soweto to the hostels where the violence came from. There were no soldiers at hostel gates to prevent people coming in and going out with dangerous weapons.

Mbeki said government's inability to address the question was part of the reason for the ANC's feeling that it could not continue talking with government.

Future 'lies in the hands of business'

B1 Day 6/5/91

GILLIAN HAYNE

A POOR return on investment rather than the current violence was the only factor that would jeopardise international investment in SA, and as such the business community controlled the future of SA, Jatta International Investment president Ophelia Jeppa has said.

Speaking at the national convention of the Institute of Life and Pension Advisers on Friday, Jeppa said businesses had to be proactive and create the opportunities for the future.

She said companies had to go into the townships and "see how trade is transacted. There is a lot of business opportunity in black townships — blacks are the ones with the disposable incomes".

Businesses also had to take note of what the international investment community was doing. She said although there had been a lot of "paper pullouts", there was no real disinvestment.

"The debt moratorium was an excellent way for companies to be seen to disinvest without having to move their investment out of SA."

Similarly, businesses had to look at the movements of the major companies in SA, which were still putting money into property and investments.

However, Tax Advisory Committee chairman Michael Katz argued that a stable SA was essential for economic growth and increased foreign investment.

He said increasing investment in fixed plant and machinery was the most important objective of economic policy.

The dilemma in the 1991 Budget was to attempt to reconcile the requirements of immediate assistance to the Third World section of population and creating more economic opportunities for all. Government had tried to tackle the issue through commitment to stability, reducing the surcharge on imported goods, reducing the corporate rate from 50% to 48% and allowing full credit for capital and intermediate goods under VAT.

Other major economic problems were the lack of discretionary savings and the fight against inflation, Katz said.

ANC challenges police with own unrest report

B10-Day 6/5/91

274

JONATHON REES

THE ANC plans to launch its own daily unrest report today to counter what it says is the SAP's misinterpretation of events.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said police failed to report accurately on the reality people experienced and often created an incorrect picture favouring themselves.

Monitoring mechanisms were already in place in some townships and being established in others, so the ANC could ensure information received was reliable and verifiable.

Macozoma said the ANC report's success would rest on its reliability. The ANC would use its monitoring structures to test the veracity of information before it was utilised.

The organisation hoped other monitoring structures such as Lawyers for Human Rights would also provide information

Police often reported township deaths without outlining their circumstances, making it impossible for people to gain an understanding of violence and how it manifested itself, Macozoma said.

They would be able to read the ANC and police reports and determine what they wanted to believe.

Macozoma said an example of how police distorted events was their attribution of practically all incidents to tribal fighting.

"Their aim is to promote ethnicity, which suits their own purposes."

The ANC felt it would be allowing wrong information to go unchallenged if it did not make its own information available.

Macozoma expected police to dismiss the report as propaganda and said the ANC feared police might harass township sources.

Violence: Need for a neutral peace force?

By GREG MILLS

THE recently released annual report presented by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, showed that policemen have also been victims in the large-scale violence that has plagued the country. During 1990, 68 policemen were killed in "unrest-related incidents and terror attacks". Since 1984, more than 400 have been killed and 25 000 injured, one of the highest police casualty rates worldwide.

More than 3 000 people died in 1990 as a result of political violence. The security forces, however, accounted for a relatively small proportion of these deaths, conflict within the black community being the main source. Despite attempts by President F W de Klerk to address the causes, the slaughter continues unabated. At least 50 were killed and 200 injured as violence spilled from the April funeral of Diepmeadow mayor and Inkatha leader Mr Moses Khumalo. Although the police claimed a heavy monitoring presence on the ground and in the air, they were only able to prevent "more extensive death and destruction". This is an indictment of either poor police tactics or insufficient force levels in handling a situation for which there was ample time to prepare.

Had to adapt

The upsurge in township conflict has placed a heavy premium both on the skills and numbers of policemen available. The SAP has been forced to divert resources which has pushed up an already intolerable crime rate. Despite salary and benefit increases, poor conditions of service have seen many leaving the force: Between this January and April some 700 joined, but nearly 1 400 resigned.

In General Van der Merwe's own words, President De Klerk's reforms have "resulted in completely changed circumstances" to which the SAP have had to adapt. Given their history in "controlling" political unrest and their traditional recruitment areas from among the less priviledged, there must be many in the SAP who fear the outcome of these reforms and who take some satisfaction from the chaos which has seemingly ensued.

So what then is the solution? Quite clearly, for whatever reasons, some policemen are currently unable or unwilling to cope. A long-term solution might be the establishment of an entirely new paramilitary force given exclusively riot-control duties Independent of both the police and army, this body could be modelled along the lines of the French *Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité* (CRS) or the Dutch *Konnklijke Marchaunssee*. This would help to portray the police solely as law-enforcement agents serving the community, divorcing them from the stigma of political unrest control.

'Neutral force'

Yet the time it would take to set up this unit is unaffordable in the current political climate. A second option would be to deploy large numbers of troops. But the use of white national service elements will, as it has done in the past, serve to further dissociate the force in the minds of the black community from a perception of a national force to that of a partisan political tool under suspect leadership. On the other hand, according to a senior black army officer, the use of black troops is more acceptable as they "realise and understand what the black community wants"

The deployment of black troops, however, has not been without its problems The activities of the crack Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion which has been used, in the words of their former commander Jan Breytenbach, "most effectively as a neutral force to quell violence" in both the Natal and, since last August, Transvaal townships, are viewed with disdain by the ANC. Some suspect them of involvement in so-called "Third Force" attacks. Right or wrong, these accusations and the battalion's past record in counter-insurgency operations in Angola have tarnished its image.

The answer to these problems would seem to lie in the use of a force which can relieve the over-burdened and unpopular police, yet which does not have the political overtones of the SADF Here the government could request a detachment from a CRS-type unit or even the London Metropolitan Police (which oversaw Zimbabwe's independence process), but it is unlikely that a unit of the necessary size could be spared by those forces

Other benefits

Preference is for a multinational and multiracial UN force The precedent for this type of peacekeeping policing detachment already exists In the Lebanon in the shape of 5 500-strong Unifil, Unificyp in Cyprus, the 1 400-strong Undof (UN Disengagement Observation Force) in Syria, the MFO (Multinational Force and Observers) in Egypt, and Untso (UN Truce Supervisory Organisation) in the Middle East.

While some of these groups have met with only limited success, the changing global political environment and the continuous concern of the UN with South Africa's affairs would grant a Unifisa (UN Interim Force in SA) a better-than-average chance of quelling the violence Indeed, South Africa could take heart from the overall success of Untag in Namibia

The deployment of such a force would also convince the international community and the liberation movements of the seriousness of President De Klerk's purpose in dealing with the violence and continuing with negotiations. The success or failure of this force would bring other benefits too: Immediate success will hasten a complete reorganisation of the SAP and their tactics. Failure would bring the township residents, international observers and activists alike to realise the enormity of the policeman's task. And it would be impossible to charge this group with allegations of prejudice and partisanship which characterise current relationships between the security forces and the majority community.

□ *Dr Mills teaches at the University of the Western Cape*



ZULU IMPI ... A group of armed Zulus in Soweto on Friday.

Picture: AP

Mandela reneged on peace troika, says Buthelezi

Staff Reporter and Sapa

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi revealed yesterday that it was Nelson Mandela who originally suggested the anti-violence "troika" which the ANC had now rejected.

Addressing an Inkatha Freedom Party peace rally at Bekkersdal on the West Rand, Chief Buthelezi told the crowd that Mr Mandela had suggested a meeting between the two black leaders and President de Klerk to deliberate on an end to township violence.

"Now the ANC does a strange somersault and is not going to allow Mr Mandela to do what he had undertaken to do with the State President and myself."

At a meeting in Johannesburg last week, Mr Mandela rejected the idea of an anti-violence meeting between the three, claiming the Government's suggestion had merely been a "smokescreen".

Chief Buthelezi was also surprised by Mr Mandela's call for an International Commission to monitor violence in South Africa as the African National Congress leader had strongly rejected this idea during his March 30 meeting with him.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi sharply criticised the ANC for going back on a joint commitment to end violence in Natal and on the Reef.

He said that the ANC's Open Letter to the State President was an about-turn on the agreement, which was made in Durban on January 29, in which Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and other top delegates from the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) resolved to undertake bilateral measures to eliminate the violence.

He expressed IFP resolve to call a top level meeting between IFP and the ANC to discuss the "crisis situation" of South African politics.

Chief Buthelezi said that his party was "appalled and devastated" by the way the ANC had blamed the IFP for the violence in the Open Letter.

The letter, said Chief Buthelezi, accused the IFP of having no real support in the Transvaal and of asserting its presence by importing militant "impis" into the hostels.

He said that the IFP, unlike the ANC, had neither the establishments for military training nor access to sophisticated weapons.

Vulnerable

Chief Buthelezi said he did not blame Mr Mandela personally for the ANC's changed stance.

He said that Mr Mandela was in a vulnerable position, having to please hard-liners within the organisation.

He said that it was well known that the ANC was in the midst of a power struggle.

Chief Buthelezi also said the IFP was "astounded" by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo's accusation last Saturday that the IFP was planning further violence to weaken the ANC before the May 9 deadline ultimatum on violence set in the Open Letter.

"In one way or another we must ensure that Mr Mandela stands up to be counted with Mr F W de Klerk and myself as fighting for peace."

Don't score points through violence – Dlhomo

Star 6/5/91 274 Town

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Oscar Dhlomo, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, this weekend warned political leaders against winning political power and influence over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people.

Addressing the first day of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services' (Fabcos) annual general meeting at Nasrec on Saturday, Dr Dhlomo said leaders should resist the temptation to use the violence to score political points and entrench their political positions.

"In this regard, ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace, difficult as this is at this time."

He similarly urged the Government and the ANC to "pick up the broken pieces of reconciliation" and to engage in debate once more.

Addressing the same meeting the deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Dikgang Moseneke, reaffirmed the PAC's opposition to the Government's proposal of a multiparty conference as a forum for the creation of a new constitution.

The PAC would instead convene a united Patriotic Front conference in August, for attendance by all forces, groups and organisations which supported the creation of a constituent assembly, he said.

Azanian Peoples Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley, addressing a cultural day function at the Fabcos meeting, called on black South Africans to recreate their culture which had been destroyed by the "conqueror" Jan van Riebeeck, when he arrived at the Cape in 1652.

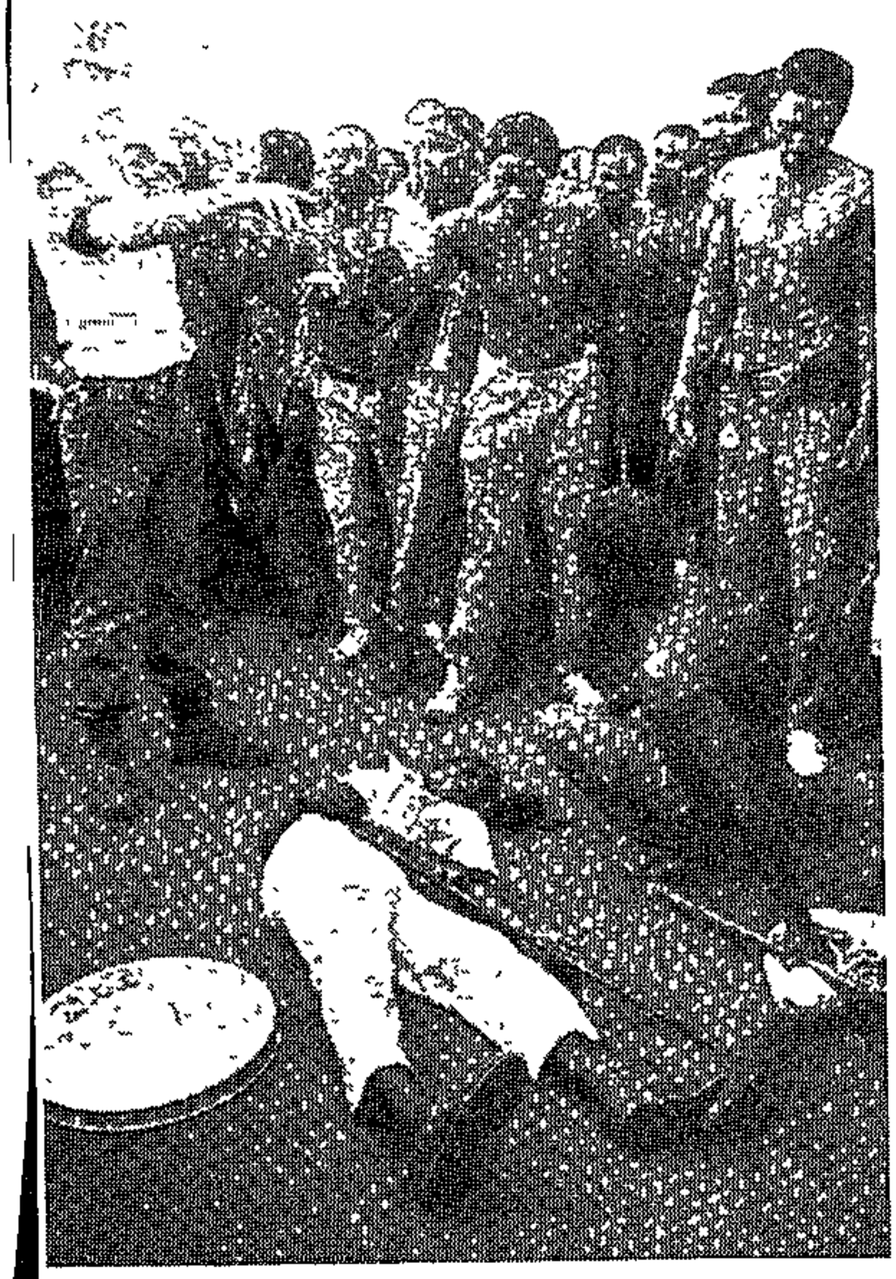
"We tried to recreate ourselves in the image of the conqueror and consequently adopted his values and value system," he said.

"He recreated our culture for us, and we believed him."

"He said: 'You are a Zulu, you are a Xhosa, you are a Sotho', and as a result people are killing each other down the road," Mr Moodley said.

The audience — colourfully dressed in traditional African garb — applauded Mr Moodley, as he lambasted the white regime for having oppressed the cultural character of blacks.

CAPE Times 6/5/91 (2-4) (4-8)



RALLY DEATH . . . The body of an ANC supporter, one of four people killed at Bekkersdal on the West Rand, after an Inkatha rally there. Police formed a human shield to keep the two groups apart. Three people were killed near the Mandela squatter camp there and a taxi driver died in a scuffle at the township's exit. — Picture AP

Buthelezi may boycott talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened to pull out of the government-convened conference on violence, scheduled for May 24 and 25, in protest against "government collusion" with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi told an IFP rally in Bekkersdal in the western Transvaal that the government colluded with the ANC by conducting searches at hostels last Friday night.

He called on the police also to raid ANC offices and the homes of that organisation's senior officials in search of arms caches, which he alleged were used by the ANC to perpetrate violence.

In his address, Chief Buthelezi alleged that ANC lawyers and their military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, accompanied police during the search of hostels.

"This action (search) by the police gives political credibility to the ANC's hideous and false accusations against the IFP and calls for redress," he said.

"The ANC attacks were not only against the IFP, but against Zulus — just because they are Zulus. I will not be held responsible for the ire of the Zulus if they continue to be abused in this way," said Chief Buthelezi.

Answering the criticism that police were disarming hostel dwellers at the ANC's behest, a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said the police welcomed any assistance in maintaining law and order. The criticism demonstrated that police were in fact acting in an impartial manner, said the spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

Four people were killed after the Inkatha rally in Bekkersdal.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed that two people were killed at the Mandela squatter camp when police, forming a human shield separating two groups, opened fire after the factions hurled stones and petrol bombs at each other.

Another body, with bullet wounds, was found near the squatter camp and a taxi driver was killed in a scuffle with IFP supporters. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Cheers as F W pleads for peace

ZUURBEKOM. — President F.W. de Klerk, addressing one of South Africa's biggest black churches, yesterday condemned groups that were trying to make the country ungovernable.

"They want to keep a struggle alive, while there is no need for a struggle," he told a congregation of about 20 000 people who cheered and waved flags.

Mr De Klerk, four days from an ANC deadline to end bloodshed in the townships, urged church members to work for peace.

CAPE TIMES 6/5/91 (24)

Fists

"Go forth and spread the message that the clenched fists have to open to become praying hands and working hands," he said.

"The fist clenched in anger, arrogance and cruelty cannot bring a future of hope and peace," he said.

Mr De Klerk was guest of honour at the inauguration of a hangar-like church built outside Soweto by the International Pentecostal Church.

The church, founded by the Rev. Frederick Modise in 1962, says it has three million members throughout southern Africa. — Sapa

ANC picture on unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC plans to launch its own daily unrest report today to counter what it says is the SAP's misinterpretation of events.

Spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said police failed to report accurately on the reality people experienced and often created an incorrect picture favouring themselves.

Police often reported township deaths without outlining their circumstances, making it impossible for people to gain an understanding of violence and how it manifested itself, Mr Macozoma said. — Sapa

ANC decides to issue own unrest report

ARGUS 6/5/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has indicated that it will issue an unrest report from today. (274) (840)

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said at the weekend that police had failed to report accurately on the reality people experienced and created an incorrect picture favouring themselves.

He said monitoring mechanisms were already set up in some townships to ensure information given was reliable and verifiable.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said a report by the ANC would be of no use to the public. He said the police did not support any political party and kept an impartial policy.

The aim of the police report was to inform the public of events as quickly as possible, Captain Kotze said.

ANALYSIS 'Inkatha attacks bring about change in SA attitudes'

'The De Klerk bubble in danger of bursting'

ARGUS 6/5/91

JOHN CARLIN of the Independent (London) reports from Cape Town

THE government's stunning lack of urgency in the face of the relentless slaughter in Johannesburg's black townships, the persistence of the view in the upper reaches of power that it is all really a question of black savagery; the manifest cheapness of black life in the eyes of white parliamentarians; all are dawning truths that point in one direction: the F W de Klerk bubble — the carefully constructed media image of born-again sainthood — is in danger of bursting

Prodded along by the African National Congress, which has finally awakened from the De Klerk spell and realised that he is their political enemy, the mainstream South African Press has begun to question its previously slavish devotion to the architect of "the new South Africa"

'Politician'

This is a recent development. Only 11 days ago, every member of the South African press corps accompanying Mr de Klerk on his European trip loyally failed to report that at a news conference in Denmark their leader had done a Reagan. He was very happy, he had declared, to be in Norway. (Had it been the ANC deputy leader, Nelson Mandela, the hoots of derision would have resounded across every front page, every news broadcast)

Thus it was that a column in the latest issue of the Saturday Star startled its readers with the headline "F W is a politician, not the Pope" The columnist, who remarked that the heresy would probably set the lynch mobs after him, said that while President de Klerk was, indeed, "sincere, down-to-earth, courageous", he was also "manipulative, meretricious, conniving, disingenuous and opportunistic"

Yesterday's Sunday Times, President de Klerk's stoutest propaganda organ, sent its half million devotees into a spin by saying the president was showing signs of political insensitivity, and by criticising him for failing to apologise for the evils of apartheid — evils he endorsed, tacitly at least, for 18 years as an MP

Why has the South African Press suddenly, albeit tentatively, declared open season on President de Klerk? First, it is the realisation that, contrary to initial reactions, the ANC was not entirely mad to have issued a statement on April 5 attacking the government for its reluctance to deal with the township violence, and threatening to pull out of negotiations if the government did not take action by May 9.

Second, there was an attack last Sunday by Inkatha supporters on Soweto residents in which 10 people were killed. The same pattern of violence has been discernible since August but, at long last, on this occasion SABC-TV felt compelled to broadcast an accurate version of events White viewers were forced to witness what township residents have seen umpteen times — police who stood by and watched as heavily armed Inkatha set about their indiscriminate slaughter.



Zulu warriors carrying traditional weapons make their way through Bekkersdal in the western Transvaal yesterday after a mass rally organised by the Inkatha Fredom Party.

On Tuesday, under the headline "Bloody Sunday", an editorial in the anti-ANC Business Day denounced Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the police The headline in the Star's editorial that day ran "Violence and the blind eye" The Star, South Africa's biggest daily, said that President de Klerk was acting "without urgency" "The atmosphere is feverish . yet the security forces — and their respective cabinet ministers — remain hugely satisfied"

"If this is allowed to continue, then one day soon they (the security forces) will be so discredited in the townships — on every side — that anarchy will prevail," it said

In Cape Town all week parliament continued to fiddle as the Johannesburg townships burnt In the first of four speeches he delivered between Monday and Friday, President de Klerk did allude to the danger of civil war But on Thursday he delivered a ringing vote of confidence in the security forces and the two ministers reponsible Magnus Malan, who heads the Defence Force, and Adriaan Vlok, in charge of the police, both of whom the ANC has demanded President de Klerk should dismiss

In his speech on Friday, Mr de Klerk slipped into pious mode, portraying himself yet again as the man of moderation "Constructive emotion" was what was needed, he said But most of his speeches during the week were spent playing the old parliamentary game of sniping wittily at the opposition Conservative Party and, to a lesser extent, hitting out at the ANC, blaming them, in a thinly-veiled manner, for the violence and the country's ills generally

But never a harsh word about Inkatha. Not once, indeed, has one government official even hinted in the past 10 months at the self-evident truth which South African newspaper reports have started conveying at last Inkatha is the leading force behind the killings

The prevailing view among the National Party MPs is still that it all boils down to barbarism President de Klerk himself told Dr Christian Barnard, the heart surgeon, that he should not worry about the violence for, as Dr Barnard reported it, it was all "tribal"

A police spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, at least realised that the township violence was politically inspired although he blamed the ANC Captain Kotze, interviewed at his Cape Town office, was adamant the police could only be expected to address the symptoms. The answer lay with the politicians. Which course is right The problem as last week's editorials began to argue, is that President de Klerk refuses to take political action to rein in police force which remains an instrument to repress the ANC

In addition, President de Klerk — either ignorant or reluctant — has yet to take the political decision to crack down on the root of the problem the Inkatha warriors



Archbishop Tutu at UCT last night.

'End of violence key to sanctions relief'

274
RCM 6/5/91

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE government had to stop the violence if it wanted black leaders to call for sanctions to be lifted, Archbishop Desmond Tutu told University of Cape Town students.

He said South Africa would be denuded if the violence did not stop.

"There will be no investments. If you want us to say 'lift sanctions' I want to say to you 'end the violence'."

Then South Africans, black and white, could walk together, hand in hand, he said.

He said people would respond to calls for an end to sanctions by saying: "How can you dispose of the non-violent lever you have?"

Earlier he told a packed Jameson Hall that the term "black-on-black violence" was loaded and and racist.

He said South Africa had never known a culture of tolerance, adding that the atmosphere was saturated with violence.

There was a third force at play, he added.

"The police are not a professional peacekeeping force. They knew us as enemies. They have not changed and are not saying that Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and others are nice people."

It was crucial that calls were made for a radical purge of the police force.

He hoped that UCT students would prove wrong the people who were saying that a non-racial and non-sexist society was not possible.

He also hoped that they would say "we differ with you but we respect your right to your opinion".

Mr Jan van Eck, DP MP for Claremont, said elements among the security forces and conservative blacks were the sources of violence.

These groupings and hardline anti-negotiation elements in the National Party were benefiting from violence, not the ANC, he said.

He said unless the police played the role of a neutral monitor of law and order, every political organisation would form its own police force.

"If this happens, if the violence goes out of control, I believe there will be people considering the possibility of a coup to put order back into the country."

COUNTDOWN

Clark Times 6/5/91

Last-ditch bids for peace as deadline looms

By BARRY STREEK

WITH the deadline to the ANC's ultimatum to the government on violence just three days away, last-minute efforts for a compromise to save the negotiation process continued at the weekend.

The ANC's national executive is due to meet today to consider the issue and a meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk before the Thursday deadline appears likely.

Despite the negotiations, tensions rose again in Soweto and the Witwatersrand, with at least 34 more deaths, two violent clashes and a threat by the Inkatha Freedom Party to send 250 000 unidentified fighters into the area, including 100 000 into Soweto.

The paramilitary force would be sent into Soweto unless the ANC stopped faction fighting there within seven days, a member of the IFP central committee, Mr Musa Myeni, told reporters.

"You won't identify them. They won't wear any uniform. But they are going to look around," he said.

However, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who earlier threatened to pull out of the summit on violence in Pretoria on May 24/25, said he was unaware of the plan to send men into Soweto.

The ANC warned yesterday that the threatened deployment of 100 000 IFP men in Soweto was dangerous and would only fuel the uncontrollable violence.

It also denied it was responsible for the violence.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma added the ANC would continue talking to Inkatha to try to find a political solution to the violence.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order said the government was opposed to any private armies and would take steps against them.

The Cape Times Johannesburg correspondent reports that a major role for business in ending township violence is expected to be proposed by leaders of the alliance made up of the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

Alliance leaders were scheduled to meet yesterday at an undisclosed venue to begin developing further strategies on the violence and to consider a summit convened by "neutral" parties — probably religious and business groups.

Their initiative would provide the

To page 2



EXECUTION . . . The bodies of two young men lie outside a Soweto hostel where they were said to have gone to buy dagga and alcohol before they were brutally attacked at the weekend. Picture: AP

TOUGH DRAW AWAY FOR WP
See BACK PAGE

NOW HERE
THE LIGHT
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P.T.O.

From page 1

ANC with an alternative to the government's proposed May 24 summit with Chief Buthelezi, which the ANC has criticised.

Church sources, who met President De Klerk last week for talks on the violence, said yesterday that there were encouraging signs that the ANC and the government were being increasingly flexible in an effort to find a solution before Thursday's deadline.

One source said it was expected that yesterday's alliance meeting and the ANC's NEC meeting today would seek ways to address the violence without calling off negotiations, as threatened in the ANC ultimatum.

However, the present mood in the townships and Mr De Klerk's "failure" to act on previous communications from the ANC on violence meant that attendance at a government-convened summit was likely to be rejected.

A summit convened by parties not directly linked to the violence was therefore seen by some ANC, SACP and union officials as the solution to the deadlock.

The sources said the alliance welcomed the initiatives of the Rev Frank Chikane and other SA Council of Churches leaders.

However, it also recognised that "certain parties" (presumably Inkatha and possibly the NP) might perceive the SACC as being too closely aligned to the ANC.

The inclusion of NGK and Roman Catholic Church representatives and leaders of the Muslim and Jewish communities was therefore seen as necessary to the initiative.

The further broadening of the initiative would probably aim at encompassing leading business groups like the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa).

Meanwhile, Sacob has called for nationwide support of the President's conference on violence and for all participants to put aside sectional interests to achieve peace and stability.

In newspaper advertisements yesterday, Sacob said the violence and its impact on the economy would undermine confidence in the prospects for peaceful change.

Give peace a chance - Dhlomo

(274)

Sowetan 6/5/91

BLACK liberation movements and businessmen must come together and stop the escalating violence in the townships.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Speaking at the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services' general meeting at the weekend, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said all leaders would have to co-operate to end the violence.

The conference took place at Nasrec near Soweto where there have been violent clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Dhlomo said: "Leaders must avoid the temptation to use violence to score political points and entrench their political positions.

"Political power and influence obtained over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people is not worth having."

He said ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace.

"There is no alternative to peace and reconciliation," he said.

Dhlomo said the Government and the ANC must accept that the route to a new South Africa could never be smooth.

Whatever turbulence was encountered on that route could be addressed through dialogue and not through accusations and counter-accusations, he said.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said: "The State, which suppressed our people for more than 300 years, cannot be heard to say they cannot stop this carnage.

"It suits the State not to stop the violence. Our people reserve the right to defend themselves."

The ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said businessmen must help to stop violence for the sake of black economic empowerment.

Violence 'has sobered UK enthusiasm'

ZILLA EFRAT

VIOLENCE in SA has had a sobering effect on UK companies that were once enthusiastic about changes taking place in the country, London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) mission delegates said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg, mission secretary Tracey Dorrell said once stability in SA could be demonstrated — and reported in the British media — UK companies would come back to SA quickly, because it was considered an important market.

The delegation, which is in SA for two weeks, will promote a variety of products and services.

It followed a successful mission to SA last year and Dorrell said the LCCI was now planning to visit SA annually

The mission will also visit Cape Town and Durban.

Export Market Development director Paul Hayball said there were niches in the SA market for many UK companies that had not exported to SA before

Lloyds of London Business Press CE Alfred Rolington said that, in the longer term, SA would not be neglected as a market in favour of Eastern Europe.

□ Sapa reports that the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said yesterday the continuing violence and unrest was discouraging local and international investors.

AHI director Prof J Poolman said in a statement "SA needs political stability more than ever to restore business confidence so that the economy can grow, and prosperity and job creation can be realised"

● Picture: Page 3

—MEDIA SPOT—

Govt takes peace appeal to business

BDay 7/5/91 274 SOWA

Reports by
MARCIA KLEIN

GOVERNMENT has distributed 40 000 "Let's put peace first" posters around the country.

Constitutional Development Service liaison and media director Marius Kleynhans said posters had been sent to businesses, factories, cafes and shebeens with a letter asking that they be displayed to promote peace.

The massive advertising campaign, which includes regular TV spots, follows government's decision last year that it had a task to perform to create a democratic culture, he said

The first phase of the campaign, by Cape-based Pierre de Villiers (P de V) advertising, introduced the logo, jingle and main theme of "the new SA", and linked them to the essential message of peace.

The campaign was created in seven different languages.

Government launched the second phase of its campaign at the beginning of this month, with the slogan: "Let's talk justice for all."

Kleynhans said the second phase concentrated on the "talking and negotiating side" of the move towards the new SA.

The copy says it is time for all South Africans to have their say, and for the people's leaders to negotiate a just future, equal opportunity and full participation in the future.

Encouraging

While all media categories would be used, the campaign would be strong on TV, radio and outdoor advertising, Kleynhans said.

The first phase had seen a "good reaction across the board", and a survey on how the campaign was accepted had been very encouraging.

Preliminary tests on the second phase indicated that "the message seems to get through", he said.

Fabcos calls on business to help end the violence

B 1Day 715191

THEO RAWANA 10 274

FOUNDATION for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) president T J Ngcoya yesterday called on business to support efforts to end violence.

Addressing the Fabcos AGM in Johannesburg yesterday, Ngcoya also urged leaders of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC and Azapo to meet to try and resolve the violence.

Inviting all organisations to launch a fund-raising campaign to provide relief for victims of violence, Ngcoya added that business organisations should consider a strategy to address the violence and warn of its economic consequences.

Ngcoya's appeal came on the day the SA Chamber of Business placed newspaper advertisements urging support for President F W de Klerk's summit on violence.

Ngcoya said Fabcos was distressed at "political point scoring, personality clashes, organisational posturing and vigorous struggle for political gains ... while the flame of violence continues to consume the country.

"We believe the preservation of human lives and saving the country are ideals which are far bigger and more important than any party-political consideration."

UK trade mission not put off by violence

Star 7/5/91

By Frank Jeans

Township violence, while disappointing to British businessmen generally, is no deterrent to their drive to renew profitable two-way links with South Africa.

This is the message from the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry trade mission which is in this country until May 18.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, mission leaders were unanimous that they were in South Africa to "see for themselves" rather than accept as fact, the often unfavourable reports in the UK about the situation here.

While township unrest had, to some extent, nullified the recent initiative by State President F W de Klerk during his visit to Britain, Ireland and Denmark, mission members were emphatic that the violence "has not put us off".

They said they were hopeful of taking back a more balanced view.

Alfred Rolington, chief executive of Lloyd's of London Business Press, who is due to meet an ANC delegation, said: "I hope to get some assurance from ANC representatives that they are prepared to go to the negotiating table."

Mission members were unanimous that the potential of the South African marketplace was much greater than that of Eastern Europe.

Paul Hayball, director of Export Market Development of Hampshire, who is marketing new environmental pollution technology for the oil and chemical industries, said: "The long-term business prospects are infinitely better in South Africa.

"British businessmen know the SA market has to be looked at and they are excited about prospects."

Govt seeks permanent solution to violence

Star 7/5/91 (274)

If the Government did not rid the country of apartheid it would remain a target of the violence, **Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok** said in Parliament yesterday.

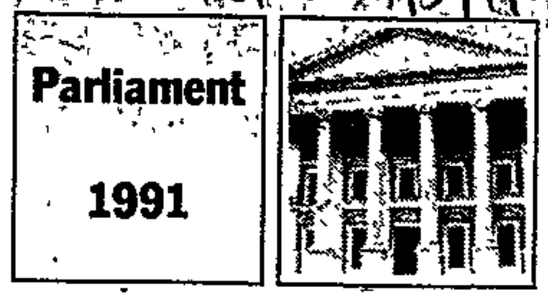
Speaking in the debate on the police budget vote, he said solutions for the violence, which began in 1976, had until recently been temporary.

The Government had tried a temporary and permanent state of emergency, people had been detained, and the actions of organisations and people had been curbed.

"Now we are searching for a permanent solution."

The violence was a source of concern to all and was receiving the highest priority in the police.

"We are actively trying to curb the violence," he said.



Kenneth Lategan (LP Hanover Park) said the current violence was a direct result of attempts by the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance to force the masses to accept them as the only representatives of the people.

He said the peace conference called by the State President for this month was supported by the Labour Party, but if organisations did not examine themselves, the violence would continue.

Mr Lategan said only the ANC had continually referred to the so-called third force as the main source of the violence, and yet had been unable to identify this force. This was "something of a mystery".

"The third force is a scapegoat to focus attention away from the ANC/SACP involvement in the violence," he said.

If the ANC were sincere about bringing about peace, it would attend the scheduled peace conference.

The defence units the ANC wished to form were merely a "smokescreen for something more sinister".

The defence units would lead to greater intimidation of the masses to force people to join the ANC.

The Minister of Law and Order had to take steps to stem the formation of these units, he said.

Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said the policy of power-sharing adopted by the Government was the cause of the violence. There was a full-scale power struggle going on in South Africa as a result of this policy.

The Government had failed in its task of maintaining law and order and was not prepared to admit its mistake.

The current violence was but a foretaste of the bloodletting that would take place, Mr Mentz said.

"You have been struck by blindness. You cannot see that what you are doing is causing the violence."

There was therefore no point in taking part in the proposed peace conference — Sapa.

Patrick Laurence looks at the tribal factor in township violence

Ethnic thread in tangled fabric

Star 7/5/91

(274)

ZULUS are attacked "just because they are Zulu people", Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi declares of the latest violence in Soweto.

It is a matter of ongoing and even acrimonious debate whether Chief Buthelezi is sombrely warning his tribal kinsmen on the reality of anti-Zulu hostility, or whether he is expediently trying to drive Zulus into the IFP.

Either way his accusation against African National Congress forces underlines once again that there is an ineradicable tribal dimension to the fighting.

Yet there is a curious reluctance in radical and even liberal circles to recognise the power of tribalism or, to use a more respectable term, ethno-nationalism, as a factor in the intra-black conflict.

Tribalism, like apartheid, is a dirty word in South Africa. Tribalist is a label of abuse, used to hang around the necks of political foes or rival political organisations.

It is associated with bigotry and often serves as a synonym for collaborator. The link between apartheid and tribalism has been built up over more than four decades.

The legacy of apartheid lives on in the midst of President de Klerk's attempts to discard the past and excise racist laws from the statute book. He has reserved — or wants to reserve — places at the negotiating table for leaders of the 10 black "nation states" recognised under the Bantu Self Government Act, an archetypical apartheid law.

His strategy is seen by supra-tribal movements, primarily the African National Congress, as a shrewd manoeuvre to deploy tribalism to weaken their influence.

Thus when tribalism surfaces in the political arena, it is seen as the product of sinister divide-and-rule machinations by Mr de Klerk's security forces. Marxist theory, with its emphasis on class interests, is often used to explain tribalism away or, at least, downplay it

Marxism, influencing the ANC's ideological outlook via its alliance partner, the South African Communist Party, blurs reality. The reluctance to comprehend fully the failure of the socialist economic system is matched by disinclination to recognise the power of ethnicity.

The rise of ethnically based nationalisms in the Baltic states, and the prevalence of inter-ethnic conflict in vast areas of the Soviet Union, is often glossed over.

Closer to home, the intra-black violence which has swept through black townships around Johannesburg since August last year, claiming at least 1 000 lives, is not regarded as intrinsically tribal; it is perceived as the product of a sinister strategy by a state-linked "third force" aimed at weakening the ANC.

An ANC discussion paper on the violence draws attention to the calculated revival of tribally based political parties in the "homelands" as the prospect of all-party talks on a new constitution becomes more tangible.

But the conflict in townships around Johannesburg has an unmistakable tribal colouring. At its blood-stained cutting edge, it has pitted Zulu migrant workers, proclaiming loyalty to the IFP, against Xhosa-speaking people.

Men have been slain because of their tribal affinity. Ideological loyalty has been immaterial. Tribal tensions are unfortunately and perhaps ineluctably fuelled by structural factors.

The IFP started life as a specifically Zulu movement but has since undergone two important changes. first it opened its ranks to all blacks and then, only last year, it invited people of all races to join But even after its latest metamorphosis Inkatha remains — for the time being, at any rate — a predominantly Zulu organisation.

The ANC is a supra-tribal organisation with a long and proud record of non-racialism. But most of its important national posts are occupied by Xhosas.

Its president, deputy president, secretary-general, international affairs supremo and information chief are all Xhosas. So, too, is the chief of staff of its underground army, Chris Hani. Its effective leader and deputy president, Nelson Mandela, is a member of a royal Xhosa family. The two strongest contenders to succeed him are Xhosas, Mr Hani and Thabo Mbeki.

Xhosa pre-eminence in the ANC's top leadership is matched by the small number of Zulus in its upper ranks One of the few prominent Zulus on the ANC national executive is Jacob Zuma, the ANC intelligence chief.

The imbalance — the more than 6 million Zulus constitute the biggest ethnic group in South Africa — explains why some Zulus are suspicious of the ANC as "a Xhosa organisation"

The ethnic skewing of Inkatha generally and the ANC at leadership level means that Inkatha-ANC rivalry tends all too easily to degenerate into inter-tribal animosity. Rhetorical statements occasionally resonate with tribal undertones or even overtones

Thus, where the ANC has specifically demanded the dissolution of the KwaZulu police and the dismantling of the KwaZulu "bantustan", it has a cosy relationship with the leader of the Xhosa "bantustan", Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa. The contrast has been noted by Inkatha leaders and interpreted as evidence of tribal bias against the Zulu people.

In moments of stress Chief Buthelezi has deployed the language of tribalism. Thus he has accused the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of being a "spear thrust into the heart of the Zulu nation".

But it is as misleading to magnify tribalism as it is to deny its existence. Tribalism or ethno-nationalism is an important element in the conflict, one which may be particularly amenable to manipulation by the security forces But, in the end, it is only one of several factors in a complex political equation.

In Natal the savage conflict between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists has been intra-Zulu The divide has been ideological, not tribal.

In the Transvaal there has been a class factor in the conflict. The Zulu fighters with their distinctive red bandanas, have been drawn largely from the ranks of migrant workers living in the hostels.

Armed with their "traditional weapons", they have fought savage battles while some of their Zulu kinsmen, living permanently in the townships, have either been neutral or have even sided with ANC forces.

After the ANC's national conference in July, and the infusion of "new blood" from the men who manned the front ranks of the United Democratic Front during the 1980s, the ANC will almost certainly reflect a more balanced ethnic mix.

Inkatha, too, is broadening its ethnic and racial base and, according to its spokesmen, is now recruiting Xhosas in the eastern Cape, Tswanas in the western Transvaal and whites all over South Africa. □

Cosas plea to govt to make schools safe

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Students has called on the government to use security forces to protect pupils caught up in the township violence at schools.

Cosas president Mr Thami Rabusane said at a press conference yesterday that the government and security forces should guarantee the safety of pupils, but not interfere with educational matters.

"The wave of violence has severely limited attempts to make schooling as effective as possible," Mr Rabusane said. — Sapa

ANC call for mass action

JOHANNESBURG. — Two powerful organisations within the ANC — the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League — have declared tomorrow a day of mass action to demand that the government take responsibility for ending the violence in the country.

There will also be a day of prayer on Thursday — the deadline for the ANC's ultimatum to the government.

ANC women will hold marches, demonstrations, pickets and sit-ins, while youths are to march to police stations and protest at the British embassy in Cape Town. — Sapa

Violence stymies capital inflow

JOHANNESBURG. — The unrest in which 1 500 people have died since August, and soaring crime that has claimed dozens more lives, are the main factors frightening foreign investors away from SA, Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) officials say.

"We have recently seen a lot more interest in investment in this country, as (State President F W) de Klerk's latest European trip showed," JSE chairman Peter Redman said in an interview.

"But we are still seeing a net outflow of investment from the JSE by non-residents."

The outflow was as high as R6m in one week last month.

"A lot of the positive factors associated with reform, including acceptance of SA into overseas financial markets, are being hampered by concern by non-residents about the level of violence.

"Everything is in place for new investment but this is being hampered by the violence."

Mike Thompson, the exchange's chief operating officer, said: "Until we sort the violence out in this country we are not going to have a healthy market."

The SA Chamber of Business said in newspaper advertisments yesterday it was deeply concerned that political reform talks between whites and blacks were in serious jeopardy.

But a casual observer would never guess SA's political turmoil from the performance of the JSE indices.

The exchange was one of the world's top five performers in 1990.

Since February 1 when more reforms were announced, the overall index has risen 18% — a sharper rise in the period than any other major exchange apart from Taipei.

The rise results from limited buying by SA institutions pleased by the latest reforms, but trading volumes have been low.

Thompson said the thin trading was partly due to concern about violence and partly to the tightly held market.

JSE equities are jealously held because of a combination of exchange controls and SA's complex company holding structure.

"The market's feature is price rises as opposed to volume increases," said Thompson.

"We would like to tell foreign investors SA shares offer good value, particularly because the financial rand gives them enormous gearing (advantage)," he said.

"But now that gearing has to take into account the political risk in this country and, at this point, bearing in mind they are net sellers, they're not convinced on that argument." — Business Staff and Reuter

Trading listless on gloomy JSE

JOHANNESBURG. — Trading continued listless on a gloomy Johannesburg stock market yesterday as investor interest, particularly from abroad, continued to be stymied by worries about spreading violence in SA's black townships, dealers said.

Prices on most leading shares eased, they said, with rally in the financial rand aiding the trend.

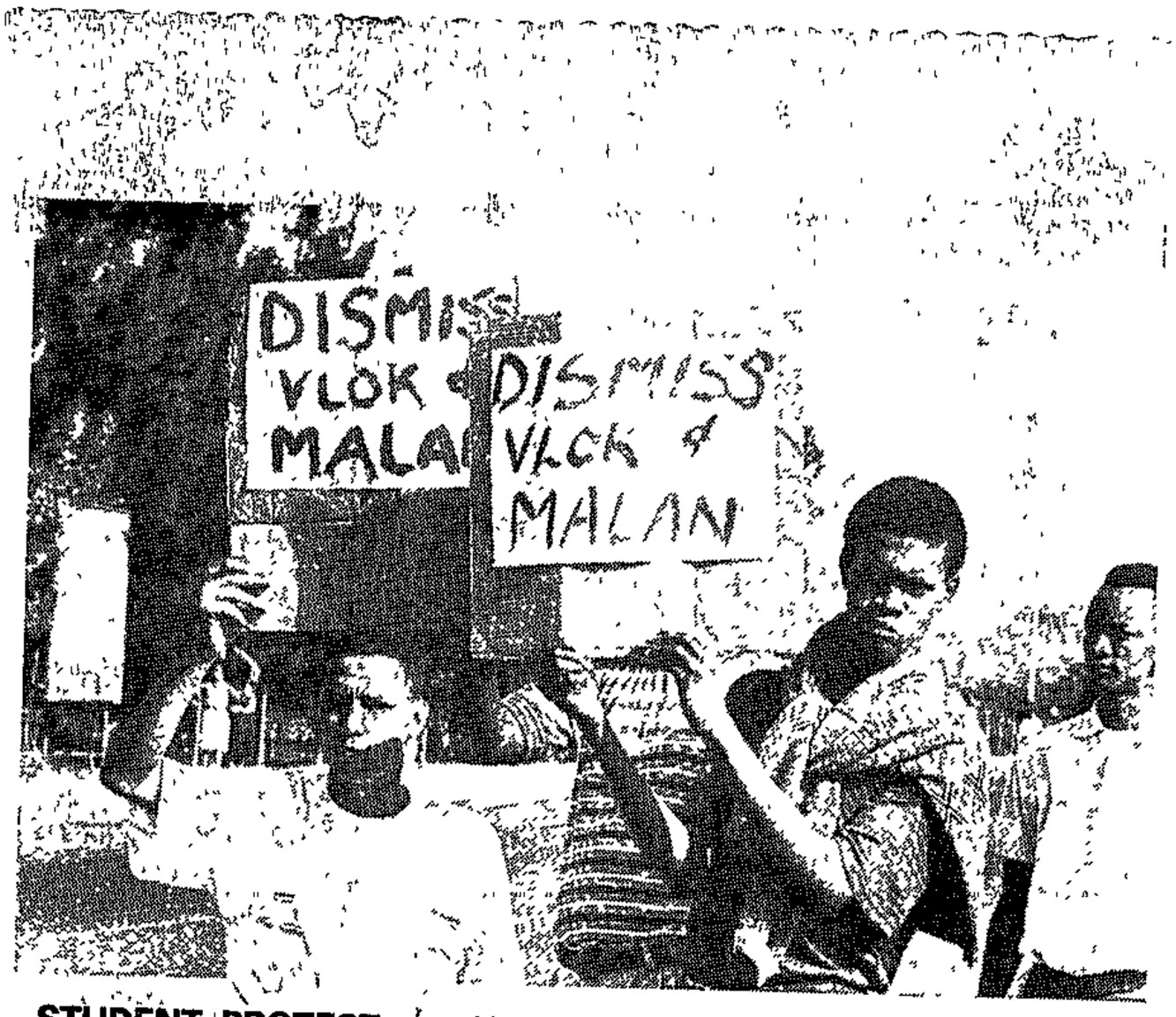
The JSE all-gold index eased to a preliminary close of 1 041 from Friday's 1 050 finish, while the industrial index retreated to 3 496 from 3 532.

The all-share index fell to 3 004 from Friday's 3 026 close.

Dealers described volumes as thin, and noted that a holiday in the UK put an added damper on activity.

Among gold shares, heavyweight Vaal Reefs ended R1,50 lower at R182,50 and Freegold 25c lower at R19,25.

Among leading industrials, Barlows lost R1 to R41,50, Safren R4 to R58 and Richemont 35c to R24,80. — Sapa



STUDENT PROTEST ... About 100 members of the SA National Students Congress protested outside the Peninsula Technikon yesterday in support of the ANC's threat to call off negotiations.

Cape Times 7/5/91

At least 102 killed in May unrest

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 102 people have been killed — 66 of them in Soweto — and many hundreds injured in township violence since May 1, latest police figures show.

Five bodies were found in Soweto yesterday, but police reported that relative calm was returning to most areas.

Six people were killed in Natal yesterday, three of them in a bus ambush.

The bus, carrying workers to Maritzburg, was shot at and petrol-bombed about 6am. About 27 people were hurt. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

'Unrest deaths higher this year'

Cape Times 7/5/91

Political Staff

MORE people died violently in the first quarter of this year than during the same period in 1990 although the number of unrest incidents dropped dramatically, figures revealed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok showed yesterday.

Mr Vlok, speaking in his budget vote debate, said 771 people had died in violence up to April 30 this year in only 2 601 unrest incidents.

The figures showed that 754 died in a massive 5 583 incidents during the same period last year.

Mr Vlok said the violence in the country fell into two main groups, that associated with crime and political violence.

Political violence could not be resolved by the police alone. Political, church and community leaders would have to contribute to finding a solution.

Mr Vlok also addressed what he called the "curse of the AK-47" rifle, describing it as a "detestable communist weapon".

Violence 'scaring off investors'

PRETORIA. — The continuing violence and unrest in South Africa was discouraging both local and international investors, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said yesterday.

"This is especially disconcerting if the high level of unemployment and accompanying economic and social decline is taken into account," AHI director Professor J Poolman said.

The AHI appealed to all groups and individuals to promote dialogue and negotiation.

Mr T J Ngcoya, president of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos), yesterday also called on business to support efforts to end violence.

Leave police alone - Vlok

Sowetan 7/5/91

GUN smugglers, using creative methods, bring in AK-47 rifles to attack police and the Inkatha Freedom Party, writes **ISMAIL LAGARDIEN.**

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in Parliament yesterday that more than 1 000 civilians had been killed with these weapons in the past eight months.

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Vlok warns on AK-47s

Sowetan 7/5/91

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Since January, police have seized 517 automatic rifles, more than 1 400 machineguns, pistols and revolvers as well as 34 handgrenades, limpet mines and mortars.

Last month police seized 87 AK-47 rifles and sub-machineguns, one RPG rocket launcher and hundreds of rounds of ammunition and 51 magazines for the Kalashnikov rifles during a 10-day raid. Twelve people were arrested in connection with the weapons.

During interrogations, it had been learnt that weapons were brought in to "sow death and destruction".

"Members of the South African Police and Inkatha Freedom Party were identified as targets," Vlok said.

He warned gunrunners and people in possession of illegal arms, threatening to root them out "wherever they may be". He said AK-47 assault rifles were smuggled into the country in the petrol tanks of vehicles.

"Help us rid the country of the curse of the AK-47. Help us stop the merciless bloodletting on civilians and the police force," Vlok appealed to the public.

Attacks on police were "devastatingly wicked and unneccesary" as the police belonged to the people and were their servants.

The SAP was the only police force in the country and would be the police force of a new South Africa, he said.

Alliance blamed for violence

PARLIAMENT. — The current violence was a direct result of attempts by the ANC/SA Communist Party (SACP) alliance to force the masses to accept them as the only representatives of the people, Mr Kenneth Lategan (LP Hanover Park) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Police Budget vote, he said the peace conference called by President F W de Klerk for May was supported by the Labour Party, but if organisations did not examine themselves the violence would continue.

If the ANC was sincere about bringing about peace it would attend the scheduled peace conference, he said.

Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said the policy of power-sharing adopted by the government was the cause of the violence. There was a full-scale power struggle going on in South Africa as a result of this policy. — Sapa

August '90 riots cost battered Uitenhage R3m

Political Staff

NEARLY R3 million of damage was done to property in Uitenhage during the August riots last year, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

He was replying to a written question from the MP for Schauderville, Mr Michael Hendrickse.

Mr Vlok said the task of the police had been made more difficult because "radical elements" were active in the region and "struck uncontrollably" at targets.

Incidents of arson and looting and damage occurred for which no arrests had been made because the accused could not be identified, he said.



Today's business

House of Assembly: Questions and interpellations.

House of Representatives: Questions and interpellations.

House of Delegates: Questions and interpellations.

Chamber of the House of Assembly: Extended Public Committee: Debate on the Foreign Affairs Budget vote.

Chamber of Parliament: Extended Public Committee: Debate on the Law and Order Budget vote.

Azapo meetings to focus on violence

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is to hold public meetings, workshops and rallies in the black townships to explain why violence is taking place.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the black community needed to be told who was behind the violence. Sowetan 7/5/91

He said blacks also needed to be told how to defend themselves in the event of being attacked.

Nefolovhodwe said: "Such meetings will also look at the protection of individuals, families, neighbourhoods and black business people.

"We also want to encourage black solidarity. Experts on violence will assist in this national effort."

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo was "convinced that the Government was engaged in acts aimed at preventing black people from taking part in liberatory processes that will force it to transfer total power to the majority.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo was prepared to work with any organisation towards the achievement of black rule.

Azapo had arranged a meeting with the Pan Africanist Congress for this Thursday while another round of talks would be held between the movement and the African National Congress on May 16, he said.

Topics to be discussed include: (2-19)

* The consultative conference as called by Azapo as distinct from the proposed "patriotic front" meeting being set for August;
* The "patriotic front";
* The internecine violence and its consequences for the liberation struggle; and
* Azapo's position on the constituent assembly.

Nefolovhodwe also announced that several rallies would be held countrywide on June 16.

Peace hopes

Sowetan 8/5/91

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THE Government will come down heavily on the use of dangerous weapons and so-called "traditional weapons" could be restricted.

This emerged after a four-hour meeting in Cape Town last night between President FW de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

It was speculated last night that if this move to clamp down on weapons could succeed, it would go a long way towards ending the violence in black townships.

Clashes between Inkatha

To Page 2

Today is D-Day for the negotiations process so far. Are the negotiations worth saving or should something else be tried?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

P.T.O.

11th-hour bid to save peace talks

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Sowetan 8/5/91

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supporters and non-Inkatha residents have claimed tens of thousands of lives countrywide.

The meeting was convened at short notice and on the eve of the date on which the African National Congress, the Government's chief negotiating partner, has said it would break off all talks about a negotiated settlement in the country.

One of the demands made by the ANC - failing which it would sever talks - is that the Government should ban or restrict the display and use of so-called traditional weapons.

Inkatha members have been implicated in many incidents where township residents were killed with assegais, axes and sticks.

Buthelezi, looking tense and shaken, said last night he had "warned Inkatha Freedom Party members that they would weaken their case" if they used these weapons for violent attacks on other people.

A composed De Klerk said: "We will definitely take steps with regard to the problem of dangerous weapons."

De Klerk was guarded over the much-heralded and imminent meeting with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said, however, that he "will meet" the ANC leader but "will not disclose the time and venue".

The present phase of negotiations is in danger of collapsing within the next 24 hours and it has been said only a meeting between the two leaders could rescue the process.

However, the ANC has said it will not budge over demands it presented to the Government in an open letter on April 5.

High among the demands is that Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should be dismissed.

The ANC's other major demand is that "traditional" or "cultural weapons" should be banned.

The ANC's view is that Inkatha has been allowed to run amok in the townships, turning the Reef into a bloody battleground similar to Natal in the late 1980s.

At the same time, many ANC members believe the issue has been used in an ominous campaign to discredit the organisation.

De Klerk is wrong to think the ANC will allow its reputation to be destroyed, writes **John Matisonn**

Mandela's case against police

Star 8/5/91.

THERE is potential for a horrifying escalation in the violence that will make the past seem mild. Perhaps there is time for white South Africa to take a last look at what is driving us towards this tragedy.

To do that it is important to try to understand what is going on in Mr Mandela's mind, because the ANC deputy president has undergone a significant shift in his perception of the situation. President de Klerk either does not understand this or believes he can ride it out until Mr Mandela is brought to heel.

Mr Mandela has not communicated the reasons for his changed view as effectively as the Government communicates its views.

The Government has by far the more sophisticated machinery and experience with getting its view across.

That is one of the problems.

From where Mr Mandela sits, there is an accumulation of evidence that the Government and the police are showing bad faith.

The fact that he cannot persuade white South Africa of this does not change his perception.

Since the Pretoria Minute was signed, the ANC has seen its sympathy whittled away, first by the way the Government played cat-and-mouse with its political prisoners and exiles When asked why prisoners are still in prison, the Government blames the ANC

How can the prisoner be responsible for his imprisonment? If the Government wants to release prisoners, it can, as it demonstrated in the last few weeks. Yet always there was a complaint that the ANC had agreed to different procedures. It seems that the ANC did make some foolish agreements, that were much more complicated than the Namibian indemnities, but that does not mean that Mr Mandela will let it end there.

He really expected Mr de Klerk to have the prisoners out on time.

The ANC lost further prestige when it was seen in cosy meetings with Government officials, including police officers, while ANC supporters perceived the police as siding with their opponents.

There is plenty of evidence for this, as anyone who spends time in the townships soon sees.

During the last week it has become apparent that the attitude of many policemen is a serious obstacle to ending the violence. Police are routinely more aggressive in removing weapons from ANC supporters than from their opponents, though their disregard for people and property often applies to both sides.

In one incident outside the Dobsonville number two hostel, which had been taken over by Inkatha supporters last week, policemen sat in their vehicles chatting while flames came out of windows and looters carried off supplies of food and drink.

As looters walked passed his car laden with goods, I asked one constable why he was there. "In case something happens," he said

Asked what constituted "something happening", he said· "Well, if things get more serious."

Later Colonel Tienie Halgryn, of the Soweto police, arrived

Asked the policy on weapons, he said "If there are any weapons, we will remove them." I said I had been there all day, and hadn't seen policemen take a single weapon.

He became angry, and asked me why I had not notified the police of the problem, so they could move in. I told him he had had idle police there all day. They had communication equipment, and did not need me to warn them.

Later, when we entered the hostel, we found only about 50 Inkatha supporters. They were lightly armed, but the officers still did not order their weapons removed.

Another reporter, from the Financial Mail, was told by Soweto Colonel Jao de Vries "I don't have to be cross-examined by you", when she asked why not a single arrest had been made, or a single weapon removed, before, during or after the Sunday funeral at which 22 people died.

The ANC had publicly warned that it had information of an impending attack after that funeral.

Asked what happened after they killed the 22, he said. "We escorted them back to the hostel"

Asked why no arrests were made, since the police filmed the event, the colonel replied· "If we had made arrests, it would have been illegal."

This attitude comes from the top. Major-General Gerrit Erasmus is Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand, which makes him the most senior officer for all the townships around Johannesburg that have been affected by the violence in the last nine months

I have stood next to General Erasmus as troop carriers have escorted group after group of Inkatha supporters, armed with so-called traditional weapons as well as long knives, clubs and axes, to a political meeting.

When I asked his policy on weapons, he replied by asking if I wanted to take them. "Go on, you take their weapons"

On another occasion, General Erasmus insisted that the battle was tribal, between Zulu and Xhosas, and that was the way he was going to deal with it, even though people interviewed at random at the site of the conflict turned out to be Pedi and Venda or Sotho

My experiences with the police are only unusual for a white person. They are the experiences that are haunting Mr Mandela as he squares up for his confrontation with Mr de Klerk.

Finally, Mr Mandela is aware that a man who has identified himself as a member of a combined South African Police-Defence Force death squad has claimed that on February 25 he assassinated one of the most important Zulu chiefs identified with the ANC in Natal.

Sipho Alfred Madlala said in an affidavit that a police officer told him to kill Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo because "the chief was a problem to the Government".

Madlala named as one of the members of the death squad an officer in the murder and robbery squad in Maritzburg. This same officer was assigned to investigate the murder of the chief.

This is the first accusation that a death squad is operating in the "new South Africa" of President de Klerk.

The ANC may not be good at proving these cases in court, but this is the information that Mr Mandela is acting on.

He has been made a fool of, and he has seen the ANC, clearly the largest political group in the country, with a lifelong record of enormous suffering for its opposition to apartheid, having its integrity as a Government opponent, and a leader of black South Africa, challenged by a group of men on a lifelong apartheid gravy train.

Mr Mandela has many faults, as even his supporters have begun to see. But one thing that should not be underestimated about him is his courage

If Mr de Klerk thinks Mr Mandela will allow the reputation of the ANC to be destroyed among its own constituency because of the action or inaction of the police, is making a mistake for which we will all pay.

All indications are that Mr Mandela has decided that it's time for Mr de Klerk to take responsibility for his police force. The debate over whether the police are acting on orders from Mr de Klerk or not has become irrelevant Mr Mandela has concluded that he cannot negotiate with a man while that man's police force is seen as the enemy of Mr Mandela's people.

What can be done? Behind the scenes, officials keep saying that it takes time to change the police.

But that is clearly not a legitimate explanation. Only last year, in the "new South Africa", Mr de Klerk granted the right to carry traditional weapons A one-year-old "tradition"?

That can be rescinded. At present, police troop carriers escort people carrying weapons to political meetings. They escort them while they are still in small groups. Police can be told to remove weapons from people before they arrive at political meetings, where the numbers become large and unwieldy. If they don't, then it's clear the Government has made a decision.

If Mr de Klerk continues to leave the police to do business as usual, the country will pay the price. □

● John Matisonn is southern Africa correspondent for National Public Radio in the US and for other overseas media.

ANC pledges to work for peace

Buthelezi and FW in bid to save talks

B1Day 8/5/91

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi met last night in what was believed to be an effort to resolve the one outstanding issue — concerning "traditional" weapons — that would satisfy the ANC's ultimatum and put negotiations back on track.

Last night's meeting in Cape Town followed several days of talks between government and ANC officials during which ANC members indicated that if agreement was reached on the ANC's demand that government outlaw traditional weapons and other issues, the ANC would not act on its threat to pull out of negotiations.

Shortly after the start of the meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi, the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance released an apparently conciliatory statement, promising to work for peace.

The statement "solemnly" pledged that alliance members would do all in their power to achieve peace. It called on South Africans to "forge an overwhelming national consensus for peace" and promote a climate of political tolerance.

The pledge also restated several of the demands in the ANC's ultimatum, saying individuals must not be allowed to carry traditional or other weapons in public, that security forces should employ acceptable methods of crowd control, and that single sex hostels should be phased out.

These three issues were being focused on by the ANC in its negotiations with government.

De Klerk is believed to have satisfied one demand by announcing that funds had been budgeted for hostels conversion and upgrading.

It is also believed that the demand that security forces should use "civilised methods" can be achieved.

Yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would not comment on the state of negotiations ahead of tomorrow's deadline, but said he was confident any impasse could be averted.

He would not comment on a possible meeting with De Klerk today, but did not rule out such a meeting.

ANC sources pointed out that the organisation was flexible on the ultimatum from the outset and it would probably not risk the deadlock that would arise if it continued to demand the resignation of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Our Durban correspondent reports that senior ANC member Joel Netshitenzhe said yesterday the ANC would withdraw from negotiations and the all-party congress tomorrow unless significant last-minute action was taken.

Netshitenzhe told an Idasa breakfast the national violence and not the ANC's ultimatum had precipitated the current crisis.

However, Netshitenzhe said the ANC would not hold government to the full letter of its demands and indicated that a meaningful indication of intent to address most of the demands would be sufficient.

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Peace talks

☐ From Page 1

A policy of "inaction" would be adopted from tomorrow, he said. The ANC would "announce its non-participation in the all-party congress and constitutional negotiations".

B1Day 8/5/91

The ANC would continue with this policy until the demands were met, he said.

The ANC was not being difficult by laying down deadlines for demands to be met, but it was attempting to ensure that "negotiations do not drag on indefinitely", he said. "The ANC is also concerned at the long-term effects of violence on the economy."

Inkatha militancy is fuelled by fears of being sidelined

B1 Daily 8/5/91

PATRICK BULGER

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LIKE the tough street cop who glowers at a would-be attacker and urges him to "make my day", Inkatha is demonstrating a confidence in the run-up to negotiations that borders on boastfulness. Behind the boasts, however, is a fear of being relegated to third player status when the real talks get going.

On occasion Inkatha's supporters openly brandish axes in central Johannesburg, their warlike attire a menacing counterpoint to the sober trouser-and-jacket uniform of the city.

An Inkatha central committee member, Musa Myeni — apparently tiring of his house being razed by fire and his colleagues being gunned down — says Inkatha plans to deploy a 250 000-strong paramilitary force around the country if the ANC does not stop the violence. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is quick to repudiate the threat, but adds that if the Transvaal leadership wants to discuss the idea it could be placed on the central committee's agenda.

Inkatha spokesmen meanwhile say that while there are no plans to deploy such a force, Inkatha has the capacity to do it.

