

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1990

JULY - Sept.

Inkatha, ANC to meet?

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While Inkatha and ANC leaders continue to delay peace talks, lower echelons of these organisations on the East Rand have allegedly "secretly" planned talks for today on the violence in their areas and in Natal.

Inkatha spokesman Petros Madide confirmed that Inkatha and the ANC would hold talks at Benoni municipal offices (Sheba council) at 2pm today.

He said the main aim of the talks was to find a way of ending the Natal violence.

Madide said he did not know who would attend the talks, or if Cosatu and the UDF would participate.

ANC information officer Ahmed Kathrada and ANC East Rand organiser Greg Malebo said they had not heard about the planned talks. — Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by
K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing
by K Naidoo, both of 2 Herb Street,
New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

MAGAZ 3/11/90

Buthelezi eager for peace

IN his "Issues" column of December 13, Hugh Robertson had many harsh words to say about the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and myself, with regard to our visits to troubled townships and other areas.

I have no intention of defending Mr Vlok but I would like the opportunity to put another perspective on my own involvement and allegations made with regard to members and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Vlok is slated as being "partisan" for travelling with me to Thokoza and previously into areas of Natal/KwaZulu. Mr Robertson viewed our Thokoza visit as being a "folly" and "irresponsible" because representatives of the ANC (who were invited, but declined) did not accompany us.

This is Mr Robertson's view. However, did he see for to make the same judgement about Mr Vlok's visit to Reef townships with the Deputy President of the ANC, Dr Nelson Mandela, before his Thokoza trip with me? No Inkatha Freedom Party officials were invited or represented at that time. Has he made the same comment about Dr Mandela's constant contact with Mr Vlok?

Does Mr Robertson feel the same way about Mr Vlok's visit to a Reef township, after the alleged Thokoza "faux pas", with the internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, also minus Inkatha Freedom Party leaders?

He asks what were the supporters of the ANC in Thokoza supposed to make of this "touring twosome" - Mr Vlok and myself.

Will he now ask what supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and other organisations were supposed to

make of the two other touring twosomes?

The facts of the matter are that I went urgently, and at the last minute, to Thokoza with Mr Vlok because members and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party pleaded with me to do so. They had made many and various allegations about ongoing police action against them which I reported to Mr Vlok.

During our visit, any "aligning" of the police with Inkatha (as Mr Robertson alleges) was hardly in evidence when IFP members and supporters hissed and booed Mr Vlok. This was televised and reported in the Press.

I am really most concerned about statements of police partiality made with regard to the IFP.

Unfair allegations like this, and others, will only hinder the peace process and the quest for political tolerance. Fears are raised for no reason. Warped conclusions are drawn. For instance, Mr Robertson writes of "Inkatha impis" marching "illegally" through Johannesburg. To my knowledge the last march of IFP members and supporters through Johannesburg was perfectly legal and there were no incidents of violence.

He also writes as though I speak out against the ANC's programme of "mass action" but have double standards when it comes to the IFP. This is simply not true. I deplore violence and intimidation whatever quarter it comes from.

I warn of known threats made in door-to-door ANC recruitment drives when, in their own documentation, they say the "strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared...".

I oppose the known threat-

ening of councillors, the known proposals to set up so-called "defence" units backed by armed ANC/SACP Umkhonto cadres, the known and orchestrated attacks on policemen and their families, the known calls for ongoing strikes and boycotts - for political purposes - when people have been and will be bludgeoned into submission. I make no apologies for taking "up the cry" against South Africa being made ungovernable by the ANC and their surrogates in this kind of "mass action".

These tactics and strategies have not, and will never be, on the IFP's "mass action" agenda.

Many of us involved in this hideous situation are doing what we can to reduce tensions and to bring an end to the bloodshed.

I agree that the leadership of all political organisations should get together and be seen, side by side, actively working for peace. My view is that this should be an ongoing, daily process - not one-off exercises from time to time.

We need to do this off our own bats and not through orchestrated exercises of others with their own agenda. I have offered, as have my colleagues, to work together with Dr Madela and the ANC to try to ensure peace once and for all. We are prepared to do this at any time. The ball is in the ANC's court and we have yet to receive a positive response from them.

"Photo opportunities" (as one observer called the SACC tour) and short visits by leaders, highlighted in the media, have their place. There is, however, no substitute for meaningful co-operation be-

tween all concerned on a 24-hour basis. All the people of South Africa deserve this and I am more than willing to play my part.

MANGOSUTHU G
BUTHELEZI
President, Inkatha Freedom Party
Mahlabathini

● *Hugh Robertson replies: Dr Buthelezi asks what supporters of Inkatha were supposed to make of Mr Vlok's visits to townships in the company of only ANC leaders. Precisely! Dr Buthelezi has done me the immense courtesy of underscoring the very point I was trying to make - that by undertaking such visits in the company of only one of the leading antagonists, Mr Vlok would be seen to be partisan by supporters of the other group. If it would make Dr Buthelezi happier, I would be prepared to extend my criticism of Mr Vlok to those township tours where he was accompanied only by ANC leaders, but I fail to see how this would be a rebuttal of my criticism of Mr Vlok's visit to Thokoza in the company of only Dr Buthelezi.*

Bomb blasts mark start of anti-Inkatha campaign

AP 2/7/90

(115)

Big response to stayaway call

Staff Reporters

Tens of thousands of people across the Reef and in Natal today heeded the ANC/Cosatu stayaway call, part of the organisations' national week of protests.

Three bombs exploded on the Reef as the national week of protest, aimed at isolating Inkatha politically, was launched today.

No serious incidents of intimidation were reported and few buses and taxis were in operation. Putco planned to withdraw its service from Soweto following the stoning of at least one of its vehicles.

Two railway stations, one at Katlehong on the East Rand and the other at Dube in Soweto, were the targets of limpet mine blasts.

A bomb made of commercial explosives detonated at the home of prominent ANC and union activists in Kagiso near Krugersdorp at 1.30 am. Damage was extensive and 11 other houses were damaged.

No one was hurt in the blasts. Police said the situation country-wide was quiet early today, with no major incidents reported.

In Soweto, police said the stayaway was virtually total, with very few people going to work.

About 200 youths had barricaded streets in Emmenton, but had run away when police arrived.

Taxis took different routes from Soweto to Johannesburg today for fear of reprisal.

In Pretoria, city businesses reported a mixed response from staff to the stayaway, in some stores no black employees had reported for work, others said many workers had arrived or were expected to arrive.

'Too frightened'



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'Too frightened'

Virtually no buses were running from local townships and traffic authorities reported fewer taxis than usual on the roads from Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve.

This was borne out by a taxi operator at a central city rank who said few taxis would operate this morning as drivers were "too frightened to load passengers".

Many Soshanguve residents were seen arranging lifts in private cars early today after queueing in vain for taxis to the city.

If taxis follow the pattern of previous stayaway calls, they will begin to operate as normal by mid-morning after establishing the demand versus the level of intimidation.

Thousands of workers on the East Rand townships stayed away from work. A complete stayaway was reported in Tsakane, Daveyton, Katlehong and Tokoza, and only a few people were seen leaving Tembisa.

Security forces have been placed on full alert, with the country braced for outbreaks of violence.

Damage estimated at R300 000 was caused to the Katlehong sub-station. The bombers cut the wire surrounding the installation before planting the mine, police said.

'Hit ruling class'

Thousands of policemen and soldiers were today deployed at hundreds of railway stations, taxi and bus terminals to enable people who wished to go to work.

The Government, Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo oppose the stayaway.

In a statement issued yesterday, Azapo's central committee expressed concern at the "undemocratic" way in which the stayaway was called and for the possible consequences.

"Stayaways are, in our opinion, meant to hit hard at capitalists and the ruling class to advance the interests of workers. Stayaways are not meant to injure the struggling masses," said the Azapo statement.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said yesterday police were giving a "massive show of force" in Natal in spite of Cosatu's appeal to workers not to use any form of intimidation.

The stayaway today will be followed by mass marches and rallies on Saturday, Mr Coleman said. This week, demonstrations would be held, depending on the local conditions.

A spokesman for Cosatu's Eastern Transvaal regional office in Secunda said the stayaway would be observed throughout the region.

He said there would be marches in most towns, although in most cases they would be confined to the townships and not business areas.

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Inkatha will not take up Kagiso Trust challenge

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TIM COHEN

(115)

INKATHA has refused to take up a challenge issued by the Kagiso Trust to jointly publish the organisations' audited reports, saying that it is a cultural organisation while the trust is supposed to be impartial.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "most concerned" that Kagiso Trust director Achmat Dangor had chosen to issue a public challenge that the trust would publish its audited report in the same newspaper, on the same day as Inkatha.

"Inkatha is a national cultural liberation organisation which obtains its funding entirely from the subscriptions of its members," Buthelezi said in a written response.

He said the trust was established in order to assist the victims of apartheid in SA, and was supposed to impartially assist all victims regardless of their political affiliations.

"I hope that Mr Dangor's public challenge is not indicative of any unfavourable attitude towards Inkatha and its members, who are themselves victims of apartheid and who should be entitled to benefit from the Kagiso Trust in the same way as anyone else."

Buthelezi noted that the challenge was not issued to the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, or other organisations.

"I wish to state that I do not intend to become involved in a public or media debate with Mr Dangor, he has his responsibilities to attend to as I have mine."

Spokesmen for the trust were not immediately available for comment.

The Kagiso Trust has been granted the sixth international King Boudewijn Foundation Prize worth R300 000.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:.....	668
February 1989 — July 1 1990:.....	1 082
Past 24 hours' official toll:.....	3
TOTAL:.....	1 753

ANC and Inkatha sign peace pact in Benoni

By SY MAKARINGE

LEADERS of the ANC and Inkatha in Wattville, Benoni, have signed a peace pact in a bid to prevent internecine violence between members of the two organisations. *downham 317790*

The pact was signed at a meeting in Benoni on Sunday following rumours that Inkatha members living in Wattville had planned to attack local leaders of the ANC to retaliate against alleged "slandorous attacks" made on president of Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The "slandorous attacks" were allegedly made by members of the ANC, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Youth Congress.

It was resolved at the meeting that supporters of the two movements refrain from making provocative statements against each other, exercise political tolerance and refuse to allow external antagonism "to bedevil communal peace".

The groups also agreed to meet periodically "to prevent possible conflicts" in future.

Buthelezi slams churches, media

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday accused some churches and news media of contributing to "distortions of reality" which were bringing black violence in Natal dangerously close to being "endemic".

In a memorandum for discussion at Ulundi with senior members of the Natal Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, he called on the churches to do more about correcting public misinformation.

"It is perhaps in the field of ensuring that public opinion is informed opinion, and that hideous distortions

are kept out of the media, that South African churches have failed most lamentably," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said media representations had frequently been directly and indirectly responsible for the escalation of violence in the region.

He said he was being presented as a willing part of an oppressive machinery in which people were being butchered simply to maintain apartheid, or KwaZulu as a homeland.

He was appalled that anyone could begin to think that he would instruct people to kill for political purposes, he said.

CAPE TOWN 3/7/90 (118) (22) (23)

Dhlomo named bank director

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Inkatha secretary-general and KwaZulu education minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo has been appointed a director of the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

The announcement follows Dr Dhlomo's silence about his plans since he resigned his KwaZulu posts last month.

Another appointment to the bank's board was the managing director of the Ciskei People's Development Bank, Mr Thami Sondiya.

The bank broke through the R700 million mark in annual disbursements in the 1989/1990 financial year ending March 31 this year, it announced in a statement issued yesterday.

The R730m disbursed in the past financial year, said the statement, represented a 49% growth for development projects, compared with R490m disbursed in the previous financial year.

The first signs of overseas participation in funding South African development and increased co-operation from private corporations had raised hopes that more funds would be available for redressing economic disparities to accompany political change, said the bank. — Sapa

If you want to see the other side of Nelson Mandela, ask him about his relationship with Buthelezi.

And if you want to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's temper and political intolerance, ask him about the ANC. You will most certainly get a clear picture of what is in store for us in the future.

Forget about the political power players in today's game and those who are fervently working towards a new South Africa.

Forget about the PAC and Azapo's stand against talks and negotiations with the government.

Forget about President De Klerk's guts in trying to dismantle apartheid.

Forget about the rightwing elements' lunacy and ox-wagon mentality.

Also, forget about the Democratic Party's claim to liberal values and their fight against communism.

The fight for political survival will involve Zeph Mothopeng's PAC, Buthelezi's Inkatha and to a lesser extent Itumeleng Mo-

MY WAY

..... c/press 5/8/90

With Khulu Sibiyi

(113)

Why not talk to the others



do not think it correct of me to wash our dirty linen in a foreign country."

Whatever differences Mandela may have with Buthelezi, he will have to talk to him at some stage.

As for the PAC and Azapo, there is no doubt the majority of people see the organisations as necessary devils in the future politics of this country.

They may not command the numbers the ANC have, but as one observer puts it, the two will be the watchdogs of the people, "and there will be no way the ANC will sell the people to the government by agreeing to everything".

It is therefore imperative for the ANC to go the whole hog and talk to Azapo, Inkatha and the PAC.

The ANC should have this in mind tomorrow when they plan the next round of talks with the government. While their claims of large membership and support cannot be doubted, they should remember the three organisations cannot be wished away.

Azapo and Inkatha are waiting like hawks to make capital out of possible failure of the talks.

Mandela, as the leader of the ANC, may have won part of the battle by talking and getting a mandate from community councilors, homeland leaders and the business sector - but the real war is still in the hands of the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

As one observer puts it: "Mandela has been speaking to devil incarnates and not the real movements."

Since his release, he has spoken to all homeland

leaders, except Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

While overseas he described the two leaders as the only two remaining homeland stooges of the government. He has held talks with Umsa president Tom Boya and spoke proudly of him. He has also held talks with members of the Conservative Party.

Why not with Buthelezi, they ask? While in New York his answer was: "I

Soweto tense as Inkatha meets

By SANDILE MEMELA

CFres 5/8/90
FEAR swept through Soweto this week after rumours of planned attacks by Inkatha members following today's Inkatha rally in Soweto.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said Inkatha would hold the rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre or Orlando Stadium.

It is alleged a planned campaign of terror will be launched against anti-Inkatha residents of Soweto.

Coleman alleges Inkatha has embarked on a recruitment drive in all hostels on the Reef and those unwilling to join are attacked.

Two men are reported to have been shot and killed at a Denver hostel for reluctance to join Inkatha.

Cosatu lawyers have written to the Commissioner of Police in Pretoria requesting a ban on the Inkatha rally.

However, Regional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier DJ Malan, says Inkatha has every right to hold a rally in Soweto.

Malan called on Cosatu to refrain from any deed which might disturb the peace in Soweto.

Cosatu lawyer Peter Harris said he had information showing Inkatha meetings were held at a hostel in Denver, near Johannesburg, where the possibility of attacking residents at Sebokeng yesterday was discussed.

It was however decided that Inkatha members would attack residents of Jabulani and possibly Diepkloof after the rally.

Sapa reports that Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has placed the blame for the July 22 Sebokeng violence, which claimed the lives of 29 people, squarely on the shoulders of the African National Congress.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of murder, intimidation, assault and provocation in his description of bloody events in Sebokeng.

Step 1 (11/1/90) (12)

Embassies asked to shun Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — Cosatu, the UDF, and the ANC have handed a memorandum to the German, British and American embassies in Cape Town asking foreign governments to withdraw support for the KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to reports.

They also asked for the disbanding of the KwaZulu police force and the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry.

It was reported that Chief Buthelezi will not be invited to a peace conference that is to be held in Natal under the auspices of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu next month.

UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe told a news conference in Johannesburg that Chief Buthelezi had sabotaged all peace initiatives in Natal so far. — Sapa

Alleged ANC hit squad held

By Craig Kotze

A suspected ANC hit squad of four insurgents, linked to the murder or planned murder of Inkatha "warlords" and other members of the movement, has been arrested in Natal.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced today that two of the suspects were being held in connection with the murder of several Inkatha members and a policeman, and a large number of armed robberies and car thefts.

Mr Vlok was speaking at the opening of a new police college in Paarl only hours after another group of suspected insurgents last night attacked a police station in the Eastern Transvaal, killing a policeman.

One of the attackers was killed in the firefight at the Emthonjeni

station near Machadodorp, police said.

Mr Vlok said the hit squad consisted of two insurgents trained outside the country, one internally trained insurgent and a collaborator. They were arrested near Durban recently.

Mr Vlok said they had admitted that their instructions had been to eliminate Inkatha members in Natal.

Police seized two hand grenades when making the arrests and the group had pointed out an arms cache where an AK-47 rifle and a large amount of ammunition was found.

Mr Vlok also said terror incidents had increased dramatically this month, with nine incidents already reported — an average of almost two a day. In June, 34 incidents were reported, about one a

day. Fifteen of the June attacks were against police.

He said the orders of the externally trained ANC members were:

- To eliminate Inkatha "warlords" and to create underground structures.

- To train other members in military skills.

At Machadodorp, police said three men armed with AK-47 rifles and Skorpion machine pistols attacked the Emthonjeni police station. They opened fire through the windows.

Two policemen fled, but two others returned fire with a pistol and sub-machinegun. One of the policemen was killed, as was the attacker with the Skorpion machinepistol.

The surviving gunmen fled in a red Toyota Cressida.

No arrests have been made.

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'Inkatha man set up bush killing'

By S'BU MNGADI

SENSATIONAL details of assassinations, vicious attacks and murder plots were heard at Maritzburg's Supreme Court this week.

KwaZulu Deputy Minister for the Interior and senior Inkatha central committee member Bhekizizwe Jamile, 60, and Msizi Hlophe, 19, have pleaded not guilty to five counts of murder.

The charges arise from attacks between 1985 and 1989 on prominent Clermont, Durban, community leaders opposed to the incorporation of the township into KwaZulu.

This week the fiancée of a man allegedly killed by Jamile spent three days in the witness box describing how she survived an attack during which her throat was slit.

The woman, Thokozile Shabalala, told the court her fiance, Joseph Khumalo, had shown her a piece of paper with names written down, among them the names of businessmen Richard Phili and Zazi Khuzwayo.

Shabalala and Khumalo were renting a room at the Inkatha leader's house in Clermont at the time.

The State alleges that on March 26 1987 Khumalo warned Phili about a planned attempt on his life by Jamile who allegedly told Khumalo he would help him buy a gun to protect himself.

On April 5, 1987, Shabalala said, Jamile came to their room with a gun and told them they should go to some people from whom they would obtain a second firearm.

The accused took the couple to his car where they met four men and were driven to a bushy area.

She stayed behind while Jamile took her fiance and two others along a footpath.

Khumalo's body was found by police in Mamba Valley the following day. He had been shot.

Shabalala said she and the remaining men were called to follow the others into the bush and as she came into sight of Jamile she was grabbed by the throat and struck on the head.

Jamile's defence counsel, Gideon

Scheltema, put it to Shabalala that Jamile denied being present on the night of the attack.

Earlier the court heard telephone calls to a senior member of the SAP's security branch and a senior KwaZulu policeman led to Jamile's immediate release from detention following his arrest.

The case against Jamile was later withdrawn on instructions by the State, Wagner said.

Shabalala subsequently instituted a civil claim against the Inkatha leader in the Durban Supreme Court. Jamile paid her the amount of R15 364,27 in an out-of-court settlement.

This week, Hlophe was identified as the young man who ran away seconds after Clermont taxi operator Nicholas Mkhize was shot on July 15, 1988.

The State alleges Jamile ordered Mkhize's death when Mkhize refused to release Jamile from a contract they had entered into.

'No' to anti-Buthelezi front

A SECOND senior official of the Pan Africanist Congress has opposed the idea of black political organisations uniting against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader.

Speaking in Dar es Salaam, the PAC's administrative secretary, Joe Mkwanzazi, said Chief Buthelezi was not the principal enemy of the oppressed black people and the idea of a black united front against him smacked of "the presence of enemy agents in our struggle".

In a report from the Tanzanian capital, the Africa News Organisation says Mr Mkwanzazi supported the statement in South Africa on June

Star 7/7/90
AFRICA (116)
NEWS SERVICE

27 by the PAC's internal general secretary, Benny Alexander, that the PAC saw no reason why the African National Congress and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha could not resolve their differences amicably.

"We might disagree with his strategies of resolving the violent political situation at home," said Mr Mkwanzazi, "but he surely belongs to our class position, the class of the oppressed.

"The idea therefore of a united front of the oppressed to eliminate Buthelezi smacks of the

presence of enemy agents in our struggle."

Mr Mkwanzazi said the PAC would never be a party to "that cursed alliance".

He said the PAC "will never use nor appeal to enemy forces or structures to neutralise our political opponents and anybody who hatches that idea is a revolutionary turncoat.

"What the PAC wants is a united front of all the oppressed and exploited masses to deliver the finishing blows against F W de Klerk's racist regime."

A united front must be formed, he said, against the "apartheid settler colonial regime," and this included those who lived in the homelands.

Inkatha the victim - Buthelezi

INKATHA was on the receiving end of violence in Natal and by far the majority of those who had been killed were its leaders and members or supporters, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing visiting representatives of Germany's Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen at Ulundi, the Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said

the organisation had never espoused violence.

"In contrast, the ANC has called for an armed struggle and as things proved increasingly difficult for the armed struggle it turned from hitting hard targets to hitting soft targets.

"Its propaganda justified planting bombs in supermarkets and discos and on street corners.

"It is a big jump from justifying an armed struggle to justifying just kill-

ing anybody but the ANC made that jump.

"Not only do they maintain that the armed struggle was a primary means of liberating South Africa, but when they lost their springboards in neighbouring territories because black Africa had eventually realised that they were fighting a losing battle, the ANC, attempting to translate the armed struggle into a 'people's war', popularised the slogan that

every combatant was a patriot and every patriot was a combatant.

"They advocated killing for political purposes," Buthelezi said.

Wherever there was violence in South Africa, the UDF was involved, he contended. When there was political killing in the Cape, it was killing between the UDF and black consciousness or civic organisations.

When there was killing in the Transvaal, it

was between the UDF and black consciousness organisations.

"There is killing in conflicts between the UDF and black consciousness organisations. There is killing in conflicts between the UDF and Azapo.

"There is killing in conflicts between the UDF and the PAC, and in the killing that takes place in South Africa the UDF is the common factor. - Sapa.

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Buthelezi in surprise shift

CWG Tmk 11/7/90 11B

JOHANNESBURG. — In a significant shift, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement yesterday said it would "not reject" nationalisation of strategic industry outright.

The movement, which has been persistent in its support for a free-market economy, would also consider the demand for the redistribution of wealth and land.

Addressing the Inkatha Business Forum in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi said there were iniquitous disparities between the relative black and white shares of wealth and land.

"Inkatha will not be able to avoid looking at the

realities of the demand for the redistribution of wealth and the redistribution of land in particular."

Chief Buthelezi however reaffirmed Inkatha's support for a multi-party democracy and a "Western-type, enterprise-driven industrial economy" for the future South Africa.

Anything other than South Africa's progression to normalisation attuned to West European and North American democracies "will be altogether too ghastly... Most certainly, Inkatha does not intend pursuing economic policies which have failed in the USSR and which are now lying in tatters in East Europe."

Chief Buthelezi also positioned Inkatha neatly between its arch-rival, the African National Congress, and the ruling National Party.

Inkatha would make common cause with either

political force provided they were involved in the quest for national unity and race reconciliation.

"If the NP is too late in arriving, Inkatha will combine with the ANC... if the ANC is too late in arriving, it will combine with the NP," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said pragmatism would have to be Inkatha's guide. It had to be accepted that to simply take from the wealthy and give to the poor would be nothing more than the redistribution of poverty.

The redistribution of wealth had to be tackled in part with the redistribution of economic opportunity through education and deregulation strategies. "It must also be tackled by directing the economy in such a way that the development of underdeveloped areas where there are concentrations of the poor, is maximised."

When addressing disparities in land ownership, in which 80% of land was owned by only 13% of the population, consideration had to be given to the fact that blacks were driven off their land at the point of a gun by white settlers, fuelling latter-day demands for land reform.

Inkatha's thinking on the "thorny" land issue was guided by the need to protect private ownership, the need to retain freehold title as a strategy to give everybody a meaningful opportunity of owning land, and the need to keep land as productive as possible by making the ownership of non-residential land a privilege for those who could use it productively.

Chief Buthelezi suggested the establishment of a Land Commission with the task of making it possible for black people to buy land — Sapa

Inkatha slams ANC man

Sowetan Reporter

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade are furious over African National Congress Natal leader Mr Harry Gwala. ~~1117/110~~ (1117/110)

The Inkatha youth movement said in a statement yesterday that Gwala should stop instigating violence and sowing hatred and disunity but rather steer his organisation towards peace. Sowetan 11/17/110

Gwala's alleged call at the weekend for war against Inkatha and his constant rhetoric in support of the armed struggle were in sharp contrast to some of the remarks made by other ANC members, the movement said.

It said it was "devastated" by Gwala's remarks in Maritzburg that Inkatha was responsible for the violence in the region.

"We were shocked that Mr Gwala could so bluntly blame Inkatha for the black-on-black violence," it said.

Unlucky Elizabeth



Elizabeth Radebe of Mofolo, Soweto, was a semi-finalist in the Miss Eastgate beauty contest. But unfortunately, Elizabeth, who likes rap music, did not make it to the finals which will be held tomorrow at 7pm at the shopping centre. Miss South Africa, Suzette van der Merwe will be among the judges. Entertainment will be provided by "Rock and Roll Madhouse". The event is open to the public, free of charge. Eon de Vos will compete the event.

Inkatha is at the receiving end - report

Sowetan 11/7/90 (11B)

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha yesterday released a report "into the plight of Inkatha victims of violence in KwaZulu/Natal", and said this proved the movement was at the receiving end of the Natal violence.

The report, released in Johannesburg where Inkatha was holding a business forum, said thousands of people in Natal had fled their homes and were living as refugees elsewhere.

Listed in the report were names of Inkatha supporters killed in the violence in Maritzburg and interviews and profiles of members who lost relatives in the carnage.

The "graphic accounts of these victims of violence", said the introduction to the report, gave the lie to the African National Congress/United

SOWETAN Correspondent

Democratic Front alliance's claims that Inkatha had been the prime instigator of political violence in the area.

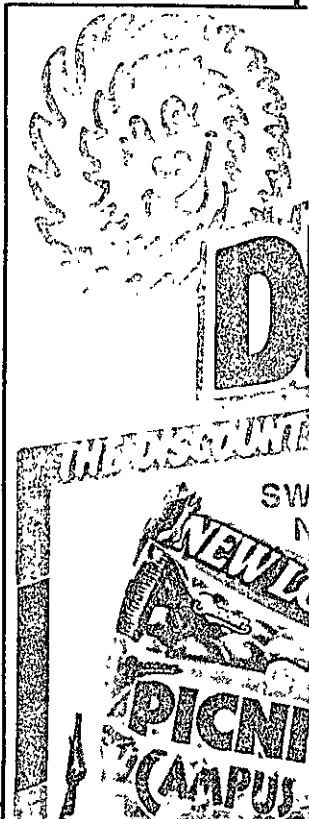
Said the report: "The personal testimony of these victims indicates nothing less than that there has been an organised and ruthless campaign of terror - reminiscent of the death squads of some of the Latin American republics - to eliminate all political opposition to the ANC/UDF alliance.

Victims

"But a striking feature emerging from the survey is the victims' total rejection of counter-violence and retribution against their tormentors.

"Without exception, they indicated they were weary of the violence and

longed for peace. All favoured negotiations to find a formula for peace."



Buthelezi offers merger with either NP or ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday held out the possibility of a merger with either the Government or the African National Congress (ANC) in centre-stage politics in future.

In his opening address at an Inkatha business forum at a Johannesburg hotel, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha, which will this weekend become a full-fledged non-racial political party, had always been at centre-stage. As the ruling National Party (NP) from the right and the ANC from the left moved towards centre-stage they would find Inkatha there.

"Inkatha will be there to combine with any other political force

which is there, because it (Inkatha) seeks national unity and wants to promote reconciliation.

"If the NP is too late in arriving Inkatha will combine with the ANC if it has already arrived. If the ANC is too late in arriving, Inkatha will combine with the NP if it has arrived. Centre-stage political forces will have to put the past behind them and thrust together towards a new future," Chief Buthelezi said.

The KwaZulu leader, who said winner-takes-all politics had no place in South African life, told the Inkatha business forum that South Africans would reject any form of one-party state rule.

South Africans, he said, wanted to move away from apartheid "with absolute determination", but they would not "leap away from apartheid over precipices

and trust to some posturing political leader — or to luck — to land on their feet".

Chief Buthelezi disclosed that Inkatha will hold a national conference in December as a non-racial political party, and would then adopt a new constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would not pursue economic policies which had failed in the Soviet Union and which were "now lying in tatters in East Europe". In its economic policy, Inkatha would take the best from the NP and the ANC because it was determined to evolve an economic policy which would be above party politics and put South Africa first.

However, Inkatha would not be able to avoid "looking at the realities of the demand for the redistribution of wealth and the redistribution of land in particular".

Prince: Water cut off because I backed ANC

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A prince of the Zulu royal family has alleged his water supply was cut off because he publicly supported the African National Congress.

In papers lodged in the Supreme Court here this week, Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu instituted an action against the Min-

App. Time: 11/7/80 116
ister of Works of the KwaZulu government.

The application has been set down to be heard on August 29.

In his affidavit, Prince Zulu said that in March last year he handed in his notice of resignation to the secretary of the Legislative Assembly, saying he was seeking membership of the ANC.

In January this year — without prior notice — the water supply to the royal residence in Nongoma, near Ulundi, was stopped.

He submitted that this was a direct consequence of his resignation and public support for the ANC and indicated "bias, prejudice and an ulterior purpose" by the respondents.

Dhlomo gets R7 000 for defamation

11/3
~~11/3~~

Sowetan
11/7/90

Sowetan
Correspondent

DR Oscar Dhlomo, who in his capacity as the then secretary-general of Inkatha, sued the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and the former editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Latakomo, was yesterday awarded R7 000 damages arising from reports published in April 1986.

Mr Justice MS Stegmann handed down his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court.

The judge was asked to rule on whether an organisation which is, or resembles, a political



OSCAR DHLOMO

party, could sue for defamation.

Stegmann said there was no consideration of legal or public policy to prevent it.

"By publishing the words complained of, the defendants conveyed the implication that Inkatha had been guilty of criminal conduct by incit-

ing its members, or alleged members, and the Amabutho impi, to assault the National Education Crisis Committee organisers and delegates at the Pioneer Hall in March 1986," the judge said.

The reports, published after the weekend conference in Durban, were defamatory, the judge ruled.

The sum of R7 000 was agreed to by the parties before judgment was handed down.

A claim by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was settled before the trial.

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company and Latakomo were ordered to pay the costs.

Inkatha favours central merger

AA66
11/7/90

From Kaizer Nyatsumbo
Argus Correspondent
in Joahhesburg

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KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday held out the possibility of a merger of his organisation with either the government or the ANC in centre-stage politics in future.

In his opening address at an Inkatha business forum at a Johannesburg hotel, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha — which will this weekend become a full-fledged political party and open its membership to all races — had always been in centre-stage politics.

POLITICS

As the ruling National Party and the ANC moved towards centre-stage they would find Inkatha there.

"Inkatha will be there to combine with any other political force which is there, because it (Inkatha) seeks national unity and wants to promote race reconciliation.

"If the NP is too late in arriving Inkatha will combine with the ANC if it has already arrived. If the ANC is too late in arriving, Inkatha will combine with the NP if it has arrived. Centre-stage political forces will have to put the past behind them and thrust together towards a new future," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said winner-takes-all politics had no place in the process leading to the normalisation of South African life, told the Inkatha business forum that South Africans would reject any form of one-party state rule.

South Africans, he said, wanted to move away from apartheid "with absolute determination", but they would not "leap away from apartheid over precipices and trust to some posturing political leader — or to luck — to land on their feet".

The 'new' Inkatha moves into politics. Officially

W.M. and 1317-1617190

THE new South Africa is about to get a new Inkatha. "Inkatha is another one of those South African leopards which will change its spots," Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the press at a special briefing yesterday. The 14-year-old "national cultural liberation movement" will transform itself into a political party at a national conference in Ulundi this weekend.

"Inkatha will now rise up from whatever it has been and will rise up out of whatever circumstances it has experienced, to become a new Inkatha in a new South Africa.

"Inkatha will transform itself from being a broad-based liberation movement into a political party with an irradicable presence in our country's centre-stage politics from where the forces of transformation will actually come," he said.

The briefing, attended by editors and political reporters, was one of a series given to select audiences in Johannesburg this week as part of the build-up to the Inkatha conference. Earlier this week, Buthelezi also met 150 business leaders for a five-hour discussion over Inkatha economic policy. The meeting was chaired by Stephen Mulholland, managing director of Times Media Ltd.

Buthelezi was keen yesterday to emphasise that Inkatha was opening its doors to all South Africans. "In the past, there was a black job of work to be done in politics ... There is now a multi-racial job of work to be done," he said.

Observers were interested to see who accompanied Buthelezi for a hint of who might replace the recently retired and highly-respected secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo. Among those present yesterday were kwaZulu cabinet minister Frank Mdlalose, youth brigade leader Musa Zondi, Natal farmer M Mackenzie, cabinet member Connie Zikalala and prominent members Senzele Mhlungu and Themba Nzimande.

Buthelezi set out the "four great tasks" which are priorities for his organisation. In Inkatha's words:

Buthelezi". In its new statement of purpose and objective, the first paragraph states that "the new Inkatha's strength come from the solidarity and purposefulness of the leadership of Dr Buthelezi".

As always, the element of Zulu nationalism in Inkatha politics was not presented to a media audience. The test of whether the new Inkatha will maintain the favour of Zulu nationalism will lie in whether Buthelezi uses the same tone in his address to supporters at the conference.

That Buthelezi can confidently predict the outcome of the weekend conference in great detail (an invitation to other political groupings to join in alliance with Inkatha, the preparation and launch of a campaign with the theme "Choice is what democracy is about", the launch of new fund-raising campaigns) does not bode well for internal democracy.

And if lack of tolerance is anything to go by, this week's discussion was an eye-opener. Speaking more frankly than anyone has probably spoken to Buthelezi in public before, *Financial Mail* editor Nigel Bruce said that, as a supporter of Inkatha, he was concerned about the attitude to the media, in particular Buthelezi's propensity to take civil action against newspapers. He said he sometimes felt that Inkatha had taken unfortunate lessons from the National Party in handling the press.

Buthelezi's response was a traditional South African one: he blamed the press for the situation and made it clear he saw no need to treat them any differently.

There was also little hope for anyone looking for signs that Buthelezi was keen on bringing peace to Natal. Having said he had no intention of slamming the African National Congress, he proceeded to attack its "euphoria politics". The ANC and South African Communist Party, he said, would have to become "more and more South African".

And then came the coup de grace: "There is a Texan expression about hunting dogs which I would like to borrow. Inkatha is a dog that will hunt."

Inkatha will transform itself from a "cultural movement" into a political party at the weekend. But how much will the organisation really change?



ANTON HARBUR reports

● To establish an open, free, non-racial, equal opportunity, reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all

● To harness the great resources of the country to fight the real enemies of the people: poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, ignorance, moral decay ...

● To establish political and economic structures that encourage enterprise and create more wealth, and make it possible to redistribute the wealth of the country to the benefit of all

● To ensure the maintenance of a stable, peaceful society in which all people can pursue their happiness, and realise their potential, without fear or favour.

Beyond this rhetoric, however, the meeting this weekend will provide an essential indication of whether this leopard can change its spots.

Inkatha critics charge it with being an authoritarian, top-heavy organisation built around the promotion of Zulu nationalism, Buthelezi's personality and the resources of the kwaZulu legislative assembly, controlled by Inkatha.

Given that Buthelezi has a tendency to make three-hour speeches and can hardly be described as charismatic, this seems to be a cult of non-personality.

However, it was clear this week that his pivotal role is not going to be challenged. His colleagues go out of their way to pay homage to him; in a list of 12 good reasons to back Inkatha, the organisation has, as number two, that it "is led by the much-respected President

The 'new' Inkatha moves into politics. Officially

WMA 13/7-16/7/90

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Inkatha employs expert to market its new role

TIM COHEN

ULUNDI — Inkatha has hired a world-renowned marketing expert to help reorientate the newly formed political party from "grand style politics" to developing policies that will win votes.

David Kingsley, who has advised people as diverse as Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and former ConsGold chairman Rudolph Agnew, said Inkatha's decision at the weekend to turn itself into a political party was only one of several courses of action considered by its members.

Despite Inkatha's strong group and regional identity, Kingsley said in an interview he believed its decision to become a formal political party was the correct one.

He said Inkatha would develop from a strong base which it could use as a springboard; it had always had a distinct grassroots organisation where there was a will to make things happen, and it had the skeleton of a party structure based around constituencies.

Dominated (116)

Claims that Inkatha, with its strong Zulu identity, was too group-based to be a major political force were misplaced because major political parties often had strong regional identities, he said, citing the example of the Labour Party in Britain which had strong roots in Wales.

Kingsley also questioned the charge that Inkatha was dominated by its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and that it was a "one man band", saying it was not unique to either Inkatha or SA for the identity of the political party to be flavoured by that of its leader.

Regarding Buthelezi's personal profile, Kingsley said "I have always felt that people don't become leading politicians with-

out having something going for them".

Buthelezi had in the past felt "beleaguered" but had been a smart politician, making tactically good judgments, he said.

Kingsley said Inkatha's strategy was not to be the major political party.

"It is not in its soul to be the one and only top dog, but I think it would want a place in government".

He said there was a great deal of discussion about alliances. Although a formal alliance with the National Party was considered highly unlikely, an election pact was not out of the question.

Although SA politics had previously had a "grandstand style", Kingsley said the blurred political past would soon clear and the most important questions of the future would be immediate voter issues such as employment, housing and security.

He said Inkatha's desire to extend its membership outside its current constituency was hindered by ignorance and stereotyping, principally because many South Africans' views about the Zulus were influenced by films and television.

Kingsley, who was adviser to ConsGold at the time of the "dawn raids" by the Hanson group and was also a founder member of the Social Democratic Party in Britain, said there was a distinct difference between marketing a political group and a product.

When promoting a product, one was clearly in control, he said. But with a political group one had to be much more sensitive to what was happening out in the market. With a political group, everything "has to be an extension of what is already there".

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C.M. - 11/13/90

Inkatha to launch as new political party

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha is to launch a countrywide membership drive among all sectors of the population to gain support for it as a political party which will contest elections in the future.

"We are in the market place as a South African political party," Inkatha's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said on Wednesday, adding that the party would be officially launched at the weekend.

He said the ANC was playing a dangerous game by trying to establish itself as the sole black political force. — Sapa

INKATHA

11B

F/M 13/7/90

Pitching for business support

Inkatha has pinned its colours to the free enterprise mast. At a meeting in Johannesburg this week, the organisation asked business to support its principles "as these are the same as your own."

Facing more than 100 business leaders, seven of Inkatha's top officials spoke reassuringly to business leaders who have nervously followed ANC announcements on nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth. The meeting was chaired by Steve Mulholland, MD of Times Media, the *FM*'s parent.

Several of the Inkatha speakers boast Harvard Business School and other overseas business qualifications, which helped open channels of communication. But while Inkatha clearly understands the need to get business support for its policies and while business accepted its bona fides, its economic policies did not find automatic acceptance.

"Inkatha still has some homework to do in honing down its policies," said Mulholland in his summing-up address. Apart from such guarded criticism, Inkatha's policies are clearly closer to the hearts of business leaders than, for example, the ANC's threat of nationalising "the mines, banks and monopoly industries." But some questions remain.

Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a "more dynamic" approach to the demands for redistribution of wealth and land.

"There must be a redistribution of economic opportunity. This must come from a process of deregulation and a medium- or longer-term process in which the provision of education and the imparting of training skills broadens opportunity for the individual," Buthelezi said. "I am coming out to be bold enough to say that, yes, economic development will stop revolution."

But the land issue and the "hideously skewed" distribution of wealth in SA had to be tackled. The way to go, he said, was to maximise the economy's growth potential, support the informal sector and have the right mix of monetary and fiscal policies.

"If political adventurism is a danger for SA, economic adventurism will be far more dangerous. Inkatha will not move away from its basic assumption of the fundamental need for an enterprise-driven economy in SA."

But, buyer beware — while pragmatism is its "basic characteristic," Inkatha is first and foremost a membership-based political organisation that is "rooted in marketplace

politics." Therefore, it must also heed the calls from its grassroots support base.

"Inkatha's economic policy will not be based on a felt need to avoid the inclusion of nationalisation of monopoly capital and the nationalisation of strategic industries," Buthelezi said. "The rejection of the economics and the politics that flow from the call for brutal nationalisation cannot become a fundamental point of departure for the formation of economic policy."

This may just be politicking, but it is clear that business can't ignore Buthelezi's focus on "directing the economy in such a way that the development of underdeveloped areas where there are concentrations of the poor, is

reducing the size of government must also be assisted by a maximum degree of privatisation."

Arnold van Huyssteen



Buthelezi and Mulholland ... the chief and the MD

maximised."

Buthelezi clearly believes that deregulation is essential for "maximising the development of the informal sector." He stressed that artificial barriers to entry and growth must be removed. But his reference to "a whole range of support systems" also presumes a strong role for government to "support the positive aspects of free enterprise."

On the land reform issue, again, Buthelezi leans towards the free-market view. He says Inkatha's land reform policy is guided by the need to protect private ownership as a fundamental principle and the need to retain freehold title as an ideal.

But a measure of socialist thinking creeps in when he refers to "the need to keep the land as productive as possible by making the ownership of non-residential land a privilege for those who can use it productively." Here one should keep in mind that Buthelezi is addressing the issue from the point of view of a tribal chieftain in whose domain communal land holding is the norm.

Lastly, Buthelezi says "huge bureaucracies are never efficient and in SA the elimination of apartheid must lead to a reduction in the size of government. The process of

Inkatha opposed to interim government

By Patrick Laurence

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday gave notice that Inkatha would resist the installation of an interim government pending negotiations for a new constitution.

An interim government — as proposed in the ANC-approved Harare Declaration — would not be established because "Inkatha opposes it and all thinking South Africans oppose it," Chief Buthelezi said.

Speaking on the eve of the launch of Inkatha as a fully-fledged political party open to all races, he described the idea of an interim government as one designed to force



Chief Buthelezi ... Inkatha will not be co-opted.

the present government to abdicate. But, he reckoned, if the ruling National Party abdicated, negotiations would collapse.

"Orderly progress towards the new democracy requires a very effective and intact National Party, just as it requires a very effective and intact Inkatha, and a very effective, intact African National Congress."

Chief Buthelezi and several of his top aides were addressing journalists on the "new Inkatha" at a news briefing.

Hanging on the wall behind them was a banner displaying Inkatha's new colours: the black, green and

yellow of the old Inkatha (and the ANC) flanked on either side by, red and white bands; red, for blood spilt in the frontier wars and the struggle against apartheid and white for peace in the future.

Chief Buthelezi commented on the ANC's drive to isolate him by trying to draw all anti-apartheid forces, and particularly his co-chief ministers in the "black homelands," into a negotiating bloc under its leadership.

The drive was based on a false premise that the National Party had been driven to the negotiating table by a single victorious liberation movement, he said.

New Inkatha' strives to get more members

INKATHA is to Launch a countrywide membership drive among all sectors of the population to gain support for it as a political party which will contest elections in the future.

(113)
"We are in the marketplace as a South African political party", Inkatha President, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a media forum in Johannesburg on Wednesday. The "new Inkatha" would be a national, democratic, political party preparing to fight in the "forthcoming free, universal suffrage, multi-party elections". It will be officially launched at the weekend.

Buthelezi said Inkatha could now open its membership to all races because a "multiracial job of work had to be done which only multiracial groups could do". W/Mail 1317-1617190.

"Inkatha will offer partnerships to Indian, black and coloured South Africans which any other organisation will find difficult to match." It would not be an easy ride to democracy because of items like the Harare Declaration which called for the handing over of power to an interim government. — Sapa

Excerpts from an address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha.

Inkatha leopard will change its spots — Buthelezi

APARTHEID is now doomed. Inkatha will transform itself from being a broad-based liberation movement into becoming a political party in centre-stage politics from where the forces of transformation will come.

Inkatha is another of those South African leopards which will change its spots. There is a resilience in Inkatha which will gather the best that there has always been, to make Inkatha a pro-active force moving out into the new political market place to make good my promises that the new Inkatha:

■ Pledges freedom and security in a democratic society which will create wealth for all to share.

■ Will guarantee growth and prosperity based on security, freedom and enterprise;

■ Strength will guarantee that South Africa's wealth will be there to share.

■ Promises freedom, security and economic growth through enterprise;

■ Enterprise policies are the only path to peace and prosperity for all.

Inkatha does not fly against what is truly South African. It will introduce no foreign ideology. It will not come with threats of one party states or worker states. And it will not come with a kind of surviving Stalinism or Leninism to attempt to make South Africa something that it is not.

INKATHA is part of a groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type industrial democracy. It is working for a race-free, multi-party democracy with an enterprise-driven economy. We all know the economy will have to some extent to be mixed.

The state will have to have a role in directing the generation of wealth and in providing mechanisms for the proper distribution of wealth.

I want to state emphatically that for me the free enterprise system is the most effective system devised to create the wealth that people like us could use with the most effect.

I believe there is a genius in the innovative inventiveness of the free enterprise system which is irreplaceable. Market forces should not be ridden over roughshod by government intervention.

Inkatha knows we have enormous problems. It knows there are no instant solutions and it knows there is no political magic which will wave the problems away. We have problems and we have to grapple with them. We will have to have the flexibility to do so.

It is too late in the day for our country to generate new political parties. New co-operation between parties, yes; new alliances of existing parties, maybe. But no to the notion that we can now in this eleventh hour raise up new leaders and new parties.

IT is the existing leaders of existing parties into whose hands history has thrust the need to make rapid and effective changes.

Inkatha is opening up its membership to all race groups. While in the past there was a black job of work to be done in politics which only blacks could do, there is now a multi-racial job of work to be done which only multi-racial groups can do.

Inkatha will offer partnerships to white, Indian and coloured South Africans which any other political organisation will find difficult to match. We are in the market place as a South African political party and unless black and white become reconciled in the process of eradicating the last of apartheid and in establishing a new, just society, there will be insuffi-

cient national will after apartheid to make a new democracy work.

The problems we will have to face to establish peace and stability in sufficient degree to make democracy work will test us very severely. We are not going to have a smooth ride.