Political observers say the deployment threat is indicative of two parallel developments in township politics over the past few months. Firstly, relations on the ground between ANC and Inkatha supporters have deteriorated in the past few weeks. On a national level peace talks between the two groups have ground to a halt although there are attempts now to restart them. Secondly, there has been an increase in the degree of militarisation in hostels in the PWV area.

This raises the spectre of the antipathy finding concrete form in mass clashes between ANC supporters and Inkatha supporters living in an environment not unlike that of a military barracks. The result would not inconceivably be a slide into factional warfare that could come to supplant negotiations as the focus of SA political life.

The two developments — militarisation and antipathy — feed off and support each other.

Attorney Nicholas Haysom, one of 13 attorneys mandated by the ANC to accompany police on their weekend raid of Inkatha-supporting hostels, says not only have the hostels become more militarised, but their inhabitants are living in an atmosphere of fear that does not bode well for peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Inkatha has a practical ability to militarise its supporters and this is an important aspect of its strength, Haysom says. The militarisation takes the form of military drilling and arms stockpiling as well as witch-hunts against hostel dwellers whom Inkatha supporters accuse of leaking their plans to the alliance.

"The incitement to violence is cultivated by playing not only to ethnic chauvinism but by a real sense of insecurity among hostel dwellers. They generally don't read the newspapers or watch television, and so are captives of the propaganda system.

"There is a high degree of militarisation. Inkatha has an enormous capacity to disrupt community life and threaten the peace process. The threat is part of boosting Inkatha's position as a potent destabilising force," Haysom said.

If Inkatha has the capacity to disrupt the peace process — and Buthelezi argues that Inkatha does not benefit from the violence — there are enough areas of disagreement between ANC and Inkatha supporters to capitalise on.

Inkatha sources say government's approach to the question of violence is angering Inkatha supporters. The raid on hostels brought this anger into the open.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's insistence on setting up defence units, for example, illustrates what Inkatha sees as government favouritism towards the alliance. Government criticism of defence units has been muted and amounts to government sanction of the alliance's attempts to arm its own supporters while demanding that Inkatha supporters be disarmed, Inkatha sources say.

They argue that De Klerk, in his attempts to salvage the peace process after the ANC's Open Letter on Violence, is making concessions to the ANC that are ultimately harmful to Inkatha.

"Inkatha understands De Klerk's problem but says: don't disadvantage us and make us look bad. We can't surrender our principles," an Inkatha source says.

The concern illustrates a fear within Inkatha that government is so bent on a deal with the ANC that Inkatha may be short-changed in the negotiation process. This has increased tensions between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

"There is no doubt that tensions have risen in recent times. The ANC has made numerous statements which have tended to exacerbate these tensions. The April 5 open letter to De Klerk has proven to be disruptive to the peace process," says Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods.

Inkatha perceives that De Klerk is siding with the ANC and accepting its argument that Inkatha is responsible for the township violence. Buthelezi says he will pull out of De Klerk's peace summit if government continues to give credibility to the ANC's allegation that Inkatha is behind the violence.

"The ANC is busy with a military operation. The State President has not condemned this in the kind of way which all South Africans would expect him to condemn it," Buthelezi says.

"It is intolerable that the State President seems to look the other way while the ANC is doing these things and then pat the ANC on the back by defending their right to scurry behind the SAP and the SADF in raids against the inmates of hostels."

He said Inkatha had no plans to meet violence with violence.

Behind Myeni's now-repudiated threat to deploy a paramilitary force in the townships, lies a realisation in Inkatha that it has the ability — both organisationally and militarily — to make its presence felt in the national political arena.

While Inkatha — unlike the ANC and the PAC — never turned to armed struggle and therefore never set up its own military arm, the realisation is dawning in SA politics that the ANC and government are not the only parties capable of reverting to violent solutions should negotiations fail.

For both De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha's utterances in the past few days must have been the political equivalent of a cold bath.

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

Seventy one (71) This figure includes two (2) prisoners who were admitted to the hospital prisons for psychopaths in terms of section 30 of the Mental Health Act, 1973 (Act No 18 of 1973) as amended.

Public violence: persons charged/convicted

331. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) (a) How many persons were charged with public violence in each specified magisterial district in 1990 and (b) what total number of persons so charged were subsequently convicted;

(2) whether bail was granted to the accused in any of these cases, if not, why not, if so, in how many cases;

(3) whether any charges of public violence were withdrawn; if so, how many;

(4) whether any of the persons so charged were under the age of 18 years; if so, how many in each case,

(5) whether these persons were prosecuted in terms of the provisions of the Children's Act, No 33 of 1960; if not, (a) why not and (b) who took the decision in this regard?

B860E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) (a) and (b) The required information is not readily available in the Department In an effort to be of assistance to the hon member, the following information was obtained from the Central Statistical Service for the period 1 July 1989 to 30 June 1990:

	Total convictions
Cape Province:	
Cape Peninsula	47
Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage	0
East London	0
Kimberley	0
Other urban areas	42
Rural areas	5
Total	94
Natal:	
Durban/Pinetown	3
Pietermaritzburg	3
Other urban areas	0
Rural areas	44
Total	50
Transvaal.	
Johannesburg	2
East Rand	4
West Rand	0
Vereeniging/Vanderbijlpark	10
Pretoria	0
Other urban areas	6
Rural areas	19
Total	41
Orange Free State:	
Bloemfontein	0
Odendaalsrus/Virginia/Welkom	7
Other urban areas	20
Rural areas	1
Total	28

(2), (3) and (5) The required information is not readily available. To obtain it all court records will have to be examined, which is not economically feasible

(4) The required information is not readily available in the Department. In an effort to be of assistance to the hon member, the following information was obtained from the Central Statistical Service for the period 1 July 1989 to 30 June 1990:

Age	*Total convictions*
7 to 17 years	55
18 to 20 years	44

Unit cost per prisoner

332. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services.

What was the unit cost per prisoner per day in the 1989-90 financial year?

B861E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

R18,67

Prisons Service: members of certain union suspended

338. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

(1) Whether any persons were suspended from the Prisons Service in 1990 as a result of activities that took place in connection with their membership of a certain union, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, if so, (a) how many and (b) what is the name of the union in question,

(2) how many such persons (a) resigned, (b) were dismissed from service and (c)(i) have been reinstated in service and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(3) whether any disciplinary proceedings were instituted and/or are pending against such persons; if so, (a) what proceedings and (b) with what results?

B882E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(1) No members were suspended on account of their connection with a certain union. After long and positive involvement with personnel who were on strike, several members were suspended and a few probationary warders were dismissed Some of the members had connections with the union referred to by the hon member.

(a) 647

(b) The same as furnished by the hon member.

(2) (a) One Member resigned voluntarily on 22 March 1990

(b) In terms of Prisons Regulation 8(6)(d), the services of nine probationary warders were terminated whilst on strike—suspensions were not relevant in this instance I also refer the hon member to my written reply to Question 143 in the House of Assembly on 25 April 1991 in which further dismissals which followed at a later stage as a result of inquiries in terms of Prisons Regulation 77(1), are further elucidated

(c) (i) and (ii) By 30 May 1990 suspention orders against 644 members (one member resigned, one member could not be traced and one member died) had been lifted

(3) (a) and (b) I refer the hon member to my written reply to Question 143 in the House of Assembly on 25 April 1991

Petitions presented by staff: action

340. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 143 on 25 April 1991, he will furnish details of the action taken by the prison authorities to deal with the grievances stated in the petitions presented by members of his Department to the authorities at various prisons between 21 and 23 March 1990; if not, why not; if so, what are the details?

B910E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

Yes.

In order to bring the allegations into perspective I wish to direct the hon member's attention to the fact that although certain grievances did have substance, there were others with little or no substance The origin of these grievances can primarily be attributed to incorrect/distorted perceptions which were the result of ignorance of policy matters.

In view of the fact that members who were involved with the striking did not air their grievances by means of the official communication channel as contained in Prisons Regulation 87, the existence and functioning of the communication channel was again brought to the attention of all members and commanding officers were also sensitised in this regard

In those cases where the existence of grievances could be attributed to incorrect/distorted perceptions all members country-wide were enlightened on the relevant policy matters The other grievances had already been contained in a comprehensive manpower plan and were being addressed

Business looks at violence

ULUNDI. — Possible solutions to the escalating violence in South Africa were presented to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi by business leaders yesterday.

The delegation from the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) — a voluntary group of business leaders from more than 90 member corporations — met Chief Buthelezi and senior colleagues in Ulundi, said a CBM statement.

The organisation stressed the need for restraint, "lest the atmosphere of threat and counter-threat plunge the country into a state of civil war", the CBM said.

The meeting was in line with the movement's commitment to consultation, it said. — Sapa

Weapons controls agreed

Key meeting may unlock door to talks

Star 8/5/91 (274)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is engaged in crisis consultations with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on new measures to control township violence, probably including stricter curbs on Zulu "traditional" weapons.

In a last-ditch attempt to prevent the ANC pulling out of negotiations tomorrow, Mr de Klerk is to meet Mr Mandela soon — possibly even today — to follow up a 3½-hour meeting yesterday with Chief Buthelezi at Tuynhuis.

It seems that Mr de Klerk persuaded Chief Buthelezi to accept the new measures, which will probably include curbs on the carrying of the controversial weapons like spears and assegaais — a key demand of the ANC.

The measures may involve strict supervision to ensure traditional weapons are not carried at political rallies.

Mr de Klerk's package could avert the ANC's threat to withdraw from the negotiation process if the Government does not take serious steps to curb the violence by May 9 — tomorrow.

At a press conference after last night's meeting, Mr de Klerk said the Government did not wish to make inroads on anyone's culture, but would "definitely" take new steps with regard to dangerous weapons.

He did not wish to disclose the steps as he was still consulting. He would be meeting Mr Mandela to discuss the proposals.

The speculation in parliamentary circles is that the meeting could take place as early as today as Mr de Klerk will be coming to the Reef anyway for other appointments.

Ultimate

Mr de Klerk denied that the new measures were a response to the ANC's ultimatum which he described as "more of a hindrance than a help" to negotiations as everyone would now be "looking for winners and losers".

The Government was acting because it bore the ultimate responsibility to end the violence.

The upgrading and conversion of township hostels, Government plans to form a standing commission on violence and intimidation and the agenda of the proposed summit on violence, were also discussed, he said.

Chief Buthelezi called off his threat to pull out of the Government's summit on violence on May 24 and 25.

He said at the press conference that he had also cleared up disagreements with the Government about "certain actions prompted by the ANC" including the weekend search of Soweto hostels by police.

On April 5 the ANC threatened to pull out of constitutional talks with the Government tomorrow if seven basic steps were taken to curb township violence, including some — sacking two Cabinet Ministers — which Government will definitely not meet.

However at an ANC national executive committee meeting on Monday it was apprently decided to concentrate on three core demands — legislation to ban people carrying traditional weapons on political occasions, definite action to phase out single-quarter hostels and specific commitments that police would act impartially.

Government sources suggest that they have already announced plans to upgrade hostels and are continually trying to improve police even-handedness.

The new action on dangerous weapons may swing the balance in favour of continued ANC participation in talks.

Deal on violence

Cape Times 8/5/91 274

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A COMPROMISE deal on traditional weapons and a meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela could save the tottering negotiation process with just hours left before the expiry of the ANC's deadline on violence.

This emerged last night following a marathon four-hour crisis meeting at Tuynhuys between Mr De Klerk and an Inkatha delegation led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Following persistent speculation that a deadlock-breaking meeting would take place between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela yesterday, Mr De Klerk indicated last night that the two leaders would meet soon — but he declined to say when or where.

Inkatha's insistence that its supporters be allowed to continue brandishing so-called "cultural weapons" — and the ANC demand that the practice be banned outright — was one of the key points threatening to derail the negotiations.

But last night President De Klerk told a joint press conference that the government would "definitely be taking steps to deal with the problem of dangerous weapons".

While he declined to spell out what action the government planned to take, he said: "I believe our meeting (today) has taken us a step forward in dealing with the problem of violence and has succeeded in clearing up some misunderstandings."

Chief Buthelezi told the press conference that the "very comprehensive" talks had been very useful and had cleared up a number of problems that had been troubling Inkatha.

He said he had warned Inkatha followers that they were in danger of jeopardising their arguments for carrying "cultural" weapons if they did not distinguish between these and other weapons which were now being brandished by Zulus



NP'S IN CHARGE IN 'LONG-TERM' — FW

See PAGE 5

He also stated that despite earlier threats to pull out of the proposed violence summit in Pretoria later this month, Inkatha would now be attending the meeting.

The Tuynhuys meeting came amid growing signs that the ongoing shuttle diplomacy could place the peace process back on track ahead of tomorrow's ANC deadline on its ultimatum to the government on controlling violence.

In another positive signal that a last-minute compromise could still be reached between the "big three" parties, the ANC yesterday issued a more conciliatory pledge which called on all parties to work for peace and a negotiated settlement

And in Parliament yesterday Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said it was time people laid down their arms and their leaders committed themselves to peace

Mr Vlok's deputy, Mr Johan Scheepers, said the police, political leaders and communities needed to work together to do away with the need for weapons. The police, he added, needed to act with fairness and justice towards all political groupings.

Chief Buthelezi's entourage slipped into Tuynhuys via an underground passage from the parliamentary Stalplein garages late yesterday, avoiding a large contingent of waiting reporters who had got wind of a possible meeting.

A joint press statement issued four hours later said "broad consensus" had been reached on all issues raised at the meeting.

The upgrading and conversion of hostels — another key ANC demand — had also received attention during the meeting.

In another positive development, the

To page 5

P.T.O.

From page 1

ANC — along with its alliance partners the SACP and Cosatu — last night issued what appeared to be a conciliatory statement entitled "We pledge to work for peace." Cape Times 8/5/91 (2-4)

In the statement, the three parties returned to the theme of cultural weapons, saying the carrying of all weapons — cultural or otherwise — in public should be outlawed.

The statement also called for a joint effort from business, community organisations and political parties to begin phasing out single sex hostels and replacing them with family units.

It further called for the security forces "to relate to the people in a civilised manner", employ "acceptable" methods of crowd control and stop using live ammunition.

The statement, which adopted a considerably more conciliatory tone than the demands contained in the ANC seven-point ultimatum, described the scourge of violence as a national problem, saying that if all parties did not act to end it, all would lose.

"Let us forge an overwhelming national consensus for peace," the general secretaries of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu said in conclusion.

Following speculative reports that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela would meet at Tuynhuys yesterday, a get-together between the two leaders now appears more likely when Mr De Klerk travels to Pretoria after today's cabinet meeting to receive an award from the Pretoria Press Club.

ANC spokesmen sent out contradictory signals for much of the day. Some said the meeting was on, while others denied any such plan.

But Mr De Klerk gave a clear indication last night that a meeting with Mr Mandela was imminent.

Women protest violence

Sowetan 8/5/91

274

By SUSAN MILLER

THE ANC Women's League has declared today and tomorrow days of mass action to protest against township violence.

Marking the ANC's May 9 deadline to the Government to end the violence, the league is to send a memorandum to President FW de Klerk stating its concern about the situation, said league president Mrs Gertrude Shope.

Each region will organise marches, demonstrations, pickets and sit-ins.

Shope will lead a march on Parliament in Cape Town.

Places of action in the Transvaal include Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg and Nelspruit.

League national organiser Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa said permission would be sought for the marches.

Shope said the league did not blame the ANC or Inkatha for the violence but the Government.

"We know who is responsible for the carnage and that's where we'll be aiming our fire," she said.

PHONE: 474-2510
or after hours:

Shuttle Peace

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has started a round of crisis consultations with black leaders which will soon lead to a meeting with ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The consultations are meant to plan steps against violence and especially dangerous weapons.

According to top government sources traditional weapons such as spears and assegais may be classified as dangerous rather than cultural weapons.

Ban on display of weapons

There will then, at least for a time, be a ban on the display of such weapons in public, especially at political rallies.

The ANC has been demanding this while Inkatha is resisting the idea.

The subject was raised when Mr De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu met at Tuynhuys yesterday.

There appeared to have been some tough talking at the meeting where some misunderstandings were said to have been cleared up.

While Chief Buthelezi complained about police raids on hostels on the Reef, Mr De Klerk had misgivings about the use of traditional weapons and the killing of people. He issued a warning about the display of traditional weapons in parliament last week.

Mr De Klerk said afterwards that he could not give details as he was busy with a round of consultations.

He confirmed that he would meet ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela but he declined to say where or when this would be.

A feature of government consultations recently has been the air of secrecy Mr De Klerk has told officials to maintain. A meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela which was widely expected to take place yesterday did not in the end come off.

The first opportunity for such a meeting is today. Mr De Klerk is going from Cape Toiwn to Pretoria for a function there tonight and will be staying in the Transvaal for a few days.

According to ANC sources Mr Mandela is willing to meet Mr De Klerk if this could save the contact process between government and the ANC.

The ANC's recent ultimatum to the goverment expires tomorrow. The sources said that Mr Mandela maintained that, if the deadline passed without a satisfactory explanation from the government, the ANC would have no further contact with the govermment on anything.

Breakdown in SA talks would be 'cataclysmic'

LONDON. — Commonwealth Secretary-General Mr Emeka Anyaoku said the threatened rupture between the South African government and the African National Congress would be cataclysmic for hopes of a peaceful end to apartheid.

"The extent of violence gripping South Africa becomes every day more tragic," Mr Anyaoku said.

He urged Pretoria to take firm steps to stop factional violence in townships and suggested restricting the use of weapons of all types and "dealing with individuals implicated in the violence".

"The ANC and rival Inkatha movement could not escape responsibility and should take action to stop supporters sustaining the violence, he said.

"But if there is a breakdown in the prospect of negotiations leading to a non-racial democracy the consequences would be cataclysmic," Mr Anyaoku added. — Sapa-Reuter.

Island hunger strikers angry over treatment

ARGUS 8/5/91

274

Staff Reporter

HUNGER-STRIKING prisoners on Robben Island are deeply angry that they have been treated as difficult cases by the government in spite of being eligible to be freed in terms of the Pretoria Minute, says lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

Releasing the names of the 32 prisoners refusing food, he said the only thing they had in common generally was that their actions had caused injuries.

"However, this does not apply to all of them."

"Their continued imprisonment is unacceptable Even if they are so-called difficult cases, they should have been released by April 30."

The hunger strike committee on Robben Island said in a statement "Quite a sizeable number of our comrades are beginning to show the signs of physical weariness as we continue to dig in our positions in the battle for the release of all political prisoners"

A service to show solidarity with the hunger strikers will be held in the Central Methodist Church at 12 45pm today.

The hunger-striking prisoners are:

● Johannes Mandla Shabangu, 31, of Johannesburg and David Motshwane Moisi, 35, of Kroonstad, both serving life sentences for high treason arising from taking part in ANC attacks on Booysens police station, a policeman's house and the West Rand Administration offices, placing explosives on a railway line in Soweto and an attack on a Sasol 2 installation. There were no civilian casualties Their death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment in 1983 after they had spent three years on Death Row

● Rafiq Rohan, 37, of Durban, serving 15 years. He was the news editor of the Post Natal when he was arrested. He was convicted of terrorism for a bomb blast at the Natal Command SADF base in which 17 people — military personnel and some wives attending a function — were slightly injured It was not proved that he knew about the function and he was acquitted of attempted murder. He was also found to have been responsible for a bomb blast at CR Swart police headquarters in which a policeman's girlfriend was slightly injured and a blast at a police radio headquarters.

● Naphtali Manana, 34, Petros Tshepo Mashigo, 30, and Johnson Raul O'Lubisi, 39, of Johannesburg who are serving life sentences for high treason. Their death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after an international solidarity campaign in 1982. They were convicted of taking part in an attack on Soekmekaar police station in Pietersburg, assault with intent to murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances arising out of the theft of a car to use in the attack.

● Mxolisi Petane of Cape Town, who is serving 17 years for terrorism, attempted murder and membership of the ANC. He was convicted of placing a bomb outside a shopping centre, throwing a hand grenade and shooting at police attempting to arrest him.

● Mandla Acton Maseko, 39, of Johannesburg, serving a 23-year sentence for planting a land mine on Mooiplaas, Breyten and injuring two people, planting a land mine on Vlakfontein, Breyten and injuring three people, planting a land mine on Boshoek, Volksrus and injuring one person and planting a land mine on Bloemhof, Volksrus, injuring two people.

● Gordon Webster, 27, of Durban, serving 25 years for murder with extenuating circumstances, attempted murder and terrorism, having military training, possessing arms and explosives, recruiting for the ANC and several bomb blasts on transformers in which one policeman died.

● Antonio du Preez, 27, of Durban, serving 15-and-a-half years for assisting in Gordon Webster's escape, a hand grenade attack on the home of an SAP reservist in which he and his wife were injured, a blast at an oil tank at Jacobs, a blast at an oil pipeline in Wentworth, a blast at a shop owned by a police informer, four common purpose attempted murders and one common purpose murder with extenuating circumstances arising out of Webster's escape.

● Johannes Africa Hlapo, 31, serving 20 years, Vusumuzi Peter Mzuvukile Khube, 31, serving 18 years and Raymond Richard Bongani Mpondo, 28, serving 20 years, who were convicted of terrorism and murder in the Oscar Mpetha trial, for stoning cars and the resultant deaths of two people in Guguletu in 1980.

● Thuso Paulos Tshika, 27, of Durban, serving 15 years for terrorism for possession of arms and explosives, receiving and giving military training, membership of the ANC, a bomb blast at a post office in which two policemen were slightly injured, a bomb blast at OK Bazaars during a consumer boycott in which no one was injured, a bomb blast in Durban in retaliation for the SADF raid into Lesotho in 1985 in which six people were slightly injured and an attack on Osizweni police station in which one policeman was slightly injured.

● Aron Thabo Memela, 21, of Sebokeng, serving 14 years for malicious damage to property, arson, attempted murder and public violence for attacks on police during uprisings in Sebokeng and stoning and petrol bombing a policeman's house.

● Andrew Paul Mathabathe and Sazi Ronnie Ndlovu, of Johannesburg, both serving 12 years for an armed robbery to raise funds for the ANC in which one person was injured.

● Joseph Makhura, convicted of two bomb blasts outside military targets in which no one was seriously injured.

● Tulani Isaac Mabaso, 28, of Johannesburg, serving 18 years for an explosion at an SADF medical centre in which no one was seriously injured.

● Mafi Percival Mgobhozi, 23, of Durban, serving 12 years for attacking Esikhaweni police station, a common purpose home-made bomb blast at Empangeni post office in which people were injured and a common purpose home made bomb blast at Sanlam centre in which no one was injured. All his co-accused have been released.

● Kaleb Mgashoa of Johannesburg, serving 12 years.

● Musa Nkaota of Johannesburg.

● Patrick Khoza, 26, of Witbank, serving 18 years for terrorism for promoting the aims of the ANC and for the common purpose murder of a policeman.

● Johannes Mahlangu, 32, of Bronkhorstspruit, serving 18 years for terrorism, armed robbery, attempted murder, leaving the country illegally, membership of the ANC, possessing illegal documents, attempting to rob a bottle store to raise funds for ANC, firing shots at a person there during a confrontation and shooting a policeman.

● Rufus Nzo, 32, serving 20 years, and Moyisile Douglas Tyutyu, 56, serving 25 years. Both from Port Elizabeth, they were convicted of treason, terrorism, possession of arms, ammunition and explosives, attempted murder, fraud and exploding a bomb on the Swartkops railway line.

● Bafana Charles Thlapane, serving 20 years, Atty Attazaxes Phiri, serving 28 years and Christmas Mofokeng, 24, serving 20 years, for murdering two police informers.

Call to join units

(274) (HB)

ANC defence units, established last month, were operating successfully despite a death toll of more than 70 in Soweto since May 1, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Tokyo Sexwale, a member of the organisation's violence monitoring group, said: "Most of the people who die, some members of the ANC, PAC or Azapo, don't die while fighting Inkatha, but are bystanders who go out of their yards when there is the threat of an attack."

Whenever there was a threat of an attack, defence unit members assembled at a central meeting point to decide on what defensive action to take. So Wetsa 8/5/91

Attack

However, residents failed to join the group and stood outside their homes, making themselves vulnerable to attack.

He called on residents to join the units, which operated like neighbourhood watch patrols in white surburbs.

The units were not a military wing but were controlled by residents with the aim of defending themselves. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Women of the nation flex their muscles

Star 9/5/91.

Own Correspondents
Staff Reporters
and Sapa

274

Violence erupted in Vanderbijlpark's Boipatong township and at least 285 people were arrested nationwide as activists mounted protests around the country yesterday.

Police had to intervene in what appeared to be a mini-clash between ANC and Inkatha supporters during an ANC march to the local Boipatong police station to present a petition. Police fired rubber bullets to quell the disturbance.

A tense and potentially explosive situation was also defused last night when the ANC in Sharpeville called off an all-night vigil outside the township's police station.

ANC members and supporters had earlier vowed to stage an all-night vigil outside the police station in protest against violence.

Marshalls controlling the crowd approached said they feared that police, who had surrounded them, and "taken position" were going to fire on them.

The protests, organised by the ANC Womens and Youth Leagues, was in anticipation of today's ANC deadline calling for the Government to take measures to end township violence as well as calling for the resignation of Ministers of Law and Order and Defence, Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan.

The demonstrators' demands also included the scrapping of the hostel system and the banning of traditional weapons

● In Bloemfontein, 117 members of the ANC Womens League (ANCWL) and 10 male sympathisers were arrested when they picketed in front of the South African Police Security Branch headquarters.

● Police in Durban confirmed 88 women were arrested outside the Department of Home Affairs in Smith Street after they had handed a memorandum to a Home Affairs official

● Thirty-seven demonstrators were briefly detained in Pretoria. SAP spokesman Major Willie Vlotman said 30 placard-bearing ANC Youth League (ANCYL) activists were arrested outside the British Embassy in Lynnwood, Pretoria East, after refusing to disperse

● In Pietersburg, about 30 women from the ANCWL were briefly detained by police. The chief of the security police in the Northern Transvaal, Colonel Dries van der Merwe, and an ANCWL delegation led by Joyce Mashamba agreed to cooperate to prevent violence in the region.

● In Nelspruit, seven members of the ANCWL embarked on a sit-in at the Nelspruit Police Station Police said there were no plans to arrest them However three other women had been arrested for carrying placards outside the station.

● In Cape Town, the organised march on Parliament by about 800 ANCWL members went off peacefully, despite initial confrontations with police over magisterial permission

The march, led by Women's League president Gertrude Shope, proceeded from District Six to police headquarters in Caledon Square, where a petition concerning hunger-striking prisoners addressed to the Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee was handed in.

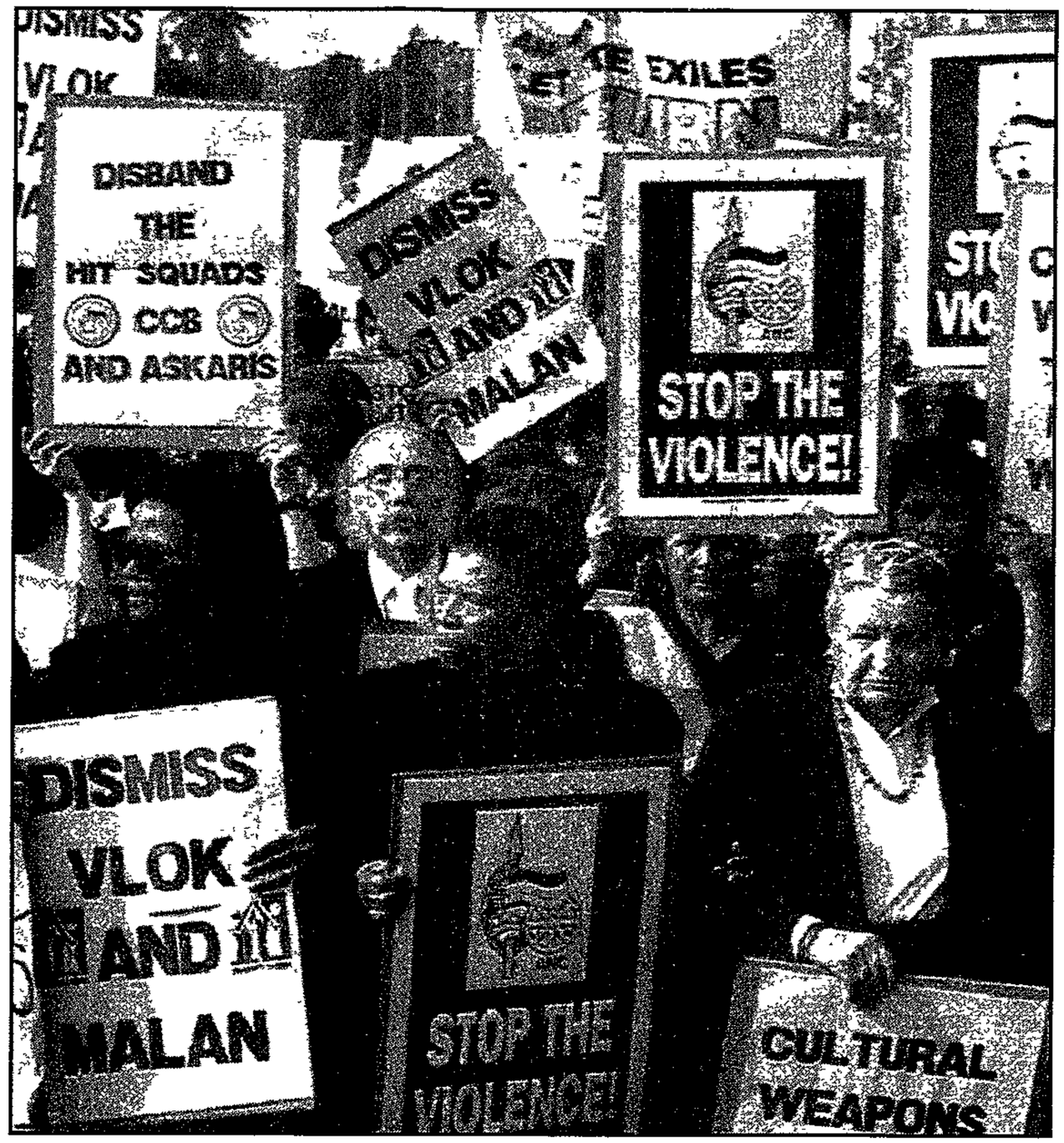
● In Johannesburg, about 150 ANCWL members ended their picket outside and inside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court after Mr Mandela phoned and told the women that President de Klerk had agreed to the two key ANC demands earlier in the day ANCWL vice-president Albertina Sisulu had earlier joined about 50 women in a sit-in inside the building. The women vowed not to leave until they had received a reply to a memorandum sent to the State President

The ANCYL said about 12 people were reportedly staging a sit-in in the British Consulate in the city centre, in support of the ANC memorandum The Consulate refused to comment

● The ANCYL reported that about 5 000 youths marched peacefully to hand in a memorandum at a police station in Springs, near Benoni, while a peaceful march was reportedly also held by several thousand youths on Botshabelo police station, outside Bloemfontein



Save my country . . . a picket demonstration was held outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday to protest against violence. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek



Silent voices . . . several thousand women from the ANC's Women's League, including its national president Gertrude Shope (centre), march through Cape Town yesterday to demand an end to township violence. Picture: Associated Press

Violence in SA must stop, says Kaunda

Star Africa Service (274)

Star 10/5/91

LUSAKA — President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and PLO chief Yasser Arafat will join the ANC's Nelson Mandela and representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress at a meeting of Frontline heads of state in Lusaka tomorrow to discuss violence in South Africa.

Diplomatic sources in Lusaka said the purpose of the meeting was to impress on South African leaders the need to maintain the momentum of peaceful constitutional negotiations.

This follows on from a meeting of the Frontline states Foreign Ministers in Gaborone in April to prepare for a summit meeting on sanctions.

All the Frontline heads of state except President dos Santos of Angola will attend tomorrow's meeting, which will be chaired by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Deploring the continuing violence in South Africa, President Kaunda said: "This must stop if we are to attain our goals. Why should black kill black?"

South Africa's black leaders were mature politicians who should get together to iron out their differences if the country was to see real peace, he said.

YOUTH MARCH . . . ANC Youth League officials lead the 3 000-strong crowd of Guguletu and Nyanga residents in a march against violence yesterday. Picture. BENNY GOOL

Police swoop as death toll rises

CAPE TIMES 10/5/91 274

POLICE backed by SADF troops yesterday launched a massive operation in Reef townships aimed at curbing violence, while yesterday's unrest death toll reached 19. And violence reached the Western Cape, with a number stone-throwing incidents at Khayelitsha.

Operation Stabilise saw security forces out in force in Soweto, while East Rand hostels and a squatter camp were searched for weapons.

Police mounted a three-hour search for weapons in the mostly ANC-supporting Mandela Park squatter camp near Daveyton, Springs. No firearms were found, but police confiscated pangas and sharpened iron rods, recovered a stolen car, seized a bag of dagga and arrested four men.

Home-made weapons had also been seized in raids on Inkatha-supporting hostels in Thokoza, Katlehong and other East Rand townships, a spokesman said.

Yesterday's death toll of 19 in unrest incidents countrywide has raised the total since the beginning of May to 152.

In Tembisa, six people died in a single gun battle, while three others — including the son of a Tembisa councillor — were killed in separate incidents.

A spokesman said the Tembisa councillor's son was killed at his father's home by a municipal policeman who had been standing guard. Mr Johannes Kheswa was shot dead after failing to identify himself and reaching into his jacket when challenged by the guard.

Police said a group of men on Wednesday shot and killed a man and a woman with AK-47 rifles and wounded five men.

Two people were killed and 31 injured when two handgrenades exploded during a street clash at Eigani, a township near Hartbeesfontein. Two people died in continuing unrest at Port Shepstone, and in Soweto police discovered the body of a man who had been stabbed to death.

Four people died at Soweto's Chicken Farm squatter camp.

The body of a man with hack wounds was found at Vosloorus.

● Violence flared in Khayelitsha early yesterday, with at least three private vehicles being burnt out and many others being damaged by stone-throwers.

● Running gun battles between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha erupted at Malukazi near Isipingo on the Natal South Coast yesterday, but serious bloodshed was averted after the organisations convened a peace meeting.

— Own Correspondents, Staff Reporter and Sapa

YOUTH MARCH . . . ANC Youth League officials lead the 3 000-strong crowd of Guguletu and Nyanga residents in a march against violence yesterday. Picture: BENNY GOOL

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CAPT TIMES 10/5/91 274

POLICE backed by SADF troops yesterday launched a massive operation in Reef townships aimed at curbing violence, while yesterday's unrest death toll reached 19. And violence reached the Western Cape, with a number stone-throwing incidents at Khayelitsha.

Operation Stabilise saw security forces out in force in Soweto, while East Rand hostels and a squatter camp were searched for weapons.

Police mounted a three-hour search for weapons in the mostly ANC-supporting Mandela Park squatter camp near Daveyton, Springs. No firearms were found, but police confiscated pangas and sharpened iron rods, recovered a stolen car, seized a bag of dagga and arrested four men.

Home-made weapons had also been seized in raids on Inkatha-supporting hostels in Thokoza, Katlehong and other East Rand townships, a spokesman said.

Yesterday's death toll of 19 in unrest incidents countrywide has raised the total since the beginning of May to 152.

In Tembisa, six people died in a single gun battle, while three others — including the son of a Tembisa councillor — were killed in separate incidents.

A spokesman said the Tembisa councillor's son was killed at his father's home by a municipal policeman who had been standing guard. Mr Johannes Kheswa was shot dead after failing to identify himself and reaching into his jacket when challenged by the guard.

Police said a group of men on Wednesday shot and killed a man and a woman with AK-47 rifles and wounded five men.

Two people were killed and 31 injured when two handgrenades exploded during a street clash at Eigani, a township near Hartbeesfontein. Two people died in continuing unrest at Port Shepstone, and in Soweto police discovered the body of a man who had been stabbed to death.

Four people died at Soweto's Chicken Farm squatter camp.

The body of a man with hack wounds was found at Vosloorus.

● Violence flared in Khayelitsha early yesterday, with at least three private vehicles being burnt out and many others being damaged by stone-throwers.

● Running gun battles between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha erupted at Malukazi near Isipingo on the Natal South Coast yesterday, but serious bloodshed was averted after the organisations convened a peace meeting.

— Own Correspondents, Staff Reporter and Sapa

Church leaders plan peace talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The secretary-general of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, confirmed yesterday that church leaders are planning a national peace conference if all parties did not attend President F W de Klerk's peace summit later this month.

Mr Chikane said church leaders will travel to Ulundi on May 20 to persuade Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in what he called a "peace conference of affected communities".

The ANC has indicated that it will not attend Mr De Klerk's May 23 and 24 summit because it wants a summit to be convened by an independent party.

Earlier this week, Chief Buthelezi said he would reconsider participating if the government was seen to be accepting the ANC accusation that Inkatha was responsible for fomenting township violence.

Mr Chikane said the churches did not want to compete with the government in setting up a peace conference.

He said a conference of "affected communities" would not include the government.

Mr added that Chief Buthelezi had expressed differences with the church leaders and that the conference had been delayed until he agreed to take part.

SOWETA

Businessmen aim to tackle the violence

Sowetan 10/5/91

VIOLENCE, unity among black organisations and the role business must play in post-apartheid South Africa, came under focus during the three-day annual meeting of the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) this week.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

The meeting, whose theme was "Black Business in the Face of Political Change; Fabcos as a Catalyst for Black Economic Empowerment", condemned soaring township violence.

It was agreed that steps to end violence should seek ways to address the bloodbath without calling off further negotiations between the State President FW de Klerk and deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela.

Violence

In his keynote address Fabcos president Mr James Ngcoya said the Government must use all its might to resolve the issue of violence without further loss to human life and limb.

Fabcos urged the withdrawal of live ammunition by the police as a measure to assist in rebuilding the tarnished image of police, and taking strong action against irresponsible police elements.

Firearms

"The Government is urged to disarm all other members of the community and to suspend all existing firearm licences. No new licences should be issued.

"Government should make the possession of any lethal weapons illegal and punishable," he said.

Ngcoya called for an urgent and unconditional meeting between Mandela, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, PAC president Mlambi Makwethu and Azapo president Phandelani Nefolovhodwe.

The meeting was attended by delegates from ANC, PAC, Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and Azapo.

Carnage

PAC's deputy president Advocate Dikgang Moseneke said: "The State, which suppressed our people for over 300 years, cannot be heard to say they cannot stop this carnage. It suits the State not to stop the violence.

"Our people, in this regard, reserve the right to defend themselves."

Plea

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the Multi-Party Democracy, called on the ANC and Inkatha leaders to continue talks about peace, difficult as it might be at this time. "There is no alternative to peace and reconciliation," he said.

ANC's director of International affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki called for an end to violence, including in the taxi industry.

He urged that Fabcos play a leading role in advancement of black business.

PARLIAMENT FM 10/5/91 (274)

WEATHERING THE STORM

President F W de Klerk was keeping his cool this week as the deadline for the ANC's ultimatum to end the violence approached. A senior government source said the President viewed the crisis as one of the many difficulties he had expected in the prenegotiation phase.

De Klerk was apparently confident that the planned summit on violence would go ahead on May 24-25 and insisted that he — rather than someone outside government — would convene it.

The President's approach in the face of what is widely seen as the most serious threat so far to the reform process follows a week of parliamentary debate in which he called repeatedly for an end to violence and for participation by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in peace talks.

It is clear that ending the violence has become De Klerk's priority but atttaining it still seems elusive.

In parliament this week Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the police were doing all they could under difficult circumstances to contain the conflict.

Without naming specific organisations, he accused "political opportunists" of making scapegoats of the SAP, which undermined police morale to the detriment of the whole country.

He warned that the SAP was SA's only police force and would be the "new South Africa's" only force. "We need every policeman and woman — today, tomorrow and in the future," said Vlok.

Despite perceptions to the contrary, Vlok told parliament that the number of unrest incidents in the first four months of this year were down by an average of 50% compared with the corresponding period last year. However, the number of unrest deaths was up from 754 in the first four months of last year to 771 this year.

But Vlok had no new ideas on how to stop the killing and simply pledged SAP support for De Klerk's calls for an end to the violence

During the debate on his budget vote in parliament last week, De Klerk himself gave the impression of a man with his head down plodding on resolutely in the face of a bitter storm. He seemed determined not to be put off by the crisis.

As one of his Cabinet colleagues said this week: "Now is not the time to lose one's nerve."

Suggestions that De Klerk was ready to offer Mandela and other leaders Cabinet seats in an effort to defuse the tension have been dismissed by senior government officials as incorrect interpretations. Both De Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen have previously indicated a willingness to consider a joint executive body — or super Cabinet — but flowing out of a multiparty conference rather than preceeding it.

However, there is growing feeling in parliament and in church and business circles that a new initiative is needed to break what is seen as a serious logjam in the process It is possible De Klerk will heed some of their calls

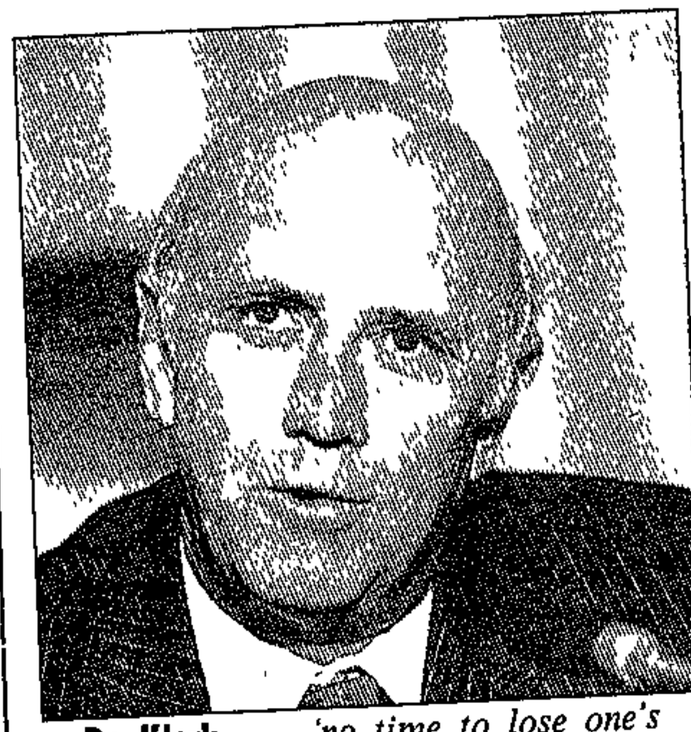
Church leaders who met De Klerk in Cape Town last week were outwardly optimistic about an early end to the crisis (possibily reflecting De Klerk's own optimism), and some of them are in contact with Mandela in an attempt to reconcile the two leaders. There are indications that the churches see an important role for themselves to break the political stalemate retarding moves towards ending the township conflict

In newspaper advertisements this week the SA Chamber of Business expressed the business community's "deep concern" at the level of violence and its consequent threat to the negotiation process It described the situation as critical and called for a "total strategy" to tackle the many causes of violence

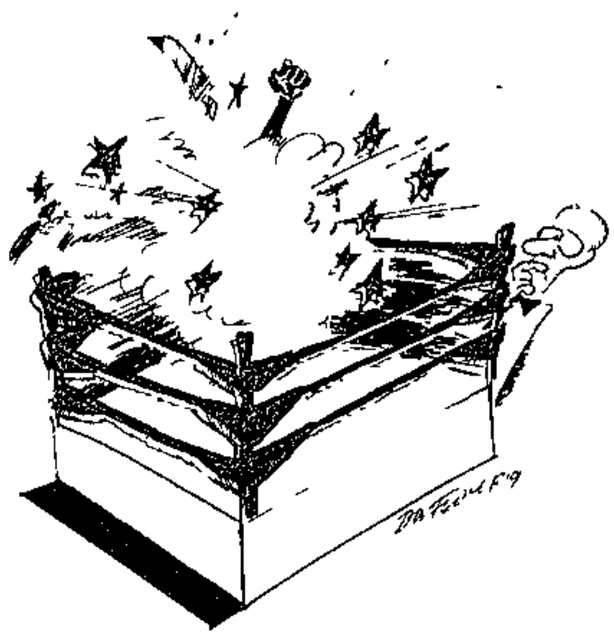
The chamber called for "narrow sectoral interests" to be put aside to achieve peace and stability. "We believe a starting point would be nationwide support for the State President's conference on violence to be held on May 24 and 25 at which the foundations for a new strategy against violence must be laid."

But some opposition parliamentarians believe efforts to get the peace and negotiations processes back on track require fundamental change of both attitude and action at executive level

The DP's Colin Eglin called on government to consider seriously a wide-ranging



De Klerk . . *'no time to lose one's nerve'*



package aimed at creating the right atmosphere for reform. His proposals, put to De Klerk in parliament last week, included adapting the current administration to provide "bridging mechanisms" sufficiently flexible "to absorb the pressures" of the transitional phase.

"The question is whether we want to use the period of transition to broaden participation in decision-making, to remove mistrust by creating opportunities for joint responsibility, to promote confidence and to promote nation-building.

"Or is the exclusion inherent in the tricameral constitution and the apartheid that is inherent in 'own affairs' going to continue right up to the day the Constitution is scrapped and replaced by a new one? Or is there going to be a transition mechanism?"

Eglin called for a government undertaking not to pass new legislation without first consulting extra-parliamentary leaders

He also argued for a constitutional change to scrap "own affairs" and suggested that government could contribute to national reconciliation by moving immediately towards the recruitment and training of a public service more representative of SA's national make up He accused the State of falling way behind the private sector in the recruitment and training of blacks

Other actions could include the appointment of more blacks to statutory boards such as that of the SABC and the Economic Advisory Council to give them a "true national character." ■

'Lift sanctions and help stop violence'

ARGUS 10/5/91

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The international community could play a positive role towards ending the violence in South Africa and getting constitutional negotiations on track by lifting sanctions immediately, says Inkatha Freedom Party representative to the United States, the Rev Sipo Mzimela.

He made the comment on CNN's *International Hour* yesterday.

Mr Mzimela was interviewed after South African Ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz, and the African National Congress representative in the United States, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza.

She had insisted Mr Mzimela did not appear at the same time as her because, she said, she did want the ANC and IFP to be forced into a public confrontation at such a sensitive time when the two organisations were discussing ways to end the violence.

Mr Mzimela said the only way the violence could be ended would be for all parties involved to sit down and talk.

Earlier, Mr Schwarz said the latest meeting between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela proved how talking could yield results.

Ms Mabuza said the time was not right for the IFP, ANC and the government to sit together in negotiations. The ANC was holding separate bilateral negotiations with each of the others because two completely different agendas were being discussed.

Mr Mzimela said he was optimistic about the prospects for negotiations because there were enough people who really wanted to see reconciliation.

He added that the international community could help by supporting the positive in South Africa and by lifting sanctions. Many people involved in the violence had no jobs or education and they ran around the streets burning people's homes.

The situation in South Africa had changed sufficiently for sanctions to be lifted so that the economy could move forward and absorb the energy that was being used to foment revolution, Mr Mzimela said.

ARGUS 10/5/91

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What is a 'dangerous weapon'?

The government has agreed to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public in unrest areas in a bid to stop the violence sweeping black townships. What is a "dangerous weapon?" Staff reporter DAVID YUTAR investigates.

WHY are feuding warriors able to brandish pangas and assegais while it is technically possible for a person to be arrested for using a carving knife at a Sunday lunch?

In terms of old legislation it was unlawful to be in possession of a knife with a blade more than four inches long.

The present Act contains no such acid test.

Objects as disparate as ladies' stiletto heels and lamp poles have been defined as "dangerous weapons" by the courts

Definition

But the statutory definition of a "dangerous weapon" is vague

The Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968, does not specifically define the characteristics or dimensions of a so-called "dangerous weapon".

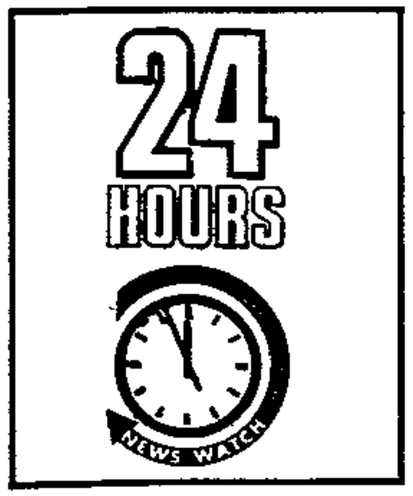
Instead the Act defines a dangerous weapon as "any object, other than a firearm, which is likely to cause serious bodily injury if it were used to commit an assault."

Clearly in applying this broad definition the test of whether a weapon falls within the definition of "dangerous weapon" is to look at the nature of the weapon in the context within which it is found in the user's possession.

So while a medium-sized knife, found in the possession of a fisherman out fishing would not constitute a "dangerous weapon", the same knife might indeed be seen as dangerous found in the hands of, say, someone prowling the streets at night.

The context of possession determines the definition, as it were.

The point about the Dangerous Weapons Act is that it places the onus on the party found in posession He has to show that he had at no time any intention "of using such object or weapon for any unlawful purpose"



Professor John Middleton of Unisa's department of criminal and procedural Law, says the "iniqutity" of an Act such as this is that it makes it "technically possible" to be arrested for "using a carving knife at one's Sunday lunch"

Stiletto heels

"The Act places a tremendous power in the hands of the law-enforcer.

"He can arrest or harrass a person there and then and there's nothing a person can do to rebut the presumption (of being found in possession of a dangerous weapon) until he gets to court," said Professor Middleton.

He added that the application of the Act to traditional weapons was obvious Professor Middleton alluded to court decisions in which "lamp poles" and "stiletto heels" had been found to be "dangerous weapons"

Professor Jan Van Rooyen, also of the criminal and procedural law department at Unisa, doesn't entirely agree with his colleague

He said if the arrest was to be lawful, the person arrested for possession had to be given an opportunity of explaining his possession at the time of arrest.

"Only if he is unable to give a reasonable explanation can he be lawfully arrested," said Professor Van Rooyen.

"The person in possession of a dangerous weapon might decide to exercise his right of silence, but his guilt might be inferred from that.

"But our courts have clearly decided that whenever a person is about to be arrested, he must be given an opportunity to explain himself. The difficulty arises for police officers who want to combat crime but who also don't want to act unlawfully"

"Under previous legislation, if a person was in possession of a knife with a blade over, say, four inches long, he could be arrested then and there.

"The present Act has removed such definition and the policeman wanting to arrest a person walking in Hillbrow with a knobkierie has a real dilemma if he is told that it is a weapon of defence."

In August last year the government prohibited the carrying of "dangerous weapons" in certain unrest areas on the Reef and listed those being commonly used in the violence.

The list of weapons appearing in the Government Gazette covered most of the so-called "traditional weapons" now in dispute and included spears, assegais, knobkieries, pangas, daggers, swords, knives (excluding pocket knives), battle axes, axes, sticks shod with iron, sharp pointed sticks or metal objects, metal and pipes, clubs, petrol bombs, stones, bricks, cross-bows, bows and arrows, picks, pick handles, garden forks, pitchforks, spades, sickles, scythes, hoes, gaffs, hammers, spanners, screwdrivers, chains and tubes and tyres.



SPEAR OF THE NATION: With a sign on his shirt saying "Sign up for democracy" this ANC supporter demostrates that he means business



TRADITIONAL?. A Zulu warrior, above, wields a spear during a mass rally in Thokoza Below left A fighter supporting the ANC prepares for battle against Inkatha, and right, a Xhosa youth armed with a pitchfork.

So why don't the police simply move in and remove such weapons when they are wielded by mobs?

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, said despite the exhaustive list, the matter was not that simple.

He cited a 1976 judgment by Mr Justice Fannin in the case of S v Maquaza and Others, in which the court said "It is not an offence to possess a dangerous weapon if the possessor has no intention of using it for an unlawful purpose and never did have such intention"

Brigadier Mellet said proving malevolent intention was always difficult but that was not the police's only problem

Even if it was clear what the intention of a group of armed men was, it was always a difficult decision whether to confront and confiscate or not

"Often when my men are facing an emotionally-charged situation where masses of armed men are at the ready to attack one another, the decision has to be made whether it is feasible to go in and remove weapons or not.

"If the leader or the group is agreeable, that's fine, but if not, we have to decide whether a confrontation is worthwhile

"Of course we can go in, but at what cost? And often when we do and people are killed, we are harshly criticised"

Commenting on behalf of the Minister of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze said that was the reason several traditional weapons were handed back to Inkatha warriors recently





We'll wake up when the violence comes to Parktown

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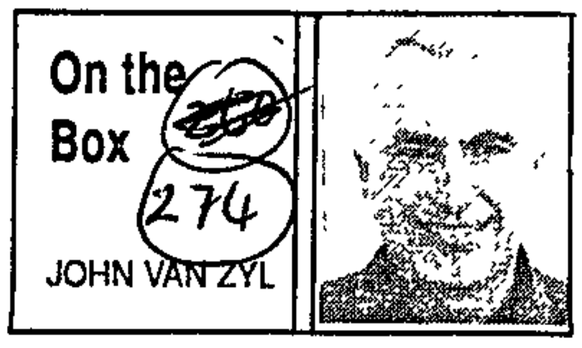

MOST people would agree that the real issue in South Africa at the moment is that of violence. The nature of the violence, the causes of the violence and the way that all the major game-players are implicated in it.

The second most important issue is the way in which the violence is being represented in ALL the media, from the alternative press through the mainstream press to the SABC In some ways this is even more important than the violence itself because this is the route through which the violence is understood, legitimised and even perpetuated.

This was brought to mind on Monday evening when the first five minutes of the eight o'clock news were appropriated by the Minister of Police and the way that the police saw the violence. First we had Vlok in Parliament, blustering about the efficiency of the police and quoting statistics that reflected a minimal improvement in the death rate over the past year

Renamo

Then we had a long piece by Chris Olckers, the crime reporter, about the success that the police had had in recovering weapons and in closing down the main weapon routes from Mozambique He did not mention the possibility that many of the weapons that are now being re-imported from Mozambique might have been supplied by the SADF to Renamo in the first place. Talk about reaping what you sowed!

The effect of the footage of weapons that had been recovered intercut with footage of township violence suggested a very important political point. Namely, that blacks were violent, that they possessed vast quantities of weapons and that the police were fighting a valiant and successful battle to try to disarm the threatening hordes.

In other words the feeling was created that violence occurs between blacks and in townships and the police are acting on behalf of whites to eradicate violence "out there"

Imagine what the reaction of the viewers would have been to seventeen people killed in Parktown North or Linden?

The political point is that while violence is thought of as occurring "out there" it will not be taken seriously and the average white viewer is going to be very surprised (to put it mildly) when the violence actually comes to Parktown North and Linden.

SABC-TV is a prime culprit in creating this impression. But all the media are playing an old journalistic game that takes on very sinister overtones when played in South Africa. The game suggests that any society is naturally stable and orderly and whatever happens to disturb this is momentary and will pass by sooner or later.

But that is not what is happening in South Africa. Violence has been with us for so long that whites now accept it as a part of their orderly society Places like Sharpeville, Cato Manor, Uitenhage, Sebokeng and Langa have become neutralised as violence that occurred "out there" "to them".

In the cataclysmic upheaval that is part of the creation of new South Africa the myth is slowly being unmasked. The fact is that violence has become part of both the black and the white way of life But the media still go on reflecting the myth. Do not adjust your mindset, we are simply experiencing technical problems!

The Monday evening television newscast was a further indication that SABC-TV news is rapidly degenerating to 1989 standards What was suppressed in the newscast was the role of the police in the violence, whether perceived as actively encouraging it or not heeding warnings of impending violence (as many have alleged)

What was even more remarkable, however, was the language Vlok used in threatening the perpetrators of violence, the sort of Afrikaans that schoolteachers use to warn smokers that they will caught and severely dealt with. It simply will not do. It seems that nature of broadcasting during this interim negotiating period needs to be monitored by an international agency if the SABC cannot put its house in order and act neutrally

Govt likely to heed 'ban spears' plea

The Government appears likely to meet the ANC's demand for a ban within seven days on the carrying of "traditional" spears at political meetings.

This will ensure that the ANC continues constitutional talks with the Government — and will represent a substantial victory for the ANC's controversial tactic of presenting the Government with an ultimatum of seven demands for action against the township violence.

Together with other concessions made by the Government, it will enable the ANC to argue that the Government has at last moved seriously to rein in the Inkatha impis — even though some demands, such as the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, have not been met.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is believed to have put the new deadline to Mr de Klerk when they met in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Another intense round of shuttle diplomacy will probably take place over the next few days as the Government tries to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on spears, and then finalises the deal with the ANC.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspndent

The Government's agreement at this week's talks to impose an immediate ban on the carrying in public of a long list of dangerous weapons — excluding spears — in the Reef unrest areas, helped to temporarily avert the ANC's threat to call off negotiations on May 9.

Agreed

It is understood that the ANC also accepted Mr de Klerk's promises to upgrade and convert township hostels and his assurances that police would act impartially in township violence.

There are suggestions that the Government also agreed that police should not use live ammunition against township demonstrators — in response to a specific demand in the ANC's ultimatum.

But despite these concessions, Mr Mandela in

● TO PAGE 2.

Spears

● FROM PAGE 1.

effect extended the deadline, threatening to pull out of talks unless the Government took action on the carrying of spears on political occasions within seven days, sources say. He believes the ANC has no objection to "cultural" weapons such as spears and sticks being carried on truly cultural occasions such as Shaka Day.

● Sapa reports that Zulu chiefs, in a strong statement issued by Inkatha yesterday in reaction to the proposed ban on cultural weapons, vowed they would never compromise on the issue. The statement came after a meeting of Zulu chiefs and "leading dignitaries" in Ulundi.

These are banned weapons

Star 11/5/91.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

A GOVERNMENT Gazette was published yesterday banning the carrying of a long list of dangerous weapons in the unrest areas of the Reef.

The ban was discussed at Wednesday's meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The list of weapons excludes spears and "ceremonial" axes, two weapons which are considered "cultural" and which the Government still tolerates.

The ANC believes that these two should be declared dangerous and forbidden — and this is likely to be the subject of urgent discussion between them and the Government.

A fine of R20 000 or a prison term of up to 10 years will be the penalty for breaking the ban.

Among the weapons declared dangerous are tools such as garden forks, spades and sickles and objects such as tubes or tyres, bricks and stones.

However, strict conditions have been laid down for genuine workers to be exempt from carrying these "weapons".

Written proof by the employer must be furnished. A member of security forces may request the person to show this proof of genuine employment and may arrest and detain for up to 12 hours anyone who fails to provide it.

The full list of dangerous weapons includes:

- firearm, including machine gun; panga; dagger; sword; knife — excluding pocket knife; axe — excluding ceremonial axe; stick shod with iron; metal rod; metal pipe; club; petrol bomb; stone; brick; crossbow; bow and arrow; pick; pick handle; garden fork; pitchfork; spade; sickle; scythe; hoe; gaff; hammer; spanner; screwdriver; chain and tube or tyre.

The ban will only apply in the proclaimed unrest areas — Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadolwlands, Diepkloof, Tembisa, Alexandra and Dobsonville.

urday, May 11 1991

Spears crux of peace talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela has put the negotiation process on hold — with the government having seven days to ban the public brandishing of spears or once again face the suspension of talks.

The new deadline for government action to curb violence in strife-torn areas emerged yesterday.

Inkatha boss Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the government earlier this week that any ban on spears would not be tolerated by Zulus and could spark even greater violence.

Mr Mandela indicated yesterday that the ANC was prepared to see Inkatha supporters carrying items like spears at bona fide cultural celebrations — like Chaka's Day — but would not abide the carrying of lethal weapons to political rallies and meetings.

The future of talks between the government and the ANC would depend on Mr De Klerk's response to the vexed question — probably next week.

Government negotiators are now striving to arrive at a deal whereby spears may be allowed at strictly cultural occasions but not at political rallies or marches.

Mr Mandela indicated yesterday that the ANC was unlikely to attend the peace summit proposed by Mr De Klerk for May 24-25 in Pretoria — but that the organisation could well throw its weight behind a peace summit organised by churches.

As the government yesterday began a fresh round of urgent shuttle diplomacy in a bid to find a compromise on the sensitive weapons issue, the increasingly powerful ANC Youth League issued a hardline statement giving "unqualified support" to the ANC's earlier seven-point ultimatum to the government on ending violence.

One of the demands in the ultimatum is the firing of cabinet ministers General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok — an issue which was not even raised during two marathon talks sessions between the ANC and government negotiators in Pretoria earlier this week.

Complicating efforts to break the deadlock is the apparent unwillingness of the ANC to meet Inkatha to thrash out their differences on the sensitive issue.

Goverment sources indicated that its negotiators would remain in close contact with both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela in coming days in a bid to find a way round the impasse.

This week's crisis talks in Cape Town and Pretoria appear to have eased most of the misgivings on the thorny issues of police behaviour and single-sex hostels.

ANC should score from spears ban

AC GUS 11/5/91

274

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

DEMANDS by the ANC for a ban, within seven days, on the carrying of "traditional" spears at political meetings seems likely to be met.

This will ensure that the ANC continues constitutional talks with the government — and will represent a substantial victory for the ANC's controversial tactic of presenting the government with an ultimatum of seven demands for action against the township violence.

Together with other concessions made by the government, it will enable the ANC to argue that the government has at last moved seriously to rein in the Inkatha impis — even though some demands such as the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, have not been met.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is believed to have put the new deadline to Mr De Klerk when they met in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Another intense round of shuttle diplomacy will probably take place over the next few days as the government tries to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on spears, and then finalises the deal with the ANC.

An all-day meeting of the extended National Executive Committee of the ANC will be held on Monday to consider this week's discussions between Mr Mandela and President De Klerk. The meeting will as well be attended by all regional chairpersons and delegations from the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The government's agreement at this week's talks to impose an immediate ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons — excluding spears — in the Reef unrest areas, helped temporarily to avert the ANC's threat to call of negotiations on May 9.

It is understood that the ANC also accepted Mr De Klerk's promises to upgrade and convert township hostels and his assurances that police would act impartially in township violence.

There are suggestions that the government also agreed that police should not use live ammunition against township demonstrators — in response to a specific demand in the ANC's ultimatum.

But despite these concessions, Mr Mandela in effect extended the deadline, threatening to pull out of talks unless the government took action on the carrying of spears on political occasions within seven days, according to ANC sources.

His view is that the ANC has no objection to "cultural" weapons such as spears and fighting sticks being carried on truly cultural occasions such as Shaka Day but that political meetings are not such occasions.

Government and police sources acknowledge that they will probably have to meet this demand, although it will be difficult to persuade Chief Buthelezi. Mr De Klerk failed to do so when he met the Inkatha leader in Cape Town early this week.

● See page 16

AUGUS 11/5/91

(274)

Tutu calls for Un solution to SA v

By DALE KNEEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has called for the formation of an "impartial para-military force" to end the violence which threatened negotiations between the ANC and government this week.

Foreign police and military instructors could train the force's members, who would be recruited from all sections of the community, he said in an exclusive interview.

"The ideal situation would be something like Untag in Namibia. There would be no doubt about the impartiality of a force like that."

However, a force of South Africans monitored by an international group could also satisfy the government's demand for sovereignity and the public's demand for impartiality.

Even if the police, Defence Force and armed wings of the ANC, PAC and Inkatha joined forces there would still be too much suspicion for the force to work.

He said that unless the public gave the force its approval there would always be "claims and counter-claims".

Also, there would be no solution to the violence unless there was a force that was "professional and apolitical".