We will have to face the dangers of dealing with such things as the Harare Declaration. This declaration calls for the handing over of power by the government of some kind of interim government which it is hoped will play mid-wife to a new constitution. There will be a hard political drive to make this happen. It is not going to happen because Inkatha opposes it and all thinking South Africans oppose it.

We all know that white fear will have to be dealt with and you most certainly cannot deal with it by threatening to chop the white head off the white body that is filled with fear.

Orderly progress towards the new democracy requires an effective and intact National Party, just as it requires an intact Inkatha, and an intact African National Congress.

REMOVE any major party from the formula and there will be problems.

There will have to be give and take in negotiation. We will have to avoid confrontation.

There are no victors and there are no vanquished in South Africa. There will therefore not be bi-polar negotiations in which the National Party faces only one opposition group.

I have not come with any intention of slamming the ANC. They will just have to get on with their euphoria politics until they come down to earth, hopefully before their December Congress, to deal with what really is involved in relocating leadership to South Africa and in sorting out a peace-keeping and negotiating leadership structures.

I must, however, say that the ANC is playing a very dangerous game in driving ahead trying to establish themselves as the sole contending force.

South Africa will be a multi-party state. There must now be a multi-party contention in deciding what that state will be like. There will have to be a multi-party contention during negotiations to make democracy a reality, and there will be a multi-party contention in the elections which will follow.

INKATHA will drive for peace because it has the most to lose in the politics of violence.

Inkatha is going to do whatever it takes to shame violence. We will mobilise a rejection of violence and we will gather very substantial international support for this.

We say there will not be a Lancaster House-type conference leading to a new government in a new political dispensation. The future of South Africa will not be decided behind closed doors.

We know negotiation can work because we have seen it at work. We are specifically going to mobilise to negotiate.

Inkatha has set itself four major tasks:

■ To established an open, free, non-racial, equality opportunity, reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all people.

■ To harness the great resources of the country to fight the real enemies of the people — poverty, hunger, unemployment disease, ignorance, insecurity, homelessness and moral decay.

■ To re-distribute wealth for the benefit of all people, and to establish political and economic structures that encourage enterprise and create the wealth all governments of the future will need.

■ To ensure the maintenance of a stable, peaceful society in which all people can pursue their happiness, and realise their potential.

The INDAABA Over

21 Times
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(118)

WHEN placings for the South African constitutional negotiations are finalised, at least one place will have to be reserved for Inkatha.

This controversial organisation and its even more controversial leader, the enigmatic Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, are undeniable realities of the country's political composition — whether one considers them heroes or villains.

This weekend, Inkatha takes another major step towards reinforcing its position as an important player in the negotiations game. It is transforming itself from a "cultural organisation" to a fully fledged political party. From a narrowly Zulu-based movement to a nationwide party seeking support across ethnic and racial divides.

However, it is difficult to imagine large numbers of Afrikaners, Sothos or Xhosas queuing up for application forms.

Inkatha's reputation has preceded it and fears of a resurgence of Zulu imperialism lie close to the surface in many South African minds.

February 2 and the return of the ANC to the South African political scene played havoc with the status of the other actors on the stage.

Relevance

Suddenly there were two major groupings, the National Party government and the ANC, dominating the proceedings — and now the rest are having trouble making their voices heard.

In white politics, the DP has shrunk to almost Lilliputian proportions.

The Labour Party and whichever group may constitute the majority in the House of Delegates at the time of publication have lost even the little relevance they had.

Azapo, the PAC and Inkatha are forced to watch from the sidelines, waiting (almost hoping) for the ANC to drop the ball and enable them to get involved in the game.

One of the alternatives considered by the Government in the pre-De Klerk era was to shut out the ANC and get a "moderate alliance" between the NP and Inkatha going.

Claims

In fairness, it should be noted that Buthelezi never gave any indication that he would consider entering into such a partnership.

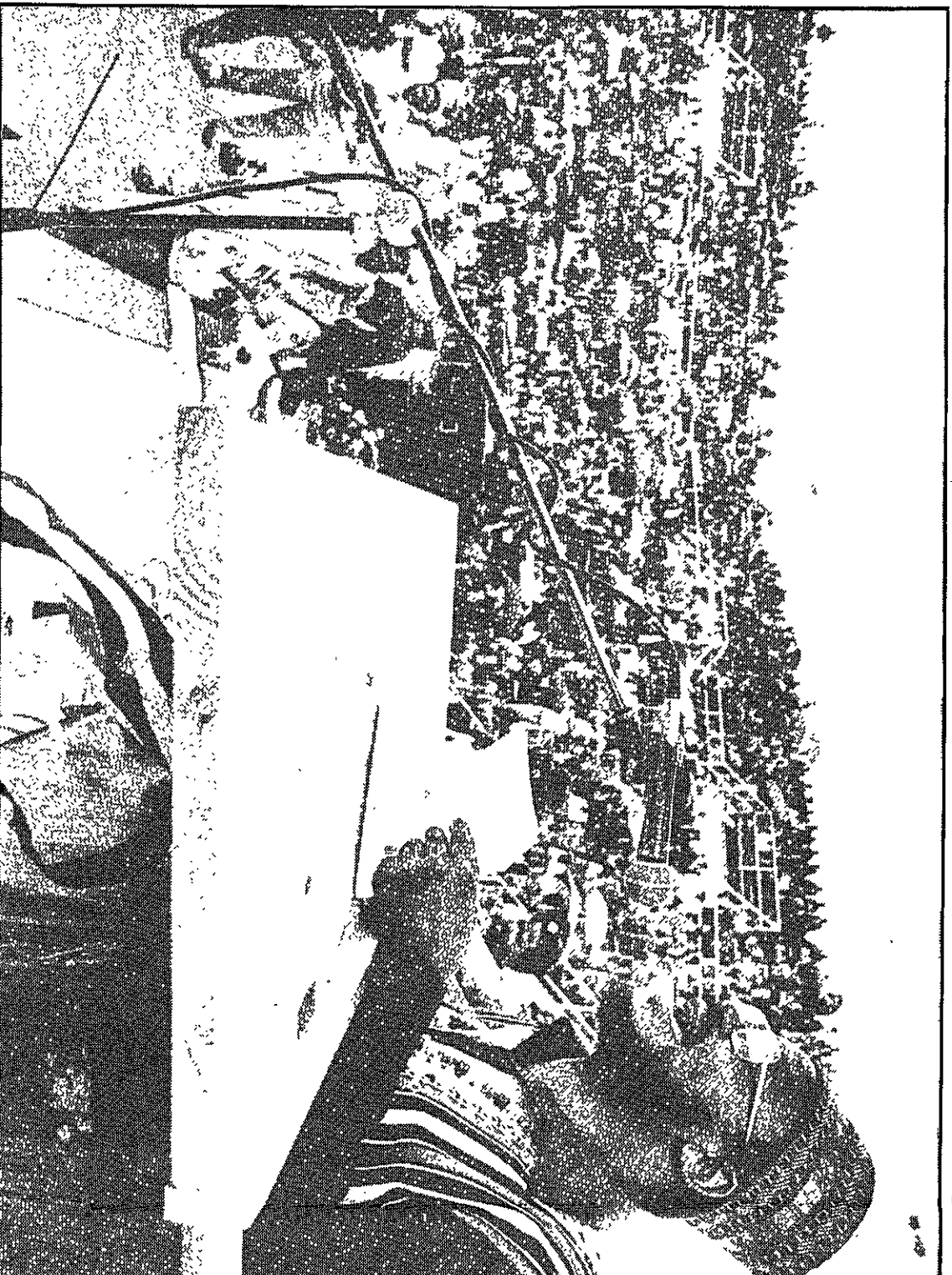
Throughout his career — even at the height of the personal recriminations between him and the ANC — Buthelezi strongly rejected any idea of an "internal settlement".

He, perhaps more than any other black "system" leader, called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of important political figures.

However, since that has



Dries van Heerden assesses the prospects for Inkatha in the week that it graduates from being a "cultural-liberation" organisation to a political party



JOINING THE FRAY... the enigmatic Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, an essential player in South Africa's negotiations game

happened, any notions of the "Buthelezi option" have disappeared from the minds of the Government's constitutional planners.

The days of shadow-boxing against imaginary opponents are over.

The reigning champion is standing in one corner of the ring and the main contender is looming almost larger than life in the other.

It is against this background that Inkatha as a political party will have to operate.

Inkatha supporters often make extravagant claims

about the extent of support the movement enjoys among Zulu-speaking people.

Its many overseas benefactors — unfortunately, too often found among right wing groupings with dubious connections — enjoy portraying Buthelezi as the sole and undisputed leader of 4.5-million Zulus.

Reality is more modest. Although Buthelezi may be able to muster strong support within rural KwaZulu, his popularity in the rest of the country has waned. A decade ago, he easily drew 70-80 000 people to rallies

in Soweto. Nowadays, he has difficulty getting 5 000 people together.

Even inside KwaZulu, his position is challenged. Among the kaleidoscope of reasons for the ongoing violence in Natal is the battle for political turf between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF alliance.

Quality

A group of tribal chiefs, Contreras, is challenging Inkatha's claims to represent the traditional Zulu society.

Over the years, Inkatha

has, in a way, developed into a Zulu Broederbond, with people joining for ideological reasons, for career improvement, betterment of social status and plain fear of being victimised or ostracised.

Another issue often whispered about but seldom raised in public is the quality of leadership in Inkatha.

Buthelezi is a charismatic figure, but he is not known for his political tolerance and commitment to encouraging debate or dissent within the movement. The departure of Dr

Oscar Dhlomo from the scene will be sorely felt by Inkatha. It has lost a man highly respected across the political spectrum for his intellect and negotiating skills.

Looking back at the recent history of Inkatha,

There is little doubt the Indaba model — a two-chamber legislature with a Lower House elected through universal franchise and an Upper House to look after minority interests — will be a major point of discussion at the negotiating table.

Instincts

With his uncanny political instincts, Buthelezi has sensed an opening for him and Inkatha to become major players.

His strength does not lie in numbers, but in his ability to mobilise those who support him.

No future settlement dare exclude Inkatha. Its ability to cause trouble should not be underestimated.

However, for Inkatha to become a truly major player on the political scene it will have to undergo important changes.

It should be able to supply proof that it can draw support outside the confines of the Zulu ethnic group.

And its leadership should display a greater tolerance of political diversity and ideological rivals — starting in its own backyard of strife-torn Natal.

Inkatha joins the battle for political might

INKATHA threw down the gauntlet to the ANC yesterday in the battle for political support by relaunching itself as a country-wide political party. *S1 Times 15/7/90*

Speaking before an enthusiastic crowd of 12 000 supporters at Ulundi, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that "no power on earth will stop us being a powerful force at the negotiating table".

While holding out "a hand of friendship" to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Mr Buthelezi warned that the ANC's policies and aims would "never be rammed down Inkatha's throat".

Pledged

In a move of major significance, the Inkatha congress transformed itself from a Zulu-based cultural organisation into a fully fledged political party appealing to all South Africans.

It immediately positioned itself in the centre of the political spectrum, calling for a multi-party "race-free democracy serviced by an enterprise-driven economy".

Pledging Inkatha to "a total reliance on non-violent tactics and strategies", Mr Buthelezi said he was "ready to negotiate now, but circumstances militate against negotiation".

He said: "Inkatha cannot take a seat at the negotiating

By DRIES van HEERDEN
Ulundi

table if its representatives are sitting next to the people who are killing its members."

The challenge ahead was "to talk rather than kill for political purposes".

Mr Buthelezi listed "four great tasks" awaiting the new party.

- To establish an open, free, non-racial, reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all people;

- To harness the resources of the country to fight poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease and ignorance;

- To redistribute the wealth of the country for the benefit of all people and to establish political and economic structures that encouraged enterprise and created the wealth a future government would need;

- To maintain a stable, peaceful society in which all people could pursue happiness and realise their potential.

Referring to the continuing violence in Natal which has claimed an estimated 3 000 lives in the past three years, Mr Buthelezi said: "There can be no peace until all parties want it."

"The ANC, the SA Communist Party and their UDF supporters are just not serious about peace."

New Inkatha political party

11B

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend the time had arrived for reconciliation and he renewed his call to ANC leader Nelson Mandela to meet him over violence in Natal.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's general conference Buthelezi rejected the ANC's Harare Declaration and said Inkatha would be a force to contend with at the negotiating table.

"Inkatha knows that unless there is reconciliation during the process of eradicating apartheid, South Africans will not be able to develop the na-

open to all

Sowetan
16/7/90

**Sowetan
Reporter**

tional will which runs across all race groups to establish a democracy and to maintain it thereafter."

"The best way of doing this," he explained, "is by normalising South Africa in a bold and purposeful step by step discarding of the worst that there is and the preservation of the best that there is."

Inkatha was being transformed from a liberation movement into

a political party and its membership was now open to all races, he said.

Buthelezi told delegates his organisation was committed to peace and political unity "based on a common acceptance of a multi-strategy approach."

"I again stand up and say to Dr Mandela: Come my brother, let us sit down to talk and then go forth for peace for the sake of South Africa," he said.

"But I also say today nothing that the:

ANC can do will shake Inkatha's resolve to come out as a new Inkatha and a political party to claim its rightful place at the negotiating table."

He warned the ANC the pursuit of winner-takes-all politics "is dangerous in the extreme."

"There is going to be a new South Africa with or without the ANC," Buthelezi said. "We will just not allow the ANC and its South African Communist Party partner to crush all opposition to it and emerge as the only viable political party."

Inkatha transforms into political party

Own Correspondent

Star 16/7/90

DURBAN — Roars of approval from about 12 000 people greeted the passing of a resolution at the weekend to transform Inkatha from a liberation movement into a political party and to open party membership to all races.

“But now that Inkatha is non-racial, it doesn't mean that there will be a deluge of whites, coloureds and Indians into our organisation,” Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said, pointing out that apartheid and its separate development policies had left its mark on all South Africans and had produced a deep distrust of other race groups in ordinary people.

Uphill struggle

He said it would be an “uphill struggle” to get people of other races to join Inkatha.

Only a handful of whites, Indians and coloureds attended the party's annual congress at Ulundi on Saturday.

The National Party was officially represented for the first time at an Inkatha annual congress. The NP delegation was led by the chairman of the party in Natal, Jurie Mentz.

Natal talks: Inkatha call for new try

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The general conference of Inkatha has called on the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to recommence peace talks in Natal.

In a resolution passed at the end of its historic 15th annual gathering at Ulundi yesterday, the movement applauded the offer of its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to support the recent decision of Inkatha's central committee to resume five-a-side peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu.

The talks were called off by Inkatha last year after Chief Buthelezi claimed the UDF/Cosatu grouping had not honoured the agreement.

Informal discussions have been held between the two sides since then.

The conference also called on the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance to "desist from heightening tensions as they did in the action they sponsored in the first week of July".

Delegates also called on the alliance to "desist from being provocative and from making political propaganda out of violence".

The conference also issued a statement to the ANC asking it to stop "denigrating" the KwaZulu Police, and called on the KwaZulu government to respond to the cry for the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police by establishing KwaZulu Police control in every area under its jurisdiction.

Chief Buthelezi also said at the conference that he did not believe there would be a "deluge" of whites, coloured people and Indians applying to join the movement because South Africa had been "compartmentalised" for so many years.

He referred to "walls of fear" in the country, adding that "we are not going to wish them away".

"It is inconsequential how many have joined," Chief Buthelezi said. "I am offering my hand to whoever wants to take it or leave it."

Inkatha officials said that 56 whites had applied to join the organisation on Saturday and several more applied yesterday.

Whites Inkatha's only

hope

When it was first formed in 1975, with the tacit approval of the ANC, Inkatha, a predominantly Zulu organisation, was meant to be concerned largely with culture.