"The fact that different groups claim that the police act in favour of another group is an indication that they (the police) do not enjoy the confidence of the people they serve."

The public was suspicious of the police because they had enforced "vicious and immoral" laws for many years and "seemed to enjoy" doing so.

"They showed extraordinary zeal in carrying out their duties. There were detentions, torture and mysterious deaths of people in detention."

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok had said most policemen were "good" and only a few were "bad" but most black people believed "most policemen are bad".

He said he believed President De Klerk was not doing enough to end the violence.

"Nothing he does will ever be enough while the violence carries on."

Mr Vlok defended the police with "knee-jerk responses" every time they were criticised even though the criticisms were made with good intentions.

Archbishop Tutu said the violence could be attributed to instability in times of transition, a history of black deprivation and political rivalry.

Groups who thought they would be excluded from a significant place in the negotiation process were "likely to do a great deal to be noticed".

It was important that every effort be made to include every group in talks about the new South Africa.

War talk scares off the money

Argus 12/5/91

AFTER recent promising signs that foreign investors are again prepared to commit funds to South Africa, investment perceptions seem to have taken a turn for the worse.

Speculative reports that South Africa seems to be heading for an ungovernable Lebanon-type situation are beginning to appear in newspapers.

Overseas investors, as usual, do not consider whether or not these reports are correct. The pull-out from South Africa continues.

According to Johannesburg Stock Exchange chairman Peter Redman there is still a net outflow from the JSE by non-residents. Up to R60-million has been flowing out of the market in one week.

"A lot of the positive factors associated with reform, including acceptance of South Africa into overseas financial markets, are being hampered by concern by non-residents about the level of violence. Everything is in place for new investment, but this is being hampered by violence," he says.

But are we really in such dire straits as these reports make out?

ANC Deputy president Nelson Mandela continually makes it clear he is still determined to ensure peace and progress in South Africa through negotiation. Yet it was his widely reported ultimatum statement which appears to have created consternation in certain influential business circles.

Yet Mandela sees the statement, containing conditions for continued negotiations, as a major effort to keep these talks on track.

One wonders whether political leaders of all persuasions should not get together and at least try, as far as possible, to take the politics out of our struggling economy. Investments that can create thousands of jobs are finding a home somewhere else in the world.

At the same time, those local businessmen who are taking their money out of the country through every means at their disposal (mostly illegal) should show a change of heart.

How can one expect foreigners to invest in South Africa if so many of our own businessmen have lost confidence?

Talks flounder over Zulu right to carry spears

C/P Nov 12/5/91 - (274)

TO carry a spear or not to carry a spear.

This emerged as the cutting edge of the discussions between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk this week.

Consensus was reached between the two on most issues concerning the violence, but De Klerk refused to ban the carrying of spears (assegais) "at this stage".

His refusal is expected to be one of the topics on the agenda for tomorrow's all-day meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC – where this week's talks between Mandela and De Klerk will be discussed.

An ANC statement said the meeting would also discuss this week's measures on violence taken by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, and the options open to the ANC "now that the government has not met the deadline of May 9".

De Klerk said this week he and Mandela had achieved a broad consensus on most issues concerning the "urgent and tragic problem of violence".

"The government is also reviewing existing legislation to address the issue of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public as a whole," De Klerk said in a statement.

Vlok on Friday banned the possession of a number of dangerous weapons in nine Reef townships that have been declared unrest areas.

But he did not ban the possession of spears or "ceremonial battle" axes, Sapa reports.

This is in line with De Klerk's statement this week banning the carrying of spears in unrest areas only.

Contravention of the ban, gazetted in Pretoria in terms of the Unrest Regulations, is punishable with a fine of up to R20 000 or imprisonment of up to 10 years.

The State President's stand on spears has been rejected by the ANC Women's League – which has vowed to continue with its mass action campaign against violence.

The League staged protests, marches, pickets and sit-ins this week, demanding the closure of single-sex hostels and that so-called traditional weapons be banned.

In a statement released on Thursday – before De Klerk's statement was made public – Winnie Mandela, chairman of the PWV branch, announced the branch "cannot accept the fact that assagais and sticks are cultural weapons".

"These are instruments of death and must be destroyed."

■ Zulu chiefs, in a strongly-worded statement issued by the Inkatha Freedom Party on Friday in reaction to the proposed ban on "cultural weapons", vowed they would never compromise on the issue.

The reaction followed a meeting of Zulu chiefs and "leading dignitaries" at Ulundi, according to an IFP statement.

■ According to the London-based newsletter *Southscan* De Klerk legalised public possession of "traditional" weapons only last August in a little-noticed proclamation changing the Natal Code of Zulu law.

For a century before the change Zulu-speakers in Natal were prohibited from carrying virtually any instrument, even sharpened sticks, under the code.

Even walking sticks were prohibited to all but the old and infirm.

Only "persons engaged in bona fide hunting" or travelling at night in rural areas were allowed to carry sharpened sticks or spears.

And police tested the legality of knobkerries by seeing if the kerrie fitted in the carrier's mouth.

If it didn't the carrier was prosecuted.

A parallel code in force in terms of the laws of KwaZulu reinforced these restrictions in 11 Natal townships.

Since fighting in Natal in 1987, however, anti-apartheid lawyers charge that police have stopped enforcing the restrictions, particularly against Inkatha supporters.

The violence that sets our worlds apart . . .

ST Times 12/5/91.

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MIKE ROBERTSON face to face with Nelson Mandela in the week that negotiations came closest to collapse



IT IS the weariness in the eyes more than the voice that reveals the personal cost to Nelson Mandela of leading the ANC.

"When the top leaders return to their homes you will find crowds waiting at their gates, you will find people inside your house waiting. Before you go to bed you have to address their problems," he says.

He is in his sparsely furnished office at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg's Sauer Street. Only minutes before he had been at another ANC office discussing with police officers the shooting of a white intruder by an ANC security guard the night before.

As Mr Mandela talks he displays a characteristic gesture: he presses his hands together as if in prayer.

"When people have relatives who have been killed you can't say please go to your local ANC branch or to your region You have to try to help

"When you see people dying every day, people who are bereaved and people who are suffering from shock, and then you discuss the question of the banning of dangerous weapons, assegais in particular, and the government says 'No, we are not going to ban these because they are cultural weapons', your attitude, of course, becomes one of outrage, one of revulsion"

It was this frustration, he says, which led to his organisation issuing its May 9 ultimatum which this week brought negotiations to the brink of collapse before six hours of talks with President De Klerk revived them

The deputy president has survived the most difficult weeks of his life since his release from prison last year On his flanks he is confronted by a rampant National Party and an embittered Inkatha. Within, battalions of his followers are impatient with what they see as his "softness" with the De Klerk administration

Failed

Mr Mandela believes part of the problem is that Mr De Klerk and his colleagues, living in areas untouched by the violence, do not understand the atmosphere that exists in the townships, the deaths of relatives at the hands of gangs of killers

"They are looking at the matter academically That is why we have difficulty in convincing them that you can't allow the carrying of weapons of death which have been responsible for the killing of so many innocent people."

Last week, two of Mr Mandela's relatives were killed in the fighting He does not mention it in the interview

It was not just the government that had failed to get a sense of the terrible toll violence was exacting in black communities, charges Mr Mandela, the media and the white public at large were also unaware.

"You must understand that we live under different conditions. The whites live far away from the black areas. They live in areas which have all the modern facilities which guarantee security and safety. The places are sufficiently patrolled by the police.

"The attitude of the police is very positive towards white residents because they are their own flesh and blood.



NELSON MANDELA ... 'It is not true to present the issue as black-on-black violence'
Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

"With blacks the matter is totally different because it is there that this violence is raging, and when people leave work for the townships they don't know whether they will be able to reach their homes, whether they will be able to see their families And even when they are at home they have no guarantee that they are safe."

Mr Mandela readily concedes that there are good policemen. But he insists that there are also many bad ones who are actively engaged in weakening the ANC.

"Areas are being attacked and people are being killed and injured .. the perception is that the police are doing nothing about it.

"It is only when members of Inkatha, when people from the hostels are being attacked that the police immediately open fire"

Despite his frustration over the government's failure to act to end violence, he does not question the integrity of Mr De Klerk. "Why would I negotiate with a person if I did not believe in his integrity," he asks Then there is the good "personal chemistry" between himself and Mr De Klerk. It helped a great deal this week.

"But one must understand that Mr De Klerk and myself are not the only players, even in regard to the National Party and the ANC. There are many players who are important and who are contributing positively and decisively to the progress that we are making.

"We are part of two great teams which are addressing these problems very seriously. That really is the correct way of looking at the matter. Not from the point of view of two individuals".

Did he feel that the National Party was growing arrogant in its success?

"We meet on equal terms and I have not noticed any arrogance when I have had discussions with them

"We have had differences, at some times very heated ones, but their mood and temperament have been similiar to the moods and temperaments of everybody who is involved in the discussions, including myself I must confess that I have found no arrogance in situations in which I have been personally involved"

Despite the violence, Mr Mandela says he remains optimistic that a negotiated settlement can be achieved.

"I believe in the correctness of negotiations as a method of solving the problems We, as the ANC, started these discussions and we are determined to see them succeed.

"But we now find ourselves in a crisis because we sent in a set of demands which are extremely important in order to end the violence and in order to save this process

"We are in that process now and we are discussing with Mr De Klerk in order to make sure that these demands are addressed. I am optimistic that we will be able to save the peace process."

Support

He warns, however, that if "the government does not address the demands then there can be no doubt that the peace process will be derailed They have to take this set of demands very seriously, because whether we are going to negotiate or not is going to depend on whether the government is able to address all these demands, not just part of them."

Did he have a message for the country?

"We would like all South Africans to support the process of negotiations and to make it difficult for those who want to destabilise We appeal to all South Africans to make it difficult for people to revel in the spilling of blood of innocent people of this country.

"It is not true to present the issue as black-on-black violence. It is something totally different And it is even less true to present it as a clash between the ANC and Inkatha. It is an attack by some members of Inkatha on innocent residents.

"That is what it is and the people of South Africa must resist such actions and make sure that the atmosphere is created for meaningful negotiations."

Assegai issue 'may be resolved soon'

B 10 am 13/5/91

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BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government was confident of resolving the impasse over the carrying of assegais at political rallies and other "non-cultural" events.

A senior source said the May 9 ultimatum had come and gone and government had managed to find a way through.

And despite ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela having put the negotiations on hold until Thursday — by when government is called upon to ban the public brandishing of spears — negotiators believed they would find ways to keep the talks on track.

Negotiators were also confident they would be able to overcome the ANC's reluctance to participate in the summit on violence which is two weeks away.

One source said while President F W de Klerk may not have consulted Mandela about holding the summit, he had not set the agenda or prescribed a programme.

The programme and agenda still had to be planned with the parties involved.

De Klerk's job of finding a way to persuade Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on assegais has been made that much more difficult by the weekend decision by Zulu chiefs that they would never compromise on the carrying of traditional weapons and the ANC Youth League's statement that it gave "unqualified support" to the ANC's initial seven-point ultimatum.

Last week Buthelezi warned government that any ban on spears would not be tolerated by Zulus and could spark even greater violence.

It is understood De Klerk would be involved in a fresh round of consultations with Mandela and Buthelezi this week.

Government negotiators started a fresh round of shuttle diplomacy at the weekend trying to arrive at a deal whereby spears would only be allowed at strictly cultural events such as KwaZulu's Shaka Day celebrations.

What was really required was that Buthelezi and Mandela meet each other and thrash something out, a source said.

What government needed was for the two leaders, or their representatives, to meet. Negotiators were keeping close contact with Mandela and Buthelezi in order to resolve the impasse.

One source said the Summit on Violence would also enable the two parties to thrash out a joint approach on preaching peace.

He said while there was an urgency for government to resolve the assegai issue they did not understand why they were given an absolute deadline of seven days.

● Comment:Page 6

Govt defends VAT on medical services

B 1 pm 13/5/91

TANIA LEVY

VAT was imposed on medical services after the Medical Association of SA objected to government's initial proposal that these services be exempt, deputy Minister of Finance and National Education Theo Alant said in a statement at the weekend.

The imposition of VAT on medical services has been criticised, with the Representative Association of Medical Schemes estimating that it would add R410m a year to SA's private health care bill.

The average medical scheme member would have to pay an extra R180 a year, over and above annual increases

Alant said government's initial draft bill had exempted medical services from VAT, although medicines would remain taxable.

The Medical Association of South Africa (Masa) had objected to this proposal, saying doctors would have to pay more tax on costs than at present. They would either have to absorb additional costs and make less profit or increase their fees.

Alant said Masa had estimated the cost of medical services would increase by no more than 7% as result of VAT.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

Orange Free State	R178 407m	Rhodes	R 35 259m
Port Elizabeth	R 41 554m	Rand Afrikaans	R 65 887m
Potchefstroom	R 76 000m	Stellenbosch	R116 685m
Pretoria	R175 471m	Witwatersrand	R153 153m

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language

General Affairs.

Conference on violence

1 Mr A J LEON asked the State President.

Whether, in the light of the threatened non-attendance by certain political parties of the conference on violence scheduled for 24 and 25 May 1991, this conference will proceed; if so, why, if not, why not?

B987E INT

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the reply is yes In spite of indications that some organisations might not attend, the Government will proceed with the envisaged conference on violence and intimidation on the 24th and 25th of this month.

The motivation for this is as follows. In the first place, the Government bears the ultimate responsibility for maintaining law and order in the country In view of that, it is determined to explore every reasonable means of bringing the violence to an end

Secondly, while the Government has no objections whatsoever to other initiatives being launched to end violence, it has to be realised that the Government cannot abrogate its final responsibility for maintaining law and order and for protecting the lives and property of people.

As I have emphasised on several occasions, inside and outside this House, the deep-seated and complex culture of violence that has become endemic to large parts of our society has to be brought to an end by a concerted effort by all in positions of leadership in our country. In my opinion, therefore, there is an obligation on everybody who is serious about ending the violence to join forces in discussing the best ways and means to terminate it

Those who decline to do so are either not serious about wishing to end the violence and intimidation, or are subjecting this grave situation in our country to their own desire for party-political gain and positioning for power In the final analysis, that can serve only to their own discredit in the eyes of South African society at large and of the rest of the world

The violence is achieving nothing but sorrow and misery for countless innocent people It is at present the single most serious obstacle to progress towards peace and prosperity in South Africa No effort may be spared in developing successful strategies against it, as far as this is possible That is the purpose of the proposed conference on 24 and 25 May That is the reason why this conference has to go ahead I therefore once again wish to urge those who are considering declining the invitation to the conference on violence and intimidation, as well as those who may still have some reservations about it, to reconsider their attitudes in the interests of all in our country

Mr C W EGLIN. Mr Chairman, duly authorised to speak by the hon member for Houghton, who is unable to be here today, I would like to thank the hon the State President for those introductory comments and say that the object of the DP in placing this interpellation on the Order Paper was not to apportion blame, but to try to help to find solutions

Our approach is not one of self-righteousness, but one of a sense of deep national humility. With all the rest of the House, I believe, we are saddened and sickened by the wave of violence which is engulfing our country and by what it is doing to individuals, to communities, to the fabric of our society and to the prospects for the future

Only a few weeks ago, in this House, we called on the hon the State President, not as the leader of the NP or the Head of Government, but as the first citizen of this country, to take an initiative The confrontation at Goedgevonden near Ventersdorp and the gruesome murder and pillage at Swaniesville over this past weekend have increased the urgency of a national peace initiative.

To the extent that the summit conference on violence is part of such a wider initiative, we in the DP support it We want it to succeed We want to see our nation as a whole united in a campaign against violence. We want to see our nation's leaders join together in a commitment to work for peace

We believe there are certain requirements if the summit is going to succeed The first is that it must be seen to be part of a visible, active, determined campaign against violence being waged on all fronts. A summit on violence is no substitute for an effective Police Force which, through discipline, skill and impartiality, enjoys the confidence of the communities I think the hon the State President will agree, and given the tragic and gruesome circumstances in which we find ourselves, I hope he will agree that a summit is no substitute for the banning of the carrying of all dangerous and lethal weapons

HON MEMBERS. Hear, hear!

Mr C W EGLIN· Perhaps one day, in a more relaxed South Africa, we shall be able to afford to draw the distinction between lethal weapons which are traditional and lethal weapons which are not, but given the orgy of human butchery that we are witnessing in South Africa today, we believe that the carrying of all dangerous-cum-lethal weapons should be banned.

The second one is that for the summit to succeed, all representative leaders should attend We make it quite clear We want to see the ANC there, we want to see the PAC there. We were hoping that even the CP would be there [Interjections] Whatever discordant and ruffled feelings there may be about the issue of violence, we use this opportunity to appeal to all leaders to attend this summit We ask, in particular, that Mr Nelson Mandela, who is one of the important persons in the process of national reconciliation, be there [Interjections] Equally we say to the Government. Do everything possible to make this happen. [Time expired]

*Mr M J MENTZ. Mr Chairman, our standpoint has always been that we are not seeking violence in South Africa; we all want peace [Interjections.] In fact, our standpoint is and always has been that power-sharing in South Africa must inevitably lead to conflict and a continuous struggle. [Interjections]

The hon the State President himself told us that power-sharing must lead to bloody conflict [Interjections] This power struggle has already begun in South Africa We need only look at what is said in *Beeld* of 7 May It says

> Magsbeheptheid lê aan die wortel van die jongste onrus

It goes on to say.

> Vrede het skielik baie broos en kosbaar geword Die eenheidstaat en waardes wat feitlik almal bely, versplinter sodanig dat sommige mense al begin wonder of 'n vorm van skeiding nie maar die aangewese weg is nie.

Where can one find better proof that the Government's policy of power-sharing is the cause of the violence which exists in South Africa? We say we were correct to adopt that standpoint, and it also proves that the Government's policy is the cause of the violence [Interjections]

In response to the hon the State President's speech in February last year we warned against this However, he replied with great bravado that, despite the unbannings and releases, he would clamp down on violence and crime, even if committed by these organisations He would not allow South Africa to be set alight [Interjections]

Brigadier Mellet of the SA Police now says.

> We cannot stop the killings We cannot stop the violence

That is the real situation in South Africa The simple fact that the hon the State President is requesting the summit and asking us whether we will be co-operative in this regard is a demonstration and an admission of the fact that he, as the sole authority responsible for the maintenance of law and order in South Africa, has failed miserably [Time expired.]

*The STATE PRESIDENT· Mr Chairman, no-one is impressed when the hon member for Ermelo says that they are so strongly opposed to violence No-one is impressed when he reads in *Rapport* what the Chief Secretary of that party said.

> Die KP vind geen fout met die boere se optrede op Ventersdorp nie

No-one who read what the Chief Secretary of that party said, is impressed:

> Dit is jammer dat ons mense met geweld moes reageer. Dit spoor geweld aan Andersyds bereik die ANC wat hulle wil met geweld. Daarom kan ons dit ook doen

[Interjections] The party has thereby reduced itself and adopted the same fundamental standpoint on violence as the ANC [Interjections.] Yes, Sir [Interjections]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE· Order! [Interjections] Order!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: In 1960 apartheid went hand in hand with violence. In 1976 there was a bloody revolt in this country while apartheid existed [Interjections.] Power-sharing had nothing to do with it [Interjections] This country has a potential for violence and the only way to solve it, is to ensure that we deal with the causes of violence and prevent violence in terms of an agreement between all population groups [Interjections]

†In reply to the hon member for Sea Point I want to say that of course there is no substitute for an effective Police Force Therefore the Police deserve to have all of us support them throughout, and not only criticise when an individual policeman or officer does something wrong We only have one Police Force and we must guard against running that Force down and demotivating it by jumping on the bandwagon every time criticism is levelled at the Police Force, and including almost the Force as a whole By and large that Force consists of a marvellous group of men and women of all races and colours in this country. They deserve our support [Time expired.]

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the problem of political violence is nothing less than a national crisis which is confronting South Africa The truth is that the Government itself can no longer administer or control the situation. At this stage a national consensus on this issue is needed to bring violence under control I sincerely hope that the Government will allow the broadest possible amount of joint control of the management of safety to develop in this country, and for it to start at the summit on violence in Pretoria because it is the only real way to bring about a broad joint responsibility on this important matter

The CP once again says that it has no interest in such a conference. The fact is that over the weekend the hon member for Lichtenburg agreed to participate in such a peace or negotiation attempt We do not ask him to do anything more than that If he attends that summit he will be fulfilling the same function He could add some rhetoric, as he did this weekend Surely it would do no harm It is important for everyone to attend that summit. I want to add my support to what the hon member for Sea Point said, namely that political organisations such as the ANC and Inkatha in particular, ought to be there

However, the success of this summit will not only be gauged by who attends it It will also be gauged by what emerges from it and I want to issue a word of warning that if anyone considers it simply as an opportunity to let off steam, or to allow others to let off steam, it will be a failure

We have to attend it with a degree of joint responsibility and joint dedication to put this problem behind us

Mr C W EGLIN. Mr Chairman, we have commended the hon the State President for his initiatives and we are anxious that they should succeed I want to put one or two suggestions to him on which he may already have acted

The Government must make it clear that, while the hon the State President has taken the initiative, this should not be seen as the Government's conference. It should be seen as initiated by the Government, but as a conference of the leaders of the South African people The State President should make it quite clear that the actions of the Government and its agents are going to be subject to exactly the same scrutiny as the actions of other organisations and their agents

The Government should also consider inviting key political leaders, together perhaps with some important church leaders, to co-operate in drawing up an agenda and to co-operate in identifying a chairman or chairmen who would be acceptable to the meeting as a whole

We want the summit to succeed, and for the sake of South Africa we hope that it will

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, I thank the DP for its constructive approach to this conference

*I want to thank the hon member for Green Point for making an appeal for joint responsibility. Joint control is something else, because one

cannot say on the one hand that the final responsibility rests with the Government—which controls the SA Police—and want a say on the other, but still want to stand back time and again, because that is what most people want to do when something goes wrong

That is why we accept that final responsibility and good government must continue within the present system, but we should like to give joint responsibility, involvement and participation, and that is the aim of this summit. We have invited all parties to make an input

We are taking the initiative, as the hon member said, but we are experiencing resistance when we request very important roleplayers to join us because we want their contributions on the agenda However, some are playing politics

According to the *Sunday Times* Mr Mandela said that they were not going to attend It would appear from the rest of the article and from today's reports that the NEC still have to take a final decision, but Mr Mandela said

> The reason for this was that the summit had been called unilaterally by Mr De Klerk

†That is not a good reason, because the final responsibility is ours If I am blamed every time anything goes wrong with regard to violence, then it is I, as spokesman of this Government, and it is this Government which must take the initiative We have taken that initiative and to shoot it down now is playing politics with the issue of violence

We are going out of our way to ensure maximum attendance. I would also like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there, and I would like to see the CP there, but one cannot force them to be there

The conference and the concept that as many as possible of the leaders must come together are fundamental. We shall therefore go through with this conference, but not in a spirit of confrontation or with any arrogance

I am repeating my plea for all leaders to reconsider, if they have had the idea of not attending, to come to this conference, because it offers a golden opportunity for us to put all our energy and talents together and to work out strategies to handle the biggest single problem of our country at the moment

Debate concluded.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

American magazine *Time*: advertisement

*2. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> Whether the South African Government contributed any money towards the cost of publishing an advertisement of 12 pages which recently appeared in the American magazine *Time*, if so, (a) when were the arrangements in connection with and the contents of the advertisement finalized and (b) in what issues of the edition concerned did the advertisement appear?

B979E.INT

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the reply is yes In regard to part (a) of the question The planning and arrangements to place the advertisement supplement took almost a year Arrangements in connection with the content of the supplement were finalised at the beginning of April 1991

In regard to part (b)· The supplement appeared in the ' USA Business Edition" of *Time*, which is posted directly by *Time* to approximately 1,5 million top subscribers to the magazine in the business and opinion-forming category in the USA It was also distributed by *Time* to almost 100 000 top subscribers in the United Kingdom and Japan. The supplement appeared in the *Time* edition of 29 April 1991

*Mr T LANGLEY. Mr Chairman, I am acting *per procurationem* my colleague the hon member for Kuruman, who can unfortunately not be here

This question was initially put to the hon the State President to reply to but it makes no difference if the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs replies to it, except that we do not have a problem with the advertisement as such I think that technically it is a well-composed advertisement The content comprises the type of message that the NP, the Government, the sponsors and the writers want to convey to the world

The Department of Foreign Affairs sent me a copy of the advertisement and also an accompanying explanatory letter This answered half of the questions in the interpellation

As a matter of interest the hon the Minister could perhaps in his next round just tell us how much of the cost of R1,35 million, according to newspaper reports, was contributed by the South African Government and how much by the sponsors

Our problem concerns another matter entirely That is why I said that the question had actually been addressed to the hon the State President In his contribution to this advertisement the hon the State President says

> There is every reason to believe that the laws which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid will have been scrapped by the date of publication of this article If not, there is no doubt that this will have been done by June this year before Parliament adjourns

He then mentions the cornerstones of apartheid

On 8 and 12 April these laws which the hon the State President mentions here were referred to a committee in terms of Rule 64 of the Standing Rules of Parliament, which is supposed quasi-judicially to invite and hear written and/or oral evidence, to consider it and then to make recommendations on the retention, repeal or amendment of the laws [Interjections.]

The hon the State President must not tell the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs what to reply now. The hon the Minister must reply himself [Interjections]

What did the hon the State President do in his article? In a long preparatory process he told the most important businessmen of the world that whoever decided what—it made no difference what was decided—those laws would be scrapped by June of this year [Interjections.] Now he is laughing about it [Interjections]

This place is a Parliament It has traditions. It has rules which apply, such as the sub judice rule and the rule of anticipation, but the hon the State President despises this Parliament, this institution and his own caucus in a conceited and arrogant manner [Interjections] This is merely further of what lackeys and rubber stamps they are [Interjections]

Mr P G SOAL Mr Chairman, I want to deal with the question as printed on the Order Paper I want to thank the hon the Minister's department for providing me with a copy of the edition containing the advertisement

Hon members are well aware that I have long felt it is corrupt to use taxpayers' money to promote the policy of one particular party, because I have said so on many occasions Not only is it corrupt to use money of all the taxpayers to promote one party and the apartheid policy, but it is also a futile exercise, because no one in his right mind is going to buy apartheid This is a lesson for the CP Apartheid is not a saleable commodity The NP tried for almost 40 years, and squandered millions of rands on a lost cause It was a lousy product, there were no takers and it was a total waste of money

I believe it is appropriate that an external programme on the positive aspects of the South African way of life be undertaken to encourage investment and tourism I therefore welcome this advertising section in *Time* magazine as a first effort—I say a first effort—to promote South Africa, to encourage investment and to advance the cause of our tourism industry

After the hon the State President has spent a great deal of time and energy convincing leaders abroad that there has been fundamental change in this country, it is appropriate that positive advertising should be used as a follow-up The plus is that most of the supplement was paid for with private money The Anglo American Corporation and First National Bank are free-market enterprises, and it is appropriate that they should wish to create stable conditions in order for them to pursue their business interests Eskom operates independently of the Government and wishes to extend its grid into Africa It is also appropriate that they should support this supplement Satour receives Government financing, but its mission is to promote tourism to South Africa. I have no problems, therefore, with the funding of this advertisement [Time expired]

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Mr Chairman, in regard to the cost aspects about which the hon member for Soutpansberg asked, the total cost of distribution—this includes production of course—was R1,5 million in the USA The cost of distribution in the United Kingdom and Japan was R431 000 This gives a total cost of approximately R1,931 million

We saved R300 000 because the department's experts themselves took care of the layout and we therefore did not need to pay agency fees [Interjections] We saved R300 000, and then we must bear in mind that my colleague the hon the Minister of Finance will receive approximately R193 000 as GST

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

ANC-IFP meeting in Natal raises hopes

Star 13/5/91 274

DURBAN — Hopes for an end to political violence in the Umgababa area on Natal's South Coast were raised yesterday after a successful joint ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party peace rally in the area.

ANC southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose both expressed optimism after the rally that the joint peace initiative would help to end violence in the area.

About 300 Inkatha and ANC supporters packed Umgababa's tribal court yesterday morning to hear their leaders plead for an end to violence and call for political tolerance.

"There is no doubt this is the beginning of peace in the area. Everyone here conveyed the message of peace and there's no reason to believe peace will not come," Dr Mdlalose said after the rally.

"We hope it ... will raise the spirit of hope for peace."

Mr Zuma said: "We hope ... this kind of meeting will have an impact on everyone."

Both leaders emphasised that people in the area wanted peace and expressed optimism that their message would filter through the community. — Sapa.

Chief: killing about leaders, not policies

ULUNDI — South Africans were reaching the stage where they were killing each other in fights about who should lead and not about what policies should be introduced or what direction South Africa should take, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing an annual prayer-day meeting at Ulundi, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party said: "This we have never seen. This is evil and this must now end."

He said the more he looked around him at political South Africa, the more he realised the extent to which the political strife and the killing of people did not flow from irreconcilable ideological differences.

Strife

"It is totally unnecessary from an ideological point of view for South Africans to kill each other.

"Quite often those who kill each other are actually professing the same basic political values."

Chief Buthelezi said much of the strife today was determined by greed for power and the insistence on being the person, the leader or the political party which wielded the power.

He apologised publicly to anyone who had been hurt or had suffered directly or indirectly for any reasons relating to his leadership.

And he called on fellow blacks to forgive their oppressors for "the generations of suffering that white racism and greed" had created.

This forgiveness had, however, to be counter-balanced by repentance on the part of whites and the repentance had to be associated with restitution. — Sapa.

Maggie's former guru hopeful about SA

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Sir Alan Walters, former economic guru to Mrs Margaret Thatcher, says he has changed his mind about South Africa and now feels hopeful for its future.

The monetarist economist, whose disagreement with former Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr Nigel Lawson forced his resignation and was one of a chain of events which preceded Mrs Thatcher's downfall, has just returned from a visit to SA.

Sir Alan says in the London Evening Standard that a month ago he would have supported the idea that white rule would end in violence and be replaced "with some sort of pseudo-Marxist dictatorship".

ANC demos planned for Thatcher tour

Staff Reporter

THE State President's office and the British embassy are keeping a tight lid on Mrs Margaret Thatcher's movements in South Africa this week but the ANC promised to show its disapproval at every opportunity.

ANC demonstrations are being planned in the PWV and Western Cape regions, it was learnt at the weekend.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said Mrs Thatcher was giving the "wrong signal" to the SA government when the peace process was at a very delicate stage.

"We are not surprised by her visit because she has been consistently opposed to the anti-apartheid struggle," she added.

Any demonstrations would be up to "the individual ANC regions", but she was aware of planned action by the PWV area, she said.

Mr Trevor Manuel, the ANC's Western Cape publicity secretary, said the "appropriate demonstrations" were being planned locally.

"In view of her destructive role in the anti-apartheid struggle during her premiership we owe it to her to indicate that she is most unwelcome in our country," he added.

Spokesmen for the British embassy and the State President's office declined comment. One British government source indicated that Mrs Thatcher was a veteran of tight security, "given that she is at the top of the IRA's hit list".

"A few egg-throwing South Africans" would pose little real threat, he said.

● Mrs Thatcher is expected to arrive at an undisclosed local airport on Wednesday.

Mrs Thatcher would be more than happy to speak to the media, or even give a press conference during her visit if there was a suitable break in her schedule, sources close to her said.

They indicated the visit would last "about a week" but said South African security officials had requested them not to give out any exact details "for obvious reasons".

Mrs Thatcher will be accompanied by her husband Denis, a retired businessman who still holds substantial interests in South and Southern Africa.

'Major's men censored book by Maggie aide'

LONDON. — Officials at British Prime Minister Mr John Major's Downing Street office censored parts of a book by a close aide to former premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher because they were too sensitive, a London newspaper reported.

Cuts were made in the book written by Sir Bernard Ingham, Mrs Thatcher's chief press secretary for 11 years, to protect civil service relations with ministers and to avoid giving diplomatic offence, the Sunday Times said in a front-page article.

The officials deleted critical references to European Community partners and to Mr Michael Heseltine, who became a member of Mr Major's cabinet after his unsuccessful attempt to become prime minister led to Mrs Thatcher's downfall. — Sapa-Reuter

Buthelezi in peace vow

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Soweten 13/5/91

SOUTH Africans were reaching the stage where they were killing each other in fights about who should lead and not about what direction South Africa should take, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing an annual prayer day meeting in Ulundi, he said: "This we have never seen. This is evil and must end now."

The more he looked around him the more he realised that political strife and the killings did not flow from irreconcilable ideological differences.

Buthelezi said so much of the strife was determined by greed for power.

In a solemn pledge "before Almighty God", Buthelezi undertook never to be tempted into becoming an active participant in the use of political violence because it was being used against him.

He apologised publicly to anyone who had suffered directly or indirectly for any reasons relating to his leadership.

He called on fellow blacks to forgive their oppressors for "the generations of suffering that white racism and greed" had created.

This forgiveness had, however, to be counterbalanced by repentance on the part of whites and by a real desire for blacks and whites to move into the future together.

Repentance

Repentance had to be associated with restitution. Blacks who had had their land grabbed must be helped to regain the rights they had lost.

Taking away title land from whites and giving it to blacks would cripple the agricultural economy and destroy the whole process of capital formation and the productive capacity of mining, banking and industry.

Restitution

Restitution had to consist of working with blacks to produce wealth and in spreading it to uplift black society from destitution.

"We as blacks should not be looking for restitution as handouts from whites," he said. "We do not want that superior benevolence ... We want a fair and just society." - *Sapa.*

More talks this week to seek ways of peace

AUGUS 13/5/91

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By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

GOVERNMENT negotiators will meet the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week to try to curb the violence.

The ANC has given the government until Thursday to ban dangerous and traditional weapons, including spears.

Inkatha leaders object to the banning of Zulu "traditional" weapons.

The government has prohibited the carrying of dangerous weapons in unrest areas with the exclusion of spears.

A meeting of the ANC's national executive scheduled for today has been postponed until Friday.

An ANC spokesman said some members were not available. Some have been at a meeting in Lusaka.

Today's meeting would mainly have been a report-back by Mr Nelson Mandela on his meeting with President De Klerk last week when ANC demands were discussed on issues such as the display of dangerous weapons in public, police behaviour and workers' hostels.

A meeting of the NEC on Friday will consider whether there has been a satisfactory response from the government, especially on the question of spears which the ANC wants banned.

The movement also opposes the ban on open-air meetings in some areas.

The ultimatum to the government which expired on Thursday has in effect been suspended for a week.

Mr Mandela's attitude is that if Mr De Klerk gives a satisfactory response the two of them can meet again.

It seems unlikely that the ANC will attend the summit on violence on May 24 and 25.

The ANC leadership feels that Mr De Klerk took a unilateral decision to hold the summit without consulting it. There is now the possibility of a similar meeting organised by churches.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the problem of violence had to be solved between the conflicting parties. Leaders had to get together and this had to work through to ground level.

A township night, full of nothing but terror

Sowetan 13/5/91.

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I WAS never as scared as I was last weekend, yet I thought I had already experienced the worst of the violence that has relentlessly gnawed away at our social fabric.

FOCUS

By JON QWELANE

I had lived to tell the tale on the last Sunday of October 1976 when police shot at mourners inside Soweto's Doornkop Cemetery during the funeral of university student Mr Jackie Mashabane, who died in the hands of the security police at John Vorster Square.

Talking and walking next to me was my friend, computer-programmer Mr Sipho Mbatha. Suddenly he slackened his pace, groaning through a contorted face and slumped down.

How the shots missed me I will never know, but two smashed into his hip and Sipho was one of 14 people to die that afternoon.

Two weeks ago, I outpaced knifemen inside the yard of Kroonstad police station and lived to tell the tale.

In March 1985, in the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage, I escaped the worst horror imaginable -death by "necklacing".

Residents of Langa and Kwanobuhle townships, incensed by the March 21 police shootings which killed 22 people, took to arms.

They hunted all "collaborators" and in particular looked for businessman Mr Jimmy Klaasen who, they claimed, had amassed his vast wealth by taking from the poor.

I had entered Langa township by stealth for after the shootings the authorities had banned all non-residents from the area. Only six trusted contacts knew me and my purpose for being there.

My physical features, apparently, closely resembled the wanted Klaasen's and I was fingered as the fugitive trader.

The irony was that only the night before I had been one of many unwilling men press-ganged into a search party hunting Klaasen down.

The crowd came just after dusk, about 200-strong. They carried the traditional instruments of mob justice: axes, shovels, pitch-forks, jerrycans of petrol, sticks and the like.

They invaded the home in KwaNom-athemba section where I lodged in a backyard shack with a former detainee and a former Robben Island prisoner.

They declared their intention to kill "the dog", then those who gave it succour, then burn down the home.

It was a scene straight out of hell.

A number of things saved me: the older members of the search party, having walked slower than the more zealous youths, arrived and promptly declared I was not Klaasen; I produced the return portion of an air ticket, my hosts' credentials and, finally, my *Star* identity card with my name and photograph on it.

(Production of the official South African press card, which is "issued by the Newspaper Press Union in terms of its agreement with the SAP", had almost worsened things. What, the mob wished to know, was my "agreement" with the police?)

Around midnight a second search party had arrived, a kind of back-up service just in case the first lot botched the mission. But a few trusted elders of the community from the first party had been left with me to vouch for my innocence.

My anonymity was blown, but at least I lived another day to tell the tale.

I have survived many other close encounters with death, including an incident in Dube in 1976 when Mr Khulu Sibiya, now editor of *City Press*, and I were attacked by inmates of the nearby hostel.

They smashed the windows of our car with pangas and battle-axes (the violent use of "traditional" weapons has a rather longish history in our townships) and in our panic we drove into them and fled.

Later that same year in Meadowlands, covering unrest with the same Sibiya, we were missed by a hail of bullets fired without warning by the police. Six unfortunates died.

Yet last Saturday night was my scariest. Not because anything happened, but because of fear it would and hope it didn't.

Perhaps that is what the townships are all about these days, an odd mixture of emotions: fear, anxiety, hope, suspicion and downright hatred.

In a way that is nearly impossible to describe, Soweto has almost receded into itself, despite appearances on the surface that all is well and we are manfully coping with our daily share of life's trials and tribulations.

At some periods - it could be deep at night, it could be rush-hour in the trains, it could be any time and anywhere -mention of "the Zulus" evokes deep terror. Those mentioned as "the Zulus" are distinct from the Zulus.

Crazy. But just about everything these days in our townships is crazy.

Yet there is absolutely nothing evil about the Zulu hostel dwellers, many of whom are decent men with fears and hopes like the rest of us.

Saturday night was thick with whispers about red head-banded terrors from the hostels approaching in waves.

Equally thick was the determination of residents in my township: "The Zulus and the police are the same thing, and we are going to defend ourselves from them."

Where boulders and thick concrete slabs suddenly come from at such moments has never really been researched. But they make good barricades.

Houses switched their lights off. I have never used a weapon before in my life, but in the dark I searched for the axe I last saw many years ago when the government was not in a hurry to electrify our townships and we chopped wood every evening to feed the squat old Welcome Dovers long since rendered obsolete by the white touch-button magic.

The barricades and self-arming were the panic actions of a terrified neighbourhood, never mind the bravado about "defending ourselves".

Scores of frightened women and children inside darkened homes watched every movement in the streets through carefully parted curtains.

Finally dawn broke to provide a 12-hour respite before Sunday night began and the previous night replayed itself.

A man's home is his castle? Perhaps. In our townships, though, as event after tragic event has sadly shown, a man's home is also often his end.

Sowetan's cartoonist Len Sak is on leave. His work will reappear when he returns.

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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De Klerk urges all to bury their differences

SOUTH Africans - black and white - should bury their inter-party differences and embark on a communication campaign to help build a new democratic country, President FW de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday. (274)

De Klerk appealed to South Africans to extend hands of friendship and communicate with each other to help build a better country.

He was speaking at a function organised by the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa to award him a gold medal. Sowetan 14/5/91

"We need to rise above inter-party differences and strive towards a common goal of making South Africa a democratic, safe and secure place for all of us," De Klerk said. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Patrick Laurence analyses the critical dispute centering on the carrying of spears

A simple but grave dilemma

Star 14/5/91. (274)

THE stabbing spear, the weapon with which South Africa's Zulus won their reputation as fearless fighters, is at the centre of a critical dispute between the African National Congress, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and President F W de Klerk

The carnage during the weekend raid by Zulu hostel workers on the Swanieville squatter camp near Krugersdorp on the West Rand gives the discord a fatal relevancy.

The ANC, striving to end the internecine war which has plagued black townships around Johannesburg since last August and claimed at least 1 000 lives, demands that the carrying of spears in public should be prohibited.

By allowing Zulu supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, or IFP, to attend political rallies and take part in political marches armed with "traditional weapons" — spears, bludgeons and shields — Mr de Klerk has encouraged the violence, the ANC contends

The IFP counters that these weapons are part of the Zulu culture and that they are considerably less dangerous than the AK-47 automatic rifles and petrol bombs which ANC cohorts have close to hand

At Ulundi, in the Zulu heartland, Zulu chiefs have declared that they will not forfeit their right to carry "cultural weapons" and have sworn that they will bear them when they attend a mammoth rally in Johannesburg on May 26 The rally will be addressed by the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini

President de Klerk, caught between opposing demands and having issued a decree last year making it easier for Zulus to carry "traditional weapons", is temporising

He has prohibited the public display of dangerous weapons in 13 townships near Johannesburg. The gazetted list of banned weapons, however, does not include spears.

Nor does it apply beyond the designated townships, all of which have been declared "unrest" areas.

The discord over spears is integral to a wider quarrel between the ANC and the De Klerk government Its immediate origins go back to April 5, when the ANC addressed an open letter to Mr de Klerk, accusing him of being unable or unwilling to stop the violence.

The letter contains seven demands which the ANC insisted Mr de Klerk had to meet by May 9, failing which it would suspend discussions on a proposed multi-party conference — at which the modalities of peaceful settlement would be debated — and halt all exchanges on a new constitution.

First on the list of seven demands is a call for legislation to ban the carrying of all weapons at public assemblies, processions and rallies Its position at the head of the list reflects the importance which the ANC attaches to it.

The remaining six demands include the dismissal of the Ministers of Law and Order and of Defence and the establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to investigate complaints against the security forces.

The May 9 deadline has now passed, the threatened break in contact between the ANC and the Government has not occurred. The crisis, however, is not resolved

Mr de Klerk has kept the prospect of negotiations alive by outlawing the public display of a comprehensive list of "dangerous weapons" ranging from firearms, machetes and swords to pitchforks, scythes and sickles Spears are conspicuously — and contentiously — absent

His prohibition of some "traditional weapons" has been reinforced by two gestures: reaffirmation of an earlier commitment to phase out the hostel system and renewed assurances that police will act impartially

These two issues lie at the core of the dispute The barrack-like hostels have been taken over by pro-IFP Zulu workers in most townships and turned into "fortresses" in their war with the ANC, while, the ANC charges, the police have repeatedly sided with Zulu "vigilantes" against the ANC and shown a predisposition to use live ammunition against unarmed crowds with ANC sympathies

It is significant, too, that the Zulu chiefs linked their defiant refusal to forgo "traditional weapons" to a statement defending the hostel system as vital to the interests of 500 000 migrant workers

The ANC has not been mollified by Mr de Klerk's steps so far It has merely shifted its deadline by giving Mr de Klerk one week, starting on May 9, to include spears in the category of dangerous weapons

If he does so, then the seven demands made in the April 5 open letter will be put on the table, if he does not, the threat to suspend contact comes into operation again Both sides are under immense pressure as the rescheduled deadline approaches

Mr de Klerk's dilemma is as grave as it is simple The precondition to a lasting settlement is the inclusion of the ANC as the most powerful of the anti-apartheid forces But to achieve that he must take action which will almost certainly alienate Chief Buthelezi and the IFP

The support of Chief Buthelezi and his Zulu legions is vital to Mr de Klerk's hope of avoiding "dictatorship by the majority" and his ambition of leading an anti-ANC coalition to victory in the anticipated one person, one vote election

The predicament of the ANC — which has limited resources and is no longer assured of meaningful support in the external world — is not much easier

If it adopts too tough a position there is always a chance that Mr de Klerk, nudged by the "hawks" in the police and defence force, will take the option favoured by former President P W Botha negotiate a separate deal with Chief Buthelezi and defy the ANC to do its worst

But the ANC leadership risks rebellion by its rank and file if it is too accommodating in its interaction with Mr de Klerk The risk is not academic

A new national executive will be elected at the ANC's national conference in Durban in July, the first to be held inside South Africa since 1959 and the first for more than 30 years at which the executive will be elected by secret ballot instead of a show of hands.

Given the growing suspicion of Mr de Klerk among their followers, the ANC leadership dare not be weak in their pending encounter with him No one is more aware of that than Mr Mandela. □

'Ban those weapons'

THE carrying of dangerous weapons in urban areas bore no relevance to the promotion of the Zulu culture, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa said yesterday. Sowetan 14/5/91

Contralesa said the carrying of axes, spears, assegais and shields at rallies was "a gross distortion of our people's customs and traditions".

"It is an undisputed fact that the brandishing of dangerous weapons by Inkatha-supporting bands inevitably results in conflict with people they view as their opponents."

Contralesa said the rejection by the Zulu chiefs of a ban on traditional weapons was unjustifiable. - *Sapa*.

ANC sends peace message to security forces

Political Staff

THE ANC has sent a message to the security forces, urging them to join peace efforts to secure their place in a future police force.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the message emphasised the movement's commitment to peace.

It called on the police to make a contribution to the peace process and to be a true peacekeeping force.

Should they abide by this request, they would secure their place in a future police force, he said.

The message said that for years the security forces had been told that apartheid was in the interest of all South Africans, that it should be defended with their lives and that the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations were the enemies which should be ruthelessly suppressed.

Those days were now over.

"Let us look forward to the future and create a better country for all our people," the ANC said.

South Africa was on the threshold of major transformation and apartheid was about to be completely removed.

The ANC said there was no going back and the police could contribute decisively to national progress.

"Peace, political tolerance and justice are the profound aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

"The ANC believes that most of you in the security forces also wish to see your country prosper and its people at peace with one another," the message said.

The ANC urged security forces to protect people's rights, to defend normal and peaceful political activity as well as freedom of speech and expression.

"The future South Africa will require a police force and army which serve the interests of the people, democracy and justice.

"Today is the time to earn your place in the security forces of the future.

"You too can become heroes of the people. Protect all South Africa's citizens," the ANC said.

ANC's plan to end township carnage

Sowetan 15/5/91. 274

SOUTH Africa today stands on the brink of disaster. Only a supreme effort of will by the entire nation, acting with firm unity of purpose across the racial and ideological divide, can avert the tragedy.

In the long term, there can be no victors from the spiral of violence that has been set in motion. It is hoped that organisations representing millions of people, and South Africans who represent the highest ideals of humanity, will lend their weight to the proposals outlined below.

The Government must:

ACCEPT the overwhelming demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly as the only legitimate forms of effectively moving forward and away from apartheid and white minority rule.

AGREE to the establishment of a fully independent commission of inquiry to investigate all aspects of the violence throughout the country, including effective powers to thoroughly investigate the security forces, State apparatus and civil service. Such a commission should comprise men and women who have the confidence and respect of the nation.

MAKE extensive funds available for the displaced, the homeless and the injured. This fund should be administered through a neutral body, such as a specially-formed inter-denominational trust.

Recipients should be victims of violence, irrespective of political affiliation. The violence has wiped out whole families, breadwinners and families have lost all their possessions.

Urgent assistance should be provided for transport, funerals and coffins to bereaved families. Particular attention should be paid

FOCUS

In a document sent to the *Sowetan* yesterday, the African National Congress spelt out its point-by-point plan for peace in South Africa. Here are the details.

to the needs of children made orphans due to violence.

GOVERNMENT officials must be held responsible for the actions of their departments.

PUBLICLY disband death squad units such as the CCB, Askaris and the operations that these units carried out, past and present, must be made public.

CONFINE foreign mercenary and paramilitary units such as Koevoet and 32 Battalion, whose notorious crimes are an indictment to the so-called Christian Western civilisation, in both Namibia and Angola, to clearly identified bases pending arrangements being made with governments of their respective countries for repatriation.

GIVE information as to where and why these foreign mercenary and paramilitary units have been deployed within South Africa.

ENACT legislation to ban the carrying of all weapons, traditional or otherwise, at any public rally, gathering or event.

ENACT legislation to disarm society as a whole.

The present police force has been trained to regard the ANC as the enemy that must be wiped out. Training manuals are still based on "total onslaught" and "terrorist" concepts. This training creates the framework within which the police force operates, and results in the kind of hostility generated towards the vast majority of our people.

To address this situation the following needs to urgently take place:

IMMEDIATE retraining of a new police force with a different orientation be embarked upon, with emphasis on the role of the police as servants of the people.

This should have target objectives within the short, medium and long term.

Promotion of officers, even within the existing force, who respect such a new orientation should be rapid, while those who are identified as unable to adapt to the new conditions should be dismissed.

POLICEMEN, who have become notorious for their brutality or callousness, let alone actively participating in massacres or individual killings, should be publicly identified and summarily dismissed.

POLICE should use standard methods of detection to uncover the perpetrators of violence.

It is inexplicable that with all the resources at its disposal, the security forces appear unable to find out what is common knowledge within broad cross-sections of our communities.

This can only be ascribed to a lack of will, rather than lack of ability.

POLICE should ensure that no armed groups are allowed to enter or leave any place of residence, public assembly or worship. Any group so doing should be immediately disarmed.

TRAIN commuters, in true Renamo tradition, have been a particular target of attack.

Police and railway police should ensure adequate protection at railway stations and main taxi and bus ranks. Communication systems should be established on the trains themselves to alert security services.

A PUBLICLY agreed code of conduct should be elaborated.

This should learn lessons from codes common in democratic countries, and be a result of consultation and contributions from the oppressed population.

POLICE should live among the communities they serve. If violence flares, it is they who should be deployed, as they know the community and the community knows them.

They are in a far better position to mediate and restore calm than riot squad units brought in from outside who have no knowledge of local issues or the leaders of the people.

POLICE must desist from the use of live ammunition, and employ only civilised methods of crowd control. Heavy weapons and live ammunition should not be used.

President FW de Klerk should publicly issue a specific order to the police force to act impartially and not use live ammunition.

ACT against those elements in the police force who are using criminal gangs to exacerbate violence, such as the Three Million Gang, or who, by omission and commission, allow violence to take place without taking the necessary steps to prevent or stop it.

SECURITY forces should act without political bias, and receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force.

All political parties, and we do not refer simply to the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party, should:

PUBLICLY call for an end to the present violence throughout the country. Each organisation should appeal to all its members

● To opposite page

Sowetan's cartoonist Len Sak is on leave. His work will reappear when he returns.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey 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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Apartheid by other means

Star 15/5/91 (3 illegible) 274 (27)

The South African Government has been accused, in an article published in the New York Times, of using surrogate killers to save white rule, reports RAMSAY MILNE of The Star Foreign Service.

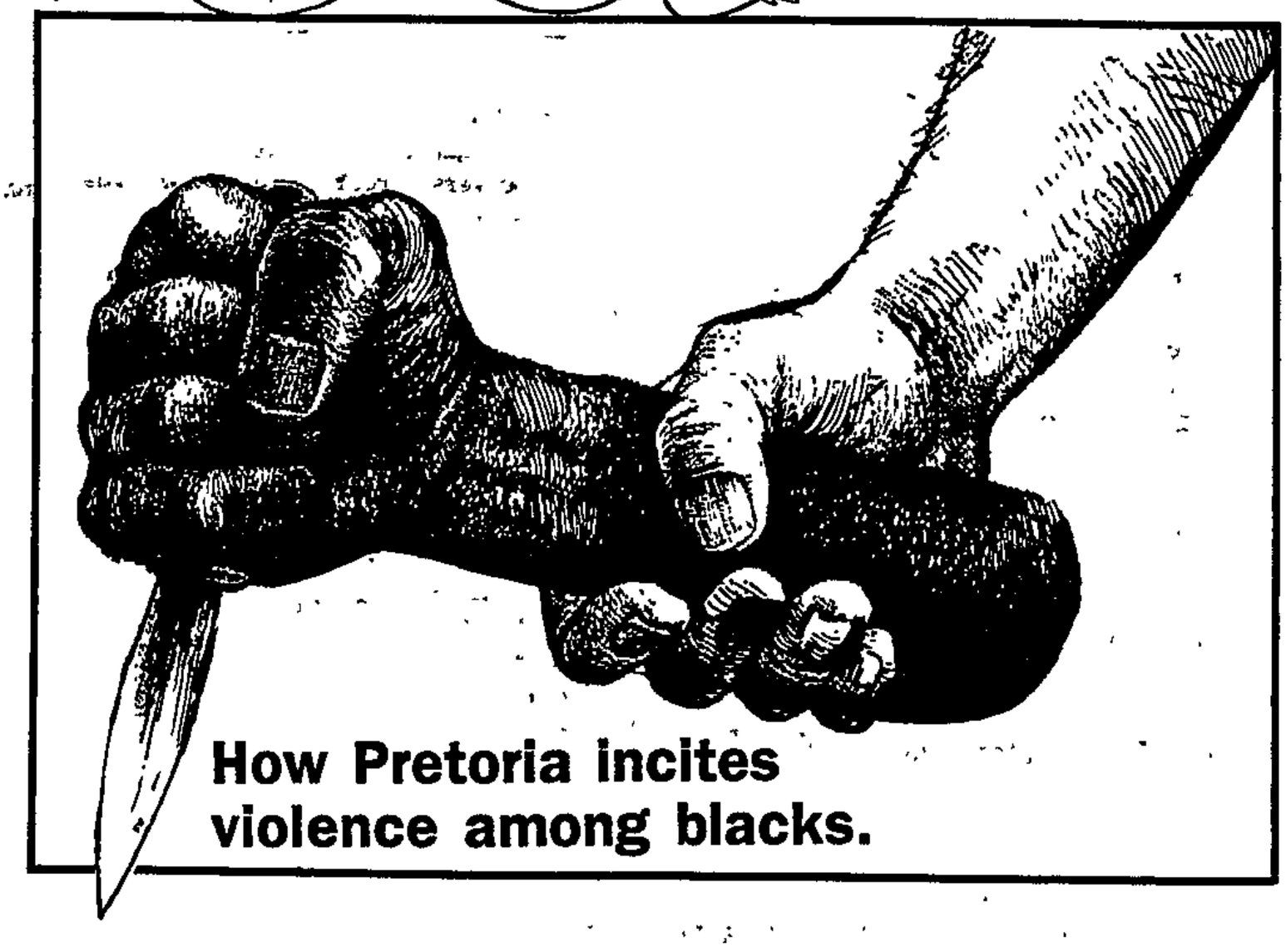
THE Government has been accused in a prominently featured article in the New York Times of substituting a new form of violence — the use of surrogate killers — to save white rule.

The attack came from Matthew Phosa, legal adviser to the ANC, who said that though the ANC was loath to make the "shocking claim" that the South African Government had instigated or condoned the black-on-black violence in South Africa, it had no alternative.

The article, which contained detailed criticism of President de Klerk's handling of the township violence, was illustrated by a dismembered black hand, holding a dagger, being grasped by a white hand above the wrist, the dagger being driven downwards as in a death blow.

The article was published under the headline "Apartheid by other means: how Pretoria incites violence among blacks".

Mr Phosa said the violence was being depicted by the white regime as an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between "tribes", or between the ANC and Inkatha, with an implication that blacks are not fit to rule their country



Taking a stab at South Africa . . . the graphic used to illustrate the article published on the New York Times's 'Briefing' page on Monday.

But the ANC, he said, had evidence that "paints a more sinister picture of the so-called black-on-black violence".

The Government's overnight transformation was accepted by the ANC, its violent past forgotten. But it may have simply substituted a new form of violence to save white rule, "turning to surrogates to avoid blatant displays of repression"

The surrogates, Mr Phosa said, included gangs such as the Black Cats and Three Million Gang, mercenary troops such as the Koevoet of Namibia, hit squads and some Inkatha members.

"We have testimony from the groups' members detailing police contacts. We gave this information to the Government, but nothing has been done."

More evidence of police collusion intended to create or worsen the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha came from confessions by Sipho Madlala, a former South African Defence Force agent, who told how his unit had assassinated Chief Maphumulo His charges had not so far been investigated.

Assassinations of ANC activists, he said, had risen dramatically and youths recruited by the security forces had told the ANC that other leaders were targets.

Mr Phosa concluded "We believe the Government's actions last week are not nearly enough. Hit squads must be dissolved, and the police and defence Ministers fired.

"We want an independent investigation of the murder of Chief Maphumulo and other atrocities"

He added "A lack of action would be further evidence that the white State sanctions — and instigates — violence." □

FW adamant on violence talks

Star 15/5/91



Summit on violence will go ahead . . . President de Klerk.

The Government's summit on violence on May 24/25 would go ahead although some organisations might not attend, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said the ANC's statement that it would not attend on the grounds that he had called the meeting unilaterally was not a good enough reason for not being there.

Replying to a Democratic Party interpellation on whether he intended to press on with the conference, he said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had been quoted as saying the ANC would not attend the meeting because he had called it unilaterally.

If he were blamed each time anything went wrong with violence, it was he, as spokesman for the Government, and the Government itself, that had to take the initiative to stop it.

"To shoot it down for these reasons is playing politics with the issue of violence."

Mr de Klerk said that despite indications that some organisations might not attend, the Government would proceed with the conference because it bore the ultimate responsibility for maintaining law and order in the country.

It was determined to explore every means of bringing violence to an end.

While he had no objections to similar conferences being organised by other bodies, the Government could not abrogate its final responsibility for maintaining law and order and protecting lives and property.

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Parliament

1991



The Government was going out of its way to ensure that as many people as possible would be at the summit. It would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there, as well as the CP.

Mr de Klerk repeated his plea for all leaders who had doubts to reconsider, because the meeting offered a golden opportunity for them and the Government to put their energies and talent together and work out a solution to the biggest problem in the country.

Ending violence called for a concerted effort by all in positions of leadership in South Africa.

There was an obligation on them all to join forces in this endeavour. Those who did not do so were either not serious about ending violence or were playing party political games and manoeuvring for power.

Ultimately this would only discredit them in the eyes of South African society and the world.

"This conference has to go ahead," he said.

"I urge again that those who are considering declining attending, as well as those who have reservations, to reconsider their attitude in the interest of all in our country."

Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said a requirement for the success of the summit was that all representative leaders attended.

In addition, it should be part of a visible, active, determined campaign against violence that had to be waged on all fronts.

"A summit on violence is no substitute for an effective police force, which through its discipline, skill and impartiality enjoys the confidence of the communities it serves.

"And given the tragic and gruesome circumstances in which we find ourselves, a summit is no substitute for the banning of the carrying of all dangerous or lethal weapons."

Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said he hoped the Government would allow the broadest possible degree of co-partnership in the security management of the country, and that this process would begin at the summit.

Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said his party did not seek violence.

"We all want peace. Our position is that power-sharing necessarily leads to conflict and continuing strife." — Sapa.

Vlok and Buthelezi discuss traditional weapons controversy

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By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok spoke to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi on Monday about the controversy of Inkatha supporters carrying traditional Zulu spears.

The telephone conversation appeared to have been part of an extensive round of shuttle diplomacy this week aimed at resolving the spears issue.

And, it is understood ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee met on Sunday night at a hotel in Pretoria

It is not known what they discussed but their conversation could have included the hunger strike by remaining political prisoners on Robben Island.

Persuade

The ANC has threatened to break off negotiations with the Government by tomorrow unless it bans the carrying of spears at political meetings.

Government sources have indicated that this will probably happen eventually — but that it will be extremely difficult to persuade Chief Buthelezi.

The Inkatha leader has already indicated to the Government that even he dare not try to disarm Zulu men of their traditional weapons

A gathering of Zulu chiefs at Ulundi increased the pressure on the Government by vowing not to give up their spears at any cost

Compromise

It is not known whether Mr Vlok attempted, in Monday's conversation, to persuade Chief Buthelezi to order his men to lay down their spears

A spokesman from Mr Vlok's office would only confirm, on inquiry, that the conversation took place.

But it is understood that the Government may be seeking a compromise by banning the carrying of spears in the officially proclaimed unrest areas of the Reef.

Last week Mr Vlok announced a ban on the carrying of a long list of dangerous weaspons in the unrest areas — but spears and ceremonial axes were specifically excluded.

It is highly likely that the Government and the ANC will also talk over the next few days about the issue

Swanieville: Residents plan protest strike

JOHANNESBURG. Krugersdorp's black community will hold a stayaway tomorrow to protest against Sunday's massacre of 27 people by an "impi" in Swanieville squatter camp.

Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation (KRO) publicity secretary Ms Nomvula Mokonyane condemned the massacre yesterday, adding: "The involvement of the police in the murder is an outstanding fact.

"The slaughter strengthens our demand for the dissolution of the present government and the creation of a new one," Ms Mokonyane said.

Police have categorically denied involvement in the massacre.

● At Khayelitsha, a shack and two cars were set alight and other vehicles were stoned in the past two days, according to police.

● Police yesterday reported two people killed in the latest political violence, including a man hacked to death at Swanieville squatter camp, site of Sunday's massacre.

The second victim, a youth, was stabbed and hacked to death at Bomela in Port Shepstone, police said.

In other incidents reported by police yesterday:

● At Ndaleni, near Richmond, a group of people fired at an SADF vehicle. Police returned fire, slightly injuring a black man;

● At Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, police vehicles were stoned on a number of occasions; and

● At Sebokeng, near Vanderbijl Park, two private dwellings were damaged in petrol-bomb attacks. — Sapa

Leaders 'to plan summit'

OT 15/5/91

Political Staff

THOSE invited to the summit on violence had been asked to take part in planning the agenda and programme, President F W de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

However, important role players were using the violence for political mileage and prevaricating about attending, Mr De Klerk said during an interpellation by Mr Tony Leon, DP, Houghton.

Mr Leon asked if the summit would go ahead despite important role players indicating they would not attend.

He said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had been quoted as saying he would not attend because Mr De Klerk had called the meeting unilaterally.

"That is not a good reason because if the final responsibility is upon us — if I am blamed every time anything goes wrong with regard to violence — then it is I as spokesman for this government and this government who must take the initiative," Mr De Klerk said.

"To shoot it down now is playing politics with the issue of violence.

"We are going out of our way to have maximum attendance at the summit.

"I would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there. I would also like to see the Conservative Party there. But you can't force them to be there."

It was fundamental that as many leaders as possible should meet.

The government would go ahead with the summit — but "not in the sense of confrontation, not with any arrogance".

Mr De Klerk repeated his plea that those who had not yet decided or were on the point of refusing to attend, should reconsider.

All parties had an obligation to discuss the best way to solve "the single biggest problem in the country".

The Democratic Party's caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, pleaded for Mr Mandela, "who is so important in the process of national reconciliation", to attend.

"Equally we ask the government to do everything possible to enable this to happen."

Strike follows AWB attack

CT 15/5/91

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JOHANNESBURG. — The Western Transvaal town of Ventersdorp was yesterday reported to be deserted on the second day of a work stayaway by residents of Tshing township.

At the weekend, Tshing and the nearby Goedgevonden farm were attacked by armed right-wingers seeking to evict squatters from the farm.

Operation Masakhane for the Homeless spokesman Mr Basheer Lorgat said the stayaway was "100% successful".

This was largely confirmed by traders interviewed in the town. One trader, who did not wish to be identified, said Ventersdorp looked like a ghost town. He added that his business had dropped off by 90%.

Another store manager said there were no black buyers in the town.

A Ventersdorp local government official, however, denied that a stayaway was in progress, and claimed that black employees had turned up for work.

Mr Lorgat said Tshing residents had decided that emergency services workers would be exempt from the stayaway, and they had reported for duty.

A local ANC leader alleged that Khaki-clad AWB members were patrolling the entrance to Tshing township yesterday, although police denied the claim.

Tshing residents would decide today over the stayaway and a possible consumer boycott, Mr Lorgat said, warning of a "long-term consumer boycott if the situation doesn't change dramatically". — Sapa

Buthelezi, FW in crisis impasse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held another round of crisis talks at Tuynhuys yesterday with just one day remaining before the expiry of the ANC's deadline for a ban on cultural weapons.

The 11th-hour talks, which were also attended by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, were set up amid great secrecy in a bid to break the deadlock on the row surrounding the public brandishing of spears.

However, a brief joint statement issued last night after a marathon negotiation session indicated that a way round the impasse had not yet been reached.

The statement, issued after the Cape Times had got wind of the meeting, said: "We had a constructive and friendly meeting today. The discussions mainly focused on the need to combat violence and intimidation as well as the issue of firearms and other dangerous weapons.

"It was decided that further discussion will take place."

Governmnent sources declined to say when the next round of talks would take place but it appeared from the terse statement that Chief Buthelezi had raised objections about the ANC's access to firearms at a time when it was insisting that Inkatha supporters be disarmed of traditional weapons.

Defiance vow

The ANC has threatened to break off all talks with the government tomorrow if its demand for a ban on carrying spears and ceremonial axes — except on strictly cultural occasions — is not met by the government.

For their part, traditional Zulu chiefs have vowed to defy any government instruction for their followers to forgo carrying traditional weapons like spears.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told journalists yesterday that Mr De Klerk had not contacted him since their marathon meeting in Pretoria last week to find a way round the impasse.

However, a full meeting of the ANC national executive committee will meet on Friday to consider the government's response to the postponement of its ultimatum on violence.

Mr Vlok, who spoke to Chief Buthelezi by telephone earlier this week about the vexed issue, had to break away from yesterday's crunch Tuynhuys talks to participate in debates in Parliament on clashes between right-wing farmers and squatters.

It is not clear when the major players in the controversy — the government, Inkatha and the ANC — will resume talks on the weapons issue.

Today Mr De Klerk has to chair a cabinet meeting and host former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher

'We must all work for peace'

● From previous page

supporters to cease attacks with immediate effect.

TAKE effective steps to prevent acts of violence between their members or being carried out by their members.

RECOGNISE the right of other political organisations to exist with their own policies and programmes, and to create a climate free of forced recruitment, vilification and intimidation.

ENSURE that all public facilities are accessible and available to all people, irrespective of their political affiliation.

TAKE the necessary steps to ensure that the security forces act with due respect for the sensitive community situations that exist.

UNDERTAKE extensive education and communication programmes within their constituencies and supporters to establish principles of democracy and political tolerance.

ENSURE that appropriate peace and communication mechanisms are established at local and regional level between different organisations.

Every effort should be made to have rapid and effective lines of communication between different levels of leadership so as to prevent rumour being used to foment attacks.

PUBLICLY appeal to members and supporters to calmly evaluate each situation, and not allow themselves to be blindly goaded into attacks on an unsubstantiated basis.

TRADITIONAL leaders from all parts of our country, at the level of Kings or Paramount Chiefs, should, jointly and individually, address all affected areas.

SUCH tours should have the support of, and be accompanied by, the appropriate level of representation from political parties, particularly the IFP and the ANC.

TRADITIONAL leaders and homeland governments should make every effort to prevent the recruitment and bussing of people to trouble spots to engage in fighting.

This should be publicly exposed and condemned, and those involved in such recruitment disciplined by the appropriate authorities.

RELIGIOUS BODIES

Religious bodies have a vital role to play to bring an end to the violence. Inter-denominational action is urgently required.

A TRUST should be set up to administer the national fund created to assist the victims of violence. They should also ensure co-ordination regarding immediate relief for affected areas and communities.

Local religious institutions should assist where possible to ensure peace committees or communication mechanisms exist within communities.

There is an urgent imperative for events leading up to or during violence to be publicly monitored. To ensure this:

An independent Joint National Monitoring Committee should be established with immediate effect.

Those serving on this body should have the confidence of the widest cross-section of the population.

It should have sufficient resources at its disposal to ensure that effective monitoring, investigation, documentation and publicity are possible.

It should have the full backing of all political parties, including the National Party, trade unions, religious bodies, civic organisations, sports and cultural organisations.

The Government should undertake to assist such an independent monitoring body, especially where it concerns investigation of security forces and other civil service institutions.

An independent national commission of inquiry should be established. Its composition and terms of reference should be such that it is impartial and has the power, authority and respect to investigate without hindrance.

An independent judicial commission, comprising respected international figures, should be urgently convened to investigate all aspects of the violence throughout the country.

Such a commission should co-operate with, but function independently of, the local monitoring and investigating committees.

All monitoring and investigating committees should produce a preliminary report within three months, a comprehensive report within six months, with public information being provided as and when it is appropriate at intervals to be determined by the respective commissions.

The violence, if allowed to continue, will affect every facet of society, not least the factory floor.

Employers should see to the phasing out of hostels and their replacement by appropriate family and single-occupancy accommodation.

Discuss with trade union representatives in the workplace appropriate measures to ensure peace prevails.

Respond sympathetically to workers whose attendance and productivity drop due to the violence.

Start reconstruction and development programmes which are essential to reduce conflict over scarce resources. These programmes must be non-partisan and designed to meet the needs of all the people, irrespective of any affiliation they may hold. Employers, Government, trade unions, civic and political bodies should jointly determine such programmes.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IS VITAL

Time should be allocated on television and radio to all leaders to call for peace and political tolerance.

Facilities should be provided through newspapers and magazines for peace messages to be conveyed in all languages.

The media, particularly television, should do whatever possible not to feed rumour. Reports should be as calm and considered as possible. Without affecting factual reporting, the media should consciously avoid reports which will create potential victims and revenge attacks.

White supremacy dies as black bloodletting goes on

Wounds fester under a blanket of fear

Sowetan 16/5/91 (274)

THERE is peace today where the fight between whites and blacks for South Africa began 212 years ago, but all around is confusion and fear for the future.

European settlers won the "Kaffir wars" against Xhosas along the banks of this muddy river in the Eastern Cape, but the black struggle against white rule never ceased and may be about to prevail.

Little but the lonely cry of a fish eagle stirs the wilderness here now, but elsewhere in the country white supremacy is dying in a frenzy of black bloodletting.

President FW de Klerk, a descendant of the 18th century Afrikaner settlers who first probed this frontier, and Nelson Mandela, whose Xhosa forebears fiercely resisted, are trying to negotiate a peaceful end to the long black-white conflict.

Power

But blacks who at last may aspire to power are dying daily in black township violence which spreads fear from the gold fields of the Transvaal to the Cape of Good Hope where Africa ends.

In the Karoo, editor Arthur Knott-Craig of the *Graaff-Reinet Advertiser*, South Africa's third oldest newspaper, says whites accept the inevitability of black rule but worry about corruption and inefficiency.

Graaff-Reinet, a postcard-perfect sheep-and-tourist town founded by Europeans in 1786, is beset by drought and recession and resultant black unemployment.

Boots

The modern black freedom struggle has roots in the region. The first guerilla arms cache was found there in 1961.

Knott-Craig says white living standards are still falling and blacks are hungry.

He says the black-on-black fighting creates dread of the kind of chaos that has afflicted African states and demonstrates that no one group can be allowed to dominate a new South Africa.

Blacks must be trained to rule - and that, he says, could take 20 years.



FW DE KLERK

Few blacks would concede that long a transition after waiting so many years.

Transkei and Ciskei, nominally "independent" black homelands created by apartheid north of the Great Fish River, are hotbeds of support for Mandela's African National Congress which wants black government now.

Locals say the homelands around the "white" ports of East London and Port Elizabeth are bubbling with a potent brew of volatile politics, overt and covert South African security force activities, black vigilanteism and white extremism - all vying for advantage as apartheid's iron grip relaxes.

What happens to the thousands of blacks on the bleak homeland moonscapes when segregation goes?

Crush

Will they join the hopeless crush on the cities that has been blamed for feeding the socio-economic unrest behind the township wars?

Worried white blue-collar workers pack meetings of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner resistance movement, from conviction or curiosity. They hear white extremists say only war can solve their problems.

They fear for their jobs, schools and hospitals as they watch township wars on television and lift their eyes to nearby hills once known as Kaffraria, a line of bitter contention between blacks and white settlers.

Restless

Now those parched hills are covered by thousands of restless, jobless blacks in tin and plastic shacks.

To the south lies the old, perfectly-ordered Afrikaner university town of Stellenbosch.

Stellenbosch political analyst Anton van Niekerk says an obstacle to an orderly end to white rule is that whites have seen a real reduction in living standards while blacks have experienced no improvement.

A colleague, Hennie Kotze, notes De Klerk is despised by many fellow-Afrikaners for dismantling apartheid.

In a play on his initials they call him Frederik Weggee - Give Away Frederick - or Farewell Whites.

Kotze says most whites still do not accept that "the white man's day is over".

They still think De Klerk will contrive a deal that will enable them to maintain control.

Cape Town has so far escaped the worst of the violence.

There, many whites talk gloomily of the future and the mess of black rule elsewhere, and whisper about smuggling their money out.

Security

A newspaper columnist, speaking privately, says he fears whites in the security establishment may be trying to destabilise the ANC, the biggest black group and the only one seen capable of forming an outright black majority government.

That, he says, would be a sure recipe for civil war.

Western diplomats say no one predicted an easy end to white rule, but that the violence has been worse than anyone expected and badly damaged the trust necessary for negotiations.

"The wounds of apartheid are deep and maybe we forgot that," said one. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Portugal bids to

Parsons punts role for facilitators

Business acts to kick-start peace summit

BIDAY 16/5/91 (274)

BUSINESS and church groupings have begun urgent efforts to ensure maximum participation in a proposed peace summit, ANC, church and business sources said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed yesterday behind-the-scenes discussions were taking place with a view to a peace conference convened by an independent party.

However Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday called on leaders to commit themselves and make a success of the summit and not to indulge in petty politicking.

Religious and business organisations yesterday stressed their facilitative role was a low-key one, as they did not wish to be seen to be trying to take away the political initiative from the key players.

The ANC, which has refused to participate in government's proposed conference later this month, would "seriously consider" participating in a conference if it were convened by business and church groupings, Marcus said.

Business sources said yesterday that business and the churches were anxious not "grab the initiative" but were prepared to play a facilitative role in future.

A number of business organisations were actively working to ensure discussions on violence take place, one senior business source said yesterday, but had no intention of convening an alternate conference.

Sacob chairman Raymond Parsons said in a speech in Welkom last night "the role of facilitators — such as the churches and business — could make all the difference between success and failure in the future".

TIM COHEN and
BILLY PADDOCK

Parsons said all South Africans should be concerned with the elimination of violence, "which must be addressed by means of a total strategy enjoying wide support".

"I trust that all community and political leaders will show the necessary initiative and flexibility required to create a consensus on what needs to be done about ongoing violence in SA."

Parsons restated Sacob's support for government's summit and called for national support for the conference.

Business organisations and churches have met the ANC, Inkatha and government over the past few weeks.

South African Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane has said his organisation has offered to assist to ensure maximum participation of all parties in any peace summit convened to address violence.

"It is still our hope that government and the ANC will find a way of redefining or handling the conference to make it possible for all organisations . . . to attend and contribute to the peace process," Chikane has said.

The ANC opposed government's proposed peace conference because it considered government to be a party to violence and because the conference had been called without prior consultation, Marcus said. The issue would be discussed at the

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Peace summit

BIDAY 16/5/91 (274)

☐ From Page 1

ANC national executive committee meeting tomorrow.

Viljoen said De Klerk had felt compelled to call the summit on violence because he and government bore the final responsibility for law and order.

Referring to the ANC, he said it was the very critics of the summit who were foremost in criticising and challenging President F W de Klerk to take action about the violence.

Viljoen paid special tribute to Inkatha for "its long record in rejecting violence" and reaffirmed the party's position as a major role player in negotiations in a conciliatory stance following "the strong words" that were used by President F W de Klerk last week when he met Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Reuters reports the ANC yesterday called for a people's police force, with the respect of the entire community, to stop the faction fighting.

● See Pages 3 and 14

Townships need consensus policing

8 Day 16/5/91 · 274

JONATHON REES

A MOUNTING death toll from continuing township violence highlights more than ever the desperate need for consensus policing in SA and begs the question: Is the SAP guilty of complicity or incompetence?

Consensus policing would entail consultation by police with the public at political and community levels and broad agreement on their responsibilities and actions.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said at the weekend police could not stop the killing and violence. They could only control it.

This admission notwithstanding, how did a battalion of armed hostel dwellers creep undetected for 9km through an unrest area to slaughter 27 sleeping squatters, hacking and stabbing scores more and burning and destroying more than 100 shacks?

The police have gone to great effort to absolve themselves of blame for Swanieville. The attack took them completely by surprise, they say.

Inability

The attackers must have moved in small groups around Kagiso and across open veld towards Swanieville. The killing happened during a change in shifts, they explain.

An officer commanding the riot unit in the area denied the police's inability to prevent the killing was a source of professional embarassment.

Swanieville and Kagiso were declared unrest areas on Saturday on the basis of police information that a "big fight" was imminent. A curfew was declared. Residents say they were warned by police to stay indoors, but not told why.

Hours later an impi of red-headbanded hostel dwellers swept through the camp on a killing spree, unhindered by a force specifically deployed to stop the killing.

Two senior police officers sent to a community hall the next day to inform refugees their homes and lives were now safe and under 24-hour police surveillance were, hardly surprisingly, greeted with derision, disbelief and scorn.

Mellet said it was not for the SAP to stop the violence, but for the people involved. The ANC claims the squater camp was in the process of establishing defence units, a protection mechanism condemned by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The SAP is desperately understaffed for the duty it is expected to perform, says a senior police officer.

Just over 100 000 policemen have to police 35-million people. Allowing for routine shifts, sick leave, and time off from a gruelling and dangerous job, only 25 000 personnel are available at a time.

This figure includes detectives and forensic units, administrative and logistical staff, and routine crime prevention units. More than 1 000 police stations need to be staffed.

SA has an estimated two policemen per thousand people. Britain, comparatively politically stable, non-violent and a fraction of SA's physical size, has four.

Mellet said no police force in the world had the manpower to stop violence on the scale experienced in SA, least of all the SAP. "The people who are killing each other are the only ones who can stop it, by not killing each other. We can only do so much. When people want to kill, they kill."

He said people took advantage of the SAP being thin on the ground.

Hostels and squatter camps have long been key points of conflict. Even accepting that police can only try to control the killing, why was there no guard or monitoring unit at the Kagiso hostels on Sunday morning?

In declaring an unrest area in terms of the Public Safety Act, Vlok prohibited all dangerous weapons with the glaring exception of assegais, knobkieries and ceremonial battle axes. Of the 27 people killed on Sunday, two were shot and the rest hacked and stabbed to death.

The Wits Project for the Study of Violence (PSV) sees consensus policing, at a political and community level, as a crucial element in restoring faith in the SAP.

At the same time, it would assist police work.

The PSV says there needs to be broad agreement within communities on police priorities and actions — what they are doing and how well.

This relies on the police establishing good relationships with communities within which they work. With confidence in the ability of the police to perform their function, people would willingly provide information critically needed to pre-empt crime and violence and, when it does occur, arrest the perpetrators of such acts.

The legacy of politically motivated policing runs deep, and has jeopardised the SAP's chances of being accepted as a credible, or legitimate, force for the maintenance of law and order, it says.

PSV acting director Graeme Simpson says problems plaguing the SAP now will continue to plague a future police force.

A future force will still face the perception that violence was historically sanctioned by both the state and its enemies as a legitimate means of either maintaining power or pressing for change.

The SAP will be crucial in the development and building of a new police force, Simpson says. It will, however, have to prove itself capable of co-operation and to demonstrate it is reliable and accountable.

Breakdown

The SAP can no longer afford to be a fiercely defensive, self-regulating bureaucracy. Accountability and proven ability must be established at a national level. Community-police relations based on racial stereotypes need to be renegotiated.

In the face of a deep-seated mistrust and total breakdown in confidence in the police, now, more than ever, the SAP must build new community relations.

The starting point, perhaps, is to communicate a genuine commitment to the township residents, squatters and hostel dwellers to end the violence through consultation and negotiation as a first step towards consensus policing.

Police action 'not the key to peace'

PRETORIA — Police action could deal with only the symptoms of the "violence disease" and keep warring factions apart, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

Addressing a Security '91 conference organised by Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, Scheepers said only a major effort by leaders, their organisations, communities and the affected institutions could bring about a change in attitude and replace the culture of violence with acceptable norms and values.

"This places an enormous responsibility on black leaders and stresses the need for a political solution to politically motivated violence.

"As part of the political transition process, certain organisations are involved in an intense power struggle — a main reason for the violence," Scheeper said.

The police would have to continue talking to all leaders and their communities and make use of preventative methods such as keeping opposing parties apart, disarming them and acting as mediators.

Referring to the weekend's shootings at Goedgevonden, where police opened fire on farmers trying to remove a squatter community, Scheepers said such action would never be tolerated by goverment.

GERALD REILLY

The blatant contempt farmers had shown towards the legal process now under way over the Goedgevonden squatters represented a serious threat, Scheepers said.

Political intolerance was one of SA's biggest problems, and South Africans should learn to exercise restraint and be more tolerant of one another, Scheepers said.

"People cannot take the law into their own hands, as has happened at Goedgevonden," he said.

It remained the aim of government to end politically motivated unrest and violence as rapidly as possible so that the police could perform their main task of fighting crime.

"Until this is done, criminal elements will continue concentrating on more vulnerable areas.

"In terms of human behaviour some scientists argue that slogans such as 'the redistribution of wealth' definitely contribute towards the increase in crime," said Scheepers.

He said incidents of politically motivated violence had decreased in the first four months of this year compared with last year. Scheepers said unrest incidents in the first four months of this year amounted to 2 601, less than half the 5 583 reported last year.

Violence helps drive builders from townships

BTday 16/5/91. 274

WILSON ZWANE

VIOLENCE, political uncertainty and high unemployment were driving building companies from strife-torn townships, Time Housing regional director Kobus le Roux said this week.

Le Roux said in a statement Klerksdorp and surrounding areas had been hit hard by riots, faction-fighting and consumer boycotts.

"Spiralling violence, political uncertainty and high unemployment have combined to force an exodus from the mining areas of the western Transvaal by companies which were building houses for black families.

"All the big contractors are gone, but we are going to stay and keep on selling houses."

He added that the continuing violence had also made some building societies reluctant to provide mortgage bonds on properties.

FHA Homes CE John Weaver said it was becoming increasingly difficult to find contractors who were prepared to build in the townships.

"When we launched our housing project in Dobsonville (Soweto), one major building company did not tender for it," he said.

The reluctance of financial institutions to provide mortgage bonds was not making things easier.

NBS assistant GM Trevor Olivier agreed that township violence had led to fewer houses being built.

"Two years ago thousands of houses were built, but that has been reduced to a trickle by the violence. Builders cannot build and building societies cannot lend money to people who want to build houses because of the violence.

Basil Reed Homes MD Pat Culligan said the reluctance of builders to build in the townships was due to the enormous losses they were incurring through vandalism and theft.

"Equipment and other materials associated with building a house are being stolen and that has made building in certain areas non-viable. There is also the responsibilty to one's employees. It is morally wrong to send people to work in violence-ridden areas where their lives will be in danger," Culligan said.

Building Industries Federation of SA (Bifsa) executive director Neil Frazer said at least six contractors had pulled out of the townships because of the violence.

Plea to put peace first

Star 16/5/91

The Government called on the leaders of South Africa to co-operate in making a success of the coming summit on violence, **Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen** said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing debate on his department's budget vote, he said President de Klerk had felt compelled to call the summit because he and the Government bore the responsibility for maintaining law and order.

"It is the very critics of the summit who were foremost in challenging the State President (on violence) and saying he must take action.

"Therefore we call on them to commit themselves and lend their co-operation," he said.

He appealed to those who had been invited not to indulge in petty politicking, cavilling and carping when they con sidered the invitation

They should act in a spirit of "let's put peace first". — Sapa.

'CULTURAL' WEAPONS: TWO EXPERTS ASSESS THEIR HISTORY

Inkatha Viewpoint

CT 16/5/91

(274)

by PETER AUF DER HEYDE

In defence of the carrying of arms

THE road to a new South Africa remains rocky and one of the major stumbling blocks seems to be the issue of traditional or cultural weapons.

The ANC has threatened to break off negotiations unless the government extends its recent ban on weapons to include spears, while the vast majority of Zulu tribal chiefs and dignitaries declared after a meeting last week that they would defy any ban the government imposed on the carrying of traditional weapons.

Some political observers have speculated that the ANC's ultimatums are an attempt to drive a wedge between the National Party and the IFP as the government will be seen to be giving in to ANC demands if they ban traditional weapons. Such an action will be taken as an affront by the IFP and could seriously damage relations between the two parties, whom many see as the only reasonable alternative to the radical ANC.

The controversy surrounding traditional weapons erupted a few months ago following renewed outbreak of violence in Reef townships. As more and more people were killed and pictures of heavily armed men were splashed on TV and front pages of newspapers, calls for a ban on cultural weapons increased.

Knobkierries

To many the IFP's reactions to such calls came as a surprise, as the party had for so long preached non-violence and said it was willing to attempt anything to bring an end to the bloodshed.

One of the reasons for the IFP's statements condemning the call for a ban on cultural weapons is found in Zulu customs and traditions.

A former Chief Director of the Port Natal Administration Board, Mr S B Bourquin, who is widely regarded as an expert on Zulu customs, has called the demand to ban traditional weapons "unreasonable".

Mr Bourquin, who served as chief director from 1950 to 1979, said: "Zulus have, for many, many years, carried traditional weapons. You will hardly ever find a man in a rural area who is not carrying a stick. In fact, the carrying of sticks was as general to Zulus as wearing a hat was to European men a while ago, but while hats seem to have gone out of fashion for whites, the carrying of sticks remains."

Mr Bourquin identifies a number of weapons as traditional.

"First, there is the shield. I call this a weapon as in some instances the bottom end of the shaft in the middle is sharpened. This stick, which is known as the Umgoba, is adorned with a bit of skin on top. The shield is made of dry animal skin and varies in sizes. The smallest of the shields is used by brides on wedding days. These shields are known as Isihlangu, Umbhumbuluzu, Ihawu or Umdlelo."

With the shield the Zulu will also carry a Ubhoko stick that is sharpened at the bottom end. Apart from this stick, there are a number of other sticks, known by a variety of names. Among those are the Umzaca, which is a straight stick and the Isikhwili, which is also a straight stick, but thick at the top.

He said that while the carrying of sticks was very widespread, the carrying of knobkierries was "optional".

Zulus use a number of knobkierries. The Isagila is one of them. The knob is often the root of the tree which is a natural knob on top of the stick. The other is the Iwisa, which is a carved knobbedstick. The knob is carved as distinct from that of the Isagila, which comes from the natural shape of the tree.

Also important are the assegais or spears, known as Imikhonto. These may have different shapes and shaft can be of different lengths

The Iklwa is a long-bladed spear, while the Inhlendla blade is fixed in oblong fashion. The Inhlendla is carried only by the king and the Amakhosi, while others are used for slaughtering

Mr Bourquin said that while battle axes were not normally used and carried by the ordinary warrior during battle, there were some axes that were used during ceremonial occasions

"The Isizenza has the shape of the modern axe but its use is the exception rather than the rule," he said

A number of other weapons, such as the swordstick known as the Intshumentshu and the Isimonlonthisi are included in the old Code of Zulu law and it is regarded as illegal to carry those and carriers were regarded as having committed an offence.

Customs, religions

In chapter 14 of the Natal Code of Zulu Law, which deals with Offences and General Penalties, it states that no "black shall carry an Intshumentshu, battle axe or a stick shod with iron unless (among other reasons) he is able to prove that he had the bona fide intention to carry such dangerous weapons in accordance with traditional Zulu usages, customs or religions"

According to Mr Bourquin, the Zulu laws were incorporated into the Natal Code of Native Law and were recognised as the laws governing the province.

"Those customs and traditions are very important to Zulu people and it is a major step to suddenly now be forced to no longer be able to comply with those customs and traditions," Mr Bourquin said

But, as Dr Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute points out, that is not the only reason for fighting a ban on traditional weapons.

"Our research has shown conclusively that there are very, very few people killed by traditional weapons. Looking at one month of reported incidents of violence this year, some 75% were killed by bullets, while 20% were killed through hacking. These weapons used for hacking a person to death are also not traditional weapons. The remaining 5% of deaths were caused by a number of weapons and methods, including necklacing"

☐ *Peter auf der Heyde is a journalist with the Inkatha Institute.*



ANC Viewpoint

by VUSI KHANYILE

(274)

CT 16/5/91

Is there any case for traditional weapons?

THE last few weeks have seen passionate debate sparked off by the controversy surrounding the carrying of what are termed "traditional weapons" in public places

This is not an abstract debate about the significance of weapons in the lives of the Zulu-speaking people of South African The debate occurs as the nation searches for ways to curb the internecine violence that threatens to decimate the very fabric of our society

One contributes to this debate not as an authority in the cultural heritage of the Zulu-speaking people but as a South African who belongs to the Inala Regiment*, committed to the development of a new society and nationhood in South Africa.

Arguments advanced for the carrying of such "cultural weapons" have created the impression that it is the inalienable right of Zulu men to carry such weapons, as if their very manhood depends on the exercise of this "right". Is this fact or fiction?

Zulu idiom

In an attempt to answer this question it will be useful to look briefly at the traditional Zulu setting and heritage.

At this point I will drop the term "cultural" weapons and talk only of weapons; weapons of war as they were carried and used by the Zulu people. There is nothing called "cultural" weapons in the Zulu idiom; there are simply weapons.

Zulu men carried a variety of weapons with different degrees of potency [illegible]em. The a- this extensive militarisation of Zulu society, and a perpetual battle-readiness of armed forces, people lived with peace and security among their fellow men. Armed men would never attack, or even pose a threat, to women and children. Even an attacking army would never harm or threaten old men, women or children. Attacking a defenceless person was regarded as a crime against the humanity that kept the people together

Antagonistic groups

An example of some of the weapons used has been given above. The spear played a very central role in the military activity of the Zulu army. It was King Shaka who modified the structure and form of the spear carried by the Zulu army as part of his overhaul of the military strategies and tactics of his army. The shape and form of the spear was changed to increase its effectiveness.

The legend of umkhonto ka Shaka is well known. The spear was never, and is not now, a ceremonial cultural instrument. It is a deadly weapon of war, the equivalent of a gun.

Let us also look at this "inalienable right" to carry spears. Tradition and practice allowed an induna to decree that weapons could not be carried at particular weddings or feasts if he had cause to believe that two antagonistic groups would both be present at the same ceremony. This decision would be taken as a pre-emptive move to avoid bloodshed.

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propriateness of each weapon was determined by the occasion. The most well-known weapon was an umkhonto (spear). Others were an ihawu (shield), ubhoko (?), isizenze (panga), iwisa (knobkerrie), etc. Only men carried lethal weapons such as spears and pangas. Boys carried fighting sticks which are less dangerous. If boys carried spears and other lethal weapons, they would do so only as a chore on behalf of older men.

Strict code

Men carried weapons for defensive and offensive purposes. Every man had to take responsibility for his own safety, that of his family and finally that of his country. Every man had to carry some type of weapon, for self-protection, wherever he went. Every man had to keep a full arsenal of all weapons of war, as every able-bodied man was a member of the Zulu national army.

A strict code, which determined the carrying and use of weapons, existed and was strictly enforced.

Men maintained a constant military preparedness and were given to displaying such preparedness even on social occasions — hence the rendering of war songs and war dances even at social festivals.

An important factor was that whenever armed men assembled in a village or district, they would only do so under the command of a local or district military commander, whose task was to ensure that the military code was observed and that peace prevailed. He also guided his men in battle if the enemy was to be engaged.

It is important to note that despite

The society described above is that of a century ago. We are no longer living in pre-Shakan or Shakan times. We are proud of our heritage and traditions, which have developed in accordance with society as it exists today, and a present-day understanding of personal safety and security. When one goes through the streets of kwaNongoma, Empangeni and Durban, one is not met by hordes of Zulu men carrying shields and spears, ready to spring to war or to their own defence.

Instead one sees ordinary people going about their lives in peace and without violence. Today we live in a society where personal safety and defence is the primary responsibility of the governing authority.

Shattered communities

Every democrat who loves our country will surely agree that the democratisation process that has begun must be carried forward without any waste of time. But a necessary condition is the demilitarisation of the whole of our society and the curbing of violence.

Calls for the right to carry traditional or other weapons are inconsistent with this striving to restore peace and rebuild our shattered communities.

The scenes we witness daily, where young and old, women and children, are massacred, have no part of our cultural heritage.

* Inala is a regiment of the present Zulu King, King Zwelithini ka Cyprian.

□ *Vusi Khanyile is head of the ANC's financial department and a former special assistant to the vice-chancellor of UCT.*

IFP is the main source of peace, says Viljoen



GERRIT VILJOEN

IN a remarkable move yesterday the Government hailed Inkatha as the main instigator of peace in South Africa.

Speaking in his budget debate, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen told Parliament that Inkatha was also the first political group to accept the Government's terms of a settlement after February 2 last year.

He praised Inkatha Freedom Party boss Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a great leader.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Viljoen's remarks can be interpreted as a kind of peace gesture after the Government's dressing down of Inkatha during the past week over the use of "traditional weapons" in violence in the black townships of the Transvaal.

At the same time the Government has come under fire from the rightwing in Parliament for being "soft" with the ANC.

The Government's praise of the IFP and Buthelezi is expected to cause great concern - particularly following last weekend's massacre at Swanieville in which 28 people were killed.

Eyewitnesses at Swanieville allegedly saw Inkatha supporters being escorted by police back to their hostels after they (Inkatha) had gone on the rampage in the squatter community.

Violence used to 'weaken ANC'

Political Correspondent 27 APR 1991 16/5/91

DEMOCRATIC Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck told an ANC public meeting in the constituency last night that township violence was playing into the hands of a "Fifth Column" in President De Klerk's government.

He said this Fifth Column was opposed to reconciliation and already saw itself engaged in an election battle against the ANC "and is quite willing to use dirty tricks" to weaken the ANC.

Mr Van Eck told the audience of about 200 that although there was "no evidence that this 'Fifth Column' is overtly or covertly involved in the township slaughter, there is no doubt that the resultant destabilisation is actively undermining the ANC's ability to organise and mobilise".

Mr Van Eck said the ANC was the only organisation being "negatively affected" by the wave of violence.

He said it was clear the violence was not spontaneous, but had been initiated and was being sustained by faceless people who "can for all practical purposes be called a Third Force".

Mr Van Eck said that such a force was not distinct and comprised conservative and reactionary elements "inter alia from the security forces, conservative black groupings such as vigilantes and warlords and elements within the national security establishment, with their actions to a larger or lesser extent co-ordinated".

Thatcher's peace plea

CT 16/5/91 27A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FORMER British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher last night appealed to President F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "combine your efforts" to stamp out the violence threatening negotiations.

The "Iron Lady" was addressing a state dinner at Tuynhuys after receiving the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class — the highest award with which South Africa honours citizens of other countries.

The award — for which Mrs Thatcher had to receive Queen Elizabeth's consent — crowned a a day in which she was given a red-carpet welcome befitting a head of state and lavished with praise by the South African government.

And despite repeated threats by the ANC and the PAC to make the visit as uncomfortable as possible, Mrs Thatcher has yet to see her first demonstrator in South Africa

'Long overdue'

Mrs Thatcher was greeted on the tarmac at D F Malan Airport by Mr Pik Botha bearing a single long-stemmed red rose — the South African Foreign Minister's trade mark.

Mrs Thatcher, clearly tired from her 14½-hour flight from London, said it was "wonderful" to return to South Africa and added "I feel it's long overdue."

After resting at Westbrooke, she told a "white tie" banquet last night that the world was hoping South Africa's political leaders would succeed in effectively addressing the violence threatening negotiations

"South Africa has never needed leadership more than now" she said

It was in the interests of Africa "and indeed the whole of the wider world" that the Republic should now suceed in resolving its problems.

"We are very much aware that she needs to overcome them fast enough to retain the confidence and curb the impatience of those who bear the scars of past sufferings and injustice

"Yet order has to be maintained in this period of transition and for that the government will need goodwill and co-operation from all who bear responsibility in South Africa today"

Mrs Thatcher said Mr De Klerk would "undoubtedly go down as one of the very greatest statesmen .. who has created new hope for South Africa."

She said: "We are now seeing reforms which will both create a framework for prosperity and guarantee human rights"

In his address Mr De Klerk said that of all the world's statesmen Mrs Thatcher had displayed "by far the greatest understanding for the complexities of the South African situation"

He thanked her for "injecting a degree of realism" into attitudes towards South Africa in the United Nations, the European Community, the Commonwealth — "often espousing a minority view"

Mr De Klerk, who awarded Mrs Thatcher the Order of Good Hope said South Africa's fortunes had been closely linked to the attitudes of the British government during her tenure of office as prime minister

Mrs Thatcher will hold a series of "private meetings" in Cape Town this morning and will leave for an undisclosed inland venue this afternoon.

She will attend a dinner hosted by the British ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick, this evening

She is expected to leave for the Transvaal at the weekend



GLITTER AT BANQUET ... Guests and hosts at last night's state banquet, from the left, Mr Denis Thatcher, Mrs Mariike de Klerk, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President F W de Klerk. Picture RICHARD BELL

Ban on cigarette sales to children?

Political Staff

THE government plans to make a law banning the sale of cigarettes to children.

Minister of Health Dr Rina Venter yesterday warned that draft legislation which recommends the banning of cigarettes sales to children and the strengthening of the existing code of advertising is scheduled to be introduced in Parliament next year.

It apparently stops short of banning tobacco advertisements.

The tobacco industry has responded with stony silence to the warning.

Anti-smoking organisations, such as the Council Against Smoking (CAS), are campaigning for a total ban on advertising.

Figures provided by the CAS show that 46% of Cape Town children are regular smokers by the age of 14.

Blanket ban

The South African tobacco industry sells about R3bn worth of tobacco products annually, according to the CAS, and statistics on child smoking habits indicate that sales to children make up a considerable proportion of this.

● The European Commission yesterday proposed a blanket ban on all tobacco advertising in the European Community, Sapa-Reuter reports.

The plan, which would have to be approved by a majority of the 12 EC governments to go into effect, would halt tobacco advertising through television, newspapers, billboards and cinemas before the mid-1990s.

EC health policy Commissioner Vasso Papandreou said: "Two million people under 25 today will be dead by 2025" because of smoking.

Rupert's jet fetched Maggie

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN industrialists Dr Anton Rupert provided — and paid for — the jet which Mrs Margaret Thatcher will be using for her week-long trip around the country, well-placed sources said yesterday

Dr Rupert's giant tobacco, liquor and leisure enterprise, Rembrandt, has a stable of five jets — including the Luxembourg-registered Falcon 900 which brought the former British prime minister and her entourage to the city yesterday

The British embassy said yesterday that Mrs Thatcher would meet a "prominent local figure" this morning but declined to disclose details

JONATHON REES

(274)

Violence may spill into white areas'

THERE was a danger that township violence could spread to white areas if government allowed it to continue, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday. Bidom-17/5/91.

Speaking at an ANC-PAC-Azapo commemoration service for 27 Swanieville squatters killed by Kagiso hostel dwellers, Mandela said that unless government took immediate steps to end violence, negotiations could not be guaranteed.

"People are going to go armed into white areas to attack white people. Violence is indivisible.

"Tomorrow, if they don't stop it, it will take place in white areas."

Two platoons of heavily armed and mounted 21 Battalion troops and police in armoured vehicles patrolled Kagiso and stood guard over the township's hostels yesterday, while a military spotter plane and police helicopter flew overhead.

Mandela said the liberation movements would not support violence in white areas. Although many whites regarded black life as cheap, most were innocent and had nothing to do with the violence.

Government and the police were not interested in defending township residents, he said. It had become government policy to attack the liberation movement.

☐ To Page 2

Violence Bidom 17/5/91.

(274) ☐ From Page 1

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said the statement by Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen that Inkatha was a source of peace was cruel and shameful.

The best thing to be said about Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was that he had failed miserably in his job.

Slovo said there must be no compromise on the ANC demand for a total banning of traditional weapons, and added security force members "with blood on their hands" must be brought to justice.

"Why do they only bring the Winnie Mandelas to court for kidnapping and not the hundreds of police . . ?"

Until hostels were transformed they must be treated as military barracks, with nobody allowed to leave with a dangerous weapon, Slovo said.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said Inkatha was being used by government in the same way Unita and Renamo were used for destabilisation in Angola and Mozambique. He said township defence units would go ahead.

Hani later toured Swanieville where scores of Xhosas with pangas, knobkieries and spears had arrived by minibus from Kagiso. Thousands of Kagiso residents streamed 3km over the hill, past troops on horses and watching police, to see him.

FW's summit 'should go ahead'

ANC briefing disappoints businessmen

BUSINESS leaders indicated they would prefer President F W de Klerk's summit on violence to go ahead without the ANC after they emerged disappointed and sceptical from a high-level briefing by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on violence yesterday.

The briefing, the biggest meeting between business and the ANC since last year's Carlton conference, was at the ANC's request and was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.



● MANDELA

It was attended by 107 top businessmen at Premier Group's Killarney, Johannesburg headquarters. Its main purpose was to allow Mandela to explain his organisation's April 30 ultimatum.

Prominent business sources said Mandela, by portraying the ANC as the innocent victim of the violence, "blew" his opportunity to win some understanding and sympathy from business .

"You cannot treat businessmen like fools. Many present ... had put a lot of energy into the violence issues. They are

PATRICK BULGER and THEO RAWANA

well-informed and know the explanation for the violence is not that simple.

"They will not accept pious exclamations of innocence."

Among those present were Neil Chapman (Southern Life), Kevin de Villiers (Allied), Murray Hofmeyer (retired JCI chairman), Mervyn King (Frame), Gavin Relly and Michael Spicer (Anglo), Leon Cohen (PG Bison) and Peter Wrighton (Premier).

Mandela's delegation included ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and national executive committee member Stanley Mabizela.

Business sources at the meeting told Business Day that Mandela admitted the ANC had erred by imposing an ultimatum on government before briefing the SA business community.

Sources said Mandela had reiterated that government was to blame for not quelling the violence and for not being firm with Inkatha.

Mandela was adamant that the ANC would not attend a government-initiated peace conference as it should have been consulted beforehand on the conference.

One informant said Mandela said he did not see how he could be blamed for the violence because he had warned about it while he was still in prison.

Mandela, however, sounded a conciliatory note towards Law and Order Minister

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Summit

☐ From Page 1

Adriaan Vlok, saying that he was attempting to doing something about the violence, but that the Cabinet was holding him back.

One delegate said while the Mandela tone was conciliatory the discussion was disappointing because he had failed to explain why it was that people in the townships were killing each other. It seemed as if the ANC wished to distance itself from the violence, the delegate said.

Mandela said business had a direct responsibility to get involved in attempts to end the violence by throwing its weight behind the ANC and other organisations in putting pressure on government to take concrete steps to address the issue.

Sacob had warned the ANC soon after the publication of its open letter that the weak level of confidence in SA was likely to plummet further as a result of its ultimatum.

Sacob also forecast that potential new investment from overseas would be affected if political talks collapsed.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

Viljoen condemns 'nit-picking' over talks

274 B1Day 17/5/91.

CAPE TOWN — Government was definitely proceeding with its summit on violence next Friday, with or without the ANC, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Viljoen told a news conference there were enough important representatives from a wide spectrum of political organisations to make the summit succeed.

Yesterday, chances of government and the ANC agreeing on the controversial summit appeared small, as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated his organisation would not attend a government-convened conference.

Taking a hard line, Viljoen said the ANC

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

was "nit-picking" about President F W de Klerk having publicly initiated the summit without prior consultation with the ANC. However, the chairmanship and the agenda were open for discussion.

ANC sources present at last week's meeting between De Klerk and Mandela have said they could not sell this compromise to their national executive committee (NEC) without a ban on cultural weapons, particularly spears.

Viljoen also indicated government would attend a conference on violence organised by the churches at some future date after next week's summit.

He said he had attended De Klerk's meeting with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tuesday where progress on banning assegais had been made But De Klerk would not respond to ultimatums and had stated he needed to enter full consultations prior to taking any steps on the assegai issue.

Meanwhile, Buthelezi said last night weapons of the kind the ANC held both inside and outside SA, particularly AK-47s, were the principal killing weapons in SA townships.

☐ To Page 2

Viljoen

B1Day 17/5/91.

~~3658~~ 274 ☐ From Page 1

Speaking at the SA Institute of Mechanical Engineers' general meeting last night, Buthelezi said reliable research showed that over 80% of all deaths in the current violence resulted from AK-47s, pistols and other weaponry.

Of the remaining 20%, spears played a negligible role.

"One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted with serious drug abuse problems. One does not call for the banning of matches when you are campaigning against smoking.

"The ANC's call for the banning of cultural weapons is of this order," Buthelezi said.

In another development, an extended ANC NEC, which will include representatives from alliance partners, takes form today to discuss government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

The ultimatum was unofficially extended by a week after the meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

The issue of cultural weapons will also feature high on the agenda at the 140-strong Inkatha central committee meeting, which is due to take place in Ulundi tomorrow.

Inkatha could scuttle hostels plan

Wmail 17/5 - 23/5/91

Inkatha's fears that any changes to the single-sex hostels system could erode its power base may block government-African National Congress proposals to revamp the hostels, reports

JENNIFER POGRUND

PROPOSALS to revamp the hostel system — tentatively agreed between the African National Congress and government — could run aground on the reef of Inkatha resistance.

Sources indicated this week that a major move in the area of hostel redevelopment was in the offing. There are hints that it may involve Jan Steyn's Independent Development Trust (IDT) which has R2-billion to invest.

Following last week's talks between the ANC and the state, there are clear signs that the government has moved the hostel issue higher up its agenda. A spokesman for Health Minister Rina Venter said this week that a departmental probe into the hostels, ordered last year by President FW de Klerk, had been finalised and the results handed to the Department of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing for "physical implementation".

Two months ago, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC signed an accord committing them to a non-partisan "reconstruction and development programme ... to reduce the potential for violence in Natal and the Transvaal.



SUPPORT BASE ... Inkatha members make up the majority of residents in many hostels and their carrying of traditional weapons is a cause of tension in the townships **Photograph: KEVIN CARTER**

A source in a development upgrading programme suggested that there was little real interest among Inkatha officials in hostel redevelopment. "All they want is a lick of paint and a bit of plumbing," he said. "Inkatha is saying hostel dwellers want to retain the single quarters, but research indicates this is not the case."

Director of communications for the IDT Jolyon Nuttall confirmed this week that the IDT "was holding ongoing discussions with the ANC and Inkatha" and were awaiting details on government plans for hostel upgrading. Wmail 17/5 - 23/5/91

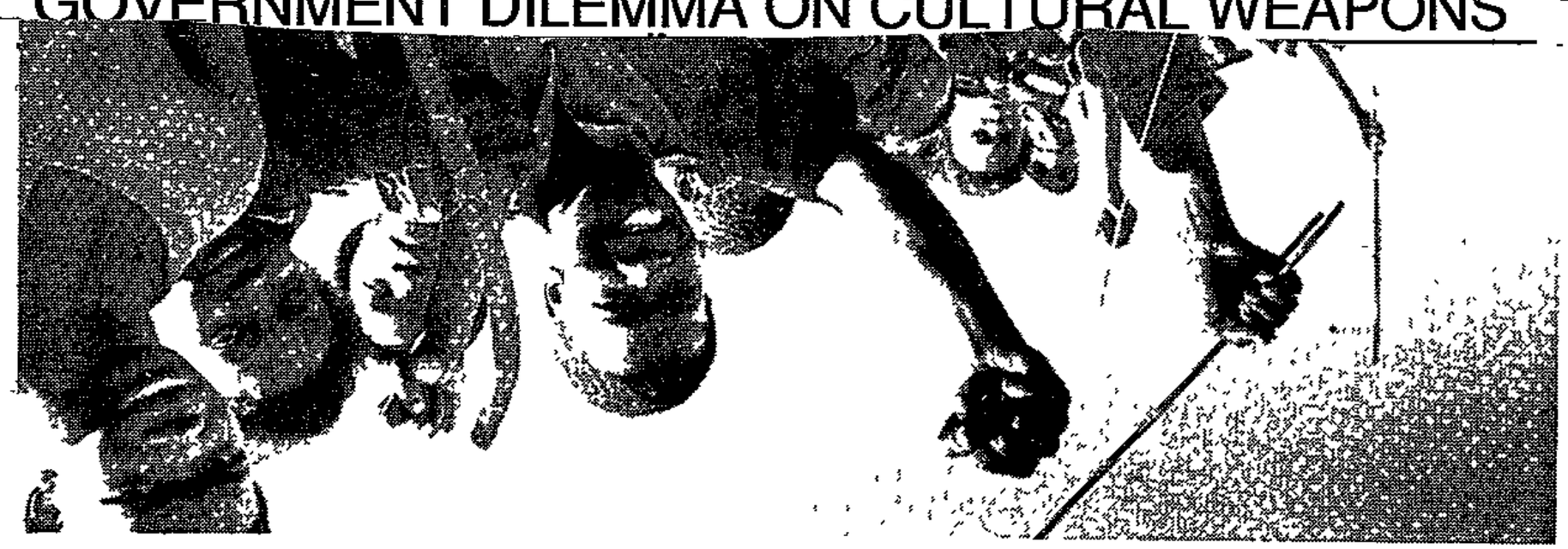
The implementation of such plans is likely to hit severe problems on the ground. There are clear signs that non-Inkatha members have been driven from some hostels and that in others workers have been replaced by unemployed men alleged to be involved in vigilante activities.

Violence has erupted between hostel dwellers in favour of upgrading and others bent on retaining the single quarters.

In Alexandra township, Johannesburg, a joint upgrading initiative involving the local civic association, the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Sandton and Randburg town councils, Eskom and the Development Bank has ground to a standstill after recent violence displaced 1 200 hostel dwellers.

Sources in the township say the hostel

GOVERNMENT DILEMMA ON CULTURAL WEAPONS





A smile for supporters, but when the words followed, they were all angry ... Nelson Mandela at Kagiso on Thursday Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Angry Mandela warns the state

WLMail 17/5 - 23/5/91.

●From PAGE 1

action:

Addressing the issue of the ANC's ultimatum for the banning of spears, Mandela said the ANC was "putting tremendous pressure on the government", adding that there was "no question of negotiations in this country" unless De Klerk conceded

He repeated this point several times, but noted that "I was not able to move Mr De Klerk because like all average whites he has no regard for the black man's life".

He said De Klerk told him that if the government found that there was abuse of spears and sticks he would take action.

"I told him that over 8 000 blacks had died in the violence since 1984, and that these spears are being abused now. How many more people should die before you ban these dangerous weapons?"

He added that "if only 50 whites had been killed there would have been a revolution in this country" and the government would have banned all weapons immediately

"But because it is blacks, we have to work for years to convince him that he needs to protect the lives of our people, and for spears to be banned."

Referring to Inkatha as "an organisation with no membership in the Transvaal", he said they were unable to get members by "appealing to the people to join them" and therefore were using force for this end.

"They want to rise to power on the corpses of dead people."

He added that Inkatha had a habit of bussing people to rallies in areas where they didn't have a "single member".

Dismissing police claims that they had been unaware of Inkatha plans for Sunday's massacre, he said the police had spies in every hostel, and if hostel dwellers "decide to attack tomorrow, the police will know immediately

"It is therefore not true when they say that they were not aware of what was happening when the hostel attacked."

Mandela said these massacres were happening because "it has become the policy of the government to allow this in order to weaken the liberation movement".

He warned that when people realised "the government is working with the black organisation which is killing our people", they would move into the white areas and kill innocent people.

"The liberation movements will not support it because there are many innocent people there who have nothing to do with the violence There are many whites who value the lives of our people, and in any attack both innocent and guilty will be killed ... We don't want you to do that."

He added the government was making a mistake because one effect of its support for violence was to help forge unity between the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation. He firmly embraced these organisations, referring to the unity which had been forged between them on Robben Island.

"By killing so many innocent people they have succeeded in bringing us together."

Cont ↓

Weekly Mail

17/5 — 23/5/91

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Yesterday's service was co—
by the three organisations and addressed by Dikgang Moseneke of the PAC and Pandelani Nefolovhode of Azapo, as well as by SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani.

Outside the hall about 15 000 people gathered, many toyi toying, and some armed with "traditional weapons".

●Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday night accused the ANC of "moving in for the kill" by calling for the banning of cultural weapons by Zulus.

"One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted by serious drug abuse amongst teenagers."

Buthelezi said the ANC cynically knew that it was putting tremendous pressure on De Klerk to decide whether to placate the ANC by banning traditional weapons. He said if De Klerk did not do this, he would have to decide between confronting the ANC or confronting the IFP.

Bitter speech at scene of weekend massacre accuses FW of racism



W/Mail 17/5 — 23/5/91 274

By GAVIN EVANS and WALLY MBHELE

NELSON Mandela yesterday delivered his toughest speech since his release from prison 15 months ago, warning the government that violence would spill over to the white areas unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

Mandela was speaking on the eve of a crucial African National Congress National Executive Committee meeting to consider the government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence, with talks between the two groups balanced on a knife edge.

In an angry off-the-cuff speech at a commemorative service in Kagiso, the scene of a massacre of 28 people on Sunday by Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers, Mandela warned there would be no negotiations unless the government banned the carrying of spears and sticks — and said he had been unable to move President FW de Klerk on this issue.

The ANC deputy president accused De Klerk of racism, said Inkatha wanted to "rise to power on the corpses of dead people" and blamed the government and security forces for actively promoting anti-ANC violence.

Addressing a commemorative service at the Kagiso Hall for the 28 people murdered at the Swanieville squatter camp, Mandela warned the government that the violence would spill into the white areas, and that white civilians would be hit, unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

He warned the community against taking such

●To PAGE 3



Safety on horseback . . . members of the security forces at the commemoration service in Kagiso yesterday for the attack on Swanieville squatter camp. They also accompanied Chris Hani and residents to the camp after the service. Pic

Violence 'could spill into white areas'

(274)

Star 17/5/91

By Musa Mapisa and Philip Zoio

There was a danger of township violence spilling over into white areas if the Government did not stop it immediately, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday.

Speaking at a commemoration service in Kagiso for the victims of the Swanieville massacre on Sunday, Mr Mandela also warned that the ANC would break off negotiations if the Government did not ban the carrying of sticks and spears in public.

He said there existed an organisation which wished to rise to power on the corpses of black people.

"If black people found out that the Government was working with this organisation, they would arm themselves and take the violence into white areas."

However, Mr Mandela called on the ANC and other liberation organisations not to attack white areas because most whites shared their aspirations.

Addressing about 4 000 people, Mr Mandela criticised President de Klerk for his unwillingness to stop Inkatha supporters from carrying "traditional" weapons at political meetings.

He accused Mr de Klerk of regarding the lives of black people as "cheap".

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke called for unity among political parties and said that by allowing the present violence to continue, the Government was conducting a war against the oppressed in the country.

Azapo leader Pandelani Nefolovhodwe accused the Government of destabilising black communities by killing people, dividing liberation movements and exploiting political intolerance.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani announced that township defence units, promised earlier by the ANC, would definitely be established.

"Whether the regime likes it or not, we will deploy defence units in communities all over the country," Mr Hani said.

A tradition that must be broken

W/Mail 17/5 - 23/5/91 (274)

IMAGINE this: thousands of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres return home from exile. No housing is readily available for them. The government takes over all the hotels in white-designated suburbs to house them.

The cadres carry AK-47s, grenades and bombs. When white-classified local residents see this, they complain bitterly. The cadres say their weapons were to have been used against apartheid's military targets, but would now be for self-defence only. Since MK's formation 30 years ago, they maintain, these have become "traditional weapons".

Local residents occasionally fire a pot-shot at them, attack them or throw stones when they walk past their homes. The cadres retaliate. They shoot a whole lot of residents at random, and bomb neighbouring houses.

The ANC says it is committed to peace, but the actions of the MK cadres have to be seen in context: they are committed in self-defence.

Security forces watch from a distance as cadres go on the rampage. Sometimes, they step in to separate the warring factions. This, they say, is a "faction fight between the cadres, who are Xhosas, and the residents, who are Afrikaners".

Residents accuse them of doing little. Some even claim that security forces joined the cadres to attack them. The minister of law and order denies any police involvement or collusion with the cadres. "We are impartial," he reiterates. Residents don't believe him and demand that he resign. At the very least, they demand that he ban the carrying of all "traditional weapons" of MK in public.

The minister bans the carrying of grenades, bombs, Lugers, Colts and so on in what he deems "unrest areas". But the AK-47, he says, is a "traditional" or "cultural" weapon, for it is part of MK's culture.

"If I had my way, of course I'd ban it. But it's not so simple. It's a very sensitive issue. We can't outlaw the AK-47 unilaterally. We'll discuss the matter with MK." MK leaders warn: "The AK-47 is our cultural weapon. Anyone who tries to confiscate it will do so only over our dead bodies."

Residents are outraged. They demand that the state president sack the minister within 30 days. They also demand that the cadres be given proper houses, and the hotels be used again for their original purpose. If the state president refuses, they'll demand that he call an immediate election when they can vote him out of office. They will also refuse to pay their taxes unless he calls an election.

At the residents' request, police raid the hotels late one night, search the cadres and their rooms, and confiscate a whole lot of weapons. SABC-TV dutifully follows the police and screens footage of the weapons.

Outside one hotel, however, the cadres tell the police flatly: "You're not welcome here. Go away."

The police, citing respect for the rule of law and the cadres' privacy, withdraw. MK accuses the police of being one-sided and pandering to the residents.

Later, the cadres hold a mass meeting in another white-designated suburb. Afterwards, they are involved in bloody clashes with local residents. An MK leader announces that thousands of cadres would be sent to an area.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela distances himself from the MK leader's warning, but insists that the man was pleading for help.

Then the cadres, armed with AK-47s, go on the rampage in one white-designated suburb, killing nearly 30 people, injuring as many and bombing 80 houses. The minister goes on television to express his sincere regret about the carnage.

Mandela says the cadres reacted after one of their comrades had been kidnapped. A police representative dismisses as "propaganda" residents' allegations that police did little to thwart the cadres.

Meanwhile, the state president says: "Nobody expected the road to negotiations to be easy."

But then the residents demand that the minister be sacked because his forces have not succeeded in making the road, littered with corpses, any easier. After all, in any democracy, when law and order breaks down and violence continues to escalate, wouldn't the minister be relieved of his post?

Unfortunately, cry residents, we're promised elections only when we have a democracy. But we're told we'll first have to negotiate about the kind of democracy we want. And there's no guarantee the state president will give all of us an equal vote.

Then at the very least, they demand, let's elect a constituent assembly that will negotiate. The state president rejects the idea. And so do the cadres.

NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye

Summit to go on regardless

ST 17/5/91
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Political Staff

THE government will go ahead with its summit on violence next week — whether the ANC and Inkatha attend or not.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said last night that there were enough important players who would attend to ensure that the conference would make a contribution to addressing violence.

The response received by the government to date had indicated a "wide interest" from across the political spectrum, Dr Viljoen told a press conference.

However, asked if the government would, in an effort to draw in the ANC, consider allowing a "non-government person" to convene the conference, he said: "In the planning so far the approach has been not to impose conditions on the conference, but rather to invite initiatives or suggestions from the conference about the way things should be set out."

He said the government had invited a number of church leaders — acceptable to Mr Nelson Mandela — and asked them to formulate suggestions and make contributions.

Mr Mandela has indicated that the ANC would not attend the meeting because it had not been consulted — merely told it would be taking place.

The summit will take place at the CSIR conference centre in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

There are, however, increasing indications that, in the absence of the ANC or Inkatha, it may be used as a "pilot" for a later conference hosted by church leaders with a neutral chairman.

The ANC would attend such a conference and Dr Viljoen last night did not rule out the government being there.

He added, however, that the government "has a fundamental responsibility to take initiatives".

A major issue hanging over the participation of either the ANC or Inkatha is the carrying of spears in public. This has become a major obstacle to negotiations and on Tuesday this week President F W de Klerk met Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the issue.

Dr Viljoen's comments on Inkatha last night might indicate it is resisting attending the summit while the issue is unresolved.

He attacked the ANC's position on the conference, saying a variety of spokesmen had given contradictory responses. He pointed out that Mr Mandela had initially sounded positive about the talks.

Mandela warns of violence in white suburbs

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The present township violence could spill over into white areas, Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday.

He also accused the government of siding with Inkatha in spiralling township violence.

"When (township residents) realise that the government is working with a black organisation that is killing our people, people are going to arm themselves and go to the white areas, and kill the innocent people there," he said.

He quickly added that the ANC, the PAC and Azapo would not support the introduction of township violence into white areas as "there were many whites who value, who respect our people".

Speaking at a memorial service for the 27 victims of Sunday's pre-dawn massacre at the Swanieville squatter camp near Krugersdorp, Mr Mandela described President F W de Klerk as an average white who "regards the life of a black man as cheap".

"We have lost 10 000 (black) people since 1984. If only 50 whites in this country had been killed (President) De Klerk would have banned all weapons immediately," he said.

● **Mandela 'blew his chance' — Page 2**

THE PRESIDENCY

SHOW US SOME STEEL

FM 17/5/91.

DE KLERK'S OPTIONS FOR ENDING THE VIOLENCE



"Give us chaos!" That was Gandhi's mad demand for India after World War 2. The British tried at first to avoid partition and ensure an orderly transition to independence Patience turned to despair. In 1946 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, wrote of the endless talks with Indian leaders· "Continual hard work, and almost continual failure. No rest, no success." Eventually the British simply set a random date and pulled out. Gandhi got his chaos and half-a-million people died

Wavell's remark calls to mind the predicament of President F W de Klerk

De Klerk has made it clear that he is prepared to negotiate the end of white minority rule. He has refused to make apartheid a bargaining chip and is determined to abolish it completely He has even said he would be prepared to serve in a Cabinet under ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — the gesture of a statesmen rather than a mere party hack.

De Klerk's commitment is shared by his Cabinet His NP caucus has not suffered one defection since he started on radical reform Ministers like Barend du Plessis and Gerrit Viljoen are visibly eager to get negotiations off the ground

But De Klerk and his team ("bristling with car phones and fax machines," as a UK newspaper put it) are all dressed up with no one to talk to. "No rest, no success," indeed

This is the latest twist in a weird political history. that when white men finally announce that they are prepared to give up exclusive power, black men are too busy carving one another up to respond appropriately.

Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the two most important black leaders, have not been so stupid as to emulate Gandhi's call for chaos (though ANC strongman Chris Hani has come close to it.)

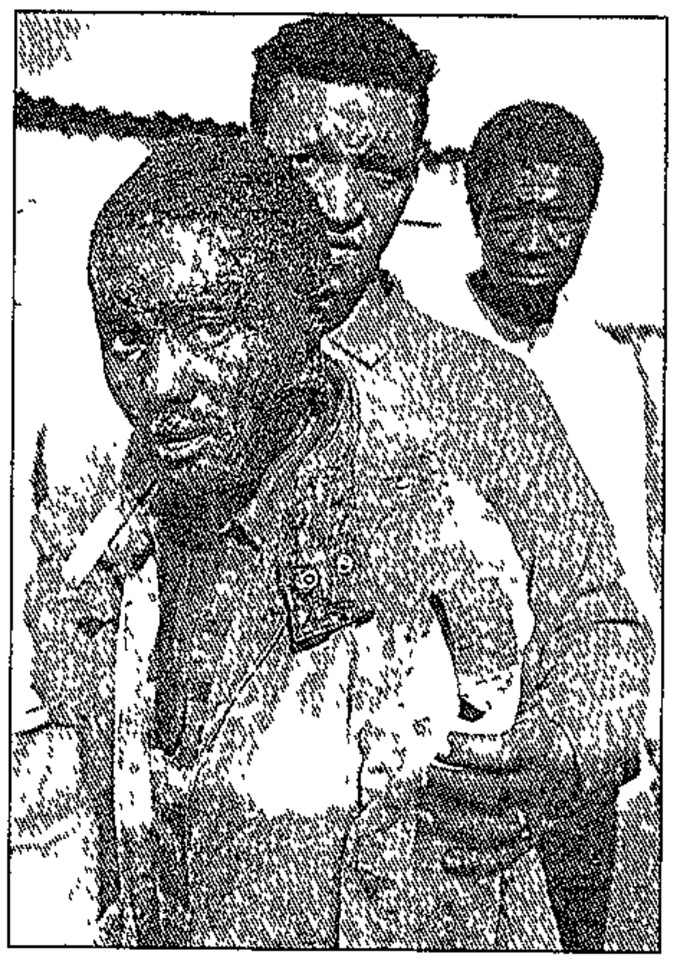
But they might as well have, when you consider the violence that flares continually and which, if not stopped, will scare off investment and eventually make SA a wasteland

There are vital social and economic aspects to violence. poverty, unemployment, lack of access to basic resources, appalling conditions in some hostels and squatter camps. But when one group attacks another, there is almost always a political split, a tacit acknowledgment that one side is ANC and the other Inkatha Revenge is exacted along these lines, and so the spiral continues. Both sides have shown utter contempt for the rule of law

Buthelezi and Mandela have shown a personal willingness to make peace with each other — which suggests that, as leaders of stature, they should be able to stop the killing.

One theory is that, simply, their supporters are out of control, pursuing their own agendas and reacting purely to local conditions. Neither leader can afford to admit this, of course. The implication is that the police will have to stop violence on their own. The situation is complicated by common criminals who take advantage of general lawlessness, tribal rivalry between Xhosas and Zulus can be an inflammatory factor

The second theory is more sinister. that it is in the interests of both the ANC and Inkatha to bid for power, and that each is trying to fill the enormous black political vacuum left by decades of apartheid. For both, the stakes are high



Victim of violence ... *one of too many*

The ANC is generally regarded — probably by the Nats as well — as the major black party in negotiations, and it wants to retain that indefinable but powerful mandate. Inkatha, in turn, resents this perception· Buthelezi claims support from and beyond the Zulu millions, and wants equal status at the talks table

This is why each takes every opportunity to weaken the other, and intimidate the township residents into support Divisions and prejudices in the townships — between squatters and hostel dwellers, for instance — are exploited accordingly.

The third theory, even more sinister, is often aired by the ANC· that agents of the State are deliberately favouring Inkatha in the violence, to weaken the ANC and enable whites — even after the vote has been granted to all — to keep effective control over divided black factions.

The more charitable version of this theory is that the NP leadership and SAP generals may well be trying to ensure that the police act impartially — but commanders on the ground see matters differently.