In the first few years of its existence it had a fairly close relationship with the ANC. The latter refrained from publicly criticising Inkatha, but the honeymoon did not last long.

The fall-out occurred after a meeting in London in November 1979 between the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a show of strength Chief Buthelezi, who had always been under great pressure from the Black Consciousness groups and the Soweto Civic Association under the chairmanship of Dr Nthato Motlana, flew to London with his entire Cabinet to get the ANC to speak out in his support and "get the Black Consciousness people off my back".

On his return home, Chief Buthelezi presented his meeting with the ANC as a breakthrough, saying the two organisations were on the verge of working closer together. However, ANC president Oliver Tambo later denied the meeting had taken place.

This marked the beginning of a bitter war of words between the two organisations. Chief Buthelezi frequently launched scathing attacks on the exiled organisation, which could not legally respond.

His popularity began to drop, however, after the violent clash between students and Inkatha at the University of Zululand in 1983, in which at least three students lost their lives. The United Democratic Front (UDF), which offered the greatest challenge to Inkatha inside the country, was formed in the same year.

From then onwards, Inkatha has been increasingly isolated by anti-apartheid organisations in this country, and was recently labelled "the people's enemy" by the radical South African Youth Congress (Sayco), a very influential ANC component.

Inkatha, which became a nonracial political party at the weekend, is determined to play a significant role in future. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA**, a political writer on *The Star*, looks at the implications of its transformation.

Despite all this, Inkatha has remained determined to play an important role in any future political settlement, and Chief Buthelezi has let it be known that he considers himself a potential participant in negotiations.

Given Inkatha's pariah status in black politics, the organisation had no choice but to throw its membership open to all races and become a political party. Under the circumstances it was the best Chief Buthelezi could do for both the organisation and his own political ambition.

A Zulu-based Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement, as the organisation was known, could not pose any serious threat to the ANC-UDF-Cosatu-SACP alliance, and the possibility of it playing an important role in future was negligible.

New name

Last week I asked Chief Buthelezi if Inkatha's name would change to give it a new image and if the party's headquarters would be moved from Ulundi, capital of the KwaZulu homeland. The name, he said, might be changed later, and a decision was still going to be made about the party's new head office.

What will the transformation do for Inkatha, and what are the implications for South African politics?

To start with, the organisation's membership of 1,7 million — a figure given to me by Chief Buthelezi's office on Friday — is very much in doubt.

Included in this figure are KwaZulu civil servants who have no choice but to be card-carrying members of Inkatha, if they are to

be employed by the homeland, and students registered at all KwaZulu-controlled schools.

On the positive side, verligte whites in President de Klerk's National Party and conservative liberals in the Democratic Party, who were members of Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party, may conceivably support it.

Unlike any other black liberation movement, Inkatha is acceptable to many whites and stands for most of the things they believe in, ranging from a multi-party democracy, the free enterprise system, a rejection of a winner-takes-all one person, one vote system, and rejection of an interim government during negotiations.

Like the Government, it is also opposed to the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and foreign intervention in domestic issues. On many issues Inkatha's position is closer to that of the NP than it is to that of anti-apartheid organisations, and whites should find themselves comfortable within it.

While many whites will feel at home in Inkatha, it does not appear that Inkatha is about to be flooded by applications from whites wishing to join the party in the near future. Some will probably play a wait-and-see game, while others will be repelled by the way in which Chief Buthelezi has hitherto run the organisation.

However, with probably the best publicity department among political organisations in the country, Inkatha might just be able to play down the negative aspects of Chief Buthelezi's leadership, and project the KwaZulu leader as a never-say-die fighter who has been the only

voice of non-violence and reason when others turned to militant demonstrations and the rhetoric of armed struggle.

Inkatha has engaged a world-renowned marketing expert, David Kingsley, to help re-orientate the party from "grand style politics" to developing policies that will win votes.

However, Inkatha is not likely to make major inroads into the coloured and Indian communities which do not at present support the tricameral parliamentary system. These people are largely behind the ANC, with a sprinkling supporting the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Unless Inkatha makes major changes in leadership style and substance, it is not likely to get wide support in the black community outside the KwaZulu-Natal area. Its salvation as a viable party, then, rests squarely with the white community which would like to see South Africa ruled by "an acceptable" black leader subscribing to values of Western-style democracy.

Merger

While a merger between the NP and Inkatha might be unlikely in the near future, especially in the period leading up to negotiations, the two parties will probably find themselves drawn closer to each other than ever before.

Neither party alone can win a democratic one person, one vote general election, and here they might have either to form an alliance or merge.

That, too, is the route smaller ethnic parties such as those in the Houses of Delegates and of Representatives will have to take if they are to survive.

In conclusion it must be said, though that Inkatha will continue to be a major player in South African politics and cannot simply be wished away, as some would like to do.

many to the Johannesburg

Whites are urged to give Inkatha all-round support

113

Some few 17/7/90

WHITES must not only offer Inkatha their financial support, but also their political acumen and their organisational and administrative skills, Eshowe farmer and Inkatha sup-

porter Mr Morris Mackenzie has said.

In a vote of thanks to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi at the weekend, Mackenzie said Inkatha's

future was very bright.

He said Inkatha was a political force to be reckoned with and would be part of any future negotiations. It was clear that the ANC was not the sole

representative of black aspirations in South Africa.

He urged whites to join Inkatha, saying they should have no illusions about the "inevitable changes" the future would bring and reminded them of Inkatha's economic policies of free enterprise and moderate political approach.

"And do not think that only your financial support is required. Inkatha needs your political acumen, your organisational skills and your administration skills."

Mackenzie presented the major part of his speech in Zulu and received loud applause from the crowd.

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Inkatha calls off talks with ANC

CAF 7/17/90 17/7/90 110 286

PEACE talks to try to resolve the Natal violence, which were to have been resumed last night between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance, have faltered before having begun.

The talks were requested by Inkatha on Saturday but yesterday the national chairman of the movement, Dr Frank Mdlalose, telephoned the chief spokesmen for the ANC involved in the talks, Dr Diliza Mji, to ask that the meeting be postponed.

The general conference of Inkatha passed a resolution at Ulundi during the weekend calling on the UDF and Cosatu to resume the peace process.

Dr Mdlalose said yesterday that the talks had been postponed because of a number of factors "which need not go into the newspapers".

A meeting would be held at a later stage, he said.

Dr Mji said the moratorium had been lifted by Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance had been prepared to meet representatives of the organisation.

Dr Mdlalose declined to comment on a suggestion by interested parties that a retired Natal judge be brought in to bring the two factions to the negotiating table.

Bishop Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal, welcomed the plan.

Dr Mji said, in response, that the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance had embarked on a campaign to have certain demands addressed by State President FW de Klerk.

These concerned the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police, freedom of political association, the lifting of the state

of emergency in Natal, the arrest and prosecution of alleged Inkatha "warlords" and the establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the violence in Natal.

He said these demands would create conditions on the ground which would make peace talks possible.

"At the moment that is our approach," Dr Mji said.

● President De Klerk is to be asked to terminate all control of health services by the KwaZulu administration and to establish a comprehensive and integrated health service for Natal/KwaZulu.

This resolution was adopted by the majority of delegates to the National Medical and Dental Association's annual conference and strongly supported by the Medical Association of South Africa. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

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Inkatha, UDF talks still on cards

ULUNDI — Inkatha officials said yesterday that a proposed meeting with the UDF/Cosatu, which fell through earlier in the week, was still on the cards, but a date had not yet been agreed upon.

The meeting was due for Monday this week, but fell through at the last minute.

Inkatha official Frank Mdlalose said that at a meeting with Cosatu official Alec Erwin, earlier in the month, it was agreed talks between the two parties aimed at ending the ongoing violence in Natal province should resume on July 16.

"I asked that we be assured that five delegates from the UDF/Cosatu would attend, and who they were. By Sunday, July 15, there was no clarity on this and we asked for postponement in order to be sure that the meeting be between (delegations of) five and five on a day suitable to all." — Sapa.

Buthelezi warns on 'bi-polar' negotiations

City Times 18/7/90 Political Staff (116) (109)

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned against bi-polar negotiations in which the ANC and the government would be the only contending forces.

Addressing the Centre for Policy Studies in London, Chief Buthelezi said if negotiations were allowed to become bi-polar, the ANC would get everything it wanted.

The ANC would then have the powerful advantage of being able to withdraw from the negotiations at any point it chose to, and to return to create the kind of difficulties in confrontation politics which would hold the whole negotiation process to ransom.

He said "all-or-nothing" politics was sought in South Africa only by those who wanted to use the transitory period to establish the sole right to form a government after apartheid.

"Inkatha says very bluntly there will be no democracy if there is not a multiple input to the politics of negotiation, and there will be no democracy unless South Africans really do have a multiple choice in elections after negotiation," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said there would be no Lancaster House-type negotiations and no one-off negotiation event would finally settle the SA problem.

Talks on violence

BOTH Inkatha and the ANC have denied it was their fault that the peace talks between the two organisations scheduled for Monday were postponed. *South African 19/7/90*

However, it is likely the talks may be on again next Monday.

Inkatha's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, has urged the Cosatu/UDF alliance to finalise their delegates for joint talks on the Natal violence so that the discussions could resume.

Mdlalose said that after Inkatha had lifted its moratorium on peace talks in May, it was agreed that the original five-a-side delegations would meet.

Ambush manhunt pledged

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inanda bus ambush which left 26 people dead and 56 injured was a barbaric, terrible deed and the police would do everything possible to track down the killers, Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said today.

As allegations of who was responsible for the horror incident grow more complex, Brigadier Mellet said: "It is sickening, but indicative of the violence in the area which brings nobody any joy. We are upset. We express our condolences to the families."

There was no difference between this incident and the shooting down of an aircraft, Brigadier Mellet said.

The ANC and Inkatha have accused each other of being responsible.

Dying

One report published overseas from a Durban-based freelance journalist said the dying bus driver told residents from the Shembe Church complex scene that an SAP special constable he named as Gumede, and anti-UDF vigilantes, had shot him.

Brigadier Mellet dismissed the allegation, pointing out that it was dark at the time of the shooting, making it difficult for the driver to see who shot him.

The ambush took place on a road that divides Inkatha and UDF areas, about 7 km outside the Phoenix Industrial Park.

Church leaders including Reverend Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SA Council of Churches, today asked President de Klerk for a judicial commission of inquiry into the incident.

The church leaders said they were appalled by the shooting and the allegations that some passengers were attacked after the bus had crashed.

"The information we have makes us particularly worried about the role of the security forces," the churchmen said in their appeal.

Marketing expert to help Inkatha

(118)

South Africa
19/7/90

A WORLD-RENOWNED marketing expert, Mr David Kingsley, has been employed by Inkatha to help transform the organisation from being a Zulu cultural body to a fully-fledged non-racial political party that will enlarge its support base in all sectors and win votes in future elections.

Kingsley, who took up his position in April this year was approached in London last year.

UDF has more backing than Inkatha, say analysts

Star 20/7/90 115

MARITZBURG — The level of violence in Natal's virtual civil war has subsided significantly in spite of a bus ambush which killed 26 people on Wednesday, officials and other analysts say.

The African National Congress appears to have scored major advances over Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in the eastern province's battle-scarred townships.

Major Kobus Vorster, estimates that the ANC-allied United Democratic Front may command between up to 70 percent of support among blacks in the townships whereas Inkatha was unchallenged before major fighting began in 1987.

"Inkatha has the bigger slabs of land but the UDF has the people — all the big townships are UDF controlled. It's been very tragic in lives lost but in political terms very successful for the UDF."

Radley Keys of the Democratic Party, which monitors Natal unrest, agreed the UDF appeared to dominate urban centres while In-

katha was strong where tribal values flourished.

They and other sources said the fighting, which has claimed at least 3 000 lives since 1987, has been greatly reduced since President de Klerk sent in troops in April this year.

Colonel Mike Coughlin of 32 Battalion, which operates in the Maritzburg area — the so-called "killing fields" of Natal — described the situation as generally stable, punctuated by sporadic murders and arson.

Cautioned

Brigadier Jac Buchner, Police Commissioner for the kwaZulu, said about 15 people were being killed every weekend — the worst time for violence — compared with up to 50 at the beginning of this year.

"People are withdrawing from violence. They are sick and tired of it," he said.

Officials cautioned the respite could be temporary.

"Although stable at the moment, one little inci-

dent could set off a wave of violence. It's very tense. It's like keeping the lid on a pot," said Major Vorster.

Fears of renewed violence grew on Wednesday after unidentified gunmen shot at a bus which left the road outside Durban. Twenty-six people were killed and scores hurt in the attack, which was condemned by both Inkatha and the ANC.

Meanwhile, independent analysts and security officials say 3 000 troops have helped impose an uneasy peace.

"The state of emergency has most definitely assisted us in curtailing violence. It would have an adverse effect if lifted too early," said Major Vorster.

So far the UDF-ANC alliance and Inkatha, constantly blaming each other for the slaughter, have not managed to get together to resolve the situation. Analysts fear frustration is building among poverty-stricken millions because of the additional suffering imposed by the conflict. — Sapa-Reuter.

Any butterflies? (113)

Now that a "new Inkatha for the new SA" seems to have emerged, at the party's 15th annual general conference in Ulundi at the weekend, has KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi secured his place at the negotiating table?

More important, will Inkatha's conscious shift (from a tribal movement to a political party open to all) change the fortunes of the organisation? Recently it has been losing support and picking up bad publicity from the alleged involvement of some members (and sections of the KwaZulu police) in the Natal violence (*Currents* June 29).

It was clear from Buthelezi's speech at the weekend that his eye is on negotiations: "No power on earth, and most certainly nothing that the ANC can do, will shake Inkatha's resolve to come out as a new Inkatha and as a political party to claim its rightful place at the negotiating table."

Ambivalence towards the ANC ran throughout his speech. He accused it and the SACP, UDF and Cosatu of not being "serious about peace." (Scheduled peace talks were then postponed, apparently because Inkatha wanted clarification on how many delegates from the other side would be attending, and who they would be.) Buthelezi invited Nelson Mandela to meet him to talk peace but went on to say that "the killing cuts out talk."

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, thrust into the position of spokesman

now that veteran politician Oscar Dhlomo has left the party, says that since the weekend, people of other races have been joining Inkatha.

A delegation of five Nats, including Natal chairman Jurie Mentz, were at Ulundi and praised Inkatha's transformation. Interestingly, it was the now defunct PFP that was doing this sort of thing

not so long ago — although DP members today tend to keep their distance from Inkatha, especially since the DP began playing an active role in monitoring the violence in Natal.



Buthelezi

But the NP presence was probably only a regional initiative, taken in the knowledge that Natal MPs are going to have to work with Inkatha. On a national level, the ANC is likely to remain government's main negotiating partner.

Inkatha watchers have pointed out that the organisation would continue to lose support from an increasingly young and more urbanised black population unless it "modernised" its policies.

In many ways Buthelezi is taking a risk. Inkatha's big and loyal following has been based largely on its tribal influence in rural areas. By trying to make the party all things to all people he could alienate that support. ■

Inkatha 'planned hostel attack'

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu has accused Inkatha of trying to orchestrate an attack on hostel residents in the Vaal Triangle this weekend, in retaliation for the July 2 worker stayaway which Inkatha had opposed.

Cosatu said in a statement yesterday that hostel residents in the Vaal area had reported visits by Inkatha leaders, who allegedly told them to resign from Cosatu and the ANC and join Inkatha.

They were also allegedly told to pay R40 to attend an Inkatha conference at Ulundi, and to attend an Inkatha rally today. The rally was subsequently postponed to tomorrow.

Cosatu said they had approached Inkatha for an assurance that an attack on Vaal residents would not be launched. "Such an assurance has in fact now been given by Inkatha through their lawyers," they added.

Commenting on the Cosatu statement from Ulundi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused Cosatu of "yet again embarking on a self-serving propaganda exercise aimed at discrediting Inkatha".

To claim that an "attack" was planned in Ulundi was "simply laughable", he said. — Sapa

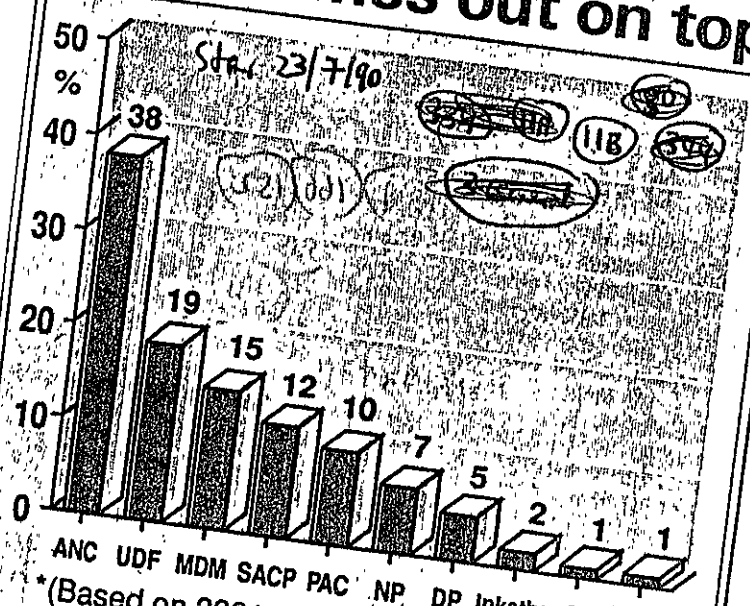
Peace talks postponed

THE Natal-based joint working committee of the ANC, Cosatu and Sayco was yesterday still awaiting word from Inkatha on the possibility of resuming peace talks.

Dr Diliza Mji of the ANC's Southern Natal interim committee said the organisations regretted the postponement of a meeting between them and Inkatha on Monday because Inkatha leaders felt conditions were not conducive to peace talks.

AC/11/22/190

ANC comes out on top



(Based on 2281 respondents excluding Natal.)

The dominance of the African National Congress in the black community, as disclosed in a comprehensive survey conducted by Market Research Africa, is strikingly illustrated in the graph above. The ANC towers over its rivals, the United Democratic Congress and Inkatha. Its closest challenger, it is an ally. The graph reflects the proportion of blacks outside Natal and KwaZulu, where civil war is raging in the black community, who feel "very close" to the organisations vying for their support.

● Most blacks support ANC, claims survey — Page 17.

8/04 24/7/90

BWB plans to contact arms dealers

PETER DELMAR and LINDEN BIRNS

THE ultra right-wing Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) was planning to make contact with international arms dealers, leaders of the movement said in an interview at the weekend.

BWB general secretary Eddie von Maltitz said he believed right-wing groups could easily obtain arms on the international market.

BWB leader Andrew Ford said in an interview in Bethlehem the BWB had "hundreds of thousands" of sympathisers.

It was organising commandos in every town and city in SA, he said.

Ford also disclosed the BWB and its political arm, the Boerestaat Party, were planning to send a deputation to the UN to argue their case for the restoration of the white Boer states.

8/04 24/7/90

Inkatha, UDF start Natal peace talks

MARITZBURG — Inkatha and UDF representatives would discuss ways to bring peace to Natal in Durban today, spokesmen from both organisations said yesterday.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday he was informed on Friday that two representatives from the UDF/Cosatu joint working committee would meet the Inkatha delegation at the National Union of Metalworker's offices this evening.

Mdlalose said Inkatha would be represented by himself, DR B Madide, VB Ndlovu, Musa Zondi and N Nkehli.

He said there was no significance in the fact that the venue of the meeting was not neutral and pointed out that previous meetings had been held at Inkatha offices.

He said he hoped the talks would return to the five-a-side format used before the moratorium on talks was requested by Inkatha late last year.

Mdlalose said he did not share the view that the current discussions were in any sense informal, as had been suggested by UDF/Cosatu representatives.

Cosatu/UDF committee member Diliza Mji said prior to the postponement of last

TIM COHEN

week's talks that they were seen by his group as "informal exploratory talks".

A Cosatu spokesman confirmed that the talks would be held and said its working committee would be represented by Alec Erwin and Mji.

On track

Our Durban correspondent reports that the annual conference of Inkatha at Ulundi last week passed a resolution calling on other groups to resume the peace process.

Political observers are quietly optimistic that the talks appear to be on track.

Peace talks between the two sides broke down in Maritzburg in 1987 and at the Complaints Adjudication Board in 1988.

Meanwhile, the violence in KwaZulu-Natal has claimed more than 3 000 lives since it started in 1985.

Last week a bus crash at Inanda, in which 26 people lost their lives and 56 were injured, was attributed to conflict between UDF/ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Threats marred nation-wide survey

ANC's popularity spans divisions

11B

THE African National Congress and its political allies have the support of 84 percent of the country's blacks, according to the results of a survey by Market Research Africa.

This conclusion is based on a sample of 2 281 black adults interviewed throughout South Africa.

However, 22 percent of the population was excluded because attempts to ask political questions in Natal, KwaZulu and parts of Transkei were abandoned when interviewers were threatened physically.

Of those interviewed - there were 1 181 males and 1 100 females - 38 percent expressed support for the ANC, 19 percent for the United Democratic Front, 15 percent for the Mass Democratic Movement and 12 percent for the South African Communist Party.

Support

The remaining support went to the Pan Africanis Congress (10 percent), National Party (7 percent) Democratic Party (5 percent), Inkatha (2 percent) and, with one percent each, the Conservative Party and the AWB.

The survey was conducted between April 1 and June 11 and involved face-to-face interviews with all the subjects.

The ANC's high popularity rating stretches across divisions of ethnicity, age and gender, straddles the urban-rural divide and reaches from South Africa's cities into the remote settlements of the rural hinterland.

The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

The skewing effect, however, may not be as great as it might have been until the mid-1980s, when, according to various early surveys, Inkatha support was unquestionably still high in Natal-KwaZulu.

A separate contemporary survey, conducted by Markinor in April this year in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban, provides indirect confirmation of the MRA's central finding: the rise of the ANC's appeal and a corresponding decline in Inkathas.

Low appeal

A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Witwatersrand where there is a sizeable Zulu population and where Inkatha once enjoyed substantial support.

There is high-level of awareness of Inkatha - it is as well known as the UDF. But, judging from the survey's findings, it is awareness of an organisation which is disliked and/or feared.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel to, or how distant from, the various organisations.

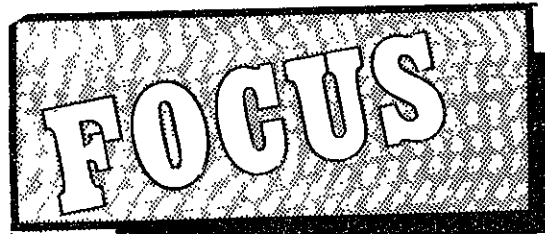
Three central points emerge:

* Blacks feel distant from Inkatha;

* They feel closer to President FW de Klerk's National Party and the Democratic Party than they do to Inkatha;

'More blacks favour FW than Inkatha'

Smelker 2-17-90



* The degree of distance from, and presumably antipathy towards, Inkatha is only marginally smaller than that shown to the CP and the AWB on the far right of the political spectrum.

The same patterns prevail among Zulus outside Natal-KwaZulu.

Contrasts

Distance from Inkatha among these Zulus contrasts with a much higher degree of closeness towards the ANC.

The PAC, SACP and UDF fall between the ANC and Inkatha, with the UDF slightly ahead of the PAC and SACP.

Blacks feel closer to these organisations, although not much closer, than they do to either the NP and the DP.

A striking point is the degree of distance - and, with it, possible scepticism and suspicion - which on average blacks feel toward all political organisations, even the ANC.

The degree of closeness or distance is reflected on a scale ranging from plus-four (very close) to minus-four (very far), with zero signifying a state of neutrality (neither close nor far).

The ANC's overall rating was 1.2, indicating what can perhaps be characterised as tepid or qualified support.

The UDF attains a zero rating, while the PAC and SACP levelpeg with ratings of 0.9 each. All three ratings point to a measure of doubt.

Seen in that context Inkatha's minus 2.8 rating is perhaps not quite so bad. But it is clearly bad enough to be cause of grave concern to its leaders, especially in light of its once undoubted popular appeal.

The absence of strong, positive identification with the main political forces may be due to any of several factors.

Insecurity

It may mirror inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance by blacks to commit themselves fully in a rapidly shifting political terrain.

It may simply be a reflex reaction after years of repression, in which it was dangerous to express approval of outlawed organisations.

From the perspective of organisations which have been overshadowed by the ANC there is, perhaps, some slight consolation.

The still relatively high degree of distance from the ANC and its allies may mean that attitudes are as yet unfixed, that there may still be a relatively high degree of mobility in black political preferences.

However, from the PAC's perspective the survey highlights a pattern which is likely to be of concern to its leaders.

Nearly 80 of those blacks who feel very close to the PAC also feel very close to the ANC.

There is no reciprocal tendency among people who feel very close to the PAC: only 11 of blacks who feel very close to the ANC feel very close to the PAC as well.

These findings infer that many PAC supporters would be just as comfortable in ANC ranks, thus raising, theoretically at any rate, the prospect of defections to the ANC.

Supporters

By contrast ANC supporters do not have the same potential loyalty to the PAC. Where dual loyalty exists among ANC supporters it is directed at the UDF, a strong ANC ally and even a surrogate ANC.

The high correlation between support for the ANC and the UDF is not surprising. They are two sides of the same political coin.

Sympathy for the ANC implies sympathy for the UDF and vice versa. These attitudes are mutually supporting.

From the ANC's viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result: most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the 16 to 24-year-old category, the youngest and fastest growing group.

Nearly half (47) of blacks in the 16-24 age group feel very close to the ANC, against one tenth (9,9) for the PAC and a minuscule proportion (1.8) for Inkatha.

The same pattern is found in the next age group of 25-34.

In general the proportion of people who feel very close to an organisation decreases with age, indicating, perhaps, that scepticism strengthens with age.

There is one exception: in the 25-34 group, the proportion of people who feel very close to the PAC increases, rising from just under 10 to a little over 12.

In the ANC the comparative figures are 47 and 40.

The Makinor survey, conducted in April among 900-black women and 600 black women in the main metropolitan areas, provides confirmation of the ANC's clear dominance at present.

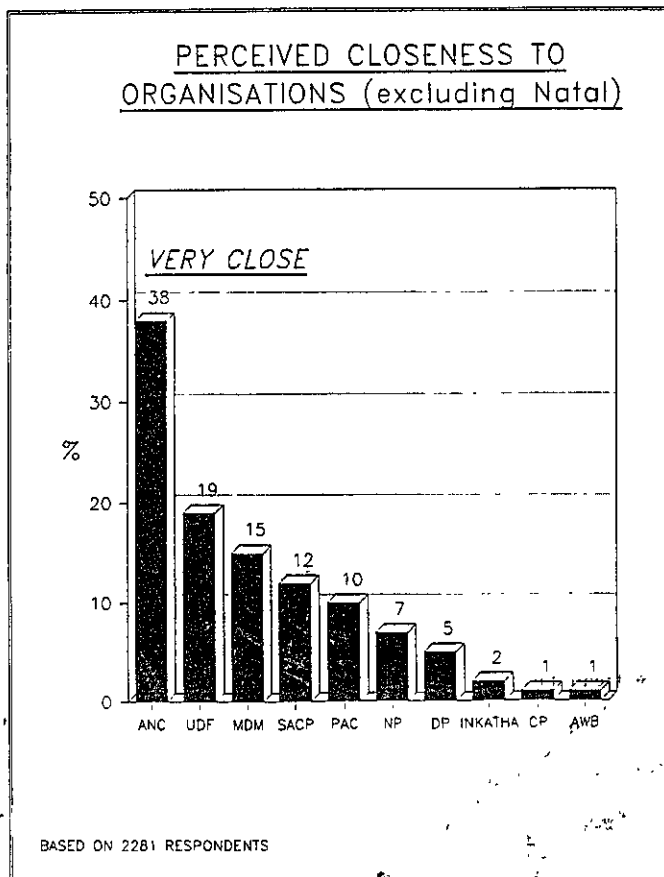
Majority

Thus a clear majority, 64, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation.

The NP does relatively well, attaining 8 of the vote. De Klerk does even better, winning 22 of the vote against 58 for Mandela.

These results, coupled with strong support for the NP in the white community (46 against 22 for the CP), may mean that the NP has a future even under a system of universal adult suffrage, provided its leaders show the necessary skill and nerve in the transitional phase ahead.

Footnote: The MRA survey did not poll attitudes towards Azapo, the main black consciousness organisation.



Stnr 24/7/90

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Buthelezi supports Sebokeng faction

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday came out in open support of the Inkatha members involved in the weekend clash in Sebokeng.

In a statement, he said he was "very sorry" about the incident, but could understand that Inkatha supporters felt the need to defend themselves and carry arms.

Fair game

"In view of what the ANC is saying and doing in calling for the 'isolation' of Inkatha and sending hit squads to murder Inkatha leaders and supporters, it is clear Inkatha is seen as fair game.

"Given these actions and utterances of certain ANC leaders and supporters, and in these circumstances, one can understand Inkatha supporters feeling the need to defend themselves and carry arms," Chief Buthelezi said.

Anti-Inkatha groups blamed for violence

By Craig Kotze

Police have blamed anti-Inkatha elements for the weekend bloodbath at Sebokeng township in the Vaal Triangle — where the official death toll is 19 — and said they had deliberately provoked a fight with the Zulu movement.

A team of detectives has now been formed to investigate as top priority the killings, which include that of policeman Warrant Officer Petrus Jooste (32), speared by an unknown person, said Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe.

He said police knew of 19 deaths but it was at first thought, due to separate police statements, that the death toll was as high as 24.

Police have warned that revenge attacks will not be tolerated.

All possible measures would be taken to end the violence but it had to be realised the root of the problem was political and not a security matter. Police would remain neutral and would not take sides.

Colonel Malherbe said Inkatha and the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) had applied to have meetings in the same stadium on the same day. Inkatha, which also applied to Vanderbijlpark's magistrate for permission, was given permission, but the VCA, which did not apply to the magistrate, was turned down.

Before the meeting, several groups between 100 and 600-strong and wearing ANC/UDF T-shirts, gathered outside the stadium and hurled stones at police and their vehicles, igniting violence throughout the township against police.

Police dispersed the stadium mobs with teargas and rubber bullets.

After the meeting ended at 3.30 pm, Inkatha members in seven buses were escorted by police from the stadium through a gauntlet of petrol bombs and stones to the men's hostel in the township.

Star 24/1/90



Buthelezi challenges Mandela

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to publicly state whether he agrees with ANC military leader Chris Hani's remarks at the weekend that the chief should be isolated.

In a statement yesterday, Chief Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, said Mr Mandela should also express himself on alleged ANC plans to assassinate Inkatha leaders.

Insurgents

"There is now evidence that armed ANC cadres have been sent into this country to kill senior members of Inkatha. Recently ANC insurgents alleged to be linked to the murder of Inkatha supporters were arrested in Natal and police seized a large arms cache.

"I now seek a public response from Dr Mandela as to whether he shares Mr Hani's views and approves of ANC action.

"I ask whether this is the reward I am getting

for having campaigned over the years for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of their political prisoners and for having refused to negotiate with the South African Government in any way until the African National Congress and others were also free to do so," Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, told a rally on Sunday that Chief Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope should be "isolated".