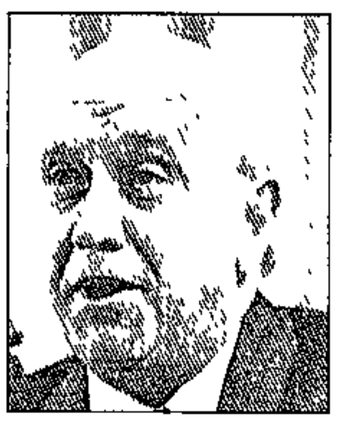
It is, of course, possible that all of these theories have elements of truth; but what matters more is that people *believe* they are true Politics is as much about perception as reality For instance. those who refuse to see nasty motives on the part of any of the players will prefer the first view; many worried whites go for the second; and the ANC certainly believes the third version.

We guess there is some truth in the first two views — but with enormous variations according to local conditions But while there may be maverick policemen who for some reason are not executing stated policy, we have difficulty accepting that De Klerk deliberately intends by the use of clandestine agents and a deliberately biased force to weaken the ANC We have no proof. It is our judgment of the man from his actions since he has been in office.

What is abundantly clear, however, is that De Klerk needs a strong ANC to make a negotiated settlement stick. He knows that it would serve no purpose to Balkanise the country, depriving Mandela of popular support Simply put, despite the fears of leftwing conspiracy theorists, it is not in whites' interest to weaken the ANC. (Cynics would say that the ANC is show-



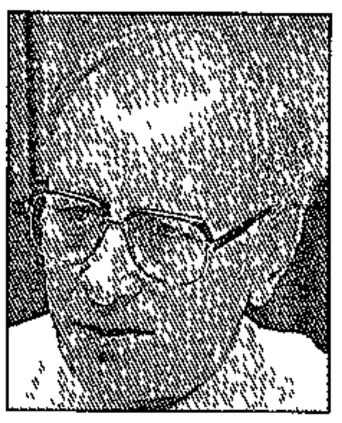
Buthelezi



De Klerk



Mandela



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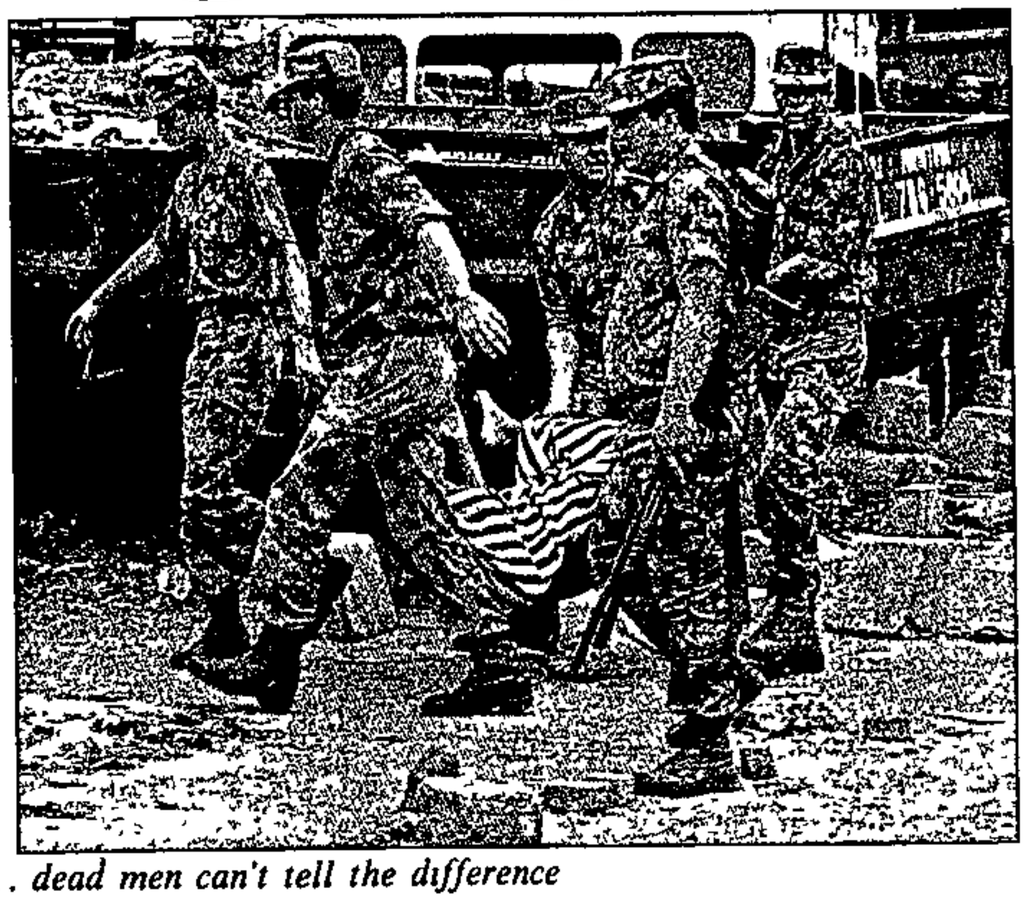


"Traditional" and modern weapons ... *dead men can't tell the difference*

ing itself quite capable of weakening itself, anyway.)

All the grandstanding and rhetoric should not obscure the fact that De Klerk and Mandela need each other badly. This is why the regular "crises" that arise over deadlines, broken promises and so on are only part of the greater game. Neither the ANC nor the NP can afford to let talks break down, because neither has any alternative. The Nats cannot revert to white supremacy; the ANC knows very well that if it were somehow to turn "armed struggle" and "mass action" into reality, it would not have a country to inherit.

There has been a perceptible pattern in the past few months. Ultimatums are issued; the political temperature rises as the deadline looms; a way out is found; each side is pretty decent about not exploiting the other's loss of face; and things carry on as before. In short, politics — a very healthy sign, were it not for the killing going on during the dalliance.

The wild card is Inkatha. It is not in Buthelezi's interests that the other two major players should steadily move towards an accommodation, all the time effectively eroding the position of Inkatha and its allies (apparently including some whites).

If De Klerk had to chose one black leader to deal with, it could only be Mandela. But Buthelezi cannot be ditched: he is too important a player. He leads the largest minority group

However much dispute there is over his following, it is undoubtedly significant. He must be given credit for his impeccable anti-apartheid stance over the years and his adherence to principles of democratic capitalism. Buthelezi has never been a sell-out.

In our view, in these circumstances, whatever else De Klerk does, he must stop the violence and accommodate Buthelezi.

Another State of Emergency is not the answer. It would suffocate reform and pervert the progressive political atmosphere, as well as negate the enormous moral support won by De Klerk abroad. Government has sufficient powers of arrest and detention under present legislation. It has in the security forces a potent peace-keeping resource.

Policy is often a matter of tone as much as content. De Klerk has shown himself to be accommodating; now he must get tough. There is no doubt that Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is a decent man doing his best. But the forces under his control too often fail to keep the peace and protect the citizenry.

In politics generally and in the current circumstances in particular, loyalty and decency are not the virtues that count. Machiavellian though that may be, if De Klerk thinks otherwise, he is not as shrewd as we thought.

The pattern of the violence suggests that it tends to flare in conditions of social dislocation and deprivation — which makes it less than random, and possibly open to a rational solution. So while government obviously has to put out the fires it must also seek ways of removing the fuel.



Reef squatters ... *only a draft removal plan*

Last year, De Klerk made a much-publicised visit to one of the Reef hostels. At the time the *FM* pointed out in detail how conditions in the hostels were contributing to the violence. Yet almost nothing perceptible has been done to replace them. Plans to deal with squatter camps, and with land which was taken away from communities under the Group Areas Act, are still in draft form.

De Klerk has moved with lightning speed on legislative reform. He has done nothing yet to improve conditions on the ground. To retain credibility he has to move significantly on both fronts.

Both Mandela and De Klerk must find a way of according Buthelezi the kind of status to which he aspires — and which his support, even if it be exaggerated, suggests he deserves. If the test for De Klerk is effective policing, for Mandela it is to persuade enough of his followers to accept that Inkatha is a political force with which to be reckoned. If Buthelezi indeed has minimal support, as the ANC claims, this will be revealed in due course when elections are held. Until then he and Inkatha must be taken at face value.

The all-party conference, scheduled for early August, will be another opportunity to level the negotiations playing field.

De Klerk wants desperately to get negotiations going He has made that abundantly plain. But he must be ruthless in creating the right conditions for them, relentless in his demands on his own Ministers, uncompromising with truculent rightwing terrorists and vigorous in his approach to redressing the damage done by apartheid.

He could do worse than emulate Jan Smuts, the only other Afrikaner leader with claims to being a statesman, and display the cold steel in his character. Otherwise his legacy will be precisely what some ANC and PAC hardliners want: not peace and prosperity for every citizen of this country, but the totalitarian power that would inevitably follow chaos and civil war. ■

Unity can solve carnage - Azapo

Sowetan 17/5/91.

274

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday warned that the continued violence in the black townships was gradually assuming proportions similar to the civil wars in Mozambique and Angola.

By MOKGADI PELA

Azapo said this was characteristic of the kind of violence initiated by counter-revolutionary forces immediately after the independence of many African countries, with the exception of Zimbabwe where "the able leadership of Zanu (PF) and Zapu was able to crush this phenomenon."

In a statement, Azapo's president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said the current violence was a result of an orchestrated campaign by the South African government and its collaborators, using the following tactics:

* stabilisation in the form of killings;

* division of the liberation movement by encouraging individual talks;

* harassment of followers of the various movements by using its agents;

* encouragement of mistrust among the various liberation forces; and

* use of its resources to boost images of other liberation movements.

Struggle

"It is time that those who are champions of the struggle come together to fight this monster.

"We should leave political point scoring and concentrate on ending one single thing: Violence. No one organisation, party or individual can do it alone.

"This is a national issue affecting various black communities, which should be involved in the resolution of the conflict.

"President FW de Klerk's security forces cannot stop the violence. The people themselves will have to enhance black solidarity and unity at all cost," the Azapo official said.

'Violence could spill over into white areas'

The Argus Correspondent 274 17/5/91

JOHANNESBURG. — There was a danger of township violence spilling over into white areas if the government did not stop it immediately, African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has warned.

Speaking yesterday at a commemoration service in Kagiso for the victims of the Swanieville massacre on Sunday, Mr Mandela also warned that the ANC would break off negotiations if the government did not ban the carrying of sticks and spears in public.

Mr Mandela said there existed an organisation which wished to rise to power on the corpses of black people.

"If black people found out the government was working with this organisation they would arm themselves and take the violence into white areas," Mr Mandela said.

However, he called on the ANC and other liberation organisations not to attack white areas because most whites shared their aspirations and many "valued the lives of black people".

Addressing about 4 000 people, Mr Mandela criticised President De Klerk for his unwillingness to ban Inkatha supporters from carrying "traditional" weapons at political meetings and accused Mr De Klerk of regarding as "cheap" the lives of black people.

● In the wake of the Kagiso massacres Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Chris Hani announced yesterday that the defence units promised earlier by the ANC would "definitely" be established.

Not just up to the government to end SA violence, says Thatcher

(274) 17/5/91 ARGUS

EVERYONE has a part to play in stopping violence in South Africa — it is not just up to the government — says former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

She said on SABC's Agenda programme last night: "You can never simply say 'leave it to the government, they must keep law and order'. Law isn't like that. It's in the interests of everyone that the law be upheld. This means everyone has a part to play."

The main political leaders had to persuade their supporters that violence was not the way to democracy.

"Each leader has to convince his supporters and every law-abiding citizen has to help with the law.

"I'm sure the leaders want it that way and I'm sure they will be doing their level best to stop their supporters resorting to violence. Negotiations are the only way forward."

In response to a question by Agenda interviewer Penny Smythe on how Mrs Thatcher viewed the ANC's performance since its unbanning last year, Mrs Thatcher praised the organisation's deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I think we all admire Mr Mandela. We all admire his calm, his courtesy, his sense, his understanding of what has to be done and he knew the armed struggle had to be given up.

"I think he knows that prosperity depends on a market economy and not on nationalisation.

"At the moment may I also say we feel very much for him. I think everyone would know that to have problems of the kind he has requires and obtains sympathy from everyone."

Asked whether she thought the outcome of Winnie Mandela's trial would affect negotiations, Mrs Thatcher said South Africa was very fortunate to have an independent judiciary "who clearly carry out their duties with scrupulous fairness.

"And of course there is always the Appeal Court. Again open and again independent judges."

Mrs Thatcher said she had had to fight single-handed against sanctions — "although German Chancellor Helmut Kohl fought every bit as firmly because we felt the same way.

"So I'm sure it was right. It has kept the economy of South Africa strong."

● The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) yesterday condemned the conferment of the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class on former Mrs Thatcher in Cape Town this week and called on her "to go home".

— Sapa.

150 may be at violence summit

Political Staff

THE government has invited many leaders to a summit on violence and intimidation — but will not at this stage say who they are.

The conference will be held in Pretoria next Friday and Saturday.

Political, church, educational, academic and trade union leaders have been invited, along with leaders of women's organisations and youth movements. Homeland leaders have also been invited.

A Department of Constitutional Development source said today names were not being announced because replies had not been received to all the invitations.

Invitations were also being followed up with personal telephone calls.

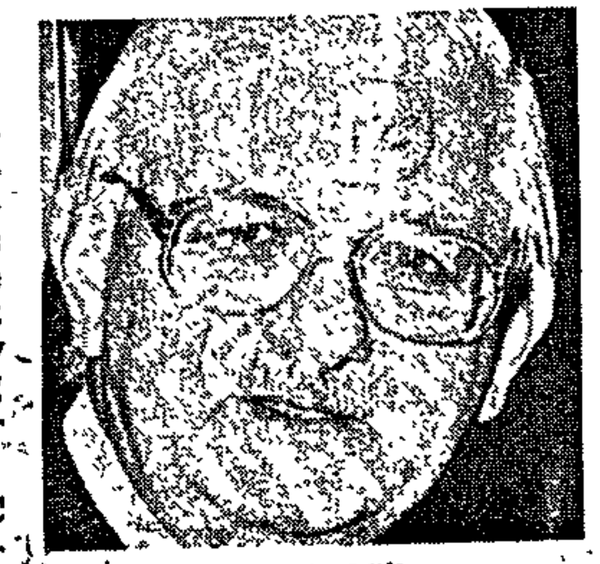
A further announcement might be made early next week.

About 150 leaders were expected to attend.

● The government's chief negotiator, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, last night fired his toughest broadside against the ANC, accusing the movement of being "demonstratively unco-operative" and describing its ultimatum strategy as "ill-judged and unfortunate".

And he said that if the ANC did not attend this month's government-initiated peace summit, it would have to account for its absence from so crucial a debate.

Dr Viljoen's tough criticism of the ANC was delivered during a Press conference to announce the opening to the media of the plenary sessions of the peace summit, to be held at the CSIR's conference centre outside Pretoria.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

Coming on the eve of today's national executive meeting of the ANC in Johannesburg to decide on a response to the government's latest steps, Dr Viljoen's statements cast in sharp relief the government's position on the movement's strategy and its attitude to the peace meeting.

He said the ANC had taken a "deviant line" by opting for an ultimatum strategy, and it was not clear whether the movement would attend the summit. It had not yet responded to the invitation.

Asked if the opening of the summit to the media might encourage the ANC to attend, he said it was not for him to suggest what the movement's likely reaction would be.

He added: "Our primary objective is to get people involved and to avoid creating the impression that this will be a secret conclave where leaders will be working out solutions without informing the public."

He said he hoped the ANC — with the other "most important role players" — would attend the summit.

The more important the participants, the more "significant and penetrating" the debate would be.

He was confident the summit would "not be a waste of time" if the ANC did not attend, but added: "If people do not turn up, then they have something to account for, especially if they have been calling for clear and urgent measures.

"Nobody can stay away without giving a proper account of why, and not just nit-picking about procedures, because this is a serious question for South Africa."

The ANC's position was unclear because "it changes views and its spokesmen frequently". "In view of the alternating emphases laid by ANC spokesmen, we have no clear view."

Dr Viljoen was particularly critical of the ANC's deadline strategy.

He believed if the government responded to ultimatums it "would probably have a new ultimatum every day."

On the other side of an ANC demonstration

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By political staffer MARTIN CHALLENOR who was at Caledon Square police station yesterday.

SOUNDS of a demonstration could be heard from outside. The captain got as far as "Name?" when a lieutenant colonel rushed into the office to say: "Kom, die swartes storm die polisie stasie. Kom."

I had been asked by the captain to go to his office yesterday afternoon to make a statement about the alleged fight in the corridors of Parliament between Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Leader of the House of Delegates, and a nominated member Mr Farouk Cassim.

Now the captain grabbed three teargas canisters from a box and was off. I followed, and ended up in the front charge office. The time was about 2.25pm.

A crowd of several hundred demonstrators chanting ANC slogans and singing had gathered in front of the police station. They carried placards protesting against Mrs Margaret Thatcher's visit and supporting the hunger strike of political prisoners. Several dozen policemen were outside.

The handful of policemen inside the charge office seemed remarkably calm. Some smoked. A few civilian women staff members peering through a window were very scared. "If they get in here we are all dead," one lamented.

A plain-clothes policeman came in and demanded to know: "Where are those two who were arrested?" Later it emerged that the police had arrested two people for crimen injuria and the crowd of demonstrators had come to the police station to free them.

One sergeant mimicked the chanting demonstrators outside by chanting once "AWB" with his knees bent and arms outstretched. The police took this as a joke, some smiled, but few laughed.

One policeman quipped "Get the guns". But the guns stayed in their holsters. It must also be said that there were no racist remarks, and certainly no glee at the pending fight.

Word swept through the charge office that the demonstrators had cut down the two official flags outside and replaced them with an ANC flag.

A few minutes later a message was flashed over the bleeper: "About 1 000 youths are at Caledon Square. Situation quite tense."

Just on 2.45pm, the lieutenant colonel — businesslike and very commanding — came back into the charge office and ordered the male charge-office staff out on to the pavement.

At that moment fighting broke out in the street between the demonstrators and the police. People ran away. Several skirmishes took place, with the police using their fists and batons. Some demonstrators fought back.

Two protesters went down A civilian working in the police station shouted from inside "Donner hulle!" as the whiff of teargas drifted back into the charge office.

Those who ran left a pavement full of shoes. In their wake a special constable gathered them against the wall of the police station.

Several demonstrators were bundled into one of the large police vehicles, The last one had to be beaten into the vehicle with a baton.

At that point the captain told a policeman to escort me back to his office. "I'll be a minute," he said.

On the way the policeman said: "That is the language they understand. Be rough with them."

It was several minutes before the captain returned to his office as a woman running away was knocked over by a police vehicle and this needed his attention.

Seated again, the captain called for water to take a headache pill. He related the insult one of the demonstrators had made against his mother, and how some had threatened to spit at him

He was most concerned because his child was waiting at his school to be picked up. It was back to Rajbansi-Cassim business. But at that moment the siren went off, calling all men to assemble. A woman sergeant showed me out of the building ...

50 arrested after tussles outside city police station

POLICE arrested about 50 people after firing teargas and charging a chanting and singing crowd outside Caledon Square police station in Cape Town

Three senior regional African National Congress officials were taken into custody outside Caledon Square, attorney Mr Willie Hofmeyr said.

The action came after several hundred people demanded that two people allegedly arrested at an earlier ANC march be released.

Pandemonium erupted in Buitenkant Street when a phalanx of policemen edged around the back of the crowd and charged as teargas wafted into the crowd.

Part of the stampeding crowd slipped past police vehicles and ran away down Barrack Street.

Tussles broke out at the doors of the trucks, with policemen struggling to push people into the trucks.

ANC official Mrs Hilda Ndude had a large bump on her forehead when manhandled during her arrest.

Policemen, clustered around the entrance to the police station, had to intervene on a few occasions to stop people in the crowd from trying to pull down a South African flag outside the building.

Mr Hofmeyr said 48 people had been arrested for attending an alleged illegal gathering.

Captain Laubscher initially issued a tentative figure of 100, but later said about 50 people had been taken into custody

Mr Hofmeyr said the ANC's regional secretary, Mr Amos Lengisi, had been arrested, as well as a regional executive member, the Reverend Chris Nissen, and Mrs Ndude, the regional chairman

The people in custody were being released on summonses to appear in court on charges of attending an illegal gathering, Mr Hofmeyr said.

He also named the two people whose arrest sparked the demonstration at the police station.

Mr Nazeem Pather was arrested and charged with crimen injuria and resisting arrest, and Mr Peter Maarman was charged with using foul language in public, he said.

Both men were being held at Caledon Square — Sapa

Paso calls for meeting with all black student movements

Sowetan 17/5/91

(274)

THE Pan Africanist Student Organisation has called on all black student and youth movements - including the Inkatha Youth League - to join it in addressing violence.

Deputy president of Paso, Mr Junior Taliwe, told a media conference yesterday Paso's national executive committee had noted at a recent meeting at Fort Hare University that the violence "is among the oppressed ... masses".

He said the NEC recognised the "undoubted involvement" of the regime and believed this was aimed at proving to the outside world the "the oppressed...are barbaric, killing each other so they (the regime) have the right to rule our country because we cannot rule ourselves".

They also noted the Government had perfected its method of divide and rule by "throwing crumbs on the floor". Unfortunately other organisations had decided to use violent means in order to gain control of the crumbs.

"Today Paso wishes to warn you to stop frighting for these crumbs and to fight for the return of the whole loaf," Taliwe said.

He said the situation was directly affecting the education of African children.

Children and teachers were afraid to go to school and children would fail exams and become homeless orphans as a result of the violence.

Asked who the "other organisations" were, he replied those who sat around the table with the "settler regime".

"This is not tribal violence but a war between organisations of the oppressed in pursuit of opportunities of power, to be the sole representatives of the oppressed.

"Democracy demands that every individual has the right of choice, to belong to the party of his choice. Therefore we reject the use of violence to intimidate people.

"Political differences must be vanquished with facts and we as the youth must come together and resolve this monster of violence."

It was the youth that was most militant and was being used to kill and perpetrate violence. - *Sapa*

Mandela warns on traditional weapons

(274)

Soweto 17/5/91

THE ANC would halt negotiations if the Government did not immediately ban the carrying of traditional weapons, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Kagiso yesterday.

Addressing thousands of Kagiso residents at a commemoration service, Mandela and SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo repeatedly said there would be no negotiations if the government did not immediately ban the "weapons of death".

Kagiso residents turned out in their thousands to hear Mandela, Slovo, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke address a memorial service at Kagiso Community Hall for the 28 Swanieville squatter camp residents massacred last weekend.

Police and soldiers, some on horseback, kept a close watch but there were no incidents. After the three-hour service hundreds of the residents marched to Swanieville where Mr Chris Hani addressed the squatters.

Mandela said President De Klerk had indicated last week that he was prepared to take action if people abused traditional weapons at meetings.

He said: "However about 10 000 people have died since 1984. How many more must die before the carrying of dangerous weapons must be stopped? Like average whites, he (the President) regards black lives as cheap. If only 50 whites were killed then there would have been a revolution. He would have banned weapons immediately."

Mandela said if the violence in black areas was not stopped it could spill into white areas. Many innocent whites would be killed in the process.

"The ANC, PAC and Azapo would not support the transport of violence into white areas because many innocent whites who value the lives of Blacks would be killed. But in attacks the lives of the innocent and guilty could be taken."

VIOLENCE — 2 FM 17/5/91

GLIMMER OF HOPE (276)

Coming at the same time as the brutal Swanieville massacre and a new low point in relations between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Transvaal, last Sunday's joint peace rally at Umgababa on the Natal South Coast was the only glimmer of hope in an otherwise bleak week. It was the first rally ever attended by both sides.

That the meeting took place at all was something of a feat, coming after the ANC based its threat to pull out of talks on the issue of so-called traditional weapons. Inkatha and Zulu chiefs refused to stop carrying spears at what they called cultural functions.

But on Sunday local Inkatha leaders did compromise — no spears were seen among the crowd, estimated at about 350. It was an important gesture, noted by both the ANC and police officers who attended.

And while the pact was made to stop regional violence on the South Coast — where a number of clashes and deaths have occurred over the past two months — both Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma said they believed the renewed peace commitment would have an impact on national violence.

The Umgababa rally reaffirmed the peace agreement reached between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban in January.

By the middle of the week the pact was still holding, despite renewed tensions between the ANC and Inkatha on the West Rand. Follow-up meetings between the organisations have also been arranged for next week.

The fact that two such senior members of the respective organisations were involved in the joint peace meeting might set an example for their counterparts in the Transvaal. ■

VIOLENCE — 1 FM 17/5/91

STILL BOILING

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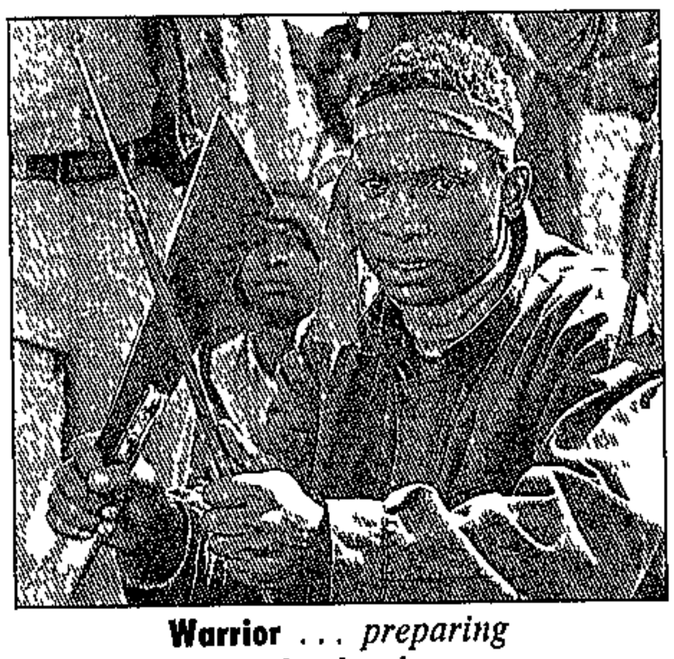
The violence continues with increasing signs that the police are unable, or unwilling, to stop it (see *Leaders*).

As the *FM* went to press only three arrests had been made in connection with the raid by 2 000 rightwing whites on the small black farming community at Goedgenhoven, near Ventersdorp. Twenty-eight people were injured and their homes destroyed.

No one has been arrested in connection with the attack by what were apparently about 800 Inkatha members on the squatter community of Swanieville near Krugersdorp. The attack left 27 dead, at least 24 in



Warrior ... *preparing for battle*

hospital and hundreds homeless.

In a raid afterwards of a nearby hostel (from which the Inkatha attack was apparently launched) police, however, arrested six people in connection with the illegal possession of firearms. According to Colonel Steve van Rooyen, they included two machine pistols, an AK-47, handguns and ammunition. Police say they do not know if any of these were used in the attack. No pangas, sticks, axes or sharpened metal rods — all used during the attack — were confiscated.

Major Ray Harrald of the Police PR Directorate in Pretoria refused to comment on a number of inconsistencies in police statements about the Swanieville attack. The *FM* asked, for example, how he could say "there was no proof that the attack was planned," when Brigadier Leon Mellett, press officer of Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, said Swanieville had been made an unrest area the previous day because police had heard rumours of a "big fight looming."

Harrald said there had in fact been conflict "with killings and abductions" in the area the previous week, but could give no reason why this was not included in unrest reports.

He refused to give further information on the killings and abductions he said had taken place.

Inkatha has not denied that the attack was planned. media spokesman Suzanne Vos said it was in retaliation for the alleged abduction of two members the previous week.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi held a prayer meeting in Natal hours after the Swanieville attack and pledged not to become an active participant in the use of political violence. He and government have come under fire from the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), the largest grouping of chiefs nationwide, which says the carrying of axes, spears, assegais and shields at rallies and in urban areas is "a gross distortion of our people's customs and traditions"

Police have also made no arrests in connection with the massacre in Soweto on April 28 of 22 people. Inkatha supporters, under full view of a large police and press contingent, ran into Meadowlands and slaughtered residents as they sat eating Sunday lunch. In the week that followed almost 100 people died in large-scale violence in Soweto; police told the *FM* that they had arrested no one for public violence and only eight people for murder.

In the past four months 334 people have been killed on the Witwatersrand and 392 in Natal. In May more than 200 people have already died in the PWV region. According to figures supplied by the Department of Law & Order, 1 675 people died in political violence between January 1 and May 9, compared to a total of 2 674 during the whole of 1990. Soweto has the highest death toll with 157 — nearly all during the past two weeks.

It may be significant that the western Cape, which has almost no Inkatha support, saw only 18 deaths in political unrest during that same period

Employers and unions are reporting increasing conflict at shopfloor level as workers with different political inclinations lash out at each other.

Employers have also begun noting that conflict often results in workers being away from work for days at a time: they flee their areas or stay at home to defend their families Business is becoming increasingly concerned about the social and economic costs of the conflict. ■

Return of the bombers

274 ZUBA ARG 18/5/91

Weekend Argus Reporters and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — In a night and day of terror and screaming sirens, recalling the worst days of the political struggle, 12 people, including women and one child, were injured in a series of bomb incidents in Hillbrow and central Johannesburg.

The first blast badly damaged a Hillbrow restaurant about 11pm on Thursday, injuring seven people.

Early yesterday police discovered another two limpet mines in Johannesburg's CBD.

The first mine was detonated by explosives specialists and the second was defused.

About 3pm a bomb, which had been hidden in the womens' toilets in the Tony Factor shopping centre in central Johannesburg, exploded, injuring five people, including a child.

Mr Andy McMeeking, regional manager of Foschini, who was making a store visit to the Tony Factor Centre shop, said a woman who was in the toilet when the bomb exploded was blown through the wall into the Foschini store. He said the blast had left a four-metre hole in the wall.

A little girl with a bleeding face was carried out of the centre unconscious and paramedics bandaged her eyes.

"Two women came out of the toilet covered in blood", said an eyewitness.

Cont ↓

A student at the Unisa study centre inside the [illegible] toilet m[illegible]



Argus 18/5/91

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utes before the explosion.

Police combed the area around the shopping centre using sniffer dogs to check for more bombs.

Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said it was a rumour that police had found a second limpet mine outside the Tony Factor Centre.

Thursday night's blast at Garbo's, a Hillbrow restaurant, injured seven people who were taken to the Johannesbug Hospital.

Police investigated a bomb threat at the offices of the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday morning, but no explosives were found.

Captain Opperman said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blasts or the limpet mines which had been disarmed.

"Clearly they were aimed at civilians, even the one near John Vorster Square which had been placed where ordinary people walk and work."

Who's to blame? — See Page 2.

The African National Congress condemned the Hilbrow explosion.

The organisation's Mr Carl Niehaus said the use of violence was contrary to its policy of reconciliation, adding the ANC had renounced violence.

Intelligence sources suspect that undisciplined ANC cadres are responsible.

But they do not suspect the ANC leadership.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe probably summed up the general feeling in political circles by saying: "These bombs could be coming from just about any source, from any of those people who are angry, embittered or deliberately trying to undermine the negotiations.

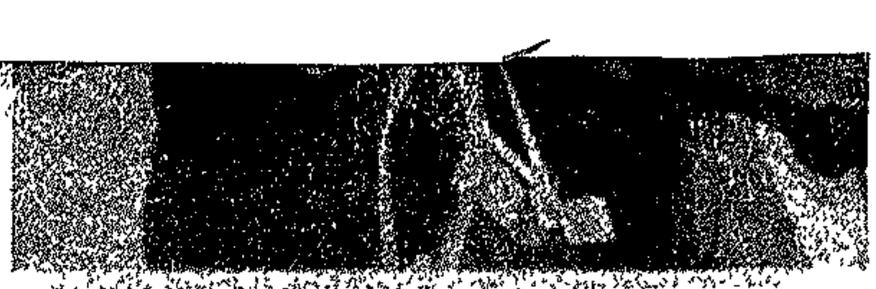
"It used to be fashionable to say if the explosives were Russian it must be the ANC.

"But we are long past the time when the fact that the weapons are Russian tells you anything about who is responsible."

Among the suspects — apart from ANC radicals — are the PAC, "dirty tricks" squads inside the security forces, rightwingers in the security forces and even ex-Rhodesians.

But the intelligence sources believe that any one of a recent series of "emotionally provocative" events might have pushed ANC radical elements to resume the tactics of the past.

These include the conviction and sentencing of Winnie Mandela, the rightwing attack on squatters at Goedgevonden this week, the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, next week's government-sponsored summit on violence, violence directed against ANC by Inkatha and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's warning on Thursday that if the violence continued blacks might export violence into white areas.



☐ **BOMB VICTIM:** Ambulancemen carry a wounded woman to safety after a bomb tore through a shopping centre in downtown Johannesburg yesterday.

They believe ANC radicals might have planted the bombs to remind Mr Mandela and the country that the armed struggle was still a force to be reckoned with.

But the intelligence sources also point out that some PAC cadres have in the past been trained in ANC military camps in Angola and might also have had access to ANC arms caches inside South Africa.

The sources concede however that rightwing sympathisers within the ranks of the security forces, police or military, would have had access to Russian limpet mines and could have planted the mines to disrupt negotiations.

They also point out that police have recently intercepted Russian-made limpet mines among consignments of AK47 automatic rifles smuggled in from Mozambique and that these could be available to just about anyone.

PAC spokesman Mr Benny Alexander pointed out that the PAC had never suspended the armed struggle. Regarding the Johannesburg bombs, Mr Alexander said it would be appropriate for the organisation's military wing in Harare to comment. But they could not be contacted.

South African Communist Party spokesman, Mr Jeremy Cronin, said the party was appalled at the spate of bomb blasts and it condemned the widespread violence. He added that the bombs were obviously being placed by those opposed to a democratic process.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche did not feel qualified to comment on the bombs saying he did not know enough about them.

Boerestaatsparty leader Robert van Tonder said the blasts were "definitely not a rightwing thing".

'Consider use of ANC units'

PRETORIA — The police should consider using the ANC's defence units and marshals to help curb the violence in South Africa, says the head of the criminology and police science department at Unisa, Professor Ben Smit.

However, Prof Smit questioned whether the police would be able to control these units, and the practicality of such a move. He also expressed concern at the ethnic character of recent violence. — Sapa

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CT 11/5/91

As South Africa drifts dangerously towards a Lebenon-type scenario the central question is: how can the violence be stopped? Weekend Argus political correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE spoke to an expert.

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'Tough action needed to break spiral of violence'

DISTURBING signs that South Africa is reaching a Lebanon-type conflict situation are emerging in the current wave of violence.

This warning has been given by Dr Chris de Kock, chief research specialist at the Centre for Conflict Analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

He and his fellow researchers have been monitoring conflict situations, crowd action, unrest incidents, people's fears and feelings of insecurity, and many other aspects of South Africa's township violence with its grim toll of death and destruction.

Among the early symptoms, he says, are that violence and political instability result in a build-up of fear that makes people arm themselves for self-defence — which in turn leads to more violence.

How can this be stopped, and what is the solution for South Africa's violence?

Dr De Kock believes the point has been reached where tough action is needed to break the spiral of violence. All privately-owned dangerous weapons should be banned from public areas.

"So, too, must all private armies be banned, no matter who runs them. This must apply equally to far-rightwing white armies like AWB commandos, the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and all other armed groups — including militant farmer groups.

"All firearms, as well as 'cultural' weapons like spears, battle axes, or 'ceremonial' weapons, no matter who carries them, should be banned from public areas." Dr De Kock says the argument that the carrying of certain weapons is traditional is not convincing at a time when the country is in crisis. No exceptions can be made and traditionalists ought to accept this.

But the big question is — how to implement such a ban without causing bloodshed?

Dr De Kock admits it will be very difficult to disarm defiant groups, whether on the left or the right, but he believes this can be done systematically.

"An immediate obstacle will be the accusation against the police and other security forces that they are not neutral or are not to be trusted.

"But here simultaneous action will be needed to make the security forces more acceptable to all so that they will have maximum legitimacy as the official instrument for maintaining law and order."

Such legitimacy was all-important if peace was to be restored. Ways of achieving this could include:

- The expansion of the police force and other security forces to include more black people — even former MK members — and
- The appointment of an impartial ombudsman (or a committee in such a role) who would receive and examine all complaints against the security forces and recommend action, if necessary.

Viljoen slams, praises Mandela

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Political Staff CT 18/5/91

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday mixed severe criticism of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela — for warning that black violence could spill over into white areas — with praise for his "reasonableness" on constitutional issues.

He said Mr Mandela's statement that township residents might go into white areas and kill people was "disconcerting" and "irresponsible".

In spite of Mr Mandela's "protestation" that the ANC, PAC and Azapo would not indulge in such activity, it was a "highly suggestive" comment.

He said he regarded Mr Mandela as a "very serious leader" and such a statement from him did not contribute to solving problems.

But he felt Mr Mandela's statements at the University of Stellenbosch this week were encouraging.

Mr Mandela had said that "structural guarantees" should be written into any future constitution, to prevent whites being dominated by blacks.

Such statements pointed to common ground from which negotiations could develop, said the minister.

He added that Mr Mandela's comments on group rights at this meeting and elsewhere indicated that there could be an "accommodation of diversities" in future. This was what the government had been arguing for, he said.

Blasts: ANC cadres 'may be responsible'

PETER FABRICIUS

Political Correspondent

INTELLIGENCE sources suspect that undisciplined ANC cadres are responsible for the sudden and unexpected resumption of bomb attacks which struck Johannesburg on Thursday and yesterday.

But they do not suspect the ANC leadership and concede that there is no way yet of knowing who is behind the disturbing relapse into the fraught days of the old South Africa.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe probably summed up the general feeling in political circles:

"These bombs could be coming from any of those people who are angry, embittered or deliberately trying to undermine the negotiations.

"We are long past the time when the fact that the weapons are Russian tells you anything about who is responsible."

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen told parliament yesterday that there was a new tendency to use arms such as limpet mines, hand grenades and AK47s and that these must come from the arms caches of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But he did not directly accuse the ANC or MK of responsibility.

Among the suspects — apart from ANC radicals — are the PAC, "dirty tricks" squads inside the security forces, right-wingers in the security forces and even ex-Rhodesians.

But the intelligence sources believe that any one of a recent series of "emotionally provocative" events might have pushed ANC radical elements to resume the tactics of the past.

These include; the conviction and sentencing of Mrs Winnie Mandela; the right-wing attack on squatters at Goedgevornden this week; the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; next week's government-sponsored summit on violence, violence directed against ANC by Inkatha and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's warning on Thursday that the violence may spill over into white areas.

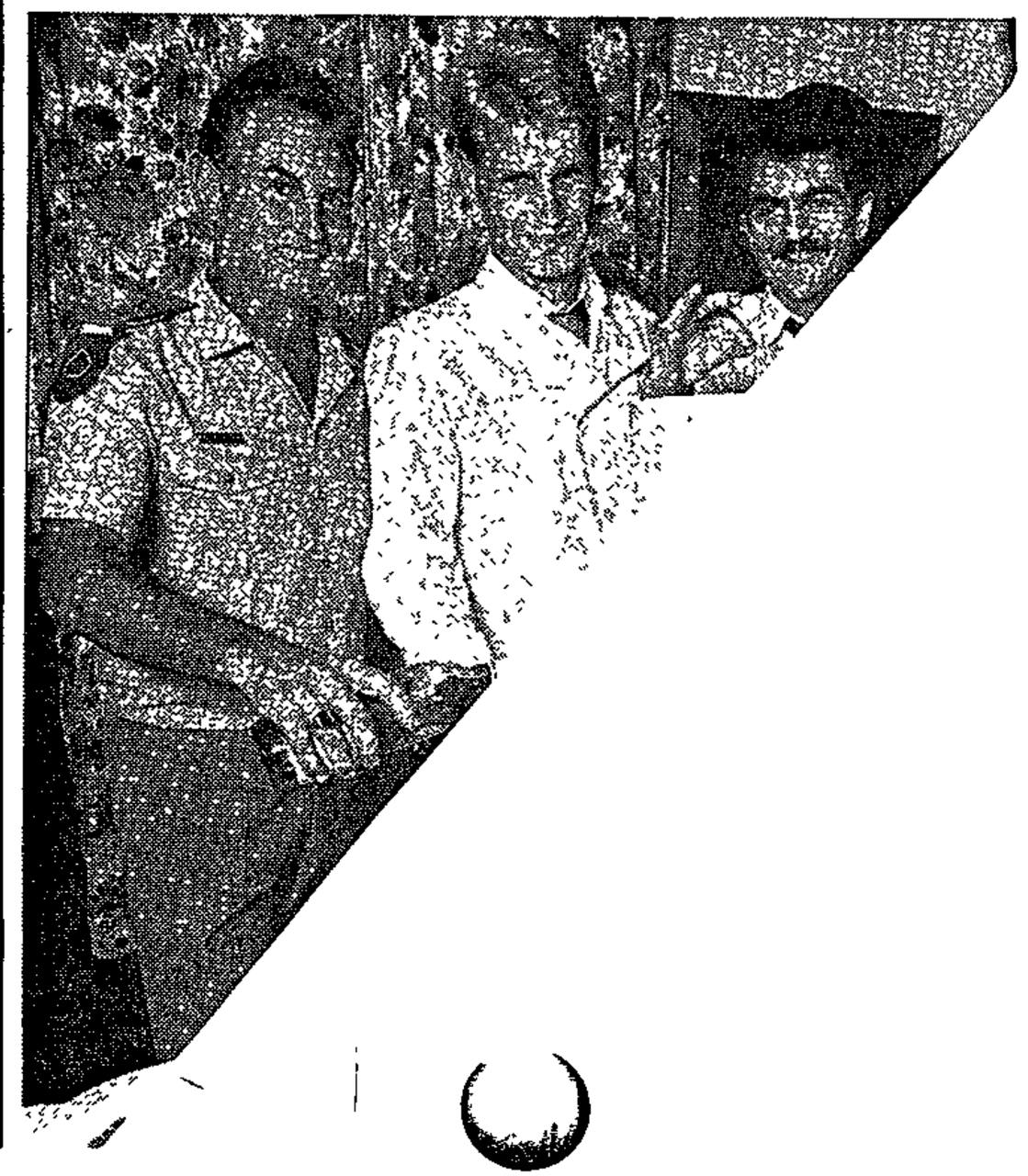
They believe ANC radicals might have planted the bombs to remind Mr Mandela and the country that the armed struggle was still a force to be reckoned with.

But the intelligence sources also point out that some PAC cadres have been trained in ANC military camps in Angola and might also have had access to ANC arms caches.

The sources concede however that right-wing sympathisers within the ranks of the security forces — police or military — would have had access to Russian limpet mines and could have planted the mines to disrupt negotiations.

They also point out that police have recently intercepted Russian-made limpet mines among consignments of AK47 automatic rifles smuggled into SA from Mozambique

In parliamentary circles it is being said that identifying the bomb suspects is about as difficult and mysterious as identifying the "third force" supposedly responsible for much of the violence.



Talks off, demos planned

By LEN KALANE

THE ANC has unveiled plans for massive country-wide stayaways, consumer boycotts and other mass demonstrations to force the government to agree to its demands, including the total ban on traditional weapons.

It has also conditionally suspended "constitutional talks" with the government until the demands contained in its open letter to President F W de Klerk have been met.

However, discussions will continue between delegations of the ANC and the government in an attempt to secure "firm commitments" from the government on ANC demands on violence.

At a press conference called by the extended National Executive Committee yesterday, the ANC also announced it would not take part in the All-Party Congress on violence of May 24 and 25, called by De Klerk.

Instead, the ANC said it supported the current initiative by religious leaders who are planning to convene a similar conference involving all parties and organisations.

The ANC's press conference followed Friday's marathon meeting of members of its extended NEC – which comprised representatives from the ANC's Youth League, Women's League, SACP and Cosatu – to discuss the deadlines of April 30 and May 9 and actions in support of the demands.

Obliged

In a document read out by general secretary Alfred Nzo, the ANC said a peace conference convened by the clerics – unlike the one called by De Klerk – would reach multilateral, binding agreements with all parties obliged to act in accordance with the agreement.

"No single individual or party can resolve the conflict that exists in South Africa," said the ANC statement.

There are strong feelings within ANC ranks that De Klerk's government, as one of the players in the present strife, would not be an appropriate convener for a conference of such magnitude. This would make the government both player and referee.

The ANC said: "To ensure a workable and serious peace conference, the religious leaders could facilitate the convening of a preparatory committee that comprises all the key actors – employers, labour, unions, political parties, the government and religious bodies."

It was felt such a preparatory committee should be responsible for organising a peace conference.

Reconstruction

The ANC said agreements with enforcement mechanisms needed to be reached in the following areas:

- a code of conduct for all political parties;
- a code of conduct for the security forces;
- elaboration on the powers and functions of any Standing Commission on Violence, which should offer speedy and effective relief to victims of violence; and
- a comprehensive approach to reconstruction.

Backing demands "which are all centred in bringing about a rapid end to violence" and contained in its open letter to the government, a series of mass actions being planned was also unveiled.

These included nationwide consumer boycotts – the timing and duration of which would be determined according to regional conditions.

The ANC also plans mass demonstrations on June 15 and a national stayaway on a date to be determined within the next few days.

The organisation said it was outraged at the cruelty with which some of the political prisoners on hunger strike had been treated, and to this effect, was calling on the community to observe Wednesday May 22 as a day of fasting in solidarity with these political prisoners.

The ANC also disassociated itself from a series of bombings in central Johannesburg recently, saying "the perpetrators are clearly those opposed to the negotiation process for a democratic South Africa".

Foreign capital shuns SA as too much of a risk

Cpress 19/5/91

■ MONEY TALK

THE violence and apparent inability of political negotiators to find a solution are beginning to seriously damage South Africa's economy.

Foreign visitors are warning that a perspective of an ungovernable South Africa is beginning to take root internationally, and this could cause irreparable harm to the sub-continent.

Executive Director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, Wayne Mitchell, says not even the local subsidiaries of US companies are prepared to make new investments until they are certain the nation will be able to evolve a viable and stable democracy.

Potential new US investors are even less inclined to consider South Africa given the intense international competition among the world's underdeveloped states for new investments.

Efforts

It is against the above background that the latest efforts by business and church groupings to drum up support for a proposed peace summit must be seen.

The ANC may play an important role in the summit. According to spokeswoman Gill Marcus, behind-the-scenes discussions are taking place. The ANC, which has refused to participate in government's proposed conference on Friday, is seriously considering supporting the summit.

South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, has expressed hope that the government and the ANC will find a way of handling or redefining the conference so that all interested parties can participate.

The efforts of Chikane and others are closely watched by businessmen in South Africa and overseas.

After all, when the talk has died down the basic fact remains that without investment the numbers of the jobless and the hungry will simply keep on increasing.

Welcomed

Potential US investors like what they see in South Africa. The infrastructure, the way the economy is managed and the banking and legal systems are welcomed. But when they look at the violence they say the risk is too high. It will therefore make little difference if sanctions are lifted. New investors will not invest in South Africa until the violence is brought under control.

Mitchell adds that if South Africa continues along its present road it could become another basket case pestering a reluctant West for handouts.

His comments were echoed by a team of visiting German MPs who said South Africans would have to find each other if they were to succeed in competing for scarce foreign investment capital.

Germany was keen to expand its business ties with South Africa, but its businessmen were hard-nosed and would not invest in South Africa unless they had a clear idea whether or not the violence could be stopped. They also demanded clarity on nationalisation.

Black intimidation 'rampant'

ST Times 19/5/91

AT least a third of adult black urban residents have been forced against their will to take part in stay-aways or boycotts at some stage, a survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations has revealed.

Two-thirds of people supporting Azapo, Inkatha or even the National Party claimed to have been threatened in some way to force them to stop paying rent, service or electricity fees.

Four out of every five people who supported Azapo or Inkatha claimed to have been forced to take part in boycotts or stay-aways.

The details were

Sunday Times Reporter

released yesterday by the institute's executive director John Kane-Berman in a graduation speech at the East London campus of Rhodes University.

"I suspect a large part of the explanation for violence is a backlash against this type of coercion and that the so-called 'Third Force' — widely blamed for township violence — is in fact ordinary people striking back," said Mr Kane-Berman.

Without an end to coercion, he said, there would be no end to the backlash and no end to the violence.

Mr Kane-Berman also revealed that guns and explosives comprised 50 percent of the weapons used in political violence in South Africa while knives and pangas and other sharp objects accounted for 18 percent.

Firearms were more frequently used than even home-made weapons like petrol bombs, he said.

While it was difficult to ascertain information about the type of firearms most often used, the largest single category that could be identified comprised AK-47s, followed by shotguns.

Mr Kane-Berman said his institute's statistics showed that, on average, 10 people were killed every day last year and that this year's fatality rate was edging towards that figure.

Political violence had claimed more than 10 000 lives between September 1984 and April this year, he said.

Necklacing and other burning methods accounted for nearly all deaths since the violence began 6½ years ago.

Asked what short-term action could halt the violence, Mr Kane-Berman said the first step was disarmament. People should not be allowed to carry lethal weapons — such as pangas, knives and axes — to political meetings.

He added that, in order to lower the political temperature, the toyi-toyi be banned and the use of inflammatory jargon by people at all ends of the political spectrum stopped.

Another step would be to create a visibly independent tribunal to investigate complaints against the police, to separate propaganda from fact and to take severe disciplinary action against policemen where appropriate.

He added that strategies leading to violence needed to be abandoned — including the campaign against black local authorities and the intimidation of township residents.

Clamp on cultural weapons likely

Plans laid for independent peace summit

B1Day 201591. (274)

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Plans for an independently convened summit on violence, which will be attended by government, the ANC and its allies, are well advanced despite the ANC's decision to boycott this weekend's conference called by President F W de Klerk.

Official sources say government is hoping that two high-level meetings this week — one involving former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher — will secure Inkatha and Zulu support for a ban on carrying spears, except at strictly cultural events.

ANC involvement in any government-convened peace initiative would be aided if De Klerk banned the carrying of spears, except on genuine cultural occasions.

Government officials indicated that a clampdown on cultural weapons was expected to be announced within days, but that De Klerk wanted to try to secure Inkatha and Zulu agreement first.

De Klerk will meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini either today or tomorrow in a bid to reach agreement on what constitutes a cultural event.

And, in another significant meeting tomorrow, Thatcher is expected to tell Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a ban on spears will be in the best interests of his party.

Government officials were involved in desperate behind-the-scenes talks with the ANC and other parties, including religious leaders, last week to get a follow-up peace conference going that would be attended by all political parties and organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said it was not government's intention that the summit be a one-off meeting. It was a first step in a series of meetings, involving all concerned.

He also indicated at a news conference last week that government would be prepared to attend a peace conference initiated or convened by religious leaders.

Reacting to the ANC's announcement that it would not attend De Klerk's summit and would suspend talks on negotiations and the proposed multiparty convention, Viljoen said anyone not attending the conference would not be excluded from activities that might follow.

An extended ANC national executive committee meeting at the weekend strongly supported a peace conference involving all parties and organisations.

The committee said the peace conference "needs to be a conference that reaches multilateral, binding agreements with obligations on all parties to act in accordance with these agreements".

No single party could resolve the conflict and the ANC preferred to support the initiative of religious leaders to ensure a broad-based peace conference was convened. It wanted religious leaders to convene a preparatory committee made up of all key actors — employers, labour unions, political parties, government and religious bodies.

Meanwhile, an emergency meeting of church leaders, called by the SA Council of Churches, will take place tomorrow to discuss the political stalemate and to decide what role churches should play. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is likely to be among those attending the meeting.

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Peace summit

B1Day 201591. (274)

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SACC senior vice-president Sheena Duncan said yesterday the "important" meeting would consider the ANC's support for a "broad-based peace conference" and its suggestion that religious leaders facilitate the convening of a preparatory committee.

The conference should reach agreement on codes of conduct for all political parties and the security forces, and elaborate on the powers and functions of any standing commission on violence.

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said in a statement at the weekend that many businesmen would "deeply regret" the ANC's decision to suspend political negotiations. It also noted the damage consumer boycotts did to the SA economy.

SHARON WOOD reports Sacob labour relations manager Gerrie Bezuidenhout said the chamber estimated the ANC's threatened two-day work stayaway would cost the economy at least R1bn.

Political boycotts

'forced on blacks'

Star 20/5/91 (274) (1892)

EAST LONDON — A third of black adults in urban areas had in the past year been forced to take part in a consumer boycott or stayaway — a high figure given the repeated claim that people participated voluntarily.

This was said by the executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman, in his address at the graduation ceremony of the East London division of Rhodes University on Saturday.

Research by the institute revealed that two thirds of urban black people claiming to support Azapo or Inkatha or even the National Party said threats had been used against them, their families or property, to stop them paying rent or service charges or for electricity.

Four out of every five who supported Azapo or Inkatha claimed to have been forced to take part in boycotts and stayaways.

Coercion

Mr Kane-Berman said: "I suspect that a large part of the explanation for the violence in many areas is that it is a backlash against this type of coercion."

The so-called third force widely blamed for township violence was, he suspected, the backlash by ordinary people against the use of coercion to enforce consumer and rent boycotts or stayaways.

"No end to the coercion, no end to the backlash, no end to the violence," he said.

Coercion to enforce boycotts and stayaways was only the tip of the iceberg, he said. The iceberg was a reign of terror.

Mr Kane-Berman said his original speech had focused on economic issues, but he had changed his topic to address violence, as everyone had an "urgent responsibility to reflect deeply about violence and to help find ways of ridding the country of this terrible scourge".

Between September 1984 and the end of April, political violence had claimed more than 10 000 lives.

Mr Kane-Berman said one of the underlying causes of the violence was the growing education/employment gap. Just as the state had started spending more money on black secondary schooling, the rate of GDP growth had dropped dramatically and the tragic situation had occurred where the education system was churning out more and more matriculants but the economy needed fewer and fewer of them.

Mr Kane-Berman said one of the things keeping growth down and unemployment up was international financial sanctions. He suggested that an immediate call by leaders of all political persuasions for an end to sanctions was one of the things that would help bring an end to violence.

He said short-term action to alleviate the situation could include:

- Disarmament. People should not be allowed to carry lethal weapons such as pangas, knives and axes to political meetings. However, weapons of this type accounted for only 18 percent of those used in attacks, while firearms and explosives accounted for 50 percent.

While it was difficult to identify the type of firearms most frequently used in attacks, the institute's analysis of violent incidents had shown AK-47s, followed by shotguns, were used most often.

Necklacing and burning accounted for nearly 10 percent of all deaths since the violence had begun 6½ years ago. This year, the institute had counted 24 necklace murders.

- The problem of police credibility would have to be addressed. The past had yielded too many incidents of shootings in the back, deaths in detention and allegations of collusion or incitement for these to be dismissed.
- Strategies that led to violence must be abandoned. As long as organisations remained committed to bringing about the collapse of black local authorities and homeland administrations, so long would the violence continue in South Africa.

Mr Kane-Berman said the political temperature of the country would have to be lowered to bring an end to violence.

Tolerance

He said part of the tragedy of the violence was that it was taking place in a society which had demonstrated its capacity to change without violence.

He cited examples such as the pass laws being repealed and home ownership rights being conceded to black people. The tradition of English-speaking universities being a haven of tolerance in an intolerant society should be re-awakened.

It would be a great day in South Africa when political speakers of different persuasions were given a platform at both English and Afrikaans-speaking universities, he said.

Addressing the graduands, Mr Kane-Berman said: "International experience shows that education ultimately benefits an economy more than rich natural resources, so the addition of a campus to the educational resources of this city is an important milestone in the history not only of the Eastern Cape, but also of South Africa." — Sapa.

Top-level steps to restart talks

BQ 4/1 274 NM

Star 20/5/91

Political Staff

A hurried series of top-level meetings between the main figures in South Africa's latest political crisis are scheduled for this week.

The twin aims of the meetings are reaching agreements aimed at curbing township violence, and getting the negotiating process back on the rails after the ANC's withdrawal at the weekend.

At the centre of the dispute which has led to the breakdown in constitutional talks between the Government and the ANC is the carrying of "cultural" spears and axes by Inkatha supporters.

Talks scheduled for this week include:

● President F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini within the next two days, following the President's meeting last week with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The President, faced with the main ANC demand that weapons be banned at political rallies, is expected to announce a ban this week.

His meeting with the King is seen as a bid to gain some compromise, possibly that "cultural" weapons would be carried on cultural occasions only — excluding political meetings.

● The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to meet Chief Buthelezi in a bid to boost the stalled peace process.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Mr Chikane would meet Chief Buthelezi later today.

Mr Chikane would seek the Inkatha leader's support for a church-sponsored peace conference aimed at stopping township violence.

"All the church leaders will be going to Johannesburg tomorrow for an emergency meeting about ways we might be able to help to get things going again," Archbishop Tutu said.

Alternative

The proposed church peace conference is strongly regarded as an alternative to the Government peace talks scheduled for Friday and Saturday in Pretoria.

Major extra-parliamentary parties, apart from Inkatha, have said they will boycott the Government talks, while there are indications a meeting of the main players under the auspices of the churches is possible.

However, the ANC is to arrange a two-day general strike, mass protests on June 15, consumer boycotts and a day of fasting on Wednesday to support political prisoners on hunger strike.

Top ANC sources said yesterday that the ANC decision to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the Government imposed a ban on "cultural" spears and axes at political meetings.

The Government believes the ANC, in its statement after Friday's meeting of the extended NEC, "left the door open" for a return to constitutional talks if the Government made progress towards meeting the ANC's demands for action against violence in its original ultimatum of April 5.

"It is significant that the ANC's statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions," a senior Government source said.

● Margaret Thatcher held a 40-minute telephone conversation with Nelson Mandela yesterday, Sapa reports.

She is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi before returning home this week.

Summit on SA violence still on

(274)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government is to press ahead with its summit on violence despite the ANC's decision to boycott the talks — but a second, church-initiated, conference involving all parties could still take place.

And the government is hoping that two high-level meetings this week — one involving President F W de Klerk and the other former British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — will secure Inkatha and Zulu support for a ban on carrying spears, except at strictly cultural events.

The religious leaders are continuing their efforts to get all parties involved in a conference on violence and are to hold talks today on the issue with the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This will be followed by an emergency meeting of church leaders in Johannesburg tomorrow.

ANC inclusion in a peace initiative involving the government would be aided if the government banned the carrying of spears, except on genuine cultural occasions

Government officials indicated yesterday that a clampdown on cultural weapons was expected to be announced within days, but that Mr De Klerk

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wanted to try to secure Inkatha and Zulu agreement first.

Mr De Klerk is expected to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini today or tomorrow.

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Mrs Thatcher, who will also meet Chief Buthelezi today, is expected to tell him that a ban on spears would be in the best interests of his party.

The ANC decision to suspend negotiation talks "temporarily", including the multi-party constitutional conference, and to step up the heat with mass action, including week-long protests in Cape Town this week over the position of hunger-striking political prisoners, has brought relations between the government and the ANC to a low ebb.

Government sources yesterday regretted these developments, but pointed out that the National Executive Committee, which was criticised at the ANC's consultative conference in December last year, is under internal pressure and can be expected to continue taking a tough stance to ensure it is re-elected at the ANC's conference in Durban early in July.

The problem facing the government is that the summit on violence will now emphasise division, even on such a central issue as the creation of a culture of peace, including agreement on a political code of conduct

The Democratic Party and Inkatha will be represented at the Pretoria summit on violence, but unless the efforts by church leaders to thrash out some compromise succeeds it is highly unlikely that any of the so-called "struggle" organisations will be represented.

However, the chances of a second conference, convened by religious leaders and attended by both the government and the ANC, are improving.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has not ruled out the possibility of the government attending such a conference.

The president of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Khoza Mgojo, the SACC's general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, and Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, will travel to Ulundi for today's talks with Chief Buthelezi.

The NEC announced on Saturday that its planned "mass actions" included nationwide consumer boycotts, a national general stayaway and mass demonstrations on June 15.

It also called on South Africans and the international community to observe May 22 as a "day of fasting" in solidarity with its political prisoners.

The organisation returned to the seven demands made in its open letter to Mr De Klerk in April

"Until such time as progress is made in regard to these demands, the ANC will not involve itself in constitutional discussions with the government, or in any all-party congress to discuss the mechanisms for drawing up a new democratic constitution," it said.

ANC officials said they would not be attending the summit on violence called by Mr De Klerk, but repeated their commitment to a conference convened by church leaders.

The NEC added that it "strongly condemns and dissociates itself from the series of bombings in Johannesburg" on Thursday and Friday last week.

Dr Viljoen said at the weekend that the ANC's decisions were "unjustifiable and irresponsible" and that the summit on violence would be continuing.

Weapons the key to talks, says ANC

Political Staff

THE breakdown in constitutional talks between the government and the ANC could be patched up within days by the imposition of controls on "cultural" spears and axes.

However, there is little chance that anything can be done to reverse the ANC's decision not to attend the government's summit on violence which starts on Friday.

But top ANC sources said that last Friday's decision by its National Executive Committee to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the government imposed a ban on cultural spears and axes at political meetings.

The government's failure to ban these weapons was the reason for the talks breakdown.

The decision should be seen largely as a measure to increase pressure on the government to impose a ban, an ANC source said.

Although the ANC is officially sticking to its seven April 5 ultimatum demands — including the sacking of ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan — it is clear it will be satisfied by a ban on spears and axes at political meetings.

Senior government sources said measures to curb these weapons could be announced within days.

This would probably be done by declaring that cultural weapons could be carried only on cultural occasions — and that political meetings were not such events.

The government is encouraged because it believes the ANC "left the door open" for a return to constitutional talks if the the conditions of the ANC's ultimatum are met.

"It is significant that the ANC's statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions," a senior government source said.

Truce on weapons

(274) CT 31/5/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a significant breakthrough, President F W de Klerk is believed to have persuaded Zulu leaders to accept a ban on traditional weapons like spears and assegais in unrest areas.

New regulations could be gazetted as early as this afternoon.

Mr De Klerk flew to Ulundi yesterday, where he met King Goodwill Zwelethini, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of the KwaZulu cabinet.

Although Zulu leaders at yesterday's talks "made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage", Mr De Klerk was able to secure their support for the government's efforts "to improve control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas"

A joint statement issued by Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi did not spell out the details of the agreement but noted that the government was drafting amending regulation "along the line agreed upon".

Meanwhile, former British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher called on political leaders not to become bogged down in "procedural arguments" which would stall the negotiations process — an apparent criticism of the ANC's suspension of negotiations.

Departing from her prepared speech delivered at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg, Mrs Thatcher encouraged South African leaders to get rid of violence and to get on with the job of finding a negotiated solution to the country's problems.

Mrs Thatcher is due to meet Chief Buthelezi today.

'Decision stands'

The general-secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, announced that clerics would gather in Johannesburg today in another attempt to break the deadlock on black violence.

The government has affirmed that it will push ahead with its peace summit next week — an empty exercise without the ANC.

The ANC said last night that the government agreement with Chief Buthelezi on the issue of "cultural weapons" could be very important.

But ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation's refusal to attend the peace conference stood and had nothing to do with the controversy.

● A research organisation, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), yesterday blamed Inkatha supporters for 66% of attributable incidents of violence on the Reef which have claimed the lives of more than 1 800 people since July 22 last year. The ANC was blamed for 6% and the security forces for 18%.

A report by CASE researcher Dr David Everatt found that on 82 occasions of political violence on the Reef firearms were used in 62% of the incidents.

He added that the furore over traditional weapons had served to obscure the weapons actually being used by parties in the conflict.

Dr Everatt told a Johannesburg media briefing yesterday his research was based on media reports.

Inkatha last night rejected the finding and said the use of newspaper reports and reports by other organisations with an ANC bias was unacceptable.

CASE describes itself as an independent socio-political research organisation and recently worked with Penguin Books to produce a series of books examining such issues as death squads, ecology in South Africa and the ANC's armed struggle.