He said the South African Government was leaning on these two men in order to "perpetuate their delaying tactics".

Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi also claimed that the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and the South African Communist party front were brutalising people in kwaZulu/Natal because they were seeking victory through violence before elections were held.

Inkatha was being attacked by those who did not want it to be part of a future democracy.

Chief Buthelezi emphasised that he had repeatedly appealed to ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, to take part in peace talks with him. — Sapa.



Probe into Vaal killings

JOHANNESBURG. — A special investigation by high-ranking police officers was yesterday set up to investigate circumstances surrounding killings at the weekend in the Vaal area, police said.

Cosatu yesterday blamed Inkatha for the clashes which led to the killings and said they were considering the SA Police for damages resulting from the pitched battles.

At least 18 people were reported dead by police following clashes on Sunday between people believed to be supporters of Inkatha and the ANC.

The clashes followed a "peace rally" by about 1 000 supporters of Inkatha — said by police to be armed with "traditional" weapons" — at Sebokeng Stadium.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said Colonel Paddy Mazibuka, who is responsible for Sebokeng, had given Cosatu an undertaking last week that police would not allow armed people to attend the rally.

Fifteen of the bodies, with wounds from blunt instruments, stabs and cuts, were found on Sunday night by police near a hostel in Sebokeng. Another three bodies were found yesterday.

An unknown assailant stabbed a police officer to death with an assegai when he tried to separate two battling groups, SAP spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe added, noting that an unknown number of people were hurt. Police would not say whether the victims were Inkatha supporters or casualties from Inkatha opponents.

According to Mr Coleman, "the heavily armed Inkatha impis were accompanied by mainly white police in about 18 vehicles and two Casspirs".

Asked why Inkatha supporters were allowed to attend a peace meeting

with weapons, Col Malherbe asked: "What was the practical way of disarming the people with a small number of police?"

"Only a small number of so-called impis were armed with the weapons," he said.

Col Malherbe said, however, that if the weapons "become a problem" police would not allow them.

● As a result of the violence, tens of thousands of residents in the Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Evaton townships had embarked on a "spontaneous stay-away" yesterday, Mr Coleman claimed. — Sapa and UPI

Sebokeng still tense as death toll rises to 21

Vereeniging and Highveld Bureaux

Renewed clashes in Sebokeng yesterday between supporters of Inkatha and the African National Congress left two more people dead.

A police spokesman this morning confirmed the official death toll now stood at 21, including policeman Warrant Officer Petrus Jooste, who died after being stabbed with an assegai on Sunday.

At least 18 incidents in which petrol bombs and stones were hurled at police vehicles were reported throughout yesterday.

Thousands of Sebokeng workers stayed away from their jobs on Monday and yesterday, apparently fearing more attacks on their homes, after Sunday's Inkatha-ANC clash left an estimated 19 dead. They returned to work today.

The township was still tense today and police were patrolling the streets.

● The situation was quiet in Wesselton, Ermelo, this morning after three days of fighting between vigilantes and ANC supporters.

Unconfirmed reports said five leaders of the rent boycott supporting Wesselton Action Committee had been seriously injured during the unrest since the weekend.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said there had been a number of unrest incidents in the area last night.

Fighting erupted on Sunday when alleged vigilantes launched attacks on members of the local action committee who are spearheading a nine-month rent boycott.

● Sebokeng: confusion grows —

**Buthelezi
seeks
Mandela**



response

Sowetan 25/7/90

BUTHELEZI

CHIEF Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged the ANC's deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to state where he stands on the issue of isolating him.

The call to isolate Buthelezi was made by Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani, the Cosatu/UDF alliance and the South African Students Congress.

Reacting to statements by Hani at the weekend calling for his isolation and that of Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope, Buthelezi said it was not the first time Hani had threatened him.

"Last year he publicly stated that Inkatha central committee members were targets for assassination.

"Recently ANC insurgents alleged to be linked to the murder of Inkatha supporters were arrested in Natal and police seized a large arms cache.

"I now seek a public response from Mandela as to whether he shares Hani's views."

Sebokeng: confusion grows

By Helen Grange

Rumoured threats that Inkatha was planning attacks — and counter-threats that there would “never be an Inkatha rally in the Vaal” — were circulating in Sebokeng days before Sunday’s bloodbath. The Star was told yesterday.

Both Cosatu and Inkatha claim they informed the police of the rumours well before the Inkatha rally at Evaton Stadium. However, a bloodbath which claimed many lives was not prevented.

The truth of what happened on Sunday became more clouded yesterday as Inkatha and Cosatu/ANC spokesmen directed further accusations against each other.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said it was clear that police had collaborated with Inkatha in their plan to attack Cosatu/ANC supporters. Inkatha supporters had been armed in spite of a police undertaking that no arms would be allowed into the stadium. The police had also escorted armed vigilantes through the township to the Sebokeng hostel.

“And when Inkatha did attack, the police made no attempt to stop them,” Mr Coleman said.

Cosatu also claims that, following information that Inkatha was planning attacks, both Inkatha head office and various heads of police, including the Minister of Law and Order, were informed.

In a statement, Cosatu concluded: “The police were warned that there would possibly be violence, were told where and when and by whom it would allegedly be perpetrated — and yet it still took place. The situation demands a full investigation as to why, in spite of repeated warnings, violence occurred, lives were lost and property was damaged.”

Inkatha youth organisers claimed yesterday that information had been given to the Vereeniging Police Station that rumours were spreading in Sebokeng that no Inkatha rally would be allowed in the Vaal Triangle area.

The chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade on the West Rand, Themba Khoza, said: “People were trying to prevent the rally from going ahead. The incident was perpetrated by Cosatu/ANC supporters the same way they perpetrated the Natal bus ambush. Inkatha members had every

right to defend themselves.”

Mr Khoza added that an Inkatha member had been killed in Evaton yesterday afternoon.

The Star was informed by the general manager of Putco bus commuter services, Ben Pelsler, that buses were stoned while parked outside the stadium.

“I have gathered from my own staff that when this happened, the drivers ran away. When Inkatha came out of the stadium, they drove the buses to the police station. Our drivers made their way to the station and drove the buses, full of passengers, back to Soweto,” he said.

In an attempt to establish whether an undertaking had been made by police to disarm Inkatha supporters, The Star was told by Colonel Othniel Mazibuko to “speak to public relations”. Colonel Mazibuko, of the Sebokeng Police Station, is alleged by Cosatu Western Transvaal official Zwelinzima Vavi to have given him and others this undertaking.

Police have stated that only traditional arms were allowed into the stadium and that anti-Inkatha elements provoked the attack after the rally.

Armed 'impis' storm trains

Star 26/7/90

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By Thabo Leshilo

Soweto train commuters were attacked with knobkerries, sjamboks and pangas by men, alleged to be Inkatha members, who stormed the trains yesterday.

Witnesses told The Star the incident happened at the Ikwezi and Inhlanzani stations at about 6 pm. The attackers allegedly told commuters they were looking for "mzabalazo people" — people of "the struggle" who sang slogans in trains.

Jumped out

Several of the injured were treated at Baragwanath Hospital. Most of them were ferried to the hospital by ambulances. It was not known whether anybody had been killed at the time of going to press.

One commuter, Sarah Morake, told The Star: "The large group of Zulu warriors entered the train at Ikwezi station looking for mzabalazo people.

They were armed with sjamboks, kerries, knives, pangas and guns."

She said the "impis" started attacking people indiscriminately.

"Many people jumped out of windows while the train was moving, to escape. I simply sat and resigned myself to death. I saw men run like children and leave their parcels behind."

Another passenger, Caroline Mathe, said people had left their parcels behind and lost their shoes in their haste to escape from the impis.

She said her son, who came in another train, brought home a shoe he had picked up during the chaos. Many passengers did not alight at Merafe station out of fear that they might be attacked by Inkatha people from the nearby hostel.

Another passenger said she heard two shots being fired as soon as her train stopped at Inhlanzane station.

"I am lucky I was not in the mzabalazo coach," she said.

Police could not confirm the incident last night.

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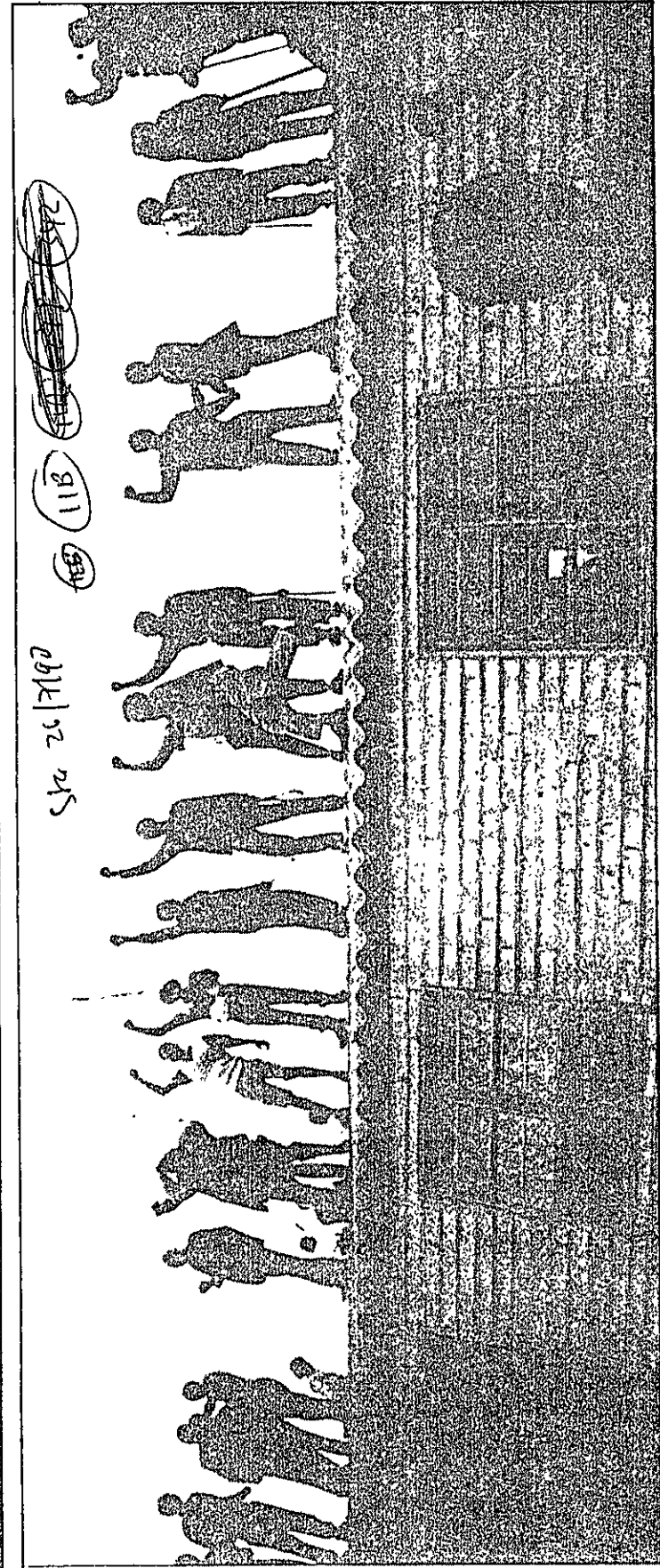
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CITY LATE * *

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Sebokeng welcome ... Hostel residents greet Nelson Mandela in song — "Khwela phezu kwendlu ubatshela!! (Get on the rooftops and tell them!!)". Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Inkatha now 'banned' in Sebokeng

By Shareen Singh

Inkatha members have been "banned" from Sebokeng following bloody clashes this week between Inkatha and Cosatu/ANC.

A Vaal Civic Association spokesman said today Inkatha members and supporters who "invaded the township" on Sunday had left and Inkatha hostel dwellers who "took part in the attacks" were not allowed back in by other hostel residents.

The Vaal Civic Association and other organisations linked to the Mass Democratic Movement are to hold three rallies today to discuss barricades in the township, the partial stayaway and the erroneous identification of all Zulus as supporters of Inkatha.

Colonel Othniel Mazibuku of Sebokeng police station said there were no reports of unrest last night.

Why didn't police act, asks Mbeki

27/1/92
By Esmare van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The ANC, at the August 6 meeting in Pretoria, will demand Government action against police misconduct, ANC director of foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki said last night.

He expressed anger at police involvement in this week's Sebokeng mini-war between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha, and condemned the police for not preventing alleged Inkatha attacks on "mzabalazo people" — people of the

struggle — at two Soweto stations on Wednesday.

Mr Mbeki said the media, union officials and Mass Democratic Movement leaders were aware of planned Inkatha attacks on commuters several hours before numerous people were injured when Inkatha supporters stormed trains at Ikwezi and Inhlanzani stations.

Attacks

"If the press and union officials knew about the rumoured attacks, why didn't the police act? That's something to be very angry about. People

have died," he said.

Mr Mbeki added that Nelson Mandela wanted to discuss this matter with President de Klerk, and presumably did so at their meeting last night.

Violence — whether by the police or black and white vigilantes — as well as the armed struggle needed to be discussed at the next round of Government-ANC talks.

"The issue of the misbehaviour of the police has to be addressed urgently. Even if we have to sit down every day for 24 hours, we must do that," Mr Mbeki said.

Police are arming Inkatha, says ANC

The ANC yesterday accused police of arming Inkatha for "further" attacks on Sebokeng. An SA Police spokesman reacted, saying the accusation is completely untrue.

Efforts to reach an Inkatha spokesman were not successful.

A statement from the ANC claimed that Inkatha leaders in

Soweto and Jeppe were inciting people to launch attacks on anyone wearing or displaying any insignia associated with the SA Communist Party.

The statement further claimed that the ANC had received reports that Inkatha was organising sympathisers for a second attack on Sebokeng township on August 4th.

"It is alleged that the police are deeply embroiled in these preparations and have assisted in arming the (Jeppe) hostel dwellers for this second attack.

"The persons behind this plot are receiving active assistance from elements in the police.

"The purpose of this unholy alliance is to terrorise the people in the most militant townships into submission, destroy and disrupt the people's organisations, and to undermine the prospects of the forthcoming meeting of August 6th."

The SA Police have categorically denied these accusations.

Police liaison officer, Major Mike Lombard described the allegations as ridiculous and said they were "far removed from the truth".

"We are more interested in stopping the violence than anything else and it is ridiculous to allege the police are assisting any groups," said Major Lombard.

The ANC claimed that people had the right to defend themselves if attacked. — Sapa.

Sebokeng the ANC's fault — Buthelezi

THE African National Congress is "nurturing a culture of violence and intolerance" avows Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He blames the ANC and its allies for the clashes between Inkatha and pro-ANC forces which left at least 30 people dead in Sebokeng and neighbouring Evaton.

Speaking in his office in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi disagrees strongly with the those who interpret the Sebokeng fighting as an ominous sign that the violence in Natal may be spreading into the Transvaal.

"The violence started in the Vaal Triangle," he says, recalling the wave of arson, looting and killing which swept through Sebokeng and the neighbouring townships of Sharpeville and Evaton in 1984, leaving four town councillors dead.

Burning

"To talk about the violence in Natal spilling over is nonsense. Councillor Jacob Dlamini (the victim in the Sharpeville Six case) was killed in the Vaal Triangle."

Chief Buthelezi lists the necklacing of Maki Skhosana on the East Rand and the murder of Tamsangu Kinikini, his son and two nephews in Uitenhage in 1985, to support his contention that the violence spread into, and not from, Natal.

"If you look at the killing of Kinikini, if you look at violence where the PAC and Azapo have been on the receiving end, in every case the common denominator is the ANC-UDF-Cosatu," he says.

Speaking quietly, he adds: "It is the dancing partner in violence everywhere, whether it is Inkatha, the PAC or Azapo."