'91 Mercia dodges

Zulus agree to lay down arms

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday agreed in talks with President FW de Klerk to support the Government in efforts to improve the control of dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

A joint statement by both groups said discussions between De Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of the KwaZulu government "centred on the question of the carrying of cultural weapons in unrest areas".

Cultural

The possession of certain dangerous instruments in a public place has been prohibited in these areas.

"The Zulu leaders made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage but were prepared to support the South African Government in efforts to improve control of dangerous instruments in unrest areas.

"The Government is now drafting amending regulations along the lines agreed upon. These will

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IFP agrees to control lethal weapons

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be published soon," the statement said.

Meanwhile, the Natal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa said yesterday justifying the carrying of cultural weapons as traditional was an attempt to undermine the values of the Zulu people.

Regional secretary, Chief ZM Mlaba, said spears were used only in performing traditional ceremonies and certainly not by "small boys in impis or faction fights".

They noted with concern that some traditional leaders had aligned themselves with the IFP and supported the idea that its members in the Transvaal had the right to carry "traditional weapons".

"We appeal to the KwaZulu government and the leadership of the IFP not to use our traditional leaders by calling upon them to support this."

The traditional leaders were also alarmed that King Goodwill Zwelithini would lead a march in Johannesburg on May 26 in support of IFP members carrying "cultural weapons". - *Sapa*.

FW meets KwaZulu leaders

Royal nod for spear ban in unrest areas

B|Day 21|5|91

(274)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday achieved a significant breakthrough during a meeting in Ulundi with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, gaining approval for proposed measures to restrict spear-carrying in unrest areas.

The issue of cultural weapons has recently become the main stumbling block to negotiations between government and the ANC.

The ANC this weekend suspended talks with government until the question of carrying spears was satisfactorily addressed.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and De Klerk said in a statement yesterday the parties at the meeting had agreed to "support government in efforts to improve control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas".

The statement said those present discussed the question of carrying cultural weapons in unrest areas where the possession of certain dangerous instruments in public places had been banned.

Government was drafting — and would soon publish — amending regulations along the lines agreed upon.

De Klerk indicated at a Press conference after the meeting that this applied to unrest areas formally designated as such by government.

The statement said the Zulu leaders present, who included Zwelethini, tribal chiefs and Buthelezi, made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage.

TIM COHEN

"The meeting took place ... in realisation of the seriousness of the continuing violence in our country. There will be ongoing contact in joint efforts to bring this to an end," the statement said.

It was not immediately clear last night whether the ANC would accept the proposed steps. Spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would welcome all measures that meaningfully reduced tension and violence and would comment after it had studied the proposed legislation.

Meanwhile, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher called on political leaders not to bog down in "procedural arguments" which would stall the negotiations process — an apparent criticism of the ANC's suspension of negotiations.

Departing from her prepared speech delivered at RAU, Thatcher encouraged SA leaders to get rid of violence and to get on with the job of finding a negotiated solution to SA's problems.

"People's dreams must not be frustrated by procedural arguments now. They are far too valuable for that," she said to applause from RAU students and staff.

Thatcher is due to meet Buthelezi today and it is understood she will encourage him to agree that Inkatha members be prevented from carrying cultural weapons, including spears, at political events.

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Spear ban

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In her address Thatcher said South Africans had embarked upon nothing less than the building of a new nation.

Different loyalties and traditions would remain but this variety could be a strength, not a weakness, she said.

She said she had fought to give South Africans a chance to solve their problems without "being brought low" by outside threats and pressures

Our political staff reports that Buthelezi earlier met SA Council of Churches leaders to discuss the violence. A joint working committee consisting of SACC and Inkatha members was established at the meeting

SACC president Khoza Mgojo said after the meeting that the organisation realised that without improved relationships with Inkatha, it would be hard for both parties to make a contribution to ensuring peace

Buthelezi said Inkatha leadership appreciated the concern of the church leaders.

He said it was important for the joint working group to start work soon.

● Comment: Page 10

FW needs the world behind him to crush violence

B/Day 21/5/91 (274)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

WHAT President F W de Klerk needs from the international community now is not the lifting of sanctions. They are crumbling anyway. In light of the ANC's latest actions, what he needs is a strong political signal that measures to end the violence, draconian if need be, will not diminish the growing acceptance that the changes he has undertaken are truly irreversible.

Unless the killing stops, the end of sanctions will be meaningless Under present conditions, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's ban on new investment could end tomorrow, and local authorities could simultaneously stop penalising investors; nothing would happen. The tap would be open, but all SA would hear would be a dry hiss

Unfortunately, achieving international support for the kind of measures quite conceivably required — house-to-house weapons searches, massive deployments of troops and police, curfews and even restrictions on public meetings — will not be easy, inclined though many governments might be towards sympathy The blame for the violence must be accurately pinned, and not allowed to fall by default on the government side

Part of the problem is the Inkatha traditional weapons issue and the related question of government bias, both at the political and security levels, towards Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Over here, no one understands the cultural niceties which somehow make it obligatory for Zulus, especially when in large formations, to carry spears and axes as though they were umbrellas.

And frankly it is not worth even trying to explain Call this Western cultural imperialism if you will, but, as Buthelezi himself must surely appreciate, the burden is a small one compared with what he and his fellow countrymen stand to lose if they do not submit to it. Furthermore, if the issue is not resolved by the time he comes here next month, he might as well call the trip off for all the good it will do his cause.

Another difficulty the government faces is broader and more imponderable. Most reforming governments under attack from leftist liberation movements have confronted the problem, and most have lost, partly because they were unable fully to contain the forces of reaction, and partly because they never developed effective countermeasures. It is the propaganda war.

El Salvador's late president Jose Napoleon Duarte, a Christian Democrat and a genuine reformer whom many American conservatives despised as something of a sellout, lamented in retrospect that "overall, we were being crushed under the avalanche of international Press coverage We had been totally unprepared for it If we had developed some structure to handle the Press, some capacity for investigating charges and demonstrating what was true or false, we might have done better. FMLN (the Marxist rebel movement) propaganda almost defeated us by itself."

Attempting to control the Press is not the solution. Nor is simply demanding of the ANC that it produces evidence for its claims of police-Inkatha collusion and the continued activities of "death squads" Finding a way to answer charges, especially of human rights abuses, and answer them credibly, comes closer Thus far, De Klerk has offered little more than his personal sincerity — and an ambassador from an opposition party — to counter allegations like those raised last week by ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa in the editorial pages of the New York Times.

Phosa asserted that while Pretoria was attempting to portray the violence as "an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between 'tribes', or between the ANC and .. Inkatha", the ANC possessed "evidence that paints a more sinister picture".

He wrote "We believe that the government was using 'surrogates' to undermine the ANC" These included such criminal gangs as the Black Cats and the Three Million Gang in the Free State "We have testimony from the groups' members detailing police contacts" A member of the Three Million "told how the police instructed his group in mayhem" Phosa also cited "the confessions of Sipho Madlela, a former SADF agent who told how his unit assassinated Chief Maphumulo", the head of Contralesa. "To date, his charges have not been investigated"

True or not, such allegations become part of the record over here with little effort at substantiation As for the ANC's own abuses, the will to research or document them is even weaker It is considered somehow impolite to dwell on them at any length, except as the errant behaviour of individuals

When persons connected with the government are involved in violation of human rights, the government as a whole is held responsible, at least until such time as it has held an inquiry Similarly, any Zulu-speaking killer is held to be acting on instructions from Inkatha. By contrast, when MK chief Chris Hani says the man who killed ANC dissident Sipho Phungulwain the Transkei last year was not acting in his capacity as an ANC member, the line is readily accepted As is Hani's promise that ANC detainees will be home by December.

Prejudice of this kind is accentuated by the international human rights lobby, which all too often (there are exceptions) masquerades behind its noble calling to paint a decidedly one-sided version of events. It is a version, however, which sticks in people's minds, especially those of congressmen who do not have the time or inclination to use their critical faculties.

After all, most of their constituents won't be exercising them either

A classic example is a recent report by Africa Watch entitled The Killings in SA — the Role of the Security Forces and the Response of the State Africa Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which was originally founded to monitor East-bloc compliance with the Helsinki Accords It has a good pedigree, therefore Its bona fides are further enhanced by its readiness to tackle abuse in the rest of the continent Only last week, it testified before Congress on the rights violations by the Kenyan, Malawian and even Mozambican governments

The SA report is nonetheless artfully dishonest. It deliberately focuses solely on the activities of the security forces while quite openly admitting that Africa Watch "does not examine in depth the policies or practices of either the ANC or Inkatha in initiating or prolonging the violence" Despite that omission, it categorically concludes the the conflict's ethnic component has been exaggerated and that the security forces and their pro-Inkatha bias are the principal villains

Its sources, which are cited without the first attempt to critique their own points of departure, include the Detainees Aid Group, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, Lawyers for Human Rights and Women Against Repression, all of whom "gathered convincing evidence" to support the report's conclusions There is not a single reference to the police having once acted impartially, let alone effectively to save lives, nor even a hint of the conditions under which they must operate

One may feel tempted to brush off such reports — and rest assured there are plenty more in the pipeline — as predictable and not very significant. That would be a mistake Inasmuch as they highlight genuine wrongs, the wrongs must be righted But it is also important that the record should be set straight in a credible fashion. Otherwise the allegations occupy the field as the only facts that ultimately count for US and other democratic policymakers

If the police and other security forces end up as all there is between a decent negotiated settlement and bloody chaos, it will be essential that the outside world has the basis on which to support and defend their actions

new category of taxpayer will fund R76 million in the hon the Minister's Budget of the R220 million that he has given out

This drop in the ocean will not solve many problems. Identified delivery systems of relief and aid are clearly not yet in place, and it would be true to say that the conditions for the average Black South African are even worse today than they were 16 months ago when the transition process started. The underprivileged are fast loosing hope, and to this extent I wish to put forward several constructive proposals to help restore personal dignity and our social fabric.

Firstly, the State should create new employment programmes to create site-and-service stands, housing, electricity and other infrastructural projects This could be handled by the State or tendered out to private enterprise. Prescribed asset requirements may be necessary to fund such projects Although this is not an optimal situation, it is certainly the lesser of evils, as our tax base, as the hon the Minister has already said, is too small because of years of low economic growth This type of programme was successfully introduced during the Great Depression in both the USA and in this country, and it could be started virtually immediately. Only the State has the resources to kick-start such a programme [Time expired]

Mr J J WALSH Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister correctly referred to the restrictions placed on him as far as the tax base is concerned, but I believe we need to be constructive and look for alternative forms of financing This party, earlier in the session, raised the whole question of a State lottery, which I believe, as a matter of grave importance, should be looked at and a decision taken

Secondly, we as a party have for many, many years been critical of the own affairs Administrations and the duplications, of facilities in that area Yesterday the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council indicated that there was scope for rationalisation, and we would ask. Is now not the time to look at that rationalisation very carefully, saving expenditure where we can. Admittedly many, many staff members are involved, but maybe we should be looking at retraining those people for re-employment in job creation and development priorities.

With regard to the whole question of pension parity, which would cause a further drain, we have lodged pleas for, as we believe it is imperative that that should be done as soon as possible [Time expired]

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Mr Chairman, the hon member himself referred to high expectations I want to issue a word of caution. So many people have talked about a lottery as a possible alternative source of revenue that, really, even if it should happen, there is no way that that source of revenue could ever address the question of hospitals, etc

Secondly, with regard to the rationalisation of own affairs we are certainly not talking about the scale of funding that is necessary to address the poverty issue in the short term. I do not think that we should raise too high a level of real expectations.

As far as the hon member for Bezuidenhout's comments are concerned, he took a percentage which really, in itself, is a drop in the ocean, but that is additional to what is already being spent according to the Estimates of Expenditure With great respect, that is the maximum that could have been done right now

The hon member for Pinelands referred earlier to the whole question of various sources of funds That is the situation as it obtains now We have our normal sources Certainly we are very loth to even contemplate a return to the whole issue of prescribed assets, because it gives rise to a lot of distortions in our economy However, right now one has one's normal sources, but one has an additional source, which is the conversion of a sterilised amount of capital, lying there dormant in the way of a strategic fund, to a different kind of application altogether This is why one cannot make it part of one's normal budget Therefore, one needs a certain degree of arithmetic logistics in order to find out exactly what the expenditure is.

I want to reiterate. The extent of need is such today that we can do what we like, but a shifting of priorities, a rationalisation, even a state lottery—all of those things put together—will be

of no avail whatsoever without very rapid return to high economic growth [Time expired]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For oral reply·

General Affairs

State President:

Day of peace and reconciliation

*1. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the State President

Whether the Government will consider designating a special day in the near future, after consultation with religious leaders, to be known as a day of peace and reconciliation in South Africa, when churches of all denominations and women's, youth and other community organisations will be asked to arrange prayer meetings to be held throughout the country with a view to mobilising all citizens of goodwill to join in an endeavour to end the violence and to seek peace and reconciliation, if not, why not; if so, when?

274 B998E

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (for the State President):

The custom in South Africa has been for many years that churches take the lead in setting aside special days of supplication, and that they then submit a request to that effect to the Government

Since we are on the eve of a Conference on Violence and Intimidation, which is to be held in Pretoria on 24 and 25 May 1991, and which will be attended by key leaders from church circles of various denominations, that would be a good opportunity to make such a request to the Government, which would be sympathetic towards it in principle.

Mr D H M GIBSON: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply by the hon the State President I would like to ask whether the Government is aware that ordinary people in South Africa are desperate to find a solution to the violence in South Africa and that they believe that people of goodwill must take the initiative and, if the initiative has not come from anybody else, that the Government must take the initiative

In this regard I would like to ask whether the hon the State President would consider placing the matter on the agenda at the peace conference himself, as a matter that could be discussed.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I would like to make it very clear that the Government shares the concern of all responsible South Africans about the tragic and shocking level of violence, of death and of damage that is taking place [Interjections.] 274

The Government, on the other hand, has never in the past taken initiatives with regard to religious matters It has relied on the leadership of the churches in that respect, and I am quite sure that at the forthcoming conference the churches will take the initiative If they do not, I am sure that all of us who may be in the privileged position of attending would certainly promote that idea very strongly.

Ministers

Exiles: number returned to SA

*1. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Home Affairs·†

How many members of the ANC, the SACP and other previously prohibited organisations that were banned from South Africa or that fled or left South Africa after these organisations had been declared prohibited, (a) returned to South Africa in the 1990 calendar year, (b)(i) may still apply to return to South Africa and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished and (c) what are the names of the other previously prohibited organisations?

B936E

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

(a) The Department has no record of members of previously prohibited organisations that returned to South Africa on their own on an individual basis No members returned to South Africa on an organised basis during 1990

(b) (i) and (ii) There is no definitive indication of how many exiles there are aboard and how many of them would

Spears ban but ANC resists talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's latest concession to the ANC — to ban all cultural weapons including spears and axes in unrest areas — was unlikely to persuade the ANC to attend the government's peace summit in Pretoria this week, the organisation's spokeswoman said.

After a meeting with Kwazulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Ulundi yesterday, President De Klerk announced that the Zulu leaders were "prepared to support the government in efforts to improve the control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas".

The government, President De Klerk said, was now drafting legislation amending regulations along lines agreed on and these would be published soon.

Today ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said her organisation welcomed any move that was likely to reduce violence and tension. However, she said the ANC would respond fully once it had read the government's draft legislation.



Gill Marcus

Asked if the ANC would now change its decision not to attend the government-convened two-day multiparty conference on violence in Pretoria on Friday and Saturday, Ms Marcus said this was "quite unlikely".

"The issue of the peace conference has nothing to do with the banning of spears at all. Rather, the question is whether the conference can produce any results.

"We don't think it (the conference) should be a public relations exercise, but we believe it should be convened by a neutral party and that there should be chances of it producing results."

It was, therefore, "quite unlikely" that the banning of spears and axes would lead to the ANC changing its decision, she said.

Measures to ban the carrying of spears and assegais in unrest areas are to be announced by the government within days.

The display of Zulu "traditional" weapons is likely to be restricted to purely cultural occasions and specifically excluding political rallies.

The ban will initially be confined to unrest areas where Zulus will have to give notice to magistrates that they intend carrying traditional weapons on cultural occasions.

The steps follow a meeting in Ulundi yesterday between President De Klerk, King Goodwill, Chief Buthelezi and Zulu elders.

Mr De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The breakdown in talks between the African National Congress and the government was a result of spears being excluded from a ban on these weapons in unrest areas. Zulu leaders have resisted a ban and there has been a round of tough talks between President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi.

There is concern that the inclusion of spears only may not satisfy ANC demands, but government sources were hopeful the measure would be enough.

The expected partial ban will reflect government sympathy for the need for Inkatha sympathisers to be able to defend themselves until the ANC lays down its arms.

In a joint statement President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said Zulu leaders had made a clear stand on their cultural heritage but were prepared to support the government in its efforts to improve control on dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

It said the government was drafting amending regulations along the lines agreed on in their talks and these would be published soon.

Spears made in Natal factory — claim

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ARG 21/5/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Police will not investigate claims made by the African National Congress that Zulu spears are being manufactured at a factory in Natal.

The claim by ANC director of publicity and information Mr Pallo Jordaan followed police reports of a haul of spears last week which appeared to be headed for the Reef.

A police spokesman, Captain Hamilton Ngidi, said there was no information to link the police haul to Mr Jordan's claims that spears were being manufactured and distributed by a Natal factory.

Captain Ngidi said 60 spears were confiscated at a police roadblock at the Ingogo district near Newcastle on May 10.

He denied that police had made earlier statements that they had confiscated 400 spears or that the spears appeared to be factory-made.

"How are you going to distinguish between a home-made spear and one that is made by a tradesman. At this point we have no information. The spears that were found in the bus could not be linked to anyone," he said.

Captain Ngidi said Mr Jordan should make a statement to the police if he had any information about a factory manufacturing spears.

"We will only act if there is information to go on," he said.

An executive member of the ANC Natal Midlands region, Mr Blades Nzimnade, said today that the ANC in the Midlands was "waiting with keen interest to see how police act after seizing the spears".

"The haul shows us that the violence is being orchestrated and that the government's refusal to ban traditional weapons is encouraging the use of spears as a weapon of violence against members of the ANC," he said.

Inkatha central committee member Senzo Mfayela said his organisation had no knowledge of a factory manufacturing spears.

Mr Mfyela said that should there be such a factory the IFP had no part in it.

ARG 21/5/91

Media 'a force for peace'

Presence at summit feature of new SA

PRETORIA. — The SA Media Council is aware that restrictions on the media exist worldwide, but only restrictions which are absolutely necessary are compatible with an open democratic society, according to chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen.

At a Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa function here last night, he said allowing the media at the government-organised conference on violence was a typical feature of a new South Africa.

"Where in the past the Press was often regarded as a nuisance, now the media is drawn in as a force in the promotion of peace and it is ... realised that an informed public forms an integral component of the quest for peace and a new democratic society."

He said the Media Council appreciated the planned amendments to the Internal Security Act which could enhance the free reportage of opinions. Cognisance was taken of the fact that government was also studying proposals by the Media Council for more Press freedom.

Professor Van Rooyen said any legislation granting powers which could lead to arbitrary regulation of the media was not in conformity with the ideals of a democratic society.

"The media accepts that it has a duty to inform the public and to do so in a fair and balanced manner, but it cannot subject itself to the arbitrary exercise of power.

"The exercise of such powers was contrary to the Rule of Law, for which the Press has been an advocate for many years." — Sapa.

FW wins concession on unrest areas

Zulus agree to ban on spears

Star 21/5/91

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By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

In an unprecedented visit to Ulundi, President de Klerk has persuaded Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept a ban on "cultural" spears and axes in unrest areas.

Official sources said yesterday the ban would be announced within days and would probably prohibit the carrying of these weapons at political meetings in the proclaimed unrest areas on the Reef which are at the epicentre of the violence.

The ban represents a substantial victory for the ANC — which presented it as one of the key demands in its ultimatum of April 5.

But it is far from certain that the ban will persuade the organisation to rescind its decision last Friday to pull out of constitutional talks.

Progress

Some ANC sources suggest a ban would be enough to do this, but the majority view seems to be that the Government will have to go further and show concrete progress in implementing its measures to curb violence — such as the announcement to upgrade hostels.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the ANC would probably react officially when the new measures had been promulgated.

Mr de Klerk, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer flew on an unannounced mission to the KwaZulu capital Ulundi yesterday to meet King Zwelithini, Chief Buthelezi, other members of the KwaZulu Cabinet and Zulu "amakhosi" (chiefs).

In a joint statement Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said: "We have consulted on the question of the carrying of cultural weapons in unrest areas where a prohibition on the possession of certain dangerous instruments in a public place has been imposed.

"The Zulu leaders made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage, but were prepared to support the South African Government in efforts to improve control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas.

Rallies

"The Government is now drafting amending regulations along lines agreed upon. These will be published soon."

Although the statement did not specify what the regulations would contain, Government sources said they would probably ban the carrying of spears and axes at political meetings and rallies in unrest areas.

This would allow Zulus to continue carrying these "cultural" weapons at Zulu cultural occasions such as Shaka Day.

The prohibition on cultural spears and axes would probably not be as strict as the existing ban on other dangerous weapons which may not be carried at all in public in the unrest areas.

Police sources said a ban on spears and weapons in the unrest areas would not end the violence but would make their job easier.

They were confident that the combined authority of the Zulu king and the Inkatha leader would be enough to persuade Zulu men to submit to the ban.

Thatcher speaks out on violence

(274)

THE end to violence and intimidation in South Africa should be an international priority and the foremost inside the country, former British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher told the editor of *Sowetan* yesterday.

Thatcher and husband Denis visited *Sowetan's* Johannesburg offices and had a behind-closed-doors discussion with editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.

She later told reporters: "Apartheid is going and the problem to be solved now is the violence and intimidation."

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"What is needed now is the rebuilding of the nation of South Africa. We must help the country to get rid of violence, and political organisations inside the country should get together and start talking.

Thatcher did not want to be drawn into commenting about the ANC's weekend statement that it would pull out of constitutional talks with the Government "as a result of the violence". She would address the issue at a conference later, she said.

She praised *Sowetan's* Nation Building programme and called it a positive necessity in South Africa.

Klaaste told reporters that he agreed with Thatchers's stance on violence. He said that during their discussion she insisted that foreign investment was needed in the country.



Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday visited *Sowetan's* offices in Johannesburg. Next to Thatcher is *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste who had a 10-minute meeting with her yesterday. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Conflict 'essential in new SA'

(274)

21/5/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The new South Africa was headed for a high conflict potential in all spheres of life, but conflict was essential because something new was always born from it, said Professor Nic Wiehahn of Unisa yesterday.

He was speaking on "Labour Relations in the New South Africa" at the Public Servants' Union annual meeting here.

He said those who believed conflict could be avoided were naïve because it was a reality of life.

He said the imbalance between blacks and whites in senior positions would have to be addressed soon.

Bombing: IFP blames ANC

Q-704

JOHANNESBURG. — An Inkatha Freedom Party official has claimed that ANC supporters threw petrol bombs at a hostel in Kagiso on the West Rand yesterday.

CT 21/5/91

"We blame the ANC for this attack," said Mr Humphrey Ndlovu. He said four petrol bombs had been thrown into a Kagiso hostel yesterday morning.

There were no injuries and police were called to investigate. Mr Ndlovu said the attack was probably in retaliation for the Swanieville squatter camp massacre in which hostel dwellers killed 27 residents.

When approached for comment, police liaison officer Captain Henriette Bester confirmed that three petrol bombs had been thrown at a Kagiso hostel, but she said the incident took place around 8pm on Sunday. — Sapa

Violence must not cloud overseas acceptance

C/Times = 21/5/91.

WHAT President F W De Klerk needs from the international community now is not the lifting of sanctions. They are crumbling anyway. In light of the ANC's latest actions, what he needs is a strong political signal that measures to end the violence, draconian if need be, will not diminish the growing acceptance that the changes he has undertaken are truly irreversible.

Unless the killing stops, the end of sanctions will be meaningless. Under present conditions, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's ban on new investment could end tomorrow, and local authorities could simultaneously stop penalising investors; nothing would happen. The tap would be open, but all South Africa would hear would be a dry hiss.

Unfortunately, achieving international support for the kind of measures quite conceivably required — house-to-house weapon searches, massive deployments of troops and police, curfews and even restrictions on public meetings — will not be easy, inclined though many governments might be towards sympathy. The blame for the violence must be accurately pinned, and not allowed to fall by default on the government.

Part of the problem is the Inkatha traditional weapons issue and the related question of government bias, both at the political and security levels, towards Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Over here, no one understands the cultural niceties which somehow make it obligatory for Zulus, especially when in large formations, to carry spears and axes as though they were umbrellas.

Press control

And frankly it is not worth even trying to explain. Call this Western cultural imperialism if you will, but, as Buthelezi himself must surely appreciate, the burden is a small one compared to what he and his fellow countrymen stand to lose if they do not submit to it. Furthermore, if the issue is not resolved by the time he comes here next month, he might as well call the trip off for all the good it will do his cause

Another difficulty the government faces is broader and more imponderable. Most reforming governments under attack from leftist liberation movements have confronted the problem, and most have lost, partly because they were unable fully to contain the forces of reaction, and partly because they never developed effective countermeasures. It is the propaganda war.

El Salvador's late President Jose Napoleon Duarte, a Christian Democrat and a genuine reformer whom many American conservatives despised as something of a sell-out, lamented in retrospect that "overall, we were being crushed under the avalanche of international Press coverage. We had been totally unprepared for it. If we had developed some structure to handle the Press, some capacity for investigating charges and demonstrating what was true or false, we might have done better. FMLN (the Marxist rebel movement) propaganda almost defeated us by itself"

Attempting to control the Press is not the solution. Nor is simply demanding of the ANC that it produces evidence for it claims of police-Inkatha collusion and the continued activities of "death squads". Finding a way to answer charges, especially of human right abuses, and answer them credibly, comes closer. Thus far, De Klerk has offered little more than his personal sincerity — and an ambassador from an opposition party — to counter allegations like those raised last week by ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa in the editorial pages of the New York Times.

Phosa asserted that while Pretoria was attempting to portray the violence as "an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between "tribes", or between the ANC and Inkatha", the ANC possessed "evidence that paints a more sinister picture"

"We believe," he wrote, that the government was using "surrogates" to undermine the ANC These included such criminal gangs as the Black Cats and the Three Million Gang in the Free State "We have testimony from the groups' members detailing police contacts." A member of the Three Million "told how the police instructed his group in mayhem". Phosa also cited "the confessions of Sipho Madlela, a former SADF agent who told how his unit assassinated Chief Maphumulo", the head of Contralesa. "To date, his charges have not been investigated."

True or not, such allegations become part of the record over here with little effort at substantiation As for the ANC's own abuses, the will to research or document them is even weaker. It is considered somehow impolite to dwell on them at any length, except as the errant behaviour of individuals.

Congressmen

When a person or persons connected with the government are involved in violation of human rights, the government as a whole is held responsible, at least until such time as it has held an inquiry, which will then itself be impeached. Similarly, any Zulu-speaking killer is held to be acting on instructions from Inkatha. By contrast, when MK Chief Chris Hani says that the man who killed ANC dissident Sipho Phungulwa in the Transkei last year was not acting in his capacity as an ANC member, the line is readily accepted. As is Hani's promise that ANC detainees will be home by December.

Prejudice of this kind is accentuated by the international human rights lobby, which all too often (there are exceptions) masquerades behind its noble calling to paint a decidedly one-sided version of events It is a version, however, which sticks in peoples' minds, especially those of Congressmen who do not have the time or inclination to use their critical faculties. After all, most of their constitituents won't be exercising them either.

A classic example is a recent report by Africa Watch entitled "The Killings in SA — the Role of the Security Forces and the Response of the State". Africa Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which was originally founded to monitor East bloc compliance with the Helsinki Accords. It has a good pedigree, therefore. Its bona fides are further enhanced by its readiness to tackle abuse in the rest of the continent. Only last week, it testified before Congress on the rights violations by the Kenyan, Malawian and even Mozambican governments.

Brush off

The South African report is nonetheless artfully dishonest. It deliberately focuses solely on the activities of the security forces while quite openly admitting that AW "does not examine in depth the policies or practices of either the ANC or Inkatha in initiating or prolonging the violence". Despite that omission, it categorically concludes the conflict's ethnic component has been exaggerated and that the security forces and their pro-Inkatha bias are the principal villains.

Its sources, which are cited without the first attempt to critique their own points of departure, include the Detainees Aid Group, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, Lawyers for Human Rights and Women Against Repression, all of whom "gathered convincing evidence" to support the report's conclusions.

There is not a single reference to the police having once acted impartially, let alone effectively to save lives, nor even a hint of the conditions under which they must operate.

One may feel tempted to brush off such reports — and rest assured there are plenty more in the pipeline — as predictable and not very significant. That would be a mistake. Inasmuch as they highlight genuine wrongs, the wrongs must be righted.

But it is also important that the record should be set straight in a credible fashion. Otherwise the allegations occupy the field as the only facts that ultimately count for US and other democratic policymakers.

Washington Letter
by SIMON BARBER

MP was committed to truth and justice

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

IN A tragic and cruel irony, the day after the Democratic Party MP for Green Point, Tian van der Merwe, died in a car accident, the government yesterday announced a new land reform package incorporating a number of his own suggestions.

Only last week, he had confided to us that he had proposed to National Party MPs that they accept the call for a land commission, scrap the controversial Residential Envirnoment Bill and incorporate some of its less contentious provisions in the bill abolishing the Group Areas Act and Land Acts.

Although he had serious reservations about the stipulations for the preservation of standards in particu-

had been spent on assisting and advising people who had suffered the consequences of apartheid through the Group Areas Act and compulsory race classification.

Had Tian, who was born the year the National Party came into power, been spared, he would have had the pleasure of finally witnessing the demise of both of these measures.

Some of the yardsticks by which the 43-year-old MP's contribution can be measured — and ways in which he will be missed — were contained in tributes from political friend and foe which continued to flood in for much of yesterday.

Locked horns

President De Klerk noted that Tian "at all times commanded the respect

Church, business leaders meet FW

Bid for govt support for new summit

BIDay 22/5/91

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CHURCH and business leaders met President F W de Klerk last night in a last-ditch attempt to revive the peace process and to persuade De Klerk to join a multiparty effort to convene a second summit on violence.

The Sacob and SA Council of Churches delegation proposed a meeting of political parties where a peace conference convened by churches would be discussed, church sources said.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said after the two-hour meeting it was called to "maximise the participation of all the main political players in the (peace) process" and said a fruitful exchange of ideas took place.

The ANC remained firm yesterday that it would not attend De Klerk's conference on violence, due to start on Friday, despite government's new commitment to acting against cultural weapons in unrest areas.

Twenty-five church leaders met for three hours in Johannesburg yesterday to draw up confidential proposals aimed at salvaging the peace process.

The proposals were then put to De Klerk at his Tuynhuys residence last night by SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and SACC president Khoza Mgojo. The church leaders were accompanied by Parsons and Sacob president John Hall.

The churchmen issued a terse statement after their morning meeting, saying they had drawn up proposals on how churches should act in the present situation.

It is reliably understood that the proposals were aimed at persuading De Klerk to join a multiparty attempt to plan another conference after his summit.

PATRICK BULGER

The churchmen proposed that a preparatory committee be formed representing all political parties, government, business, trade unions and churches. The committee would then arrange another peace conference and would draw up a code of conduct for the security forces.

In the meantime political parties should draw up broad guidelines for a conference. Church sources said the ANC would not attend De Klerk's summit.

ANC information director Pallo Jordan told SABC TV news last night the ANC would participate in talks convened by an independent party like the churches.

ANC sources said yesterday the organisation would not attend De Klerk's summit because it was seen as a symbolic conference which would achieve little to halt the violence. Government could not convene a conference on its own initiative.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, briefing foreign correspondents yesterday, again ruled out an ANC presence at Friday's conference.

Mandela said the expected ban on spears in unrest areas would not persuade the ANC to go to the conference. Wider issues were at stake like the banning of weapons under all circumstances nationwide.

On Monday Chikane met Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi. No details of the meeting were released. The meeting was, however, aimed at gaining support for a multiparty peace initiative.

The church leaders said in their statement yesterday that Chikane had met Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi sepa-

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FW meeting

BIDay 22/5/91.

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☐ From Page 1

rately to discuss peace proposals. Talks between Sacob and the ANC have also been taking place, business sources said.

They hinted that a broad-based initiative might be in the pipeline but that government was resisting attempts to persuade it to scrap Friday's conference.

Instead they favour the idea of a broad-based initiative emerging from all political parties and interest groups.

Business leaders had previously said the De Klerk summit should go ahead, but they did not rule out a second summit.

Meanwhile, the SA Institute of Race Relations yesterday welcomed the proposed ban on the carrying of spears in unrest areas, but said government should urgently seek agreements with other organisations on other weapons.

Political violence would not end if such agreements were not obtained across the political spectrum, executive director John Kane-Berman said in a statement.

Business 'led the break-up of apartheid'

BUSINESS had led the way in breaking down apartheid and it was the free market which had helped make apartheid unworkable, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher said yesterday.

Thatcher told a joint meeting of Sacob, the SA Foundation, the Institute of Directors and the Urban Foundation at Barlow Park in Johannesburg that SA's divisions could be healed and its difficulties overcome only under a free enterprise system.

She warned that township violence was threatening the whole future of SA. It was possible to argue about the responsbilities of government for keeping order, but government could not do so without the whole-

TIM COHEN

hearted co-operation of all black leaders

It was now essential that investment flowed into SA, whose economy could be an increasingly powerful engine of African recovery, she said.

Throughout Africa and elsewhere, misgovernment and misguided economic policies had had the same historical root — a socialist view of the state, Thatcher said.

Thatcher criticised one-party states, the lack of free criticism and the lack of respect for the rule of law in most African countries.

"Without a real determination to alter their political and economic systems, most Africans will remain poor and indeed grow poorer," she said

But there were two reasons for optimism that the Soviet Union had ceased to export Marxist revolution to Africa and increasing signs that Africans themselves recognised that free enterprise and multiparty democracy were the way to go.

SA's particular challenge was to achieve a democratic political system while keeping the benefits which flowed from a free economic system and sound finance.

Earlier yesterday Thatcher visited Pro-

☐ To Page 2

Thatcher

☐ From Page 1

mat College which has benefited from British aid, and the CSIR.

She arrived at Ulundi later to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Several thousand Zulus gave her an enthusiastic welcome, Sapa reports.

In his welcoming address, Buthelezi lavishly praised her for her role in opposing sanctions.

In response, Thatcher said Zulus and Britons had shared a history which "began in conflict, proceeded to reconciliation and ended in true friendship. In that experience, there's surely a lesson for the whole of SA on how to go from conflict to friendship — as we have shown."

At a banquet in Ulundi last night Thatcher said there was no precedent for violence on the scale presently experienced in SA. The violence was a discredit to SA's black society.

● Picture: Page 5
● Comment: Page 6

Do not be shackled by violence — FW

PORT ELIZABETH — Communities in SA must look ahead and work towards the elimination of poverty and misery, President F W de Klerk said in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

"Violence, intimidation and protest must not be allowed to hold us back," De Klerk told the annual congress of the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa.

He was convinced that "our greatest risk is to fail to adapt timeously and fundamentally to the claims of our times".

Reform was "not a fearful and looming spectre".

The government had accepted the challenge of constitutional reform "not only in respect of first- and second-tier government but also on the third tier".

The goal should be balanced development, equal opportunity for everybody, no favouritism, and no discrimination.

"These goals are equally applicable to local government. And as we are striving for one united SA we are also faced with the challenge in local government to bring together those who naturally, geographically and economically, should be together."

He said the country's town clerks would stand at the centre of reform on the level of local authorities.

On metropolitan government De Klerk said the government was in favour of a democratic dispensation based on power-sharing. Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban were areas possibly suited to the establishment of metropolitan government.

"The ideal is that a metropolitan government would be the result of extensive negotiations between interested parties in the metropolis."

Simultaneously, serious thought would have to be given to the effect of the metropolitan concept on the Regional Services Councils. "I believe that we must make sure in this process that bureaucracy is not multiplied, that the good work of the RSCs will not be disadvantaged and that the sources of income are shared fairly." — Sapa.

Another blow to FW's summit

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk's summit on violence, scheduled to start on Friday, faced another grave blow last night as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) apparently decided to withdraw its support.

An SACC delegation met Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys in Cape Town for two hours last night — with the aim, according to sources, of persuading him to call off the summit.

It is understood the SACC — representing all the mainstream churches except the Dutch Reformed Church — decided yesterday to pull out if Mr de Klerk did not cancel it

SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane and president Khozo Mgoja were expected to ask Mr de Klerk to attend a proposed church-sponsored summit on violence instead

However, Mr de Klerk made it quite clear that he would go ahead with his own summit as scheduled, according to informed sources

Mr Chikane said the SACC's position would be announced at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

If the SACC decides not to support the summit, this will be the second serious setback for the Government's initiative to end violence.

The DRC, Charismatics, Pentecostals and other conservative churches are likely to back Mr de Klerk.

The Government tried to put a brave face on the threatened SACC boycott last night and sources pointed out that only individual church leaders had been invited.

It is obvious, though, that many of the SACC's prominent members would have been invited.

But the Government and some church sources also warned that if the SACC took the ANC line and boycotted the Government summit, it would run the risk of being branded "the ANC at prayer" — just as the DRC used to be dubbed "the National Party at prayer"

The SACC delegation to Tuynhuys last night was accompanied by South African Chamber of Business director-general Raymond Parsons and president John Hall who have been trying for 10 days to mend the widening political rift between the Government and the ANC over the peace summit proposals.

The SACC delegation went to Tuynhuys apparently armed with a tough mandate to tell Mr de Klerk that a church-organised peace conference would bring together more parties than the Government summit.

It is not clear whether the Government would also attend a church summit on violence if it went ahead after Friday's conference

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen appeared to leave the door open for this possibility on Saturday in his reaction to the ANC's decision.

He said the summit was not intended to be the last conference on the violence and other meetings could be held.

Spears: ANC rejects Govt-Zulu agreement

CT 22/5/91 Political Staff

THE ANC has rejected the agreement struck between President F W de Klerk and Zulu leaders on the carrying of spears in public in unrest areas.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the fact that it was limited to unrest areas meant it would not be effective in curbing violence.

It had been expected that Monday's agreement could lead to an easing of the ANC's refusal to attend further talks.

"What is to prevent people moving to other areas and using the weapons there? Serious incidents of violence have taken place in areas that have not been declared unrest areas," said Mr Niehaus.

The government has yet to table the legislation, but it is believed it will be gazetted tomorrow.

274 GT 22/5/91

ANC reluctant to attend violence summit

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday seemed to rule out any hopes of its attending the weekend's summit on violence.

After two days of almost unprecedented top-level discussions involving the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, the Zulu chieftain, King Goodwill Zwelethini, Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the former British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and the SA Council of Churches, efforts to secure the ANC's attendance at President De Klerk's two-day summit on violence seem to have failed.

The ANC's refusal to attend the Pretoria peace summit would, in the view of most interested parties, reduce the event to a talking showcase with little real chance of generating viable action.

The refusal was reinforced throughout the day yesterday as senior ANC negotiators and members of the National Executive Committee, officials and confidential sources repeatedly stated that whether Mr De Klerk and the Zulu leadership had reached an agreement on the thorny assegai issue or not, the ANC would not be attending the government-arranged summit.

The government has already committed itself, in the words of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to seriously look at any initiative that tries to address the violence.

This one factor preserves the hope that there may yet be unity achieved on confronting the ongoing bloodshed in black communities.

The ANC's central objection — assegais aside — is the way in which Mr De Klerk had unilaterally decided to hold the summit and then merely informed, by way of invitation, the ANC of the summit. The movement also objects to him, as representative of the government and therefore a party to the violence, calling the summit. — Sapa

Church defines its role

Sowetan 22/5/91

SENIOR clerics from different religions yesterday drew up proposals defining the Church's role in facilitating peace and negotiations.

The meeting was hosted by the South African Council of Churches.

The proposals have not been made public. They are expected to be released after today's consultations.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and other senior religious leaders briefed the meeting on separate consultations they held with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Urgent

According to a statement issued after the five-hour meeting, the clerics paid particular attention to the urgent need for a peace conference involving all the main players in the country's politics.

Prominent clerics to attend the meeting included SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris of the Orthodox Synagogues, Shaik Nazeem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council and representatives of other independent churches. - *Sapa.*

IARG 28/5/91

'Groups to defuse unrest' to be proposed at summit

Political Staff (274) (3044)

RAPID-RESPONSE task groups to defuse and probe eruptions of unrest will be proposed at the violence summit in Pretoria on Friday.

The proposal will come from the Democratic Party, which will also recommend a massive beefing up of the police force, and doing away with the need for permission to hold marches and rallies.

This strategy, and the accommodation of returning combatants in the Defence Force bases, was unveiled at a news conference today. It has been given to President de Klerk and will be presented to participants at the conference.

It also proposes a formal "code of conduct" to which political parties and organisations should subscribe.

"Currently South Africa is in a state of near-anarchy, particularly in townships," the document says.

Indications were that police were not coping because of inadequate manpower, training and discipline, among other factors.

"In some cases police motivation is unsatisfactory and there is evidence of partisanship. As a result, police credibility is low and public confidence shaky," it says.

Complicating that, black leaders and police were, in many instances, mutually suspicious and regarded one another as "the enemy"; and the sudden political turnabout since February last year had placed a question mark over the loyalty the government could expect from the security establishment arising from the "total onslaught" dogma of the 1980s.

Broad public involvement in containing the violence would best be achieved by creating national, regional and community anti-violence task groups including representatives nominated by all significant political movements.

Religious leaders draw up peace summit plan

ARGUS 22/5/91

Political Staff

A HIGH-POWERED group of about 25 South African church leaders has drawn up proposals on the Church's role in facilitating peace and negotiations.

The proposals, which will be the subject of a wider consultation today, are expected to be released later today.

The church leaders, who held a three-hour "emergency meeting" at the South African Council of Churches offices in Johannesburg yesterday, paid particular attention to the "urgent necessity for a peace conference involving all the main players in the country's political arena", according to a statement issued after the meeting.

The proposed multiparty conference to deal with violence, to be organised as an alternative to the government's May 24-25 peace summit in Pretoria, has already received the support of the ANC and a number of extra-parliamentary organisations, most of which will not attend President De Klerk's conference this week.

South African Council of Churches gerneral secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and other leaders briefed the meeting on the separate meetings held previously with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk.

The proposed churches' peace summit is likely to be attended by a much broader range of political groupings than the government's summit on violence.

Most groups on the political left said yesterday they would first like to study the structure and agenda of the church leaders' proposed summit before deciding whether to attend.

They said, however, that they were likely to attend, while they would definitely not attend the government summit.

A wide range of organisations attended the first church-organised peace summit, convened and hosted by Archbishop Tutu in Cape Town in November last year.

Among them were the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Pan Africanist Congress, several homeland leaders and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa).

Church, business leaders meet FW

(274)

ARGUS 22/5/91

Political Staff

A JOINT delegation from the South African Council of Churches and the South African Chamber of Business met President De Klerk in Tuynhuys to ask him to rethink his summit on violence in Pretoria this weekend.

With the ANC, PAC and Azapo deliberately staying away, only Inkatha of the extra-parliamentary parties is likely to attend.

The SACC is likely to announce today that they will not be present, although they may send observers.

Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, and Mr John Hall and Mr Raymond Parsons of Sacob met President De Klerk last night.

President De Klerk did not say anything after the meeting. A spokesman for the State President said today that the Pretoria summit on violence would continue.

Speaking outside Tuynhuys last night, Mr Parsons said church and business had gone to see President De Klerk and his colleagues "because of a shared concern about the threat of violence and potential violence on peace and prosperity in South Africa".

"We have tried in our discussion to look at the peace process in a way which hopefully will maximise the participation of all the main political players in that process, as well as the State President's conference in Pretoria," Mr Parsons said.

"We have had an exchange of ideas and views on the process and how to make it a more sucsessful form of mechanism."

Mr Chikane said the delegation was consulting all the parties involved.

Mr Chikane is to address a Press conference today when he will say if he and the SACC will attend President De Klerk's summit or not.

Mandela, Chikane in vital talks

Sowetan 23/5/91.

By DON SEOKANE and Sapa

In the light of objections from the ANC and PAC, who should convene a conference on peace? The churches? Any other group? Telephone popular Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30pm and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro talkback programme on medium-wave at 576KhZ.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met South African Council of Churches leader the Rev Frank Chikane yesterday to try to break a deadlock over township violence.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reaffirmed its decision not to participate in the summit on violence and urged the Government to recuse itself from convening the summit.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke told a Press briefing in Johannesburg that the PAC instead favoured a church-sponsored conference.

He said his organisation had been in consultation with the SACC about the matter.

Mandela and Chikane talked about religious leaders' efforts to secure maximum participation in the peace process, a council spokeswoman said.

Chikane has been shuttling between the main political figures to try to convene multiparty talks to halt battles that some researchers say have taken 1 800 lives in nine months.

Moseneke said the Government's involvement in the ongoing violence disqualified it from convening any conference.

He said the PAC was questioning whether the Government was convening the summit only to "soothe its conscience or was the invitation sincere".

Assegai ban in unrest areas

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk last night announced a ban on assegais in unrest areas where curfews had been imposed, except where an official exemption had been granted to carry them at genuine cultural gatherings.

However, all ceremonial battle axes, knobkerries and sticks may still be carried in public. B/Day 23/5/91

Falling short of the ANC's demand that spears be banned outright throughout the country, a special Government Gazette, issued yesterday by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, stated that no person in the 13 declared unrest areas, all on the Witwatersrand, could be in possession of a spear in a public place "except where the person is on his way to, or during or after the conclusion of a traditional cultural gathering which he attends or did attend".

The Gazette said this exemption would apply only when an organiser of the gathering had given the appropriate SAP District Commissioner 48 hours' written notice. 274

BILLY PADDOCK

In all areas where a curfew had not been imposed, people could carry any licensed weapon or any traditional weapon, including pangas, daggers, knives and axes.

In the initial ban on dangerous weapons announced two weeks ago, it was envisaged that only chiefs or people of special stature would be allowed to carry ceremonial battle axes.

However, last night a Law and Order source said that without an outright ban on ceremonial battle axes, it would be almost impossible to police the carrying of these effectively.

He said there was no way policemen could identify a chief or person of special status in a crowd.

● See Page 3

NEWS IN BRIEF

Road freight down

THE road freight industry has made a slow start to the year with reduced tonnages carried in January this year reflecting the extent of the economic slowdown.

Central Statistical Service figures released yesterday showed a 14% drop in the total tonnage of goods carried by public transporters during January 1991 to 29,3-million (34,1-million) tons.

However, with the average tariff a ton increasing from R8,18 to R11,47, total transport earnings were boosted 20% to R337m in January 1991 compared to R279m in January last year.

Council workers fired

SEVENTY-five black municipal workers — some with up to 18 years' service — were fired by the Ventersdorp Town Council last week, said Operation Masakhane for the Homeless executive committee member Eric Ngeleza.

Legal advice had been taken on the matter. He said 16 of the workers had been rehired, although they were being treated as new workers, thus losing pensions and benefits.

No-one was available for comment at the town council.

UK's GDP shows drop

BRITAIN'S gross domestic product (GDP) fell 0,6% between the last quarter of 1990 and the first quarter of 1991, figures released in London yesterday by the Central Statistical Office said.

The decline was less than the last two quarterly drops of 1,5% and 0,9% respectively. Compared with the first quarter of 1990, the British economy has contracted by 2,5%.

Rise in German GNP

WESTERN Germany's gross national product (GNP) grew between 3% and 4% in price-adjusted terms during the first quarter of 1991, the Economics Ministry reported in Bonn yesterday, while in eastern Germany "the downward development of overall economic activity hasn't yet reached its low point".

Reports Business Day Reporter AP-DJ, Sapa-Reuter

Further talks to follow summit

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night he envisaged follow-up meetings after this weekend's summit on violence which is expected to be boycotted by most extra-parliamentary groups.

De Klerk said in a statement the summit was never intended to be "a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found".

His statement confirmed expectations that government would be willing to become involved in meetings after the summit.

"It is and remains an important step in the process of consultation. The road ahead will be discussed in depth and the contributions of all involved are needed," De Klerk said.

"If there are political groupings that have decided against attending the conference on political grounds or because of the question of traditional weapons, they will have to bear the responsibliity for their non-participation in a peace meeting intended to deal with the problem of violence in a solution-oriented manner," De Klerk said

PATRICK BULGER reports that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said on Tuesday he would attend De Klerk's summit.

Right-wing sources yesterday expressed amazement at Terre'-Blanche's decision to attend which, they said, was out of step with the refusal by other conservative groups, including the CP, to attend.

Business Day Reporter

The Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) and the PAC confirmed yesterday they were joining the ANC in not attending.

Meanwhile the SA Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday formally pulled out of the summit but remained optimistic that behind-the-scenes moves to get political parties involved in a peace process would succeed, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Chikane said religious leaders who met on Tuesday to draw up proposals for getting peace talks back on track had found that they could not attend the summit.

"Religious leaders are convinced that the problems of violence are of such magnitude that they cannot be resolved without the participation of all the parties and organisations involved," Chikane said.

He said it was now too late for De Klerk's summit to be redefined so as to attract wider participation.

BILLY PADDOCK reports the DP yesterday unveiled short-term proposals to be submitted to the summit. These included setting up a national network of township peace task groups representing all political movements.

Standard Chartered boss on 'return to SA'

HARARE — After enjoying complete independence since 1986, Standard Bank SA might not want to resume ties with its former UK parent, Standard Chartered, when the political situation was resolved, Standard Chartered chairman Rodney Galpin said yesterday

The Standard Chartered board is having a monthly meeting in Zimbabwe, only the second time the bank's board session has been held outside London. It met in Hong Kong last year, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Standard Chartered sold its minority stake in Standard Bank SA in 1986.

MICHAEL HARTNACK

Galpin said the political situation in SA now was "promising", encouraging hopes of renewed co-operation.

"I dare say that after the complete independence they have had since then they may well not want us back," said Galpin.

"If it looks right from the point of view of our business in the rest of Africa to have some sort of presence in SA, then I think we could probably do it, but I think at the right time," he said.

Thatcher optimistic as she returns to the UK

B|Dany 23|5|91.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, at the end of her SA visit, called on world leaders to respond vigorously and positively to changes and to welcome SA back into the international community.

Speaking as a guest of the local branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs yesterday, Thatcher strongly promoted SA reform to the international community.

She also called for massive overseas investment in the SA economy, the renewal of sporting ties, and the encouragement of progress in reform.

"This year, for the first time since Smuts, and with the abolition of the apartheid laws, SA is truly rejoining the international community. South Africans now have good reason to be optimistic about the future," Thatcher said

She issued three challenges to the international community:

☐ Unstable countries run by dictators and extremists must be deprived of advanced military hardware and weaponry;

☐ True international free trade must be established by the abolition of protectionist policies which prevent the flow of commodities and raw materials from less developed countries to the West; and

☐ Large amounts of capital must be set aside to combat abuse of the environment on an international scale.

Sapa reports that at a news conference before flying to the UK, Thatcher said violence could not be reduced by the government alone. Leaders of political parties had to fully support an end to violence.

Asked about SA's possible readmission to the Commonwealth, Thatcher said this issue was far too premature.

Asked why she had not met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on her visit, Thatcher said they had met in London two weeks ago and had had a long telephone conversation a few days ago.

Unrest claims six lives in 24 hours

SIX people were killed in incidents of unrest in SA in the 24 hours ending at midnight on Tuesday, bringing the countrywide death toll since May 1 to 223. (274)

The bullet-riddled bodies of four men were found in two houses in Klipspruit, Soweto, police said on Tuesday. B|Dam|23|5|91.

Soweto police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said the bodies of three Mozambican men were found at one address, and that of a fourth man, a tailor, was found at another house.

The motive for the killings was believed to be revenge, he said.

The stabbed and hacked body of a man was found at Mqolomeni, outside Port Shepstone, At Malugazi near Durban, the body of a man with bullet wounds was found. Two men were arrested in connection with the killing.

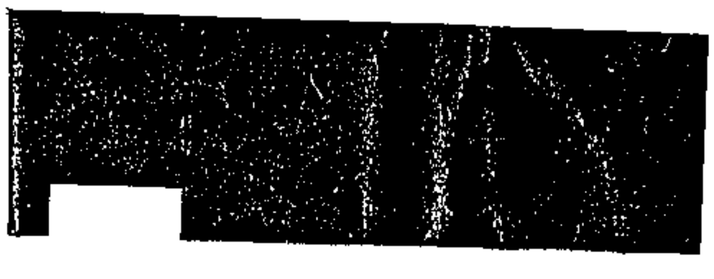
Also in Natal, a man was seriously injured when a group of unknown gunmen attacked a private house in Wembezi, near Estcourt. And at Izuba, in Umkomaas, a man was attacked in his car by seven men. He fired at his attackers, injuring one man slightly.

Unknown men, carrying firearms and a hand-grenade, attacked a private house at Ndaleni in Richmond. No injuries were reported.

Our Durban Correspondent reports that a police vehicle was totally destroyed after it was ambushed by armed attackers while on patrol in Inanda at midday on Tuesday.

Five policemen were travelling in the vehicle when it was caught in a hail of gunfire, said police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi.

After the police jumped out of the vehicle to find shelter, it was set on fire and gutted. The attackers fled when police returned fire. — Sapa.



Mandela spells out ANC stand on peace summit

ARGUS 22/5/91

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress was not attending President De Klerk's peace conference because it was not proper that the meeting should be convened by one of the belligerents, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has said on US television.

Interviewed in South Africa for NBC yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was not merely engaged in negative action by boycotting the De Klerk conference. It was putting forward positive proposals as to how a peace conference should be called and by whom.

He said: "We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents. The proper thing to do is to ensure the conference is called by an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with this conference called by the government."

Asked what the ANC would like the government to do to quell the violence in South Africa, in addition to banning the use of cultural weapons in unrest areas, Mr Mandela said the government could not be dictated to as to what it should do.

"They have got experts in the art of maintaining law and order and dealing with violence, and it is them who should put that skill and knowledge into practice.

'Neutral' chairman at peace talks on cards

Political Staff

DELEGATES to the two-day peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow will decide the procedures and agenda of the conference which will debate ways to end the violence.

The government has also not closed the door on the issue of a "neutral" chairman, mooted by Democratic Party MP Mr Colin Eglin. But Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week it would be up to the conference to decide on the issue.

Dr Viljoen said President De Klerk, who is hosting the conference, will play an "initiating" role and would therefore probably make the opening remarks.

It is expected the summit will also decide on someone to assist the president.

While the summit, which will take place at the CSIR, was an iniative of President De Klerk's, the government is not aiming to impose or to be prescriptive.

A list of delegates are not yet available but are expected to be released later today. All parliamentary parties are expected to attend the conference.

The DP will be represented by the party's leader, Dr Zac de Beer, and Dr Denis Worrall.

Inkatha Freedom Party will be represented by its leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, its chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior officials of the central committee.

The Conservative Party has refused its invitation to the summit on the grounds that President De Klerk had called the summit for those involved in the violence.

Breaking ranks with other right-wing groups the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging said it would attend the summit to place on record its views on the violence "so that we could not be blamed afterwards".

The movement will be represented by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre' Blanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said a group of prominent South African church leaders had decided against attending the May 24-25 peace summit.

The ANC has refused its invitation because the conference was unilaterally called by the government without consultation.

The PAC would also not attend the summit on the grounds that it believed the security forces were covertly involved in the violence.

dvbrand by-election became kno

POLITICS PARLIAMENT

Spears added to list of banned weapons

2T4
BEELD
ARGUS 23/5/91

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A BAN on the carrying of spears in public places has been added to a previous ban on dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

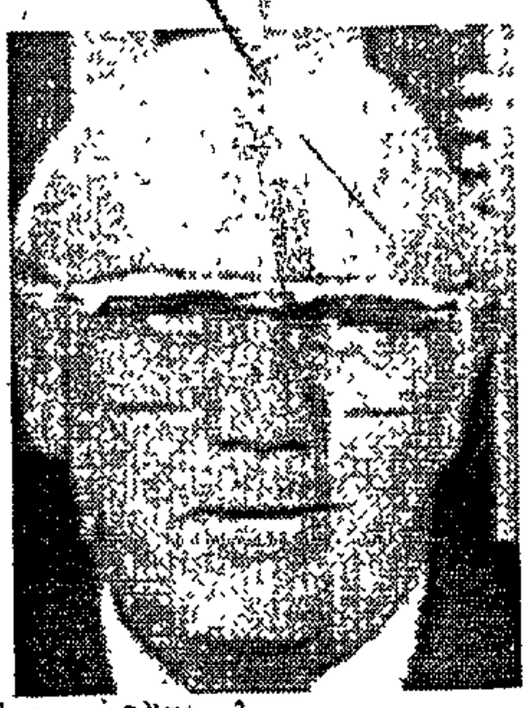
President De Klerk announced the ban after overcoming objections from Zulu leaders.

Exceptions may be made for traditional cultural occasions, subject to notice in advance. Permission for the carrying of weapons may also be granted for certain employees if satisfactory proof of the need for this is provided by employers.

In the case of cultural gatherings, 48 hours notice must be given to the police.

This move will not meet the demands of the African National Congress, which has asked for a blanket ban on dangerous weapons.

Referring to a number of meetings with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and one with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk said yesterday that these had led to "co-operation being obtained".



Mr De Klerk

He said this once again demonstrated the value of discussion when the conflict situation had to be addressed.

The peace summit tomorrow and on Saturday was never intended to be a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found, Mr De Klerk said.



Chief Buthelezi

It was and remained an important step in the process of consultation.

"The road ahead will be discussed and the contributions of all involved are needed.

"If there are political groupings that have decided against attending the comference on political grounds, or because of the question of traditional weapons, they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation in a peace meeting intended to deal with the problem of violence in a solution-oriented way."

Mr De Klerk said it was never too late to make a contribution and some might still reconsider and take part.

He foresaw follow-up actions and initiatives from the conference. The government would continue to promote participation in such processes.

The continuing violence caused human suffering, threatened the peaceful political process, sapped the country's capabilities and destabilised community life and the economy.

For the government, combating this violence was a matter of the highest priority. The situation had to be reviewed constantly to decide on what more should be done to contain the violence and bring it to an end, Mr De Klerk said.

Star 23/5/91

Unrest areas ban on spears is gazetted

274

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The ban on carrying spears or assegais in unrest areas was announced by President de Klerk last night after the Cabinet's weekly meeting.

A ban in public in the unrest areas of the Reef — except at "traditional cultural gatherings" — was gazetted by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Mr de Klerk expressed the hope that the ban might persuade parties which are boycotting his peace summit to reconsider. Even if these groups did not take part, the Government would try to ensure maximum participation in follow-up actions after the conference.

There was no immediate reaction from the ANC, but it is likely it will say the ban does not go far enough.

The new regulations allow spears to be carried for traditional cultural gatherings if the organiser of the event has given written notice to the district commissioner of police at least 48 hours before the event.

DP suggests ways to contain the violence

Star 23/5/91

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has formulated proposals for containing ~~vio~~ lence. (274)

It will involve action from the Cabinet, various Ministries and the SAP which will be presented for discussion at the State President's summit on violence at the weekend.

The DP's contention is that the Government was ultimately responsible for maintaining peace and good order. (~~Govt~~)

Improved and appropriate management of the security forces and of the transition phase was essential.

The document says all South Africans should enjoy the right to peaceful assembly.

On the subject of the return of combatants connected to movements such as the ANC and PAC, they should be offered the opportunity of being accommodated in SADF bases, under their own commanders.

The idea is that they would eventually be absorbed by either the SADF or SAP, or return to civilian life.

Other proposals are:

- The SAP's role must be clearly defined, the force should undergo extensive training, orientation and management and it should be issued with equipment to ensure maximum safety of personnel.

- Potential conflict situations, including public gatherings, should be defined and the bearing of arms must be prohibited. — Sapa.

Summit set to fail – SACC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The South African Council of Churches will not attend President de Klerk's peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow because it feels it is "unlikely to achieve its purpose", SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane announced yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Chikane said a group of prominent SA church leaders — who held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg on Tuesday and met Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela separately — had decided against attending the summit.

Their decision, Mr Chikane explained, was not a rejection of Mr de Klerk's conference, nor was it an attempt to side with any organisation or party against the Government.

Instead, it was motivated by the understanding that this week's meeting was not likely to achieve its purpose.

"Religious leaders who met yesterday felt that any conference on violence which does not involve the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC and the Government as the major parties could not address the violence effectively," said a joint statement read by Mr Chikane.

He said through their wide consultation with different political leaders and organisations, church leaders were confident a solution could be worked out to involve all groups in a peace conference.

"We believe that our efforts should be concentrated on mechanisms to involve all the parties in developing binding agreements which will be enforceable bilaterally and multilaterally."

Mr Chikane refused to answer any political questions or divulge details of proposals made by the church leaders on ways to deal with violence, saying the church leaders did not want to antagonise any of the organisations involved.

The ANC, the PAC, Azapo and many other extra-parliamentary organisations have refused to attend the summit.

The PAC yesterday formally rejected Mr de Klerk's invitation to the summit, saying the Government was responsible for the violence in the country.

In an open letter to Mr de Klerk read by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke at a press conference in Johannesburg, the PAC said the Government had "to recuse itself from the convening chair as it was a party to the conflict and had an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations".

Others who have refused to attend include the leaders of KaNgwane and Lebowa.

● DP suggests ways to contain violence — Page 13

May unrest toll now 223

PRETORIA — The countrywide unrest death toll since May 1 has jumped to 223 following the death of six people on Tuesday.

The six deaths are the first to be reported this week. Only injuries, arrests and arson attacks were reported by police since Sunday.

The bodies of four of the six men, who had been shot, were found in two houses in Section 2 of Klipspruit in Soweto, outside Johannesburg.

A spokesman for the Soweto police, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said three bodies of Mozambican men were found at one address, and the fourth, the body of a tailor, was found at another house about 7.30pm.

At Mqolomeni outside Port Shepstone, the stabbed and hacked body of a man was found, while at Malugazi near Durban, the body of a man with bullet wounds was found. Two men were arrested.

Also in Natal, a man was seriously injured when a group of unknown gunmen attacked a house in Wembezi near Estcourt, and at Izuba in Umkomaas, a man was attacked in his car by seven men.

Unrest incidents were also reported in Ndaleni in Richmond, Phillipsville in Griekwastad and in Bloemfontein. — Sapa

FW plea to ANC on peace summit

(274) ET 23/5/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night issued an impassioned 11th-hour plea to the ANC to rethink its boycott of his Pretoria peace summit as a spate of withdrawals threatened to relegate the event to a sideshow.

In a last-minute bid to boost attendance of "struggle" organisations at the conference, Mr De Klerk announced the banning of the carrying of spears and assegais in 13 Reef unrest areas where curfews are also in force. The summit starts tomorrow and ends on Saturday.

However, he stopped short of fulfilling ANC demands of a blanket ban on all dangerous weapons throughout the country.

This will allow Inkatha supporters responding to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's call to assemble in full traditional regalia in central Johannesburg this weekend to do so with impunity — even if they are carrying spears.

The ANC said the fact that the ban on the carrying of spears was limited to unrest areas meant that it would not be effective in curbing violence, as serious incidents of violence were also occurring outside these areas.

Yesterday the PAC, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast), the Teachers' Association of South Africa (Tasa) and the Lebowa government joined the ANC in boycotting the two-day summit.

Azapo, the Transkei and KaNgwane governments, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SACP have already given the thumbs-down to the summit.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk warned that if there were political groupings which were boycotting the conference on political grounds or because of the controversy on traditional weapons, "they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation".

But he then added: "However, it is never too late to make a contribution. They may still reconsider and participate."

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Summit

(274)

Mr De Klerk was nevertheless at pains to emphasise that the summit was not intended as "a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found".

Rather, the summit should be seen as an important step in the process of consultation.

If boycotting organisations did not reconsider their participation, "I forsee nonetheless that follow-up actions and further processes will ensue after the conference of the coming weekend, also emanating from the conference itself".

SACC secretary-general Dr Frank Chikane, who announced yesterday that the SACC would not attend the summit, said: 'It (the decision not to attend) is not a rejection of the State President's conference, but the decision is based on the concern that, as it is organised, it will not serve the purpose that it is meant to do."

Dr Chikane said the majority of those affected by the violence would not be represented at the conference.

A summit which did not involve the ANC, Inkatha and the government could not address the violence effectively.

He said church leaders had found common ground with SA Chamber of Commerce (Sacob) businessmen during discussions which started at the weekend. They were working together to find a solution to the violence.

The PAC said the "clean hands" principle dictated that the government could not take the initiative in organising a conference of this nature as it was an involved party.

Tasa said it would not attend the summit because of the continuing crisis in education.

A member of the DP's delegation to the peace summit, Dr Denis Worrall, acknowledged yesterday that the conference might be "short on political legitimacy".

However, he said there was no reason why the conference should not come up with credible, concrete measures which would also be acceptable to those not participating at the conference.

The case for carrying 'traditional weapons'

Sowetan 23/1/91.

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By PETER DER HEYDE

FEW issues have dominated the media headlines as regularly over the past few weeks as the carrying of traditional or cultural weapons.

Yet there remains great confusion as to what constitutes such a weapon This article looks at the controversy surrounding the carrying of those weapons

The road to a new South Africa remains rocky and one of the major stumbling blocks seems to be the issue of traditional or cultural weapons.

The ANC has threatened to break off negotiations unless the Government extends its recent ban on dangerous weapons to include spears, while the vast majority of Zulu tribal chiefs and dignitaries declared, after a meeting last week, that they would defy any ban the Government may impose on the carrying of traditional weapons.



Demands

Some political observers have speculated that the ANC's ultimatums are an attempt to drive a wedge between the National Party and the IFP as the Government will be seen to be giving in to ANC demands if it bans traditional weapons.

Such an action would be taken as an affront by the IFP and could seriously damage relations between the two parties, whom many see as the only reasonable alternative to the radical ANC.

The controversy surrounding traditional weapons erupted a few months ago following renewed outbreaks of violence in Reef townships.

As more and more people were killed and pictures of heavily armed men splashed across television screens and front pages of local newspapers, calls for a ban on cultural weapons increased.

Surprise

To many, the IFP's reaction to such calls came as a surprise, as the party had for so long preached non-violence and said it was willing to attempt anything to bring an end to the bloodshed.

One of the reasons for the IFP's statements condemning the call for a ban on cultural weapons is found in Zulu customs and traditions.

A former chief director of the Port Natal Administration Board, Mr SB Bourquin, widely regarded as an expert on Zulu customs, calls the demand to ban traditional weapons "unreasonable".

Bourquin, who served as chief director from 1950 to 1979 said. "Zulus have, for many, many years, carried traditional weapons. You will hardly ever find a man in a rural area who is not carrying a stick.

"In fact, the carrying of sticks was as general to Zulus as wearing a hat was to European men a while ago, but while hats seem to have gone out of fashion for whites, the carrying of sticks remains."

Bourquin identifies a number of weapons as traditional.

"First of all, there is the shield, I call this a weapon as in some instances the bottom end of the shaft in the middle is sharpened.

Skin

"This stick, known as the umgoba, is adorned with a bit of skin on top. The shield is made of dry animal skin and varies in sizes

"The smallest of the shields is used by brides on wedding days. These shields are known as Isihlangu, Umbhumbuluzu, Ihawu or Umdlelo."

With the shield the Zulu will also carry a Ubhoko stick that is sharpened at the bottom end. Apart from this stick, there are a number of other sticks, known by a variety of names.

Among those are the Umzaca, which is a straight stick, and the Isikhwili, which is also a straight stick but thick at the top.

He said that while the carrying of sticks was widespread, the carrying of knobkerrie was "optional".

Zulus use a number of knobkerries. The Isagila is one of them. The knob is often the root of the tree which is a natural knob on top of the stick.

The other is the Iwisa, which is a carved knobbed stick. The knob is carved as distinct from that of the Isagila, which comes from the natural shape of the tree.

Important are also the assegais or spears, known as Imikhonto. These may have different shapes and the wood on which the blade is attached can be of different lengths

Spear

The Ikalwa is a long bladed spear, while with the Inhlendla the blade is fixed in an oblong fashion. The Inhlendla is carried only by the king and the Amakhosi, while others are used for slaughtering.

Bourquin said while battle axes were not normally used and carried by the ordinary warrior during battle, there were some axes that were used for ceremonial occasions.

"The Isizenza has the shape of the modern day axe, but its use is the exception, rather than the rule," he said.

A number of other weapons, such as the swordstick known as the Intshumentshu and the Isimolonthisi are included in the old code of Zulu law and it is regarded as illegal to carry those and carriers were regarded as having committed an offence

Axe

In chapter 14 of the Natal Code of Zulu Law, which deals with offences and general penalties, it states that no "black shall carry an Intshumentshu, battle axe or a stick shod with iron unless (among other reasons) he is able to prove that he had the bona fide intention to carry such dangerous weapons in accordance with traditional Zulu usages, customs or religion."

Laws

Bourquin said those Zulu laws were incorporated into the Natal Code of Native Law and were recognised as the laws governing the province.

"Those customs and traditions are very important to Zulu people and it is a major step to suddenly now be forced to no longer be able to comply with those customs and traditions," Bourquin said.

But, as Dr Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute points out, that is not the only reason for fighting a ban on traditional weapons.

"Our research has shown conclusively that there are very, very few people killed by traditional weapons.

"Looking at one month of reported incidents of violence this year, some 75 percent were killed by bullets, while 20 percent were killed through hacking.

Weapons

"These weapons used for hacking a person to death are also not traditional weapons The remaining five percent of deaths were caused by a number of weapons and methods, including necklacing.

"The demands that concentrate on the banning of real traditional weapons therefore discourage rational discussion regarding the carrying of various weapons whose proportionate role in the township killings is well documented "

IFP central committee member Senzo Mfayela says these findings make it clear that the call to ban traditional weapons is nothing but a "cheap publicity-seeking exercise by the ANC to divert attention away from the real issues underlying the violence".

Policy

"The carrying of traditional weapons is also seen as a symbol of our resistance to repression.

"It was one of the main aspects during the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879, where the British also wanted to disarm the Zulus.

"After the war had all but finished, they embarked on a systematic policy of pacifying the countryside and attempted to disarm the Zulus.

Police

"Of course, they failed, for as soon as they had left Zulus would immediately make their cultural weapons again.

"The issue of traditional weapons was also used in the 50s and 60s by police to harass blacks

"Policemen stopped Zulus in the streets and told them to put the top of their knobkerries into their mouths and if it did not fit, they would be arrested for carrying a dangerous weapon.

"The late Chief Albert Luthuli, the first South African to win the Nobel Peace Prize, collected his prize partially dressed in Zulu traditional clothes, which he wore with his suit.

Shield

"Photographs show the past ANC president dressed fully in traditional clothes with a shield and spear. One wonders if he would also not be permitted to carry these if the ANC have their way."

He said Zulus had been carrying these traditional weapons to ceremonial occasions such as the reed dance in early September and the Shaka Day celebrations for years and they had not resulted in any violence.

"To now ban the carrying of these traditional weapons opens the door to further action to outlaw their being carried anywhere.

Ban

"By calling for a ban on all traditional weapons the ANC is once again trying to enforce their beliefs on a large proportion of South Africans.

"Nowhere have we seen them call for a ban on AK-47's and the other sophisticated weaponry they have in their possession," said Mfayela.

"The issue of traditional weapons was also used in the '50s and '60s by police to harass blacks. Policemen stopped Zulus in the streets and told them to put their knobkerries into their mouths and if it did not fit, they would be arrested for carrying a dangerous weapon."

200 to gather in Pretoria today

Main players on track for new summit

B|Day 24|5|91

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CHURCH sources said yesterday they had gained strong assurances from government, the ANC and Inkatha that they would attend a second peace summit due to be convened shortly.

They expected the new initiative to emerge from the government-convened summit starting in Pretoria today. A date for the second summit still has to be set.

Sapa reports Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday government did not see its conference this weekend as "the last word on violence". "Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days."

About 200 delegates representing churches, trade unions and political groups will gather in Pretoria today for the start of the peace talks. Viljoen said organisers were pleased with the expected turnout.

While the ANC and SA Council of Churches (SACC) are boycotting the meeting, church sources are confident they will be represented at a follow-up meeting.

A church source said it was likely plans for a second summit would emerge at the close of proceedings tomorrow. It was possible an action committee charged with the task of getting all the major players together would be formed next week.

Church leaders, he said, met again yesterday and had elicited assurances from the major political players they would attend a second summit. The source said Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's attendance was still in the balance though.

Buthelezi was not entirely happy with a peace initiative dominated by the SACC.

PATRICK BULGER

Inkatha sources said, however, the movement viewed today's summit as the beginning of a process to be followed up. Government sources and business leaders are also viewing it as only the beginning of a process to find lasting peace.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons, who will attend, said yesterday: "The President's initiative forms an indispensable part of the ongoing process of finding answers to the endemic violence in SA ... It is a unique opportunity to pool ideas and define future strategies."

The delegates meeting at the CSIR today include government, Buthelezi, the parliamentary parties, Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert, churchmen Johan Heyns and Rustenburg Conference co-chairman Louw Alberts, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of SA's Tom Ridge, Sacob president John Hall and Rhema church pastor Ray McCauley. Black local government leaders are also expected to attend.

Organisations that have refused to attend the summit include the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, PAC, Azapo, the SACC and CP.

One delegate said he expected the summit would attempt to analyse factors playing a role in the violence which went beyond Inkatha-ANC rivalry and included alienated youth and mass unemployment.

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that political sources expressed fears that today's summit could emphasise division rather than the united front to

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Summit

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combat violence initially hoped for.

Government yesterday told organisations and parties it had invited to the summit that they could increase their representatives from two to three people — an indication that one-third of the organisations invited had declined to attend.

Diplomatic and some government sources said the summit could polarise the situation further because the majority of those attending were establishment or "system groups".

They cautioned that the conference would prove constructive only if delegates at the summit did not criticise those not attending.

However, following the release of proposals the DP is taking to the summit, there are clear indications that some constructive ideas could emerge.

President F W de Klerk, as initiator and convenor, is expect to open the meeting with a plea that party-political allegiances be set aside and all delegates concentrate on the common denominator of violence.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: *JOHN PERLMAN looks at the evidence the SAP refuses to ackı*

The bonfire of the memos

HUMAN rights lawyers could make a large bonfire out of the papers they have put before the police detailing abuse and lack of impartiality in situations of violence. The affidavits, statements, memoranda and appeals all stack up to an impressive height. Not so the results they have produced.

"When we have presented detailed allegations we have never had a satisfactory response. At best we are pressed to prove that we had good reason to release the memorandum," says Fink Haysom, an associate professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand. "At worst there's no response at all."

Haysom's legal firm has been extensively involved — with trade unions, the United Democratic Front and others — in compiling memoranda detailing the role of police and of warlords in the violence.

"Lawyers are sent on a paper chase. The police ask to see the witnesses. They ask for more statements. They ask you to bring your witnesses to an identity parade. Sometimes the suspect who is being ID'd isn't there, and even if he is, nothing ever comes of it. One's client gives up hope of any satisfaction, particularly when raising a complaint jeopardises his life and the life of his family. No improvement in prosecution records has resulted from the memoranda we have compiled."

Another lawyer working in the field put it like this: "You end up becoming the policemen and the police turn into judicial officers investigating your claims. They say they will act when they have complaints. Compare that with the way they operated when investigating so-called security crimes."

"At first we attempted to make the fullest use of legal remedies," says Haysom. "We started off by pressurising and even assisting the police to prosecute the perpetrators of the violence, but we had so little success. There have been some 4 000 people killed in the Pietermaritzburg area alone, yet there have been about a dozen successful prosecutions for these crimes."

These are some of the major memoranda that have been put before the minister of law and order and others:



MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS ... Fink Haysom with some of the evidence submitted to the police Photo: KEVIN CARTER

●March 8, 1989, a memorandum was faxed to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok: This document detailed a number of instances of "police failing to do their duty or acting unlawfully". In one instance, an Inkatha member, Thulani Ngcobo — who had been seen in the company of policemen and assisting with interrogation — was charged with attempted murder. Ngcobo's firearm, for which he had no licence, was seized and then returned — and only recovered for ballistic tests seven months after the incident.

In another case, four men who had been granted an interim interdict in the supreme court protecting them from particular Inkatha members were attacked in separate incidents and two of them killed. Only one prosecution, however, arose from the killings. In a third instance, the memorandum documented the progress made in investigating two charges of murder, two of arson and one of kidnapping against a warlord named Sichizo Zuma. In the case of the murder of Rhee Ngubane, the document said, witnesses were sent to the police, but were not even questioned.

In the second murder case, of Mduduzi Mdlala, witnesses were called to see the investigating officer, but he was not there. They were told to leave their statements, which would be "sufficient". All the alleged crimes involving Zuma took place in late 1987.By March 1989 no progress had been made — prompting the writing of the memorandum.

Given the seriousness of the allegations presented to Vlok, the lawyers requested a response within seven days. They never received one. A response much later outlined what witnesses had been interviewed and to what effect."This was information we already had," a lawyer involved in the case said.

●A memorandum handed personally to Vlok on 20 February 1990, entitled "Cosatu and UDF: Concerns and Complaints about Policing in Natal": The document stressed at the outset that the police were not viewed as responsible for the violence in Natal. "Certain policing practises", however, were a "barrier to the resolution of the violence, and in certain cases, exacerbated or inflamed the situation".

The memorandum charged that crimes were tending to go unpunished, even when the perpetrators were known.

"Ordinary residents therefore commit retaliatory criminal actions, believing that violence goes unpunished," it said. A number of cases were detailed. In one, two members of a family alleged that they were assaulted after policemen and an Inkatha warlord entered their home. A criminal complaint was lodged, but "no attempt was made to trace the policemen involved and only the warlord was charged".

Three trial dates were set without the matter proceeding, once because the investigating officer failed to bring the docket to court. On the date before the next trial date, a witness was murdered. The matter was eventually withdrawn.

"Vlok said he would discuss our concerns with De Klerk and come back to us," Haysom says. "He never did".

●September 1990, a memorandum was presented to Vlok, State President FW de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee: The documents included details of court interdicts granted, restraining kwaZulu and South African police from assaulting residents of a number of townships including Mphophomeni, Mpumalanga and Isithebe. It set out charges of police complicity or failure to act. It detailed a number of cases of failure to prosecute. In one, an inquest court found "certain Inkatha members" responsible for the murder of three people in Mphophomeni. In another, an inquest court in 1987 found David Ntombela, a member of Inkatha's central committee responsible for the death of Angelic Mkhize and her young daughter. Ntombela has not been arrested or charged.

In November 1989, an inquest magistrate found that certain policemen, including a New Hanover station commander, had "possible complicity" in the murder of township residents. No arrests have been made.

The documents also complained that previous memoranda had not been dealt with adequately. A reply to this initiative has not yet been received.

Inkatha 'provokes' on weapons issue

W Mail 24/5-29/5/91

(274) (#B)

By EDDIE KOCH

INKATHA is being "provocative" by urging thousands of Zulus to carry sticks, spears and shields to a mass rally at the First National Bank stadium near Soweto on Sunday despite a government ban on these weapons in unrest area.

African National Congress representative Ronnie Mamoepa said Inkatha's move was a deliberate attempt to frustrate this week's official ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and warned that it could spread sectarian violence into peaceful areas.

The complaint comes along with research conducted by academics which shows that Inkatha members are reported in the press as making more extensive use of AK-47 rifles and other firearms than supporters of the ANC in the current violence.



King Goodwill Zwelithini

kwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Robert Nzimela confirmed that people attending Sunday's meeting would be carrying spears and sticks as part of their "traditional attire". And Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos said this would not be a breach of the new ban because the stadium was not in an "unrest area".

"That is why we are calling for a countrywide ban on the carrying of all weapons except on commemorative days," said Mamoepa. "There are many places that are not unrest areas and the quickest way to allow them to become places of bloodshed is to allow the carrying of weapons there."

Vos said the rally was not an Inkatha meeting but an *imbizo* at which King Goodwill Zwelithini would deliver a special message to the Zulu people.

The carrying of spears and other dangerous weapons in places designated as unrest areas on the Witwatersrand was officially banned this week after President FW de Klerk and Zwelithini reached some agreement on the issue.

The South African Institute of Race Relations welcomed the decision to ban spears in proclaimed unrest areas but said the move needed to be supplemented with agreements from other organisations about weapons.

"There is no reason to believe that spears are used in more than a relatively small proportion of violent incidents," said SAIRR director John Kane-Berman.

"Research by the institute into political violence in the first four months of this year reveals that all sharp-edged weapons — including knives, pangas and axes — account for only 18 percent of weapons used in political conflict."

But the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) reported this week that research figures showed Inkatha members have been responsible for acts of violence 10 times more than ANC members.

Case said its research project, conducted by Dr David Everatt, found Inkatha was responsible for 66 percent of violent incidents reported in the media over the last nine months. Members of the ANC, by contrast, were attributed with six percent of the aggressive acts. The Case figures confirm the SAIRR assertion that spears account for a relatively small number of fatalities.

Inkatha representative Peter Auf der Heyde said cultural weapons were "a symbol of resistance against oppression" and a "necessary form of protection" against ANC campaigns against Inkatha supporters.

Back to square one as churches struggle to find solution

wlmail 24/5 – 29/5/91 (274) (305) (28)

By PAT SIDLEY

IT IS "with nothing other than a heavy heart" that religious leaders have turned down their invitations to President FW de Klerk's peace conference.

Almost no leaders belonging to churches within the South African Council of Churches, the Catholic church and few, if any, Jewish or Muslim leaders will attend.

It would seem the only religious leaders who are attending are from the white Afrikaans churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the pentacostal and charismatic churches and perhaps some African independent churches.

Apparently not very many other religious leaders have been asked. The Chief Rabbi, Cyril Harris, was not invited, but according to sources the Jewish Board of Deputies has been asked and will attend.

The lines have been drawn, according to the SACC's Frank Chikane, and it's back to the pre-February 2 1990 status, with those who always supported apartheid plus Inkatha and business who will be at the conference, and the rest will stay away.

The churches and religious leaders have been playing an increasing role in trying to bring about some form of peace conference.

But despite appearances, since the National Conference of Churches in Rustenberg, that many churches from across the political spectrum have been working together, in fact those lines have been redrawn and it is back to square one. The SACC churches are being dubbed by some as the "ANC at prayer", with the white Afrikaans churches seen as "those who have always supported apartheid".

Although Chikane reassures the press that he and the SACC are working closely with the Dutch Reformed Churches and the Rustenberg conference, in fact the rift has widened while Chikane has shuttled around the country seeking a path to peace.

Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, has expressed his deep disappointment at the SACC decision — a decision he was informed of through the media and not by Chikane or any SACC people.

While Chikane initially included Heyns in his first delegation to De Klerk some weeks ago, he was not included in the rounds of talks with the ANC's Nelson Mandela, nor the two trips to Ulundi to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the meeting of religious leaders at the SACC, or the trip on Tuesday afternoon with business leaders to see De Klerk.

The co-chairman of the Rustenberg conference, Dr Louw Alberts, was not included either. He was quoted during the week saying that there should not be two peace conferences.

Whether they want it to be characterised that way or not, the same lines were drawn through the religious leaders this week as through the political groupings either accepting or declining their invitiations.

It has now become clearer that the SACC initiative has been to try to convince De Klerk that his conference will not achieve its goals, and to try to persuade him either to drop the plans or change the type of conference and its hosts so that it would become more acceptable to more players. The meeting at the SACC this week of religious leaders was brought together in part to decide how to respond to the invitations.

The desire of the clergy was to act in some united way. At the beginning of the meeting there were several who believed it important that the De Klerk conference be attended. At the end they had all agreed it would serve no useful purpose and those who had been invited would not attend. They would also impart all of this to De Klerk through Chikane.

When it appeared to be impossible to get De Klerk to change his plans, support was sought for an alternative peace plan to be planned by a broad range of religious leaders.

But the early stumbling blocks remain. Buthelezi has long-standing reservations about the SACC which he has not yet overcome and the SACC leaders are acutely aware that any conference without Inkatha, the ANC and the government cannot hope to achieve anything valuable.

SACC religious leaders, as well as the ANC and other political groupings, remain sceptical about the conference. "Who has seen an agenda, or an invitation list?" asked one. "Will the agenda be honest and open, or will it be open to manipulation?"

The sceptics may feel justified by the references from government circles to the fact that anybody not attending will obviously be excluded from anything decided at the conference — clearly implying an agenda with a vision at the end. This was borne out too by Heyns, who suggested that religious leaders who are attending the conference will announce some kind of plan at the end of the conference to try and restore the peace talks.

Weekly Mail out early next week

THE WEEKLY MAIL will appear a day early next week, on Thursday May 30, due to the public holiday on Friday.

● Have you filled in your *Weekly Mail* survey form? Last week we published our biennial survey of reader opinion. We need to know what you think — to improve our newspaper, to give you better service and to help us sell advertising.

If you haven't done so yet, dig out last week's edition and send it in as soon as possible.

ANC's stand may pave the way for true peace

w/mail 24/5 - 29/5/91.

The African National Congress' suspension of constitutional talks and its insistence on a church-convened conference on violence offer the hope for a negotiated peace.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE African National Congress' decision to suspend constitutional talks with the government had political observers staring back into the abyss this week, but the movement's stand could have opened the way for a more solid, negotiated peace.

The statement from the extended National Executive Committee contained demands, forwarded originally by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, that the ANC wants to take to a church-convened all-party conference on violence.

These include a code of conduct for all political parties; a code of conduct for the security forces; agreement on the powers and functions of a standing commission on violence; and a comprehensive approach to reconstruction of violence-wracked communities.

These demands, while not replacing those contained in the ultimatum to the government on violence, take ANC policy much further towards seeking practical remedies to the violence.

The ANC has threatened mass action and a general strike to press the government into meeting the demands on violence, including a total ban on the carrying of all lethal weapons, better policing and the sacking of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok.

Dissatisfaction was expressed at the NEC meeting at the statement by President FW de Klerk that police would continue to maintain law and order with impartiality. It was issued after De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were said to have reached broad consensus in their talks of the previous week.

After hours of debate, the NEC insisted that the seven demands contained in the ultimatum remained and rejected the whittling down of them to the issue of the carrying of spears. It also rejected a compromise plan that this week's conference be hosted jointly by the ANC, Inkatha and government.

Instead, it stood by a decision taken at a tripartite meeting between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu the previous weekend that the peace conference had to be convened by religious bodies, which are impartial forces in the conflict.

The ANC has kept the lines of communication open over the issue of violence. But it is unlikely to accept De Klerk's conditional banning of traditional weapons only in "unrest areas" — won after much pleading with Inkatha leaders, including the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, in Ulundi this week.

The ANC also decided to boycott De Klerk's peace summit, setting in motion a spate of cancellations which included the South African Council of Churches, homeland governments and the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, and politically dividing the country on pre-February 2 1990 lines.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said, however, that the movement would not quit all talks with the government. The ANC would continue to participate in joint working groups on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, Nzo said.

And the ANC's decision to pull out of constitutional talks will only have a possible delaying effect because, as Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, actual constitutional negotiations between the government and the ANC have not started yet. Constitutional negotiations are, in any event, unlikely to get far while violence continues to rage on the ground.

Viljoen said the ANC's decision not to participate in the peace conference was unjustifiable and that its planned mass action would only aggravate violence by leading to further confrontation and conflict.

Far too many empty seats

Star 24/5/91 ~~Sowet~~ (274) ~~###~~

KAIZER NYATSUMBA of The Star's Political Staff previews the peace summit beginning in Pretoria today.

SEATING arrangements at President de Klerk's multi-party peace conference in Pretoria today and tomorrow must surely have had to be rearranged as a number of organisations — political and religious — this week announced one after another that they would not attend.

When Mr de Klerk opens what could have been an historically important peace summit to deal with widespread violence in the townships, he will do so with a heavy heart. The seats which would have been allocated to his Government's main negotiating partner, the ANC, will be empty.

Empty, too, will be those seats which would have been allocated to delegates from the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the New Unity Movement (NUM), the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal, the South African Council of Churches, KaNgwane's ruling Inyandza National Movement, the Transkei military government, the Lebowa government, the Boerestaat Party, the Conservative Party and a number of other extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left and Right of the political spectrum.

Present will be Government representatives, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, business leaders, some homeland leaders and parties operating within the tricameral Parliament.

The two-day conference, therefore, gets under way amid widespread perceptions that it has been a failure before it even began.

The organisations which have refused to attend the conference have given a number of reasons — the main one being that it will not achieve its purpose of ending the violence.

The liberation movements — the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Wosa and NUM — have accused Mr de Klerk of having decided on the conference unilaterally. Their main contention, however, has been that the Government is not only party to the conflict, but is also responsible for it.

These organisations have expressed their preparedness to attend a peace conference convened by a neutral body, such as church leaders, where all attending parties — including the Government — would be there as equals.

The ANC and the CP were swift in their reaction to the announcement of the peace summit in Parliament by Mr de Klerk last month. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the conference was meant for those who were involved in violence.

The CP, he said, was not involved in violence and would therefore not attend the summit. He also dismissed the summit as "a panic reaction" by the Government.

The ANC, on the other hand, said from the outset it would not attend a Government-convened peace conference which was a mere public relations exercise. The Government, the ANC said, had failed to take decisive steps to end the violence.

All that can reasonably be expected from this conference is a joint statement denouncing violence as a political strategy and pledging to work for political tolerance.

Given the fact that those organisations not attending the conference, both on the Left and on the Right — and they are the ones that matter — will probably outnumber those attending the meeting, the wisdom of continuing with the conference has been questioned in certain quarters.

However, the conference will continue largely because Pretoria cannot afford to be seen to be allowing itself to be dictated to, albeit indirectly, by the ANC and its allies as well as by other extra-parliamentary organisations. □

Spear ban not good enough, says ANC

(274)

Star 24/5/91.

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC has rejected as inadequate the ban on carrying spears or assegais in unrest areas announced by President de Klerk on Wednesday night.

A spokesman for the movement, Carl Niehaus, said the move did not go far enough.

"The ANC has called for a ban on the carrying of all weapons in public, and not simply in unrest areas," he said.

"The places where people have been killed with these traditional weapons have not been unrest areas."

Mr Niehaus said the ban announced by Mr de Klerk may make a contribution towards reducing violence, but the ANC deemed it "quite a reasonable request" that "everyone be banned from carrying these weapons in public.

"If he does that, it will bring us closer to attaining peace."

Mr Niehaus stressed that although the ban on the carrying of spears was important, the issue was not the reason for the ANC refusing to attend Mr de Klerk's peace summit.

"We were not consulted, and we are concerned that one of the parties involved in the violence is calling the summit."

He said the ANC supported the initiatives of church leaders.

● The "spear-rattling" over the use of traditional spears by Inkatha was merely an ANC smokescreen to divert attention from the real issue of violence, a senior Inkatha Freedom Party official said in Grahamstown yesterday, reports Sapa.

Addressing students at Rhodes University, KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu said the central issue was not the carrying of "traditional" weapons, but the political climate the ANC had cultivated which "forced" people to defend themselves.

Mr Ndlovu quoted police statistics verified by the Institute of Race Relations that stabbings were responsible for less that 7 percent of killings.

Turning to the ANC call for the ending of the hostel system, Mr Ndlovu said this decision had been made without consulting the hostel dwellers themselves. This was "a sure recipe for confrontation", he said.

'Second peace summit likely'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Church sources said yesterday that they had gained strong assurances from the government, the ANC and Inkatha that they would attend a second peace summit due to be convened soon.

They expected the new initiative to emerge from the government-convened summit starting in Pretoria today. A date for the second summit still has to be set

The sources said Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's attendance at the second summit was still in the balance though because he was not entirely happy with a peace initiative dominated by the South African Council of Churches.

Inkatha sources said, however, that the movement viewed today's summit as the beginning of a process to be followed up.

Sapa reports Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying in a statement yesterday that the government did not see its conference this weekend as "the last word on violence. Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days". About 200 delegates will gather in Pretoria today for the start of the peace talks.

The delegates meeting at the CSIR today include the government, Chief Buthelezi, the parliamentary parties, Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, churchman Prof Johan Heyns and Rustenburg Conference co-chairman Dr Louw Alberts, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of SA's Mr Tom Ridge, Sacob president Mr John Hall and Rhema church pastor Mr Ray McCauley. Black local government leaders are also expected to attend

Organisations that have refused to attend the summit include the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, PAC, Azapo, the SACC and CP, but church sources are confident they will be represented at a follow-up meeting.

Political sources expressed fears that today's summit could emphasise division rather than the united front to combat violence initially hoped for because the majority of those attending were part of the "system".

Diplomatic and some government sources cautioned that the conference would prove constructive only if delegates at the summit did not criticise those not attending.

THE New Unity Movement (NUM) has declined an invitation to attend the peace summit in Pretoria today.

"The policy of our organisation excludes any working together with the State Apparatus," NUM president Mr Richard Dudley said yesterday.

"We cannot join in serious discussion with organisations which seek to secure 'peace' to pursue a process of 'negotiations' with that same State, which is the principal author of violence.

"Nor can the interests of the oppressed be served by the sheer hypocrisy that has dominated the discussions held so far between the State and certain leadership groups," Mr Dudley said. — Sapa

TOGETHER OR BUST

Behind the hardline facade of the ANC's weekend decision to put constitutional talks on hold, and Inkatha Freedom Party's belligerent insistence on the right to carry what it calls cultural weapons, progress is being made towards resolving differences, according to government sources.

The ANC's refusal to participate in constitutional talks was less dramatic than it seemed. As Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, such talks have not even started. And other contacts — working group discussions on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles — will continue. The ANC's grandstanding has little real effect on the political process: it is ultimately committed to the negotiations process.

President F W de Klerk's talks in Ulundi this week were seen as an important breakthrough. A significant concession on the carrying of traditional weapons has been made by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

De Klerk's drawing in of the Zulu king was not without significance. The Zulu royal family is known to be deeply divided and angry about the continuing violence and the way Zulu cultural norms are being warped — for example, women are increasingly featuring in war parties. While Inkatha has firmly backed the carrying of spears, more and more chiefs, concerned about the conflict, have rejected the bearing of the weapon.

The Ulundi concessions clearly will not be enough at this late stage to reverse the ANC's decision to boycott the weekend summit on violence — but they are a start, and believed to have impressed some senior ANC members.

Continued

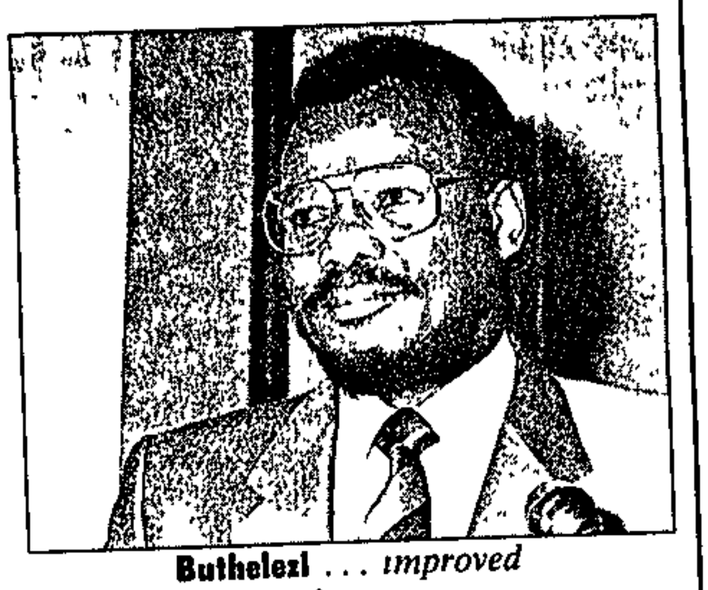


De Klerk ... *may postpone talks*

De Klerk was due to meet a joint delegation from the SA Chamber of Business and the SA Council of Churches as the *FM* went to press, and there were indications that he would be urged to postpone the peace summit because it would be pointless without the ANC.

The Ulundi meeting was also regarded as an important step towards restoring Buthelezi's image as a proponent of nonviolent solutions to crises — a vital move, as the *FM* argued in its cover article last week.

The ANC has been careful not to heighten tensions between it and Inkatha — relations between the two groups in the Transvaal are at an all-time low. The ANC is coming under strong pressure from leading members to



Buthelezi ... *improved image*

make its peace with Inkatha. Some fear that if tensions between the two are not subdued, Zulu nationalism could rise and secession become an issue.

The IFP in particular and Zulus in general have been widely portrayed as the aggressors in the factional violence that swept the Reef in recent months. There were indications that some senior Nats were beginning to accept this view.

Buthelezi is understood to have perceived the intense concentration of government attention on the ANC as a snub to Inkatha, a lack of appreciation of his own efforts over the years to resist the armed struggle and oppose sanctions. It is understood that he told De Klerk this at a meeting in Cape Town this month.

In apparent response, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen lavishly praised Buthelezi during a debate in parliament last week.

He said the perception that government was talking "mainly and exclusively" to Nelson Mandela and the ANC about SA's future was false. "Fact is, talks with the ANC have come nowhere near the core issues of constitutional reform."

Later in the debate he both praised and condemned Mandela for recent public statements. One comment, at Stellenbosch University last week, was regarded as a significant moderation of his views on minority guarantees, while the other, at Swanieville on the West Rand the following day (when Mandela referred to possible violence in white areas) was interpreted as inflammatory and dangerous.



Mandela ... *praised and condemned*

Viljoen said that while Mandela had repeatedly rejected the concept of minority protection or the protection of group rights, because he regarded it as tantamount to a perpetuation of racism, his speech at Stellenbosch indicated a considerable softening.

Mandela assured students that structural guarantees would be written into an ANC constitution to ensure that whites were not dominated by blacks and that cultural and religious rights would be protected.

"These are very important statements that clarify further common ground on the basis of which we can negotiate for the future," said Viljoen.

The common ground between the ANC and government appears to be broadening all the time, but no progress will be made until the violence is brought under control. ■

Is peace summit a futile exercise?

Sowetan 24/5/91

274

THIS weekend's summit on violence seems destined to end up as a consultation of the like-minded following the withdrawal of all credible political organisations.

The death knell was sounded by the South African Council of Churches on Wednesday night.

In a statement released on behalf of a wide spectrum of religious groups, the SACC's general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said the endeavour was destined to fail.

The decision by the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, as well as Cosatu and Nactu, to shun the Government-initiated summit means that forces likely to attend would be mainly those with Government links.

Violence

This is an obvious blow to President FW de Klerk. De Klerk had hoped to use the opportunity to get a broad-based consensus on how to handle the ongoing violence.

The Government has been enraged by the organisations' refusal to attend, calling it "unjustifiable and irresponsible".

The boycott has resulted in the summit becoming a tussle between those going and those not going.

The boycott brigade has been issuing statements announcing their decisions with pride.

These include some bantustan leaders such as Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, KaNgwane's Cephas Zitha and Transkei military strongman General Bantu Holomisa.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said this week that the Government had called the summit unilaterally and without consulting the ANC.

FOCUS



By MATHATHA TSEDU

"We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents.

"The proper thing to do is to ensure that the conference is convened by an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with this conference called by the Government," Mandela said.

Necklace

PAC second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke (see opposite page) said his organisation would not attend the summit because the security forces were involved in the actions to be debated.

He, however, said the Government was not solely responsible for the violence

"Sections of the liberation movement have used or are still using the barbaric necklace murders, children run so-called 'people's courts' with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices," Moseneke said.

Azapo declined the invitation, saying the Government did not need a conference with other parties to stop the violence as it (the Government) was responsible for it.

What was needed, Azapo added, was a consultative conference of the oppressed to close ranks and isolate the regime and its agents who were being used to forment violence and commit indiscriminate killings within the black community.

The church leaders said in their statement that their decision was not a rejection of the Government's effort in favour of or in solidarity with any party that was not attending

Decision

It was instead a decision taken after a long and arduous debate at the end of which they were convinced that the meeting would not achieve its purpose.

In essence, all the parties have said either the Government is not a neutral party in the ongoing violence or simply that as other important parties had refused to go, the exercise would be futile

An exception to this thinking is the Conservative Party, which said it had no role to play in the summit as it was not involved in the violence.

The party also said the invitation was a scheme by the Government to get it involved in negotiations, which it had rejected.

On the other hand, a blanket has been thrown over the identity of those who would attend.

A spokesman for the Government, asked yesterday for a list of participants, said simply: "That will not be made available until late tonight"

He, however, said 200 organisations, ranging from political, church, commerce, women to youth movements would attend.

Their identities is a closely guarded secret, except for parliamentary organisations and Inkatha.

The secrecy is seen as an attempt by the Government to protect those willing to participate in the two-day summit against "intimidation".

Observers spoken to yesterday felt that the absence of the SACC, ANC, Azapo, PAC, Nactu and Cosatu meant that the outcome would lack respectability within the black community.

There is also a breaking of ranks within the rightwing movement

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will, unlike the CP, send a delegation to the summit. The delegation will be led by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Spears

TerreBlanche said the AWB would attend to state its views on violence "so that we could not be blamed afterwards".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder indicated that he will not attend.

The Government's motivation is obviously that violence has become the first stumbling block to resumption of talks with the ANC.

De Klerk's flight to Ulundi this week to talk Inkatha and KwaZulu leaders into agreeing to a ban on the carrying of spears should also be seen as an attempt by the Government to get at least the ANC back into the summit.

The refusal by the ANC to attend must be a terrible blow to the Government. It also means that the outcome of the meeting would have no credibility.

200 at De Klerk's peace summit

Political Correspondent

MORE than 200 political representatives, lawyers and experts on violence have gathered in Pretoria today for the start of President De Klerk's two-day peace conference.

Until last night, the government — which was expected to be strongly represented — would not reveal who would attend, but said the list indicated the conference "promises to be a significant event, despite the decision of some political and other leaders not to attend".

However, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement he was heartened by the "large number of invitees" who said they were to attend.

"The good response reflects the sense of responsibility felt by South Africans across a broad spectrum who want to contribute to solving the issue of violence.

"Another positive aspect is the number of scientists and other experts on violence among those attending."

Dr Viljoen said the government did not see the conference as the "final answer" to violence.

"Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days," he said.

The plenary sessions will be open to the Press and there will be news briefings at the end of each day.



☐ **LEADER ARRIVES:** Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, centre, arrives for the summit with his aide Mr Piet Rudolph, right.



☐ **DELEGATES:** The summit on violence gets under

POINTS FROM THE PRETORIA PEACE SUMMIT

'Peace secretariat' ur

Argus 25/5/91

SOUTH 274

Weekend Argus Correspondent and Sapa

PRETORIA. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has proposed a national peace campaign and a peace secretariat to end the violence.

Addressing the conference on violence, Dr Buthelezi said. "We need to do what has to be done to develop national will to shame violence out of existence."

A peace secretariat should be established to resource, co-ordinate and help conference members in their action against violence.

The secretariat would be commissioned to draw in additional partners who were not attending the conference.

Furthermore, the secretariat should establish local and regional "peace action groups" wherever violence broke out to bring a peace presence to the areas and to provide immediate factual information to counter rumour.

The secretariat should establish channels of communication between itself and the peace action group as well as between itself and security forces. It also should consult with leadership at grassroots level to facilitate peace moves.

The secretariat should reconvene the conference whenever necessary and a register should be compiled of delegates who were committed to the peace initiative.

The two-day conference would be under-achieving if it did not provide mechanisms of continuity. It was unwise to leave the handling of all the difficulties the country would encounter during transition in the hands of the government.

Dr Buthelezi called on all delegates to recognise the need to share responsibilities for the maintenance of law and order.

Dominant leaders in political parties and major political parties should play a statutory role in advising the government of the legislation requirements of the country in the interim period.

A 12-a-side meeting would be convened between the IFP central committee and the African National Congress national executive.

Dr Buthelezi said the peace process would remain "fatally flawed" unless relationships between the IFP and the ANC were normalised.

"Violence must end, and it must end now."

The conference had to aim at keeping the ANC in the peace process. The IFP had never decided to use violence for political purposes and pledged to work with anybody in any tactic which had any hope of ending the violence.

Dr Buthelezi described as "utter rubbish" talk of a third force. It was also "utter rubbish" that President De Klerk was using violence for his own political ends.

There would be no handing over of power to an interim government nor a constituent assembly as a precurser to it, said Dr Buthelezi.

He said the majority of black and white South Africans rejected such notions.

"There will be no handing over of power by the South African government to any interim government, let that be clear," he said. "And there will be no constitutent assembly as a precurser to any interim government.

☐ Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok told the peace summit in Pretoria that the president would take a new look at the application of the Dangerous Weapons Act because there were complications when it came to enforcing it.

He said the security forces alone could not solve the problem of violence and that he would study carefully the many positive suggestions made at the conference.

The police also were taking allegations against them very seriously and the Minister was prepared to have these tested in court.

☐ Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen said that to expedite the start of the multiparty negotiation process would contribute towards ending violence.

He said violence was caused to a large extent by political frustrations and political factors.

Dr Viljoen said the government was prepared to consider transitional arrangements that would provide an input in government for those outside the system.

CALL FOR NA TO END SA

These should be the result of negotiations and the multiparty conference should have this point high on its agenda.

☐ THE Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer, expressed his regrets that the national summit on violence had been used to "bash" organisations.

He said the conference should be sharply aware of its shortcomings and bear them in mind as it went forward.

It should not concentrate on how other people were behaving, but how they would behave under certain circumstances.

"We should then set about creating those circumstances under which they will behave in a peaceful manner," he said.

He believed there were positive proposals, like the creation of a permanent commision and a secretariat on violence, and these could be merged.

These proposals and any other actions should not be tackled, however, without the widest consultation.

In fact, it might be desirable not to take any steps emerging from the conference, but rather leave them for a later stage.

☐ Dr Oscar Dhlomo, president of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy said political violence should not be allowed to derail the negotiations process. He proposed 10 steps to address political violence and intimidation:

☐ A code of conduct should be drafted by all political parties, according to which they should pursue political objectives;

☐ The government, in consultation with other political groupings, consider legislative measures to counter intimidation;

☐ A concerted effort should be made to combat criminal as opposed to political violence;

☐ A standing commission on violence, representing all political groupings, should be established,

☐ A code of conduct should be drawn up for the police and made known to the public;

☐ Police should maintain a permanent presence in unrest areas, if necessary through mobile or temporary police stations;

☐ A single law-enforcement agency should be created to develop a national anti-violence strategy.

☐ Social reconstruction and the rehabilitation of victims of violence should be undertaken on a large scale.

☐ The media should be co-opted in strategies to counter violence; and

☐ The government and extra-parliamentary groupings should engage in partnerships, even before the start of negotiations.

☐ The Democratic Party's Dr Denis Worrall said the peace summit represented the system.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk should get together in order to end violence.

Dr Worrall took up an earlier call for a code of conduct to be established for political parties, saying the DP had drawn up such a code consisting of 13 points.

The code had been based on the Namibian experience.

☐ National Party member from the House of Representatives Mr Jac Rabie said it was strange the South African Council of Churches — supposedly to work towards reconciliation — was not taking part in the peace summit but was organising its own peace drive.

The SACC should be careful, because it had already shown bias for the African National Congress.

Mr Rabie called for stronger legislation to combat intimidation, stayaways and boycotts.

He said the multiparty conference should be started now, even if it was being boycotted by some parties, "so that we can get going."

☐ The National People's Party's Mr Amichand Rajbansi suggested the peace summit acquire a secretariate to ensure continuity for its efforts.

☐ The Solidarity Party's Dr J N Reddy said extra-parliamentarians also should take part in the conference so that its decisions would be representative of all the people.

☐ Security forces researcher Dr Nel Marais said periods of intense political change were always accompanied by violence and South Africa was no exception

"South Africa has a history of political conflict along racial, ethnic and class lines. This has led to a suppression of free political activity, especially in the black community, as well as an obsession with revolutionary politics.

"This created a cult of political intolerance between various ideological groupings, while promoting a commitment to democracy," said Dr Marais.

However, South Africa still had "things to be thankful for", including political stability in central government, institutionalised practices, a relatively strong economic base and consensus among political actors that a democratic solution should be arrived at through negotiations and not through violence.

Dr Marais said that although the security forces could contain the violence, failure of the negotiations process could lead to anarchy

☐ Director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand Professor Laurie Schlemmer said the South African community would remain vulnerable to violence for many years to come.

This was due to a few inherent factors in the South African community which included a tradition of faction fighting, stress related to social change and the competative nature of negotiations.

In order to address the violence, an independent representative and paid set of task groups at local level should be formed to act as mediators.

Professor Schlemmer said the security forces should be objective and any intervention by them should be impartial.

☐ National director of Lawyers for Human Rights Mr Brian Currin yesterday called for the establishment of a peace-keeping force to stem the tide of violence.

Such a force could be made accountable to a standing judicial commission of inquiry into violence. Such a commission also could investigate allegations of State violence, because current measures were inadequate and conducted in secret.

Mr Currin's suggestions were met by laughs and jeers and he responded "People can laugh. That is my view I won't laugh when you speak"

Mr Currin said LHR had affidavits alleging security force involvement in the Swanieville squatter camp massacre.

☐ Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche delivered a warning to the summit that peace was going to remain unattainable.

The government was prepared to negotiate with an organisation with a declared programme to nationalise the Boer's land and the gold mines.

"We are here to try and treat the symptoms," he said All wars came about because one nation tried to take the land of others.

The Zulus, the Venda, the Xhosa, all had their own land in South Africa.

"There is only one group which has no national loyalty, but who wants the land of all the others because they are communists.

"Communists will not allow peace until everyone is a communist."

"If you want peace, give every people the right to govern themselves and no one given the right to claim a centimetre of another's land."

☐ Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations Mr John Kane-Berman, said a large part of this year's violence in many areas was a backlash against intimidation and coercion.

He gave the summit statistics from the most recent research conducted on violence and said 28 percent of deaths had been caused by firearms of which the single largest contributor had been the AK-47 rifle.

Twenty-six people had been necklaced during the four-month period covered by the survey from January to April this year

Incendiaries were responsible for 22 percent of violent deaths knives, pangas, spears and sharp instruments for 18 percent.

He said between a quarter and a third of people interviewed complained of intimidation and coercion.

The police had a fair measure of problems in manpower shortages, poor pay and with its credibility

What was needed was a stop to destabilisation. For so long as forces were allowed to bring down black local authorities, for so long would violence continue

A code of conduct was also needed which not only spelt out the content of protest rights, but also the limitations on such rights.

☐ The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk's Prof Johan Heyns yesterday formally proposed to the peace summit that a follow-up conference be held under the auspices of the Rustenburg group of church leaders

He said several important leaders not present at Friday's conference had said they would be prepared to attend a meeting convened by an impartial body such as the churches.

He said the Rustenburg group of church leaders were prepared to act as facilitators for a follow-up conference.

"It is completely futile to carry on without the other parties here," said Professor Heyns.

He said the Rustenburg group of church leaders could be expanded by representatives from various parties and groups "who would like to participate in a follow-up conference".

Professor Heyns said it was important for yesterday's peace summit to discuss this proposal so that it could immediately start to plan a follow-up conference

"It is of vital, paramount importance to have all the players, otherwise we won't have peace and harmony"

Spear killing: can you identify a face?

Star 25/5/91

PAT DEVEREAUX

(274)

SHOULD spears fall into the dangerous-weapon category or should they simply be seen as cultural weapons with a decorative purpose? The debate continues to rage.

However, this series of photographs taken by Rapport photographer Robb Edgecomb, and published by local and international newspapers, supports the argument for the Government Gazette's partial banning on Wednesday this week

The sequence of photographs, showing the pursuit of a man by a group of men and then the victim being killed with a spear, were taken at the gates of Soweto's Dube Hostel near the Dube station on Friday, May 3.

Since the killing, the body of the victim has lain unidentified in a Soweto mortuary.

The police say they have not yet managed to identify him.



THE TERROR: a man stabs his unarmed victim with a spear outside the gates of Soweto's Dube Hostel.



FATAL FLIGHT: the victim, now an unidentified corpse in a police mortuary, flees as the gruesome attack continues.

Red headbands

Mr Edgecomb told the Saturday Star he did not know who the attackers and the victim were when he photographed the sequence.

"All I can say is the man who speared the victim was not wearing a red headband, but the group that accompanied him were wearing red headbands," he said.

He said he had been approached by the police for a statement regarding the series of photographs.

Police Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the police were unable to continue with their investigations into the killing until they had a statement from the photographer stating that the photographs were "authentic".

"We would also need the negatives of the photographs in order to enlarge the photographs and identify those involved," he said.

He added that police were attempting to obtain a statement from the photographer.

In the meantime, newspapers which have published the photographs have had numerous calls from readers asking if the aggressors in the photograph had been identified and apprehended.

Big 3 will weigh church peace indaba

Star 25/5/91 (274)

ESTHER WAUGH

THE three major players in the negotiation process will consider a proposal for the National Conference of Churches to convene an independent peace summit for all parties, including those organisations not attending the Government's Conference on Violence and Intimidation.

Former NG Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns told the Government's two-day conference that the National Conference of Churches was prepared to act as the facilitator of a follow-up conference.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would discuss the proposal with the party's central committee and be guided by it.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the movement would consider any positive initiative by independent church leaders.

● More reports: Page 2

Asked about the proposal, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the Government would welcome positive contributions by all sides to broaden the participation in a follow-up conference.

He warned that nothing could be done in a meaningful way if the main players were not involved. It would therefore be unwise for any organisation to start an iniative on its own.

It was imperative that a follow-up conference be convened in the light of those political parties and organisations not represented at the conference being held at the CSIR conference centre in Pretoria, said Professor Heyns. He added that the struggle against violence was not the task of the Government alone, but that of every South African.

He said the Government's conference was the beginning of an important process — a promise rather than fulfilment.

"It is my belief that it is futile to go on without the important parties being here," Professor Heyns said.

Speaking after the first day of the conference, Dr Viljoen said some valuable contributions had been made by delegates regarding the nature, causes and solutions of violence and intimidation.

Concern

A wrong perception existed that the conference would be marked by similar views. The Government welcomed the divergence of views expressed — it reflected the widespread concern about violence.

Dr Viljoen said it was a pity all parties concerned were not present at the conference. No one could avoid the implications of violence and everyone would eventually become part of the debate.

He said the conference was an important stepping stone in ending the violence — a view echoed by many of the delegates.

● TO PAGE 2.

Peace indaba (274)

● FROM PAGE 1.

The Government had never thought the conference would come up with concrete results. Firm decisions could not be taken, as important players were not involved in making them.

Delegates were unanimous about a code of conduct for politicians and security forces, Dr Viljoen said. Such codes of conduct would, however, be formulated by negotiation.

Four chairmen — Institute for a Multi-Party Conference chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Barlow Rand chairman Warren Clewlow, church leader Dr Louw Albert and Dr Viljoen — have been appointed by President de Klerk, with the agreement of delegates, to chair the meeting on a rotating basis with Mr de Klerk.

Star 2-5/5/91

After Mr de Klerk's opening speech, three keynote speakers — Dr Dhlomo, Centre for Policy Studies director Professor Laurence Schlemmer and Dr Nel Marais, a researcher in the security community — outlined the nature and causes of violence.

Referring to the open session, Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said the morning session was counter-productive and contributions had caused more alienation.

He said delegates should stick to the conference theme, rather than bashing organisations not present.

Referring to some of the delegates' attacks on the ANC, Dr Viljoen stressed this had not been the Government's intention.

'Big 3' do not need convenor

Star 25/5/91

Through My Eyes

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OSCAR DHLOMO



The past few days have again proved how difficult it is to open a rational debate about ways and means of stopping the violence that is tearing the nation apart. The Government tried to initiate the debate by convening a conference on violent but its credentials as a convenor were immediately challenged by the ANC, PAC and other political groupings.

The church leaders then took up the challenge to convene another conference in lieu of the Government-convened one, but this too was apparently not acceptable to all the key players.

Ultimately, the Government-convened conference had to go ahead without the participation of other key political players like the ANC and PAC. The Church leaders themselves ended up deciding to stay away from the conference as they believed it would not be representative if the ANC, IFP and the Government did not all attend.

So, the end result is that we now sit with an embarrassing situation in which the concerned parties are no longer debating how to stop the violence, but rather how and by whom they should be brought together to debate this issue.

In the meantime, innocent people are dying every day and political polarisation is escalating. Apparently it is proving difficult for the parties concerned to trust the same facilitators.

There is need for a way out of this dilemma.

I can immediately think of one possible solution.

Everybody seems to accept that the three main players in any talks about violence are the ANC, the Government and Inkatha. These three parties are able to talk to each other and they do not need a facilitator to bring them together.

Why is it not possible for these three parties to decide that they will jointly convene a peace conference and invite other interested parties to attend? If other parties decline to attend that would not be a catastrophe since the three main parties would still be present to take effective and binding resolutions.

The three parties could solve the problem of the conference chairman by agreeing that the chairmanship would rotate among themselves or among three people designated by themselves.

It looks to me we will waste a lot of time and lose many more innocent lives in the process of trying to get a single person or institution that will be acceptable to all warring factions when the relevant issue is really the violence.

It is apparent that as far as the warring parties are concerned such a person or institution does not yet exist. Therefore the parties themselves must take the lead and convene the conference.

It would of course be a different matter if the three parties did not believe that a conference was the best way of addressing the problem of violence in the first place.

If this is the case, it is the responsibility of these parties to say so. As far as we are aware, they have not said so.

Therefore, as far as I am concerned the ball is now in the court of these three parties — namely, the Government the ANC and Inkatha.

Peace proposals range from Untag force to youth camps

Star 25/5/91 (252) (276) Star 25/5/91

ESTHER WAUGH and ROBERT BRAND

PRETORIA — Strong government action was necessary to wipe out state lawlessness, Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin told the two-day Conference on Intimidation and Violence.

LHR's experience was that in certain quarters of the security forces a culture of violence and lawlessness existed, he said.

Mr Currin urged the government to consider appointing a permanent judicial commission of inquiry into state violence.

Thousands of people in the country experienced state or police violence, he said. A possible solution to this would be to take the extreme measure of appointing a United Nations peacekeeping force or a peace-keeping force comprising South Africans.

Such a force should be accountable to a commission of violence comprising politically independent community leaders.

Other proposals made by delegates at the conference included:

Professor H W E Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and president of the Ximoko Progressive Party: The only source of peace and national unity was power sharing rather than the unqualified assumption of power by one group.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the Conference for Multiparty Conference: A Code of Conduct drafted and endorsed by all political parties, legislation to combat political intimidation, a standing commission on violence, a Code of Conduct for the police.

Professor Laurence Schlemmer, Wits University Centre for Policy Studies: Independent, representative, paid and trained task groups at a local level was a possible solution to the violence.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: A national peace campaign, a Peace Secretariat and local and regional Peace Action Groups to end the violence. He also suggested that dominant leaders in political parties and major political parties should play a statutory role in advising the Government of the legislation requirements of the country in the interim period.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini: Nationwide peace action programmes.

Mr John Kane-Berman of the Institute of Race Relations: Disarmament, a standing independent tribunal to investigate complaints against the police, to seize destabilisation, intimidation and the "language of vilification" and a code of conduct to be negotiated between various political parties.

The leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Jack Rabie: The establishment of youth camps to "debrutalise" South Africa's youth.

Mr John Mavuso of the National Forum: The South African Defence Force should teach black youths discipline and skills.

Marike's comely guard is no pushover

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA — Mrs Marike de Klerk's blonde National Intelligence Service bodyguard caused a stir in London recently. But she has serious competition in Pretoria's own comely constable.

The stunning young policewoman — who packs a pistol at the back of her designer belt — raised more than a few eyebrows at the peace summit yesterday where she was part of the security team screening delegates as they entered the conference centre.

The shy lady, who did not want to speak to the press, goes by the name of Ms M Venter and is a member of the elite State President's Unit, the police unit responsible for security for the presidential couple.

According to colleagues, she is a karate expert and not the type to fool around with.

Church offer of further peace talks

CT 25/5/91

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Rustenburg National Conference of Churches yesterday offered to save the floundering peace talks by convening another summit on violence that already had the support of government, the ANC and Inkatha.

Speaking at President F W de Klerk's peace summit, former Ned Geref Church moderator Dr Johan Heyns said "it is completely futile without the other parties here".

He said several important leaders not present had said they would be prepared to attend a meeting convened by an impartial body such as the churches.

Later, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen said the government would welcome contributions. He was specifically positive of the role the Rustenburg group could play and reiterated that President De Klerk had said this summit was only the first step.

However, a senior source disclosed that Mr De Klerk had given Dr Heyns a "very positive response" in a private discussion.

It is also understood that Rhema Church Pastor Ray Macaulay had travelled to see Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had given him "an 80% assurance" that he would attend a conference.

The Rustenburg group, a broad cross-section of church leaders, is co-chaired by SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts. Dr Heyns said the group could be expanded by representatives from other religions and parties that wanted to participate in a follow-up conference.

At a briefing at the end of the first day's proceedings, Mr Viljoen said the conference had been valuable, with a divergence of views being expressed.

Major role-players absent from the day's proceedings were the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, Azapo, the PAC and the SACC.

The conference was dominated by constant reference to the importance of all parties being present in order to combat the violence.

However, despite this and Mr De Klerk's plea at the start of the summit that delegates not criticise non-participants and focus on the violence, Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini launched a scathing attack on the ANC in separate speeches.

Call for probe of 'state role' in violence

OT 25/5/90 From PATRICK COLLINGS

PRETORIA. — Institutions monitoring township violence yesterday called for the creation of independent bodies to investigate allegations of state involvement in the spiralling violence.

Speaking at the government-initiated peace summit on violence, the organisations said the police had lost virtually all credibility following numerous reports of their involvement in township violence.

The executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said an investigating body should be established to separate "propaganda from fact" and take severe disciplinary action against offending security force members.

He said the composition of the body would have to command the confidence of "all the main black political organisations".

The national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, went further and suggested the introduction of a United Nations peacekeeping force as an "extreme measure" to end the violence which has claimed more than 10 000 lives since September 1984.

His suggestion was met by jeers from fellow delegates, who twice earlier had interrupted him when he presented affidavits alleging police involvement in the May 12 massacre of Swanieville squatters.

Mr Currin, the only delegate to face jeers, later said he believed they had originated from KwaZulu and National Party delegates.

After the third disruption, Mr Currin paused to say that people could laugh, but "that is my view and I respect yours".

He expanded on his proposal for a United Nations peacekeeping force, saying if that was unacceptable then serious consideration should be given to the establishment of "a completely new peacekeeping force" compromising all South Africans.

He said the force "should be born out of discussions and negotiations with all the relevant political groupings in this country".

Earlier, Mr Currin urged President F W de Klerk to "give serious consideration" to the formation of a judicial committee of inquiry into state violence.

Democratic Party constitutional chairman Dr Denis Worrall told delegates that violence could best be contained by the establishment of national, regional and community level anti-violence task groups.

New committee is set up to push for wider peace talks

FW REJECTS CHURCH PLAN

ST Times 26/5/91.



WATCH the elephant, not the birdie ... the president's party sit tensely as the bull gets into a flap

Picture Exclusive: The moment Maggie and the president faced an angry old tusker and ended up laughing about it

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE government and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday swept aside an attempt by church leaders to convene a peace conference under neutral auspices.

They indicated at the government's summit on violence at the CSIR in Pretoria that they would not attend a conference proposed by the so-called Rustenburg group of churches.

The offer was made by Professor Johan Heyns, a former NG Kerk moderator.

In its place the conference proposed a "continuation committee" which will try to find ways to end the violence.

The committee will be made up of Inkatha, the National Party, business representatives and church leaders. Organisations which did not attend the conference — the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, CP, Cosatu and SACC — will not be included.

Another "facilitating" committee will attempt to start dialogue with the parties that were not present. President De Klerk will appoint the members. Dr Louw Alberts has been nominated for that committee.

President De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a conference in the future, but he said the general consensus had been to " et on with

Umbusty Embeth wins movie role



The committee will be made up of Inkatha, the National Party, business representatives and church leaders. Organisations which did not attend the conference — the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, CP, Cosatu and SACC — will not be included.

Another "facilitating" committee will attempt to start dialogue with the parties that were not present. President De Klerk will appoint the members. Dr Louw Alberts has been nominated for that committee.

President De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a conference in the future, but he said the general consensus had been to "get on with the nitty gritty" of ending violence.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the central committee of Inkatha would have to decide whether to participate in the Rustenburg group conference — but he was opposed to it.

Gained

President De Klerk, summing up the two-day conference, said the government recognised the importance of the church in reconciliation and in the quest for peace.

The full committee of the Rustenburg conference — churches from a wide range of denominations which gained their name from an important reconciliation meeting at Rustenburg last year — will meet to discuss moves for peace in Johannesburg tomorrow

Members of the group have been in close contact with all the parties involved. Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church has been negotiating with Chief Buthelezi, the Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Professor Heyns with President De Klerk.

The church leaders took the initiative after the ANC, PAC and other major political players refused to attend the government's peace summit in Pretoria.

"It is completely futile to carry on without other parties here," Professor Heyns told the summit on Friday.

In an emotional speech yesterday, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate rejected the Rustenburg conference, saying future peace summits were meaningless.

Mr De Klerk said the government was bound to a policy of impartial, lawful and professional policing and was prepared to accept the monitoring of police activities.

Tolerate

The government did not want to be a political player and referee simultaneously. The government's task was to ensure effective administration and maintenance of the law.

Mr De Klerk said no government could tolerate unauthorised militias operating within its borders. The government would act firmly against any such development.

He also said the government regarded itself as bound to agreements already reached — a clear reference to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes — and expected others to do the same.

"Violence is the scourge from our troubled past," he said. "We dare not allow it to continue to reap its deadly harvest. We dare not become mesmerised by it. We must bring it to an end."

Delegates expressed

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FW rejects proposal

ST Times 26/5/91

□ From Page 1

concern yesterday that the proceedings had been taken up with sabre-rattling, political posturing and maligning absent organisations.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin, who was booed when he censured speakers for failing to focus on the issue of achieving peace, said it was clear that another conference should be convened by an impartial group.

Idasa co-director Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said it was important not to foreclose the process of bargaining.

"The issue of violence is crucial for making progress — that is why this type of conference and any others in future have to be taken seriously," he said.

"All parties suspect one another of playing politics with peace — it serves no purpose to restate these prejudices at a conference of this nature. We cannot waste time with tub-thumping, outbidding or one-upmanship."

While he supported ideas such as peace secretariats and codes of conduct for police and political parties as put forward over the previous two days, Dr Slabbert warned against accepting proposals which came before negotiations.

● A massive Inkatha rally, presided over by Zulu royalty, planned for Soweto's First National Bank Stadium today is creating tensions. Chief Buthelezi said yesterday he had heard that attacks on the rally were being planned, but he had been assured by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that rally-goers would be protected.

Meanwhile, a senior Inkatha official has accused members of harassing and assaulting non-Zulu train commuters travelling between Johannesburg and Soweto.

This had to stop, Stezi Lamula, chairman of the IFP's Mapetla branch, told an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Johannesburg's George Goch Stadium this week.

Mr Lamula said he was aware that certain members were dragging the name of Inkatha "further and further into the mud" — something that could not be tolerated.

Call for peace

Sowetan 27/5/91 274

From Page 1

the Zulu nation. Let that statement be heard.

"We are products of history and we, of all people in South Africa, were there before history and we owe nothing to apartheid.

"Why does the ANC talk about disbanding KwaZulu as though it was the product of apartheid. Why does the ANC mount these vendettas against KwaZulu?" he asked.

"Let there be decency in politics. Let the atrocities end now. Let there be no more necklacings, chopping of people, wanton destruction of property. Let people be free from coercion and be able to make their own choices," he said.

Zwelithini claimed the Zulu nation had nursed the ANC and produced great leaders for it, as well as strengthened it when it was weak.

He said it was Chief Albert Luthuli and many Zulus in the organisation who had reinvigorated the ANC. The ANC owed Zulus gratitude for this.

Weapons

"Let this talk of Zulu cultural weapons being the instruments of death now cease. The call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons by Zulus is an insult to my manhood and the manhood of every Zulu man," he said.

On calls for the abolishment of hostels, the king said that issue must be dropped. He said there was nowhere for hostel dwellers to go. He warned the ANC not to penalise his people just because they were Zulus.

Towards the end of the gathering, Zwelithini handed a petition to a senior police officer which will be passed on to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Meanwhile, one minor incident was reported by Colonel Jac de Vries of the Soweto SAP after the Zulu rally in Soweto on Sunday.

Colonel de Vries said a man who refused to adhere to a warning by policemen in Diepkloof to make way for the Zulu procession on their way back to their hostels was struck on the head by the flat side of an assegai.

The man was not seriously injured.

WORK FOR PEACE

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Zulu king hits out at violence



King Goodwill Zwelithini flanked by his wife, Queen MaNdlovu, and Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a rally in the FNB Stadium yesterday. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

KING Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus yesterday called on his subjects to put away their weapons and work for peace in the country.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

He said: "I command my people not to be drawn into violence. I also command them to preserve their dignity and remain locked in powerful unity.

"Be invincible in politics because the days of being invincible in war are gone. War is not the way of the Zulus."

He called for black unity so that apartheid could be destroyed and democracy established in South Africa. "When this great deed is done, the people will then decide who shall rule," he said.

The king was addressing more than 50 000 Inkatha supporters at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto.

Most of the supporters, who were carrying an assortment of weapons, including spears, battle axes, pangas, sharp-pointed instruments and empty bottles - many of which have been banned - came from outside Johannesburg and others as far as Natal.

Security was tight around the stadium, with some members of the SADF on horseback and others on motorcycles.

After the gathering, police and members of the SADF escorted those staying in Soweto back into the township. Police were also guarding railway stations.

Turning to the African National Congress, Zwelithini warned it not to destroy the Zulu peace-keeping capacity.

He said the ANC should work for peace with Zulus and bring its people to the discussion table.

Zwelithini then launched a scathing attack on the ANC, accusing the movement of rejecting an invitation to go to Ulundi to discuss the violence with either him or Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"I feel hurt and offended that the ANC goes everywhere but to Ulundi. It sees anybody in their capitals, except myself and my uncle, (Buthelezi) This really makes me feel like I am despised by the ANC," he said.

While he pursued no party political agenda, he found he was being attacked by some political parties. If KwaZulu or the Zulu nation was attacked, it meant he was also attacked, Zwelithini said.

"The ANC must stop attacking me and KwaZulu. I personify the Zulu nation. I am

To Page 2

WHAT is your reaction to the Zulu king's call for peace? Telephone *Radio Metro* DJ Tim Modise between 4.30pm and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *SowetanRadio Metro* Talkback programme on mediumwave at 576 KhZ.**



Peace process back on track as ANC approves summit proposal

BIDay 2715791

THE ANC yesterday welcomed the key proposal from government's summit on violence and said the peace process was back on track.

Although the ANC boycotted the summit it was in agreement that the outcome, a fully representative forum to be established through negotiation and consultation, was the route to take towards addressing the wave of violence.

An ANC national executive committee senior member said the process envisaged by the summit dovetailed closely with what the ANC had proposed.

While the ANC and all parties at the summit agreed that the forum had to be pursued with urgency, they said it would be conducted with a much lower profile than the weekend meeting in Pretoria and had to be handled very sensitively.

The ANC refused to attend the summit because there had been no prior consultation. With the new initiative clearly spelling out that consultation, dialogue and negotiation is vital in the process of setting up the forum, the key obstacle has now been removed.

A senior government source yesterday said President F W de Klerk had come to realise that consultation was essential.

The summit agreed to set up a continuation committee consisting of representatives of those who attended the conference, including the churches, business, the NP and Inkatha.

BILLY PADDOCK

Alongside this another independent facilitating or consultative committee would start dialogue with parties that had boycotted the summit. This would attempt to forge a "fully representative forum" that would negotiate proposals. Once this was achieved, the continuation committee would disband.

Following "sabre rattling" on the first day, intense behind-the-scenes lobbying took place on Saturday to head off confrontation between different initiatives to get another super conference going. The result was De Klerk getting a mandate from the delegates to set up the new "facilitating mechanisms".

Instead of rejecting the Rustenburg National Conference of Churches' initiative and others by business, the new two-pronged approach incorporated it in a broader and more comprehensive move which government sources believed would stand a better chance of success.

A senior government source said there were fears that competing conferences would result in further polarisation.

A second summit was not ruled out but it was not necessarily a foregone conclusion. The agenda was completely open and it was up to the various parties to reach agreement on the best course of action.

A senior government source said urgency was of the essence. He added that the most important task of the forum would be to negotiate agreements.

Government was concerned that this might not be possible until after the ANC consultative conference in July. He said government was not sure whether the ANC was in a position at this stage to commit itself to binding agreements.

Policemen targeted for attack as toll mounts

AT LEAST 19 people, including three policemen, were reported killed in unrest throughout SA, bringing this month's death toll to 256.

The official unrest report said three policemen were hurt when they were fired on in Nyanga, Cape Town, on Saturday.

Police were also shot at in Nancefield, Soweto, and two men arested. Men opened fire on a police patrol with a shotgun and in Lamontville, Durban, a man was arrested after he fired on a police patrol.

A man was attacked and stabbed to death at Sgedleni, near Port Shepstone.

Necklace

Police arrested two men after entering a house in Izingolweni, also near Port Shepstone, after receiving information that weapons were being kept there illegally.

The body of a man was found at Klipspruit, Soweto; another man was attacked and stabbed to death, while the body of a municipal policeman was found at Moroka, Soweto. Police also found the body of a necklace victim.

Police earlier reported that eight people died in Soweto's Pimville area on Friday.

Three people were killed and 12 injured after unknown gunmen opened fire with automatic weapons on a crowd standing outside Pimville's Blue Flame shebeen.

Witnesses told Sapa they had seen men

Business Day Reporter

wearing red headbands roaming Pimville streets at the time of the attacks. They claimed the attackers came from the Nancefield hostel, and that they had also been responsible for attacks on taxis on Friday night and Saturday morning.

Police responding to the shootings came under fire twice. One man was killed, two suspects arrested and an AK-47 seized.

In other incidents in Pimville four people died, including two off duty policemen who were stabbed to death near the Blue Flame shebeen.

Police also reported a man was shot and killed in Klipspruit and a policeman killed in Atteridgeville near Pretoria — both on Friday night.

Two more deaths, which occurred near Port Shepstone on Thursday, were reported for the first time on Saturday.

In Inanda, Durban, one of three people who allegedly fired on an SAP foot patrol died when police returned fire.

In Phillipi, Cape Town, a man was killed when police dispersed people they said were attacking vehicles.

Sapa reports that four people have been arrested in connection with Thursday night's shooting attack on a Sebokeng beer hall in which 13 people died.

Two AK-47s were seized and sent for ballistic tests.

Wider role for commandos

A PROPOSAL to supply Citizen Force (CF) members on the Witwatersrand with military radios and firearms could be implemented in metropolitan areas throughout the country, an SA Defence Force spokesman said yesterday.

Business Day reported last year that part-time military networks would be set up across the Reef and Pretoria, with Sandton and Randburg among the first areas earmarked for the "hearth and home" local defence plan.

The operation is being led by Witwatersrand Command Group 18 commanding officer Col Geoff Holland-Muter.

Witwatersrand Command liaison officer Maj Andreas Jordaan said the Reef operation was being closely watched as a role model and that the area

LINDEN BIRNS

protection plan could be put into action in other cities, if required.

"The area protection scheme — a rejuvenation of the old commando system — is being introduced to all the CF commands. Whether they decide to implement the scheme depends entirely on the structure and needs of those commands," said Jordaan.

SADF spokesman Cmdt Riaan Louw said yesterday the plan was not linked to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's recent warning that unrest could spill into white areas.

"All this is the SADF acting in a support role to the SA Police," he said.

CF members called up for camps in the Witwatersrand area would only have to serve the first week in uniform after which they would be sent back to their jobs but placed on short-notice standby, said Louw.

"This will help to minimise disruption to the economy," he added.

The area protection plan provides for CF "campers" to be issued with automatic weapons, ammunition and radios which they will store at home.

They will have powers to arrest and use their firearms. Units will also liaise regularly with the SAP.

The plan also entitles campers to recruit neighbours who have undergone SADF training. Recruits could also be armed if they met certain criteria.

The concept was used to great effect among the Far Northern Transvaal's farming communities, Louw said.

Seven die in countrywide violence

Argus 27/5/91

PRETORIA. — Seven people were killed in countrywide violence, police said in their latest unrest report.

Three people died in an East Rand townships and a man was shot dead in Katlehong.

In Tembisa police said they found the body of a man "who was allegedly killed with a brick". They found another body and two seriously injured men with burn wounds.

Also in Tembisa police found a man who had been stabbed. In another incident a group set fire to a house.

Police confiscated an AK-47 rifle, with ammunition at a road-block in Thokoza. A man was arrested.

Three people died in Mqolombeni, near Port Shepstone. Police said they died when two groups attacked each other with firearms.

At Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, police said a stone-throwing attack damaged two vehicles. In another incident in the same area a vehicle was set alight.

Police said that on Saturday two explosive devices were detonated at a house in Soweto. — Sapa.

Bid to include all parties in new peace talks

Argus 2/15/91

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A NEW forum to launch a peace initiative may flow from the weekend peace summit in Pretoria.

This would be a negotiated body which would try to include parties which did not attend the peace summit, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen confirmed.

He added that a multiparty conference which could negotiate on various aspects including a peace initiative and constitutional reform would be the ideal solution.

In the meantime there is a continuation committee to coordinate and edit decisions made at the summit in Pretoria on Friday and Saturday. The committee consists of representatives of political parties, the business community and the church.

In addition, Dr Louw Alberts who played a key role in the recent Rustenburg church conference has been chosen as a facilitator to try and forge a fully representative forum.

It is hoped that the churches could play a role in the formation of such a forum. The African National Congress has expressed interest in a conference organised by neutral bodies.

At the Rustenburg conference 230 representatives of various churches rejected apartheid as a sin and pledged to work for reconciliation.

Dr Viljoen said an all-party conference should be held as soon as possible to address questions such as violence and demands for an interim government.

If this happened the need for the continuation committee would disappear.

President De Klerk has emphasised that a peace forum must not come about through co-option but through negotiation.

The continuation committee would eventually be disbanded to make way for a more representative mechanism.

● The ANC said today it could not support proposals arising from the government's summit, because it had not been called by a neutral party.

"We are not going to join any committee that comes out of that meeting — then we might as well have gone to the meeting," ANC spokesman Mr Saki Makazoma said in Johannesburg today.

Mr Makazoma said a brand new peace summit would have to be called by a neutral party, and any proposals rising out of such a summit would then be acted on by the ANC.

The ANC would support an independently initiated meeting, Mr Makazoma said.

New bid starts to coax reluctant parties into second forum

Churches take up peace quest



Plea for peace . . . Zulus at a Soweto rally yesterday listen to King Goodwill Zwelithini urging his nation not to use violence for political ends.

(274) Star 27/5/91.

Political Staff

The initiative for further peace talks lies in the hands of churchmen, following the boycotting of this weekend's Government-organised peace talks by the extra-parliamentary Left.

The men who emerged as leaders to break the deadlock and get all parties around the negotiating table are Rustenburg National Conference of Churches co-chairman Dr Louw Alberts and Ned Geref Kerk theologian Professor Johan Heyns

The aim is to negotiate a new forum to end violence.

Dr Alberts and Professor Heyns will be the key players in the process following their appointment to two committees at the weekend

However, no meeting is scheduled for today, contary to earlier reports

It is expected that considerable behind-the-scenes lobbying and negotiating will be the forerunner to the proposed peace forum

At the weekend there was some confusion about the state of the peace process.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, denied reports that the Government had rejected participation in another peace summit

He said the churches could "play a tremendous role" and made it clear the Government was willing to take part in another forum.

But the Government felt that the priority now was not to rush immediately into another full-scale summit.

It felt instead that a lot of "nitty-gritty" work flowing out of its summit should first be tackled — such as the proposal for a code of conduct for political parties and the police, and for a standing commission on violence.

These proposals required preparatory work by the continuation committee It could then be submitted to the proposed forum

Last week contacts were started by churchmen determined to bridge the divide which had kept the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other black liberation movements, particularly the PAC and Azapo, out of the weekend summit.

The main players in the "bridging initiative" are understood to have been Professor Heyns and SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane.

It is believed they respectively obtained the green light from Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to launch a new initiative.

ANC participation is now considered much more attainable as the movement, in its steadfast refusal to attend the Pretoria summit, has amply proved its point regarding prior consultation

But the initiative came close to failure on Saturday when Inkatha attacked the churches as being "very much part of the problem"

When this appeared to threaten the proposal that Dr Alberts be charged with setting up a facilitating committee, Mr de Klerk personally intervened.

He guaranteed that appropriate persons would be appointed to ensure the neutral nature of the committee.



Support . . . Inkatha members at yesterday's rally. Pictures: Herbert Mabuza

tee. The continuation committee would systemise the proposals that emerged from the conference while the second committee would facilitate dialogue and negotiations between the continuation committee and groups that were not present.

Proposals to emerge from the conference included codes of conduct for political parties and for the security forces.

The code of conduct for political parties should address the need to avoid militant attitudes and what constituted acceptable and unacceptable political behaviour

The conference gave its support for the proposed Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence, which has been rejected by the ANC on the grounds that it is not independent.

Chief Buthelezi's proposal for a peace secretariat received widespread support. Such a secretariat should be funded by the State, and its independence should be guaranteed.

On the involvement of extra-parliamentary groups in the process, consensus was reached that they had an essential role tp play.

Another proposal was that leaders of all political groups deal with the issue of violence in peace forums. These forums would be convened by officials of the peace secretariat.

It was further proposed that a conference on the youth should be called by the youth to identify the causes of and the solutions to violence.

A workshop on youth and training also proposed that buildings in townships be used as literacy schools.

Peace process a task for all, delegates agree

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By Esther Waugh
Political Staff

Star 27/5/91.

It is impossible not to consider what progress would have been made at the Government's Conference on Violence and Intimidation had all political parties and groups attended the talks.

Undoubtedly, the results have been seriously affected by the decision of political groups on the Left and the Right to boycott the peace talks.

At best, as it turned out, only proposals on ending the violence could have emerged. The process has been seriously delayed by the fact that these proposals now have to be negotiated and agreed to by all parties.

The Government, however, stressed before the start of the conference that it was only the beginning of the process to end the violence and that no firm decisions could be taken.

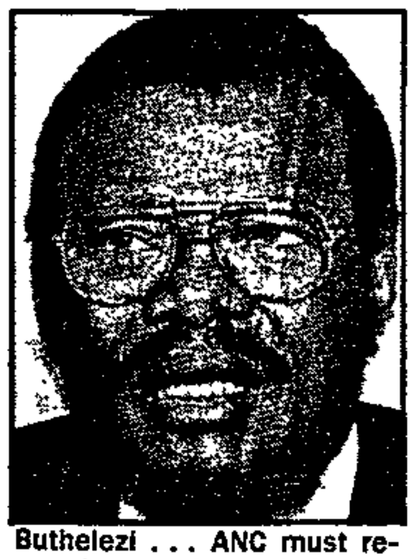
Negotiations

Former Ned Geref Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns said the conference was "only a promise, not a fulfilment" — a view echoed by many delegates.

Several delegates, including President de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it was a pity everyone did not attend.

After the conference, Mr de Klerk said the meeting had laid the foundation for fully representative co-operation — not through co-option, but through dialogue and negotiations.

"I want to appeal to all those not represented here to make themselves available for such dialogue and negotiations. We all need each other if peace is to be attained and if violence is to be curbed and finally stopped," the President said.



Buthelezi . . . ANC must remain part of negotiations.



De Klerk . . . we need each other to attain peace.



Heyns . . . a promise, not a fulfilment.



Slabbert . . . reject one-upmanship.

The first open session ended with little promise and with several delegates describing it as "a satellite tricameral Parliament in Pretoria".

Some of the bashing of organisations not present led several delegates, including Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin and Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, to make mention of it in their speeches

Mr de Klerk and Dr Viljoen stressed it was not the Government's intention that the conference should be used as a platform to bash or gang up on those not there

Several worthy contributions were, however, made, most notably by academics

A unanimous view was that peace could not be achieved without the involvement of all parties. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi made a strong plea that the ANC should at all costs be encouraged to stay in the peace process. He warned that the process would be fatally flawed if the relationship between the IPF and the ANC were not normalised.

A view of many delegates was that although the Government was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, it was the responsibility of every South African to end the violence.

With the possibility of further conferences of this nature, Dr Slabbert pointed out a number of lessons to be learnt from the Government's indaba.

Tub-thumping

The degree of success depended on the inclusivity of the conference

"All parties suspect each other of playing politics with peace — it serves no purpose to restate these prejudices when we come to conferences of this nature We cannot waste time with tub-thumping, moral/radical outbidding or one-upmanship," said Dr Slabbert

He added that the chairman had to protect all speakers with equal dispassion and that proposals should not be expected which predated negotiation

The conference accepted two mechanisms which illustrated the ongoing nature of the peace process· a continuation committee and a facilitating commit-

How the initiative will work

Star 27/9/91

The conference decided on two mechanisms to continue the initiative.

They are a continuation committee and a facilitating committee.

Delegates proposed that the continuation committee, which would "transform words into deeds", be comprised of five members — former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns, one representative each from the SA Chamber of Business and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, as well as a representative each from the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Boycott

It was also decided to appoint CSIR chairman Dr Louw Alberts as a facilitator between the continuation committee and groups which did not attend the peace summit.

President de Klerk said the conference would not ask groups which boycotted the talks to become part of the continuation committee, as this would amount to co-option.

The facilitating committee would not be playing a role on behalf of the Government but only for the continuation committee, as the Government had opened channels of communication with those involved.

Referring to the deployment of the two committees, Mr de Klerk said the first priority was to finalise their composition, but the one need not wait for the finalisation of the other to begin its duties.

Zulu king's plea for peace



STEEPED IN TRADITION . . . Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini (left) and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in traditional Zulu dress at the rally outside Soweto yesterday. Picture: AP

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 40 000 Zulus, carrying assegais, shields and knobkerries, attended a rally near Soweto yesterday to hear King Goodwill Zwelethini appeal for an end to township fighting.

Virtually every man at the rally, at the First National Bank soccer stadium on the outskirts of Soweto, was heavily armed. The FNB stadium lies outside officially designated unrest areas and the weapons ban therefore does not apply to it.

The Zulu king earlier handed a petition to deputy regional police commissioner Brigadier Piet du Toit declaring that the Zulu nation would not remain quiet when its "symbols of manhood" — traditional weapons — were removed from them. The petition asked Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to remove the ANC's weapons.

He said it was not traditional weapons but AK-47 assault rifles which were responsible for the toll of violence. Nevertheless, the ban on all weapons stood, the king said.

"Let the atrocities end . . . Let the chopping up of people to pieces with pangas and axes end. Let people make their own choices," he said. "I command peace and I say to the ANC: Do not destroy our peace-keeping capacity."

KwaZulu ministers including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, civil servants and members of the Zulu royal family flew to Johannesburg for the rally. The chief told the rally that the gathering was not a meeting of his Inkatha movement but a call for peace by the Zulu king.

● One minor incident was reported by the Soweto SAP after the Zulu rally. A spokesman said a man who ignored a warning by policemen in Diepkloof, to make way for the Zulu procession on their way back to their hostels, was struck on the head by the flat side of an assegai. The man was not seriously injured. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa

13 die in weekend of bloody violence

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 13 people, including three policemen, have died in bloody violence since Friday night, police confirmed.

Two more deaths, which occurred on Thursday but were reported only on Saturday, pushed May's death toll to 250. The deaths on Thursday occurred at Ntsimbini, Port Shepstone, when a mob attacked a private home. Three people were also injured in the attack.

Violence erupted in Pimville, Soweto, about 11pm on Friday when an unidentified group with an AK-47 assault rifle sprayed homes and a taxi with gunfire, killing three men and wounding 12 people.

The group opened fire on a police patrol vehicle about 15 minutes later. Police returned fire, killing one of the attackers. The police arrested two men and seized an AK-47 rifle.

About the same time, also in Pimville, two men were shot dead by an unidentified group who attacked their home.

At 11.30pm the bodies of two off-duty policemen, who had been stabbed to death, were found in a Pimville house.

On Saturday in Philippi, a man was killed and three others injured when police dispersed with shotgun fire a mob who were stoning cars.

Early on Saturday morning a 59-year-old man was shot dead in a house in Klipspruit, Soweto.

At Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, a police constable guarding a stolen car was shot and killed by two men who drove past him and fired a number of shots at him with a pistol.

At 9.30am a man, aged about 30, was found necklaced near the Nancefield cemetery.

At 11am a 59-year-old man was stabbed to death with an assegai and put on a railway line.

On Saturday morning police arrested seven Zulu-speaking men at a hostel in Katlehong, near Germiston, during a search for arms. They seized an AK-47 rifle, pistols and ammunition.

An SPM limpet mine of Russian origin was found, wrapped in paper and taped, under a tree in the Game Store parking area near Bruma Lake in Johannesburg about 6.30pm on Saturday, police confirmed. A passer-by reported it to the police, who detonated the fuse. — Sapa

Church initiative on peace begins

Sowetan 27/5/91

SA Press Association

A FULL-SCALE church summit on peace will be launched at a meeting of the Rustenburg Church Conference today.

The summit, which hopes to bring all parties together, is a sequel to the Government peace summit which ended in Pretoria on Saturday.

The South African Council of Churches and clerics representing the Catholic Bishops Conference and the Jewish and Muslim communities declined to attend the Government summit.

Summit

The clerics were determined to bridge the divide which kept the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and the other black liberation movements out of the summit.

Their absence, and the consequent absence of representation from the communities most directly affected by the violence, was given as motivation for the SACC grouping to also stay out of the summit.

Main players in the "bridging initiative" are former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns and SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

The two men received the go-ahead from President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to launch a broad-based cleric initiative.

ANC participation is now considered much more attainable because the church movement, in its steadfast refusal to attend the Pretoria summit, has amply proved its commitment to prior consultation.

Wrecked

The initiative came close to being wrecked on Saturday, the second and last day of the De Klerk summit, when Inkatha accused the churches as being "very much part of the problem".

When this appeared to threaten a proposal at the Government summit that a co-chairman of the Rustenburg Conference be charged with setting up a broad representative committee, De Klerk personally intervened.

He offered to ensure that appropriate people be appointed to ensure the neutral nature of a committee.

Another cleric drawn into the operation was the Rhema Church pastor the Rev Ray McCauley, who has especially warm links with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Closer

Buthelezi has said he will have to lay the question of participating in the church-backed initiative before its central committee.

The new initiative has reversed the pattern of alliances.

Inkatha, in its reluctance to participate, has pushed the Government and the ANC - both willing participants - closer together.



The AWB was represented by its leaders Eugene TerreBlanche and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.



The NP delegation to the summit was led by State President FW de Klerk.



King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were among those who attended.

Peace committee to woo ANC, PAC

Sowetan 27/5/91 (274)

PARTICIPANTS at the Government-sponsored summit on violence at the weekend elected a committee to seek ways to involve the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

By MONK NKOMO

The committee comprises Government officials, the Inkatha Freedom Party, businessmen and church leaders.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo boycotted the two-day summit held in Pretoria at the weekend.

One of the major proposals at the summit was that a code of conduct be initiated to monitor actions of the police. Guidelines were also suggested for a political code to end faction fighting.

Lawyers for Human Rights said many townships complained about "State violence" and urged for a commitment to lawfulness.

It proposed the appointment of a permanent judicial inquiry to investigate allegations of police involvement in acts of violence in black townships.

Individual speakers and organisations included the Democratic Party, IFP, LHR, the Legal Resources Centre and the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was represented by its leaders Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

The DP proposed that in order to avert instability, returning ANC and PAC combatants be accommodated in SADF bases.

They would retain their own commanders but be trained for the eventual merging with the SADF.

The DP said the violence was aggravated by unsatisfactory socio-economic conditions. The Government should therefore take urgent action to reduce unemployment, phase out single-sex hostels, improve education and address allegations impugning the credibility of the SAP and SADF.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said South Africans should help the Government which, he said, had failed to maintain law and order.

He accused some policemen and some of their regional commanders of using their positions for party political gain.

Churches step in to help save FW's summit

On track for peace

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CT 27/5/91

PRETORIA. — The peace process is still on track with the churches due to launch a major initiative today.

The churches' plan hopes to bring together all parties involved in the violence.

President F W de Klerk's peace summit, which ended on Saturday, was boycotted by key organisations such as the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

However, the summit agreed that a continuation committee be set up comprising representatives from the churches, business, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) attending the conference.

Alongside this, another independent one-man consultative committee, headed by Dr Louw Alberts, would start dialogue with parties that boycotted the summit in an attempt to forge a "fully representative forum" that would negotiate proposals. Once this was achieved the continuation committee would disband.

Mr De Klerk took personal responsibility to ensure that the facilitating mechanisms created to draw all parties into the peace process succeeded.

He said after the summit that he had decided "to lay my head on the line" when he saw there was going to be difficulty in setting up a facilitating group.

The ANC yesterday welcomed this proposal and said the peace process was back on track.

Although the ANC boycotted the summit it was in agreement that the outcome, a fully representative forum to be established through negotiation and consultation, was the route towards addressing the continuing violence.

A senior ANC national executive committee member said the process envisaged by the summit dovetailed closely with what the ANC had proposed

While all parties at the summit and the ANC agreed that the forum had to be pursued with urgency, they said it would be conducted at a much lower profile and had to be handled with much sensitivity.

A senior government source yesterday said Mr De Klerk had come to realise that consultation was essential.

The summit's key proposal on continuing the pursuit of peace came after "sabre rattling" on Friday

This was followed by intense behind-the-scenes lobbying on Saturday to head off confrontation between different initiatives to get another super-conference going. The result was Mr De Klerk's mandate from the delegates to set up the new "facilitating mechanisms".

According to senior sources within the Rustenburg group of clerics, today's churches meeting is a sequel to work started last Wednesday as the SACC and affiliated clerics representing the Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Jewish and Muslim communities finally declined an invitation to Mr De Klerk's summit.

Main players in the "bridging initiative" started on Wednesday are understood to have been former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns, backed by the SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane,

To page 2



ZULU WARRIOR ... A Zulu elder clad in a leopard-skin mask parades at yesterday's Inkatha rally which was held just outside Soweto. ● King's plea for peace — Page 2

Picture AP

P.T.O.

From page 1

who respectively obtained the green light from Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela to launch a broad-based cleric initiative as conveners of an all-party movement against violence.

The initiative came close to being wrecked on Saturday, the second and last day of the De Klerk summit, when Inkatha responded to a proposal by Prof Heyns by attacking the churches as being "very much part of the problem".

When this appeared to threaten a proposal that Dr Louw Alberts (the only co-chairman of the Rustenburg Conference present) be charged with setting up a broad representative committee, Mr De Klerk personally intervened, by offering to ensure that appropriate people would be appointed to ensure the neutral nature of a committee.

Another cleric drawn into the operation was Rhema Church pastor Mr Ray McCauley, who has warm links with IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is expected that once the Rustenburg group of churches is further extended to include the Zionists and non-Christian religious groupings, the component Inkatha objects to — the SACC — could be considered sufficiently balanced out.

This balanced structure is what the Rustenburg group will strive for, and will today try to devise methods which will ensure the full commitment of all parties before public pronouncements are made.

● AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday said the summit had merely been a move towards creating an intermediate government which would negotiate about the abdication of power to communists. He said he and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph had walked out of the conference hall immediately after his speech and had not returned. — Sapa and Political Staff

ST 27/5/91

ANC man's home fired on

EAST LONDON. — **The Border vice-president of the ANC, Mr Smuts Ngonyama, and his family narrowly escaped injury when shots were fired at their Dimbaza home early yesterday.**

Mr Ngonyama said he and his family were asleep when he was awoken about 2am by a sound "like thunder", followed by breaking glass. He waited for 20 minutes after the shooting stopped and then called the police who found 30 spent cartridges, apparently fired from an R5 rifle. — **Sapa**

Main players see need for a peace team

Sowetan 28/5/91

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THE three key players in the peace process, the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha, agree that some mechanism be established to find ways to end the violence.

The ANC National Executive Committee has proposed that a steering committee be formed to organise an all-party peace conference.

The steering committee should be representative and be called by an independent body or leaders.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the movement was

POLITICAL STAFF

looking at the broad issue of peace. It would also consider the outcome of the government's two-day Conference on Intimidation and Violence which ended in Pretoria on Saturday.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposal for a peace secretariat received widespread support from the government's conference.

This secretariat should be funded by the government, to underscore its commitment to peace.

The government has also supported a proposal that a continuation committee be established to systemise the comprehensive packages of proposals delegates discussed.

A second committee, led by CSIR chairman Dr Louw Alberts, would facilitate dialogue and negotiations between the continuation committee and groups which boycotted the government's conference.

Asked after the conference whether another summit was possible, President FW de Klerk said it was not impossible if such a need arose.

De Klerk said the two mechanisms should get and expand participaton.

Church - key to peace

Sowetan 28/5/91 (274) (28)

SOWETAN Correspondent

THE initiative for further peace talks lies in the hands of churchmen following this weekend's Government-organised peace talks boycotted by the extra-Parliamentary left.

The men who emerged as leaders to break the deadlock and get all parties around the negotiating table are Rustenburg National Conference of Churches co-chairman Dr Louw Alberts and Ned Geref Kerk theologian Professor Johan Heyns.

The aim is to negotiate an all-party forum to end the violence.

Summit

Two committees - a continuation committee and a facilitating committee - were set up in Pretoria at the Government's Conference on Violence and Intimidation.

Dr Alberts said today the continuation committee, consisting of people who had attended the weekend summit, would "systemise" proposals made at the conference.

T+he facilitating committee, of which he was still the only member, would be expanded by him in consultation with President de Klerk. Groups which had not attended the summit, such as the Rustenburg Committee and the South African Council of Churches, as well as churchmen, business leaders and possibly trade unionists, would be approached to serve on the committee.

Alberts said no political parties would be approached to serve on the facilitating committee.

"The tendency would be to avoid political parties and bring in such currents that are common to most people, for example the churches, business and labour. The facilitating committee will be a machine to bring together various players including the political parties."

He said the committee, which would hopefully be finalised within two weeks, would "primarily be a small think-tank of people who can think through the total spectrum of the very sensitive problems concerning violence and intimidation".

Through the committee, the main political players would thus be drawn in.

Confusion

Clarifying earlier confusion about the role of the ANC - the main political force which did not attend the weekend summit - in the process, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said today his organisation could not support any proposals arising out of the Government's summit on violence because the summit had not been called by a neutral party.

"We are not going to join any committee that comes out of that meeting - then we might as well have gone to the meeting."

Macozoma said a brand-new peace summit would have to be called by a neutral party, and



Rev Frank Chikane

any proposals rising out of such a summit would then be acted on by the ANC. The ANC would support an independently-initiated meeting.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said a multiparty conference which could negotiate on various aspects including a peace initiative and constitutional reform would be the ideal solution.

Alberts and Heyns will be the key players in the process following their appointment to the two committees.

However, no meeting is scheduled for today, contrary to earlier reports. Dr Alberts said the Rustenburg Committee had been on standby to meet today. However, at this stage a meeting had not been necessary.

It is expected considerable behind-the-scenes lobbying and negotiating will be the forerunner to the proposed peace forum.

Alberts received a mandate from the summit to approach all parties, and the motivation behind the move was that there is a better chance to get all parties together through a church initiative that would not be closely aligned to existing structures.

The continuation committee - on which political and business leaders serve and which includes churchman Professor Heyns - will deal with matters decided at this weekend's conference to ensure these matters could be taken forward to a possible future meeting for discussion by all players, Professor Heyns said.

President de Klerk said that groups which boycotted the Pretoria talks could not be asked to become part of the committees, as that would amount to co-option.

Peace

At the weekend there was some confusion about the state of the peace process.

Viljoen denied reports that the Government had rejected participation in another peace summit.

He said the churches could "play a tremendous role" and made it clear the Government was willing to take part in another forum to deal with violence.

Confirming the church leaders' view, Dr Viljoen said the Government felt that the priority now was not to rush immediately into another full-scale summit.

Last week contacts were started by churchmen determined to bridge the divide which kept the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other black liberation movements, particularly the PAC and Azapo, out of the weekend summit.

The main players in the "bridging initiative" are understood to have been be Professor Heyns and SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane.must keep in this sentence. ajw

It is believed they respectively obtained the green light from Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to launch a new initiative.

The Reverend Chikane could not be reached for comment this morning.

Although the ANC officially denied today that the peace process was back on track, ANC participation is now considered much more attainable.

Summit yielded little — ANC

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CT 28/5/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government-initiated peace summit on violence produced "little by way of meaningful results", the ANC said yesterday.

Although the ANC boycotted the weekend summit in Pretoria, the organisation said in a statement that it would assess available documentation and deliberations from the two-day conference.

The statement added that the ANC would "continue to support the initiatives undertaken by religious leaders and organised business" to convene a broad-based conference on violence.

Echoing proposals delivered at the summit, the ANC said a future conference on violence should produce a binding agreement with enforcement mechanisms for a code of conduct for all political parties.

The ANC said such a conference should also: Produce a code of conduct for the security forces; elaborate on the powers and function of an independent commission on violence; and produce a comprehensive programme of community reconstruction.

The ANC rejected a newspaper article which said that the organisation welcomed the summit's proposal for the establishment of a fully representative forum to address the violence. The source of the article, an unnamed senior ANC national executive committee member, had made a "hasty judgment" which was "ill-advised . . . inaccurate and unauthorised".

● Azapo yesterday said Mr F W de Klerk's peace summit was a failed attempt by the state to exonerate itself as a party to violence, Sapa reports.

Move to get all parties into peace initiative

B|Day 29|5|91

TIM COHEN

MOVES were already afoot to involve all parties in the peace initiative flowing from government's weekend peace summit, and an announcement could be expected within days, a leading "facilitator" indicated yesterday.

Church sources said the "facilitating committee" agreed to at the weekend's peace conference was only days away from being established formally.

The sources said intense behind-the-scenes discussions were taking place yesterday, and would continue today, to set up the forum which aims to involve a broader spectrum of political players.

Several major organisations did not attend the government-convened summit, among them the ANC, PAC, Azapo, CP and SA Council of Churches.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches (RNCC) joint chairman Louw Alberts, who was mandated at the summit to establish the committee, said yesterday an announcement could be expected "within days".

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He declined to comment on the individuals who had agreed to serve on the committee because consultations were still in progress and the issue sensitive.

But Alberts said he was aiming to involve particularly church and business leaders because they interacted with a wide spectrum of the population. He would consult, also, a wide range of individuals who would liaise with other groups.

The committee would not decide what mechanism was needed to address the issue of violence, but would concentrate on facilitating the setting up of such a mechanism.

Speculation about another peace summit or other mechanisms was therefore premature, he said.

It is expected that Alberts's committee will attempt to involve all parties in a fully representative, but lower-profile forum.

Tension high in township schools

By DAVE MARRS

TOWNSHIP high school teachers fear another year of chaos and disastrous final results as the class boycott enters its second week, only days before the start of mid-year exams.

Tension is running high as pupils attend "awareness lectures" and mass meetings to discuss ways of pressurising the government to resolve the problems caused by over-crowding in ill-equipped schools.

Meanwhile, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is pressing ahead with a three-day programme of mass rallies, pickets and illegal marches to culminate in the defiance of the May 31 Republic Day holiday, when pupils will temporarily attend classes.

A Cosas spokesman said the "pens down" was affecting more than 15 000 Cape Town pupils and would continue until the Department of Education and Training (DET) provided more textbooks, classrooms, qualified teachers and laboratory equipment.

Primary schools have not been affected so far and the national president of Cosas, Mr Thami Rubusana, said although all 11 regions in the country will participate in rallies and marches this week, the "pens down" would be restricted to Cape Town.

The DET had not responded to a Cape Times inquiry relating to the crisis in Cape Town's black schools by late last night.

ANC publicity spokesman Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the organisation stood by its back-to-school call, but added that "local conditions" might prompt pupils to take action that included the short-term boycott of lessons

The regional ANC leadership would try to ensure that pupils missed as little schooling as possible, he said.

Cosas has sent an open letter to President F W de Klerk listing the pupils' grievances and warning that they will not ask for permission to march on DET offices around the country tomorrow.

It was up to the government to "create the conditions conducive to proper and effective learning", the letter said

● In another development, teaching at two Soweto schools was disrupted yesterday and close to R30 000 damage was caused in the sprawling township when Naledi High pupils went searching for the murderer of a classmate at the nearby Thomas Mofolo High School, education authorities and police said.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the Naledi pupils caused damage estimated at more than R30 000 when they attacked houses and cars with petrol bombs.

A DET spokesman said yesterday that several Thomas Mofolo students were slightly injured after being threatened and manhandled by students from Naledi.

It appeared the students had acted on wrong information, the spokesman said, confirming a Naledi High School pupil had been murdered at the weekend.

Col Halgryn said police dispersed a mob of some 250 students with teargas and birdshot.

He added that police were investigating the possibility that the attack, which left four houses and several cars damaged, was in retribution for the killing of a school pupil. — Sapa

BACK TO SCHOOL . . .

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Students and the South African Students Union called yesterday on all Soweto teachers and pupils to attend school on May 31, Republic Day.

"It would be contrary to our effort as various groups for a democratic society in South Africa to sit at home honouring the day of racist repression of Africans," they said in a joint statement.

We "can not afford to loose a single day for meaningless purposes", they said.

The organisations called on pupils and teachers to "mark the day of May 31 through normal schooling".

"In future we shall celebrate the birthday of the new South Africa." — Sapa

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Tambo rejects return to violence

LONDON. — Mr Oliver Tambo, the ailing ANC president, has rejected suggestions by radical elements of a return to the policy of violence — and has left questions over his leadership open.

His view on any return to armed response is made clear in an interview with former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Raymond Louw, but he refused to say if he intended standing down.

He was also more flexible on vital issues such as sanctions and responses to township violence than some radical ANC executive members — including Mr Chris Hani.

But Mr Tambo, 73, and still recovering in London from a stroke he suffered two years ago, told Mr Louw it was unlikely that the ANC would go back to the armed struggle, suspended in August last year.

In the interview, published in Mr Louw's newsletter, Southern Africa Report, Mr Tambo said: "We must adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle. To go back means deceit, and it would be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa.

"It is so unnecessary because it is right that we should live peacefully with one another, and sort out our problems man to man."

Mr Louw said Mr Tambo's views were "broadly in accord with those of the ANC in Johannesburg", but there were "differences of emphasis between the two".

Mr Tambo also said that he could not confirm whether he would stand down as president at the ANC's National Congress in Durban in July.

Mr Tambo also placed greater faith in President F W de Klerk than ANC leaders — including Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I still believe in the sincerity of President De Klerk. It is clear, too, that whites in South Africa — except the extreme right-wing AWB — have come around to an acceptance of the 'New South Africa'," Mr Tambo said.

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Bid on to involve all parties in peace

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Moves were already afoot to involve all parties in the peace initiative flowing from the government's weekend peace summit, and an announcement could be expected within days, a leading "facilitator" indicated yesterday.

Church sources said the "facilitating committee" agreed to at the weekend's peace conference was only days away from being established formally.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches (RNCC) joint chairman Mr Louw Alberts, who was mandated at the summit to establish the committee, said yesterday an announcement could be expected "within days".

had not committed an offence by failing to register for national service. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Talks to set up a catalyst for peace

TIM COHEN

ATTEMPTS continued yesterday to set up an eight-person group which would serve as a catalyst in creating the "facilitating committee" mooted at government's peace conference last weekend.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches joint chairman Louw Alberts said yesterday he was talking to a range of people who would act as catalysts in establishing the committee.

None of them would be drawn from political groups.

He declined to say which individuals had so far agreed to take part in the group, but said an announcement would be made in the next few days

The mechanism or forum to combat conflict in society would be decided by the "facilitating committee", he said.

The committee, agreed upon at the weekend summit, was to draw into the peace process parties which had not attended.

Meanwhile, a government source said yesterday that although the Rustenburg group had not been mandated to bring together facilitators to establish the facilitating committee, there was no objection to members of the Rustenburg group being seconded to the committee.

The ANC has indicated it probably would be prepared to take part in the facilitating committee, if its functions coincided with ANC proposals

The ANC has called for a code of conduct for political parties and police as one of the measures to help reduce conflict and unrest.

Inkatha has so far resisted attempts by church bodies to establish a peace mechanism or forum because it considers church bodies to be too close to the ANC.

Jockey Club told to repay fines

SUSAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court judge yesterday ordered the Jockey Club of SA to repay fines totalling R10 000 it imposed on trainer Alan Forbes after two of his horses tested positive for a prohibited substance.

Stipendiary stewards convicted Forbes twice of contravening Jockey Club rules after they held that the winners of two races on December 7 1988 and April 1, 1990, Fastoll and Northern Sheik respectively, had tested positive for the anti-inflammatory drug Naproxen. He was fined R5 000 in respect of each conviction.

Forbes's appeals against the convictions were dismissed by local executive stewards of the Transvaal and Free State district of the Jockey Club and head executive stewards.

Mr Justice van der Merwe overturned both convictions yesterday after holding that the hearings in front of the stipendiary stewards were unfairly conducted and in breach of Jockey Club rules.

He ordered the Jockey Club to pay Forbes the R10 000 fines plus interest.

Women's League delegation in talks with FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and a delegation of the ANC Women's League were still locked in talks three-and-a-half hours after the group had entered Tuynhuys last night amid speculation that they planned a sit-in in the presidential office.

Included among the group was Winnie Mandela, on her first visit to Tuynhuys. Two others in the delegation of about 15 women were carrying their babies.

They arrived for the meeting at 5pm. Leading the group was Women's League president Gertrude Hlope and Ruth Mompati, an ANC National Executive Committee member.

Security at Tuynhuys was heavier than usual. Hlope said as she was escorted through the gates to Tuynhuys that the women would be discussing "the problems of SA" with De Klerk.

It is understood that the violence and breakdown in talks between government and the ANC were top of the delegation's agenda. The delegation presented a petition on violence to De Klerk.

Another issue almost certainly discussed was the hunger strike by prisoners claiming they should be freed because they were sentenced for politically motivated crimes. The league had been trying to arrange a meeting with De Klerk for some time.

SPEAR OF THE NATION

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RESPLENDENT in his "tiger-skin" headdress and monkey-skin kilt, with his multicoloured bead armlets and anklets, carrying an elegantly crafted rawhide shield, knobkierie and spear, Victor Ndlovu personifies the popular idea of Zuluhood.

Around him swirls a kaleidoscope of men in more or less customary garb — and a few women, some bare-breasted — who have converged on Johannesburg's Soccer City from the backwoods of Natal and the Reef hostels in an explosion of ethnic pride. On every side waves a forest of weaponry.

"I have come to hear my king," Ndlovu says. "This spear — I must carry it to support him."

Inside the stadium, tradition and nationhood are the dominant themes. Contrary to press reports, this is not an Inkatha Freedom Party rally, IFP president and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists in a brief speech introducing the king It is an "*imbizo*" — a royal address to the entire Zulu nation on the subject of peace.

Women ululate as King Goodwill Zwelithini warms to his theme; at points the crowd breaks in approvingly: "*Bayethe*!" (Hail!) "*Uyindlovu*!" (You are the elephant!) "As King of the Zulus ... I stand above party politics," the king declares.

It is picturesque, impressive — and a gigantic sleight of hand. The huge slogans displayed under IFP colours on the turf below the packed terraces leave no doubt that this is a political gathering, skilfully stage-managed as a cultural event

To hear the Inkatha leader, one might think him the pliant, self-effacing servant of his monarch. Zwelithini had approached him to say he had a statement to make; he had "shuddered inside himself at the awesome responsibility" of introducing the king.

Buthelezi-watchers can be excused a snicker of disbelief: Zwelithini is a constitutional monarch who, after some skirmishes in the 1970s, has served faithfully as his uncle's voice.

The King of the Zulus told the faithful gathered at Johannesburg's Soccer City that 'the call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons is an insult to the manhood of every Zulu'. DREW FORREST reports

The unctuous references to "Dr Mandela" in the king's speech — it is an appellation which Nelson Mandela never uses and of which Buthelezi is particularly fond — raises some doubts about its authorship.

A masterpiece of ambiguity, it reflects many of the chief's pet themes. After a plea for peace, directed paradoxically at "brothers born of warrior stock", it launches into a lengthy attack on the ANC for its alleged "ugly vendetta against the Zulu people and their Zuluness".

A key step in the argument is the insidious conflation of the King, kwaZulu and the Zulu people, turning a political programme into an ethnic agenda, and political opponents into foes of all Zulus.

"Not only does the ANC attack the very existence of kwaZulu and insult the chief minister of kwaZulu," Zwelithini avers, "and not only does it hurt me in these attacks, but the ANC wants to hurt the Zulu-speaking people in the Transvaal as well."

Woven into the attack is another vintage device, an attempt, recalling Inkatha's adoption of the black, green and gold, to slipstream the ANC's central role in resistance politics. kwaZulu "produced" ANC founding father Pixley ka Seme and Albert Luthuli, we are told. "We as a people have nursed the ANC ... why does the ANC want to destroy the place of its origins?"

The point is reinforced in a poster widely displayed in Johannesburg before the "*imbizo*" showing Luthuli carrying "traditional" weapons.

It is in the treatment of the traditional weapons issue that the underlying agenda of the Soccer City

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SHOWING HIS MANHOOD ... A Zulu in cultural garb at a cultural gathering carries on the tradition of his nation (107) Photo: AP

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event was clearest. Support for the carrying of weapons is often seen as a simple call to arms, but it is more than this — like the "*imbizo*" itself, it is a deliberate attempt to mobilise politically around symbols of nationhood.

"The call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons is an insult to my manhood," is Zwelithini's plaintive cry. "It is an insult to the manhood of every Zulu man."

Zulu nationalist academics may argue that Zulus carried "*imikhonto*" when the "first people emerged from the bed of reeds", but there is no evidence that they ever featured at peaceful cultural events.

University of Natal anthropologist Mary de Haas stresses that spears were used by all indigenous people in pre-colonial times, and that they were sanctioned only in contexts such as hunting and warfare. Historian Jeff Guy insists the carrying of assegais at Zulu national gatherings was banned before 1879 because they were too dangerous.

But like all parties seeking to rally ethnic support, the IFP must manufacture myths and symbols. The peculiar power of "traditional" weaponry as a rallying-point is that it taps into intense Zulu pride in a warrior past.

"There is undoubtedly such a thing as an independent ethnic pride and consciousness," Guy comments. "The Basotho say, 'we opened the mines'; for the Zulus it is rooted in the 19th century Zulu kingdom, powerful, centralised, independent. It is there for manipulation for political ends if people tap into it."

He also points to the irony inherent in the appeal to an immemorial and unchanging custom and culture. Behind the power of the 19th century Zulu kingdom, he stresses, lay Shaka's genius.

Interviews with ordinary Zulus at the Soccer City meeting show how successful the strategy has been. "Our King says we must carry the spear", "The ANC says we must not have it — we have carried it for 200 years, since before Shaka", "It is a sign of respect for our chiefs", were among the offerings.

In his speech, Zwelithini calls ambiguously for Zulus to unite and be powerful for South Africa and for black unity of purpose.

One may reasonably doubt that South Africa's future stability, and the creation of a broader South Africanism, is served by the fostering of ethnic chauvinism for short-term political gain.

The power and the danger behind

w/mail 30/5-6/6/91.

Unleashing powerful ethnic feelings — as Inkatha has done — can have enormously dangerous repercussions, argues

CARMEL RICKARD

AFTER decades of government obsession about ethnicity, the African National Congress and Inkatha are responding to this emotive subject very differently: the ANC ignores it and seeks a non-racial, supra-ethnic unity; Inkatha uses it as a powerful political mobilising force.

There are millions of people in South Africa — among them many Zulus — to whom ethnic feelings are important, perhaps a driving force in their lives.

Because of its strong insistence on unity and non-racialism, the ANC is not responding to these feelings, in particular among Zulu people, and this has left the field open to Inkatha.

Under the leadership of its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this organisation appears to have a virtual monopoly on Zulu "cultural symbols". For example, the king, who is supposed to be the king of all Zulus, is closely associated with Inkatha. Last weekend's strongly political "*imbizo*" is just one example of this. The idea that he might attend and address a pro-ANC rally is improbable even if that rally were convened by an exclusively Zulu membership of the ANC.

Yet there was a time when it might not have been quite so difficult to imagine.

Shortly after the first life prisoners were released from Robben Island, the king invited Walter Sisulu and the others to visit him for talks — they declined.

In his first Durban rally after being released, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela delivered a speech which would have pleased even a traditionalist with strong ethnic feelings.

Nokukhanya Luthuli, widow of former ANC president Albert Luthuli, was almost literally held up to the huge crowd as the "mother of the nation" and Mandela paid tribute to the role of Zulu people in the struggle against apartheid.

Then the promise Mandela's approach seemed to offer of an accommodation with traditionalists evaporated.

He has still not visited the king, and given the bitter attacks on the ANC from the king, it might now be too late for such a visit.

The result is that Zulu ANC supporters in Natal cannot easily speak about "our king" — he is the king of that section of the people which identifies with Inkatha's approach on ethnic issues.

By having virtually no Zulu representatives in national leadership positions, the ANC has left the way open for Buthelezi to claim the organisation is "anti-Zulu". This gibe appears to take on more weight in the light of the ANC's handling of a number of other issues.

For example, even if Inkatha's justification of the carrying of "cultural weapons" is questionable, the campaign to ban them in public was presented in a way which allowed Buthelezi to make enormous political capital, claiming the ANC hated Zulus and "Zulu-ness". It has also created the impetus for renewed expressions of ethnic feeling which should not be underestimated.

Perhaps if there had been a stronger sensitivity towards Zulus whose ethnic feelings are close to the heart, the same demand could have been handled in a way which did not further alienate so many people, and deepen divisions in society.

The delicate approach of ANC southern Natal regional chairman Jacob Zuma to difficult issues such as these, shows it can be done.

Another example — instead of calling for the repeal of the Act that established black homelands all over South Africa, the ANC urged the "disbanding of kwaZulu". This again opened them to criticism that they were not against the homeland policy, but only against the Zulu homeland and therefore against Zulus.

So strongly has Inkatha come to be identified

the ethnic wave

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with "Zulu-ness" that the conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters is presented in some media as a Zulu/Xhosa issue. Questionable as this analysis is, it is particularly ludicrous in Natal, where there are Zulus on both sides with much in common but with many differences. ANC supporters would however tend to be people for whom appeals to ethnicity do not have the same resonance as for Inkatha supporters.

Both sides have many followers, but Inkatha has projected the image that only traditionalists are "real Zulus" and therefore Inkatha is the only true mouthpiece of Zulu people. This has been challenged by the ANC in Natal, whose executive insists the ANC be recognised as representative of "the majority of Zulus" in the region.

The very fact that they have to make this challenge, however, shows how successful Inkatha's "Zulu" image building, at the expense of the ANC, has been.

Ironically it seems that the ANC's insistence on unity might be weakening it as a unifying force.

Unfortunately broad South Africanism has a poor record in our political history: Smuts' fate bears testimony to this.

The apparent reluctance of the ANC to devise a strategy to deal with Zulu ethnic feelings — or its inability to do so — has some similarities with the 1948 period when Dr DF Malan pitched a strong election message at Afrikaner ethnicity, almost to the exclusion of anything else.

Smuts did not experience being an Afrikaner in a way which enabled him to respond in kind. Either he did not realise the significance of Malan's call or, just as fatally, he was unable to bring himself to use ethnic feelings in the same way.

Malan's victory shows the danger of not having a policy which takes into account those people who rally at the call to the volk. The many years of misery caused by the triumph of Malan's sectarian appeal also illustrates the dangers of a policy that exploits and abuses ethnic feelings.

The question of how to deal with ethnic feelings is an excruciatingly difficult problem. Years of enforced, often officially trumped up ethnic divisions have made many people wary even to acknowledge ethnic feelings exist lest this be mistaken for racism.

Yet the lesson of Eastern Europe shows that such feelings are so powerful they can unleash enormous political energy.

Serious consideration must be given to a policy which neither ignores nor exploits these feelings.

Thousands of shotguns illegally shipped to SA from US — claim

Star 30/5/91

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US Department of Commerce is investigating allegations that thousands of shotguns may have been exported illegally to South Africa.

There are fears that they have been used in township violence.

A spokesman for the Commerce Department in Washington confirmed this week that an investigation was being made into the possibility that shotguns, supposedly shipped through Cape Town for Zimbabwe and Namibia, had remained in South Africa.

She said she was not permitted to provide any further information, and would not confirm that the US Commerce Department had sent investigators to South Africa only a few weeks ago.

The allegations about the shotguns were brought to the attention of the US Commerce Department and the State Department by Dumisani Kumalo of the New York-based Africa Fund, one of the oldest and most respected anti-apartheid activist organisations in the US.

Mr Kumalo, a South African-born US citizen, last week sent letters to anti-apartheid activists and organisations which said more than 20 tons of shotguns and ammunition had left the US for South Africa in the past 10 months.

While Nelson Mandela was touring the US in June last year, eight tons of shotguns left New York harbour for South Africa, he said.

"Since we discovered that thousands of shotguns were going to South Africa, more than 1 000 people have died violently in the townships, many from shotgun wounds," he said.

He said the guns were not being smuggled out but were being shipped with US government licences on the pretext that they were going to Zimbabwe or Namibia.

The letter said that the Africa Fund had, in November 1990, given the US Department of Commerce details about the shotgun shipments but that six months later, the department was still investigating.

CT 30/5/91

Church sets up peace contact group

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Attempts continued yesterday to set up an eight-person group which would serve as a catalyst in creating the "facilitating committee" mooted at government's peace conference last weekend.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches joint chairman, the Rev Louw Alberts, said yesterday he was talking to a range of people who would act as catalysts in establishing the committee.

None of them would be drawn from political groups.

He declined to say which individuals had so far agreed to take part in the group, but said an announcement would be made in the next few days.

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Meanwhile, a government source said yesterday that although the Rustenburg group had not been mandated to bring together facilitators to establish the facilitating committee, there was no objection to members of the Rustenburg group being seconded to the committee.

The ANC has indicated it probably would be prepared to take part in the facilitating committee, if its functions coincided with ANC proposals.

Inkatha has so far resisted attempts by church bodies to establish a peace mechanism or forum because it considers church bodies to be too close to the ANC.

SAP mystified over US probe into illegal shotguns

Star 31/5/91

The SAP yesterday denied any knowledge of an investigation into the illegal exporting of thousands of shotguns from the United States to South Africa.

They had been asked to comment on a report from Washington that the US Department of Commerce was investigating such allegations.

Major Ray Harrald, of the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria, said the police had no knowledge of such an investigation

"Although shotguns are being used in faction fights between political groups, deaths caused by shotguns are minimal."

He said "as many as 95 percent" of the victims killed with firearms had died of AK-47 assault rifle or handgun-inflicted wounds.

David Braun of The Star Bureau reports from Washington that fears have been expressed in the US that the shotguns may have been used in township violence

A spokesman for the Commerce Department in Washington confirmed this week that a probe had begun into the possibility that shotguns, supposedly shipped through Cape Town for Zimbabwe and Namibia, had remained in South African territory.

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THE PEACE PROCESS

LOOKING THROUGH A WINDOW

A SECOND SUMMIT IS UNNECESSARY — ALL-PARTY TALKS HOLD THE KEY

The point about the peace process is that it *is* a process — and that it continues. Who did or did not attend last week's peace conference is less important than that the major political powers in the land — broadly, the government, the ANC and Inkatha — rein in the weapons of death and the killing stops.

The ultimate success of the process will be measured by criteria such as the averting of a civil war and the willingness of foreign investors to commit long-term funds to SA. As Sacob's Raymond Parsons (who attended the summit) has pointed out: "What SA must now guard against is the replacement of external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead."

Estimates of that ceiling hover around the 2%-a-year growth mark, which assumes no political meddling with monetary policy if unemployment soars further, and no disruptive transition to a centralist State influenced by the Marxist theory that wealth is finite and needs to be spread around more evenly by confiscatory legislation.



King Goodwill at rally ... *the heart of the matter*

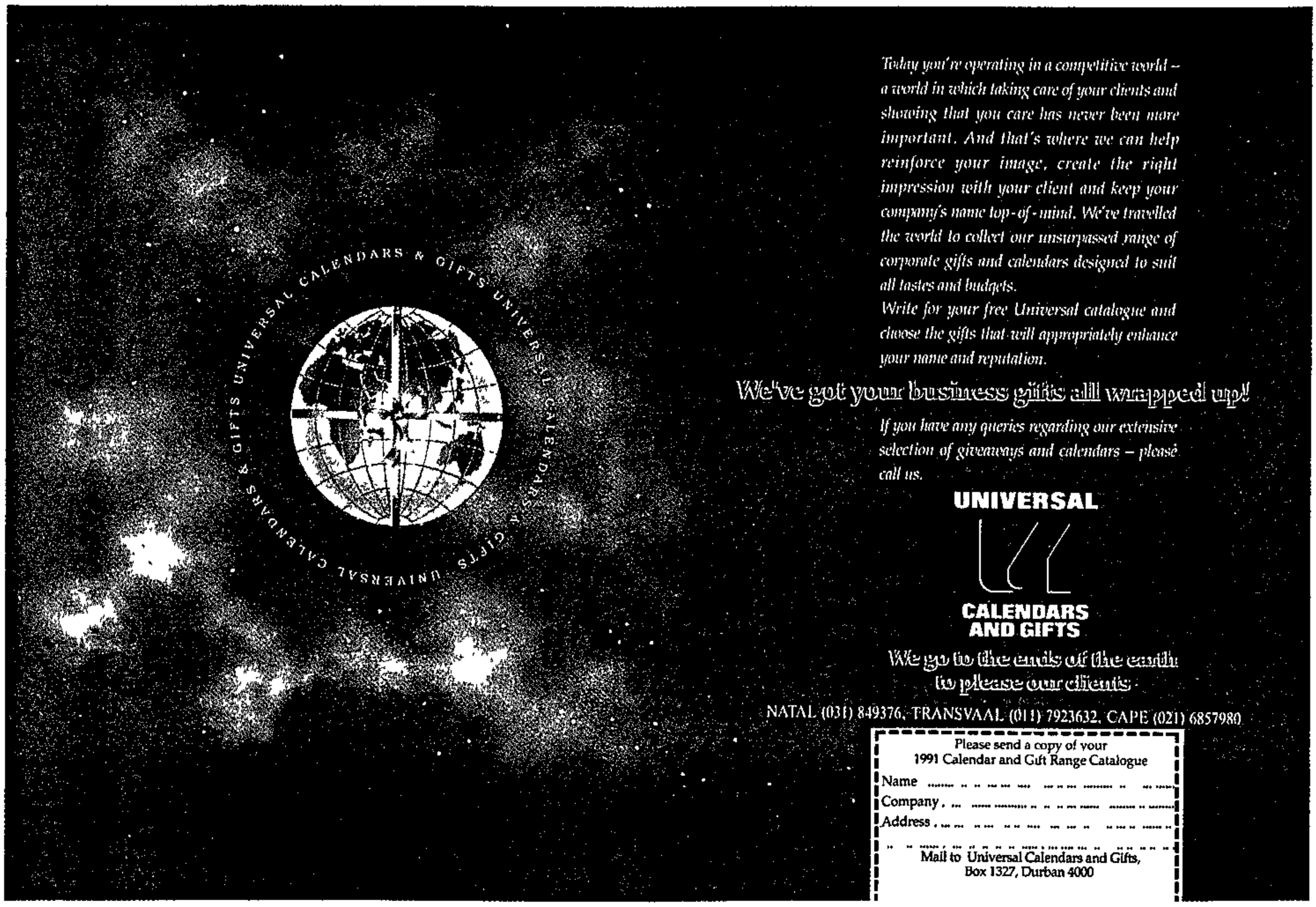
The economic potential of SA — making possible growth rates of 6%-7% a year, new wealth and work — needs to be unlocked, but in Parsons' words, "we can only unlock that potential if the political negotiations are back on track and if violence is eliminated."

This of course points to the tragic, and circular, nature of the violence.

Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, pointed out to the summit that the post-apartheid reconstruction of the economy would directly be targeted on the conditions that led to violence in the first place. "It is not a mere coincidence that violence seems to be rife in informal settlements and hostels where people are forced to live under disgraceful and unhygienic conditions."

Amelioration of these conditions depends on appropriate

Continued



ay, May 31 1991

Govt would act if whites died (274) — Boraine

Political Correspondent

THE government would have taken decisive action to outlaw "traditional weapons" if whites had been the victims of the recent violence, according to Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine.

In the editorial in the latest edition of the Idasa publication Democracy in Action, Dr Boraine argues that the police and the state have shown double standards in dealing with traditional weapons and the violence in general.

"If 200 Zulus marched through a white area carrying these weapons, there would be an outcry from the white residents and it is certain that the state would ban the carrying of these weapons overnight.

"If, in addition, the same armed group attacked white homes and massacred, the police would be there in full force and would not hesitate to use all the considerable resources at their command in order to protect white lives and white property."

The attackers would be immediately disarmed and arrested. This was in stark contrast with what happened in black townships.

Dr Boraine questions why the response of the police and the state differed when whites and blacks were the victims of violence.

"The unpalatable truth is that most whites, consciously or unconsciously, do not regard black lives and black property as sacrosanct as they do their own."

Dr Boraine argues that all so-called traditional weapons should be banned forthwith, despite the opposition from those who have carried these weapons for generations.

President F W de Klerk and his government "must make it clear that it is totally unacceptable that large contingents of well-armed police can stand by and watch people being butchered and their homes destroyed and then meekly escort the killers back to the safety of their hostels".

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi should do everything in their power to convince their supporters that violence was "counter-productive and tragically wrong", Dr Boraine writes.