He charges the ANC and its allies with adopting a "winner-take-all" approach in the political arena, in which their opponents face the choice of being co-opted into the ANC camp or being

PATRICK LAURENCE

crushed by its cohorts or comrades.

"They are not tolerant. Unless you queue up behind them you have no right to exist..."

He described as "intolerance of the first order" the ANC-approved campaign for the dissolution of the KwaZulu police. The ANC-axis believes disbanding KwaZulu's police is indispensable for peace in Natal.

The campaign began with a massive stayaway on July 2. It was followed by protest marches in the main cities and towns on July 7. It culminates next month in a "peace conference" from which In-

avarice which lead some tribal leaders to accept independence.

To separate Chief Buthelezi from his "social base", the ANC is trying to drive wedges between him and the Inkatha members on the one hand and between him and the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

He recalls the remark of Inkatha's former general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo, on the drive to isolate him from Inkatha. "It is like having the Roman Catholic Church without the Pope. That is not my quote. That is Dr Dhlomo's."

On the ANC's bid to woo King Goodwill, Chief Buthelezi notes that it was a strategy tried by the ruling National Party when it, too, tried to break his power.

"That campaign is an old one. Shortly after the king took over (the throne), the Government tried to do that and it failed... There is a sense of irony about it. We are going back to the old days of the Inala Party, Shaka's Spear and the Zulu National Party."

Forgiven

The refusal of ANC leaders to come to Ulundi, KwaZulu's administrative capital, and their apparent bid to reduce Chief Buthelezi's status to that of an induna, provokes a quiet vehemence.

He notes that the ANC leaders have no difficulty in travelling to Umtata and Bisho, the capitals of the nominally independent states of Transkei and Ciskei, or of developing fraternal relations with men whom ANC propaganda once despised as Bantustan puppets.

"All the others, even those who took independence, are 'forgiven'. But I, who opposed independence, I am the villain of the deepest dye, who must be isolated and treated as the ultimate leper of South African politics."

His comment is not infused with self-pity. It is the appraisal of a man who knows the score, but who has chosen to do battle in the political arena whatever the odds.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: "Violence started in Vaal Triangle."

katha will be excluded, next month.

The ANC-aligned SA Youth Congress has labelled Chief Buthelezi an "enemy of the people". He comments: "They are the minions of those who want to isolate me."

The drive to isolate and destroy him politically derives, Chief Buthelezi avers, from an ANC internal document circulated in 1985. It identifies him not as a puppet but a "counter-revolutionary" who must be deprived of his social base and destroyed.

His classification as a "counter-revolutionary" stems, he believes, from a recognition of his strength and independence of mind. He reckons the ANC dislikes these qualities even more than the stupidity or

Star 30/7/99

Buthelezi calls for a local govt convention

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for a convention of black local authorities to contribute to the politics of negotiation.

Addressing the Kwa-Zulu Local Government Association yesterday, the Inkatha leader said it was quite clear that youths who necklaced and attacked town councillors had taken their cue from the ANC.

The need for the convention was vital as those structures would be part of the negotiating process, he said. — Sapa.

Monday, July 30, 1990.

PAC head praised

THE president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has praised the effort by the president of the PAC, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, to bring about conciliation between Inkatha and the ANC. (dpp) (11/2)

Buthelezi said in Ulundi that he had received a letter from Mothopeng asking him and the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, to meet to discuss peace between members of the two organisations.

Buthelezi described Mothopeng's move as a bold step and said it was an example to all in South Africa. - Sapa.

Intimidation cuts Ilanga circulation

TIM COHEN

DURBAN — Ilanga newspaper has been weathering a storm of intimidation during which its sellers have been threatened and the newspaper's circulation has dipped by more than 20 000 copies, MD Arthur Konigkramer said yesterday.

Shops where the newspaper was sold were set alight, distribution trucks held up, staff members threatened and readers intimidated as part of a "well orchestrated campaign", Konigkramer said in an interview.

Konigkramer said he had received numerous death threats and had been forced to employ an armed guard to patrol his home.

He said that prior to the sale of the bi-weekly newspaper to Inkatha in 1987, its circulation had shown a consistent downward trend from an average of 121 045 copies per edition in April 1984 to 105 289 in 1987.

The newspaper had confounded its critics who said it would become a "party-political rag" and its circulation rose 11% in 1987 and 18% the following year.

Sales peaked in September last year when an average

of 147 854 copies were sold. This peak was almost reached again in February this year when an average of 147 764 copies were sold.

But since then the number of copies sold has dropped steadily from 133 104 in March to 120 232 last month compared with 138 632 in June last year. Konigkramer said the figures for July would probably show a reversal of this trend.

Publishers Natal Newspapers reported that in April alone this year 10 outlets in Umlazi, two in KwaMashu and three in Edendale had refused to carry the publication because of intimidation, he said.

Gangs of "faceless people" had entered shops where Ilanga was sold and threatened the owners that their shops would be burnt if they continued to sell the publication, Konigkramer said.

He denied that the drop in sales might be due to a change in reader attitude after the unbanning of the ANC and changing political circumstances.

"At every single outlet where there was a drop-off in sales, the shopkeepers had been intimidated. We checked," he said.

As a consequence, readers were buying their copies in the city, but street-sellers were intimidated, he said.

Incidents where readers had been followed and threatened after buying copies of Ilanga from street-sellers had been reported to the police, he said.



DP to talk to
ANC, Inkatha

DURBAN — The Democratic Party is to hold discussions with the ANC on September 1 and 2, and with other political parties and organisations, including Inkatha, soon, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said at the weekend.

He would not be drawn on the agenda, but said the DP would be "working towards a broad convergence of values" with other organisations.

Speaking at the opening of the Berea and Umbilo constituency offices, he said the DP had a crucial long-term relevance.

"Unless the things we stand for, such as the concepts of a free-market economy and multi-party democracy, are used to shape the new South Africa, it will not be a country any of us will want to live in," he said. — Own Correspondent.

Peace returns to Sebokeng

Star 31/7/90
Staff Reporters

Order appears to have been restored to Sebokeng.

Children yesterday returned to school and residents prepared to bury their dead after at least 22 people were killed in fierce fighting between Inkatha members and supporters of ANC-allied organisations.

Swayi Mokoena, a member of a committee handling the funeral arrangements of the victims, told The Star five people would

be buried at the Evaton cemetery on Saturday.

Four of the victims will be buried in Transkei and seven others have not yet been identified.

"We have identified all our dead and we suspect that the unidentified bodies were Inkatha supporters," Mr Mokoena said.

Mr Mokoena said there could still be more unidentified bodies at the Sebokeng Hospital mortuary.

Inkatha Sto. 31/7/90 moves to Durban (11/5)

DURBAN — Inkatha's central committee resolved in Ulundi this weekend to start transferring the party's head office from Ulundi to Durban.

This strategic move will bring the party to the heart of Natal's political interaction and will make it far more accessible to the thousands of urban blacks in townships surrounding Durban.

The move follows the employment by Inkatha of internationally renowned marketing expert, David Kingsley.

The committee requested that the Action Group for Democracy, also initiated by Mr Kingsley, should ensure communication between the party members and the leadership, as well as take over the party's membership management function. — Sapa.

11B
Call Times 3/17/90
**Durban to be
Inkatha's HQ**

DURBAN. — Inkatha's Central Committee resolved at the weekend to transfer the party's head office from Ulundi to Durban.

The move follows the employment by Inkatha of an internationally known marketing expert, Mr David Kingsley.

The relocation will position the party in the centre of Natal's political-interaction area, which will make it far more accessible to the thousands of urban blacks near Durban.

Sapa

Nats, Inkatha break new ground

118
14/7/78

DURBAN — The National Party will be officially represented for the first time at Inkatha's national council in Ulundi today when the Zulu-based organisation will open its doors to all races and become a fully fledged political party.

The NP delegation will be led by the chairman of the NP in Natal, Mr Jurie Mentz, and includes the NP's chief

director of information, Mr Renier Schoeman, the MP for Umfolozi, Mr James Schnetler, and the new member of the President's Council, Mr Rudi Redinger.

NP sources said the official representation should be seen as a confirmation of the Government's view that Inkatha was "unquestionably a major player in the negotiations which lie ahead". — Own Correspondent.

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Dhlomo praises peace call by Lekota

DURBAN. — Mr Patrick Lekota, the ANC's southern Natal convener, "broke new ground" in attempts to end the Natal KwaZulu political violence with his reconciliatory address to a memorial service for victims of the Inanda bus disaster last week.

Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said Mr Lekota had extended a gesture of peace to the people of Mshayazafe, an Inkatha stronghold in Inanda, by telling ANC followers to make peace and not to seek revenge.

Mr Lekota had told parents who had lost their children not to retaliate, said Dr Dhlomo.

The former KwaZulu cabinet minister said he was extremely impressed with Mr Lekota's statesmanlike remarks.

"If Mr Lekota and his colleagues in the ANC, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, as well as Inkatha on the other side, could more regularly address the issue in such conciliatory and reconciling tones, then we would not be too far from finding a solution."

By calling on people not to retaliate "Mr Lekota strikes the nail on the head. There is violence from pre-emptive strikes of course, but mostly violence comes from self-defence or retaliation, so he is breaking new ground when he warns his people not to retaliate".

● Inkatha yesterday slated the ANC for proposing a March on August 11 to the SAP headquarters in Sebokeng, Transvaal, to protest against the presence of Inkatha members in the Vaal Triangle.

"It is absurd to think that there shall be residents of any area who should be forcefully moved out of their legitimate homes because they do not align themselves with the ANC, said the chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade on the West Rand, Mr Themba Khoza, described the action as the worst sort of political decision. — Sapa

Obstacles to talks 'will fall away'

DURBAN — ANC national executive committee member Thabo Mbeki hinted yesterday that major obstacles in the path of negotiations would be cleared away at the meeting between the ANC and government next week. *11/8/90*

In describing the ANC's agenda suggestions for the August 6 meeting, Mbeki said: "Hopefully we will complete the process that we started at Groote Schuur with regard to identifying those things that were identified as obstacles to negotiations."

Speaking at a Nafcoc congress, Mbeki told about 600 delegates the ANC hoped the meeting would complete the process in that decisions would be made on, for example, the definition of a political prisoner.

He said the second item the ANC had suggested related to the question of violence.

He said the ANC was concerned about what the police were doing, or not doing, about what the vigilantes were doing "and indeed even about what the ANC is doing".

"We have asked that this question be addressed with a view to arriving at practical measures to end this vio-

TIM COHEN

lence from all sides." *(11/8/90)*

He said the ANC was concerned "because clearly even the political negotiations need a climate of peace."

"But even beyond that ... it would be a reward in itself to read in the newspapers that, according to reports, nobody got killed yesterday."

Mbeki said Natal occupied a very special place in this context. It was a shame on all people, black and white, that this situation had been allowed to persist for as long as it had.

The ANC wished to discuss this with a view to achieving practical proposals which would result in at least a reduction of the violence.

The third suggested item was "what steps need to be taken to begin the process of drawing up a new constitution. What will come out of that discussion, I don't know," he said.

He did not know what the government would want to add, but presumably it would want to discuss Tongaat, Mbeki said, referring to allegations that the SACP was plotting armed insurrection if negotiations failed.

ANC sends peace feeler to Inkatha

DURBAN — Patrick Lekota, the African National Congress's southern Natal convener, broke new ground in attempts to end the Natal-KwaZulu political violence with his reconciliatory address to a memorial service for victims of the Inanda bus disaster last week, said former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo. *11/8/90*

Lekota had extended a word of peace to the people of Mshayazafe, an Inkatha stronghold in Inanda. He told ANC followers to make peace, not to seek revenge. And he told parents who had lost their children not to retaliate, said Dhlomo. *(11/8/90)*

"I still think, though, that all attempts at this stage should be directed to encouraging a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela

"One would wish to plead with Mr Lekota and his colleagues to make sure that such a meeting takes place as soon as possible.

"Because, if the two leaders do not meet, it is not clear how any proposals to end the violence will receive the blessing of the warring factions."

— Sapa.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

Inkatha plans violence, says Cosatu

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday warned of the possibility of further violence in Sebokeng and Soweto this weekend.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman, speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg, said the union had received information that Inkatha was planning attacks on Sebokeng today, when four ANC cadres are to be buried.

The cadres, and 25 other people, were killed in the July 22 clash between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Inkatha yesterday vehemently denied the accusation that it was planning violence.

Mr Coleman alleged at the conference that Inkatha was also planning an attack in Soweto tomorrow — after an Inkatha rally which he said was to be held at the Jabulani amphitheatre.

However Humphrey Ndlovu, Inkatha secretary for the West Rand region, stated that Inkatha was not planning any vio-

lence. The organisation was not holding a rally at the Jabulani stadium but had received permission to hold an open air meeting at Zondo grounds in Diepkloof, Soweto.

The police, for monitoring purposes, had phoned Inkatha to confirm the meeting would be held.

Letters to SAP

Cosatu, through their lawyers, have sent letters to the Commissioner of Police in Pretoria, and to the divisional commissioners of police for the Witwatersrand and Soweto, warning that attacks on certain areas of Sebokeng and Soweto had been planned for the weekend.

In the letters, Cosatu requested that permission for the meeting planned by Inkatha in Soweto be carefully considered as it was likely to "fuel tension in the area and possibly lead to conflict".

The SAP replied in a letter

that permission for the meeting had already been granted and that the SAP had a legal duty to maintain law and order "which the SAP always strives to do in an unbiased manner".

The police also warned that "no attempt to draw the SAP into any conflict in a manner that might attempt to show the SAP to be biased shall be tolerated".

Mr Coleman further condemned what he described as the "enforced recruitment" of Inkatha members.

He said Cosatu, the United Democratic Front and the so-called Mass Democratic Movement had nothing against Inkatha's organising that movement in the country.

"What we're trying to prevent is the reign of terror and coercion which is going on."

Zwelizima Vavi, regional secretary of Cosatu (West Transvaal) also condemned the police and SADF raid on Sebokeng Hostel on Wednesday night.

More than 5 000 SADF and SAP members raided the hostel, which Mr Vavi estimates has more than 20 000 inhabitants, in a crime-prevention operation on Wednesday night.

More than 25 people were arrested, eight for illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

Mr Vavi said it was a naked disarming of people identified by the police as not being members of Inkatha.

Reign of terror

Mr Vavi said Sebokeng Hostel inmates had been undergoing a "reign of terror" since July 22 when 11 of them had been killed.

He said they needed the weapons the police had confiscated during the raid.

The MDM had decided, at a meeting on Thursday night, that a delegation from the Sebokeng Hostel and Vaal area should meet Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok as soon as possible. — Sapa.

Inkatha slams Cosatu over 'war'



Some of the Inkatha supporters march through the streets of Diepkloof after attending rally.

See p 11/90
'war'

INKATHA yesterday slammed Cosatu and organisations loyal to the African National Congress for their campaigns to isolate the movement.

Addressing a rally in Diepkloof, Soweto, Inkatha's Reef leadership dismissed as "laughable" attempts by the Vaal Civic Organisation to stop Inkatha from operating in Sebokeng.

The meeting was attended by an armed impi of more than 3 000.

Inkatha's West Rand secretary, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said attacks on Inkatha members should stop and warned that his organisation would continue to mobilise its members anywhere in the country.

He said people who did not believe in the ideals of his organisation should "leave us in peace and not provoke us". Inkatha had promoted

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

the concept of negotiations long before the ANC. "Inkatha is the first organisation to condemn pass laws, leaving it behind means leaving liberation behind," he said.

A spokesman for the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) criticised Cosatu for "using its workers for political gains". He attacked organisations which called for sanctions and disinvestment, saying many people were "now without jobs".

Inkatha's Youth Brigade chairman, Mr Themba Khoza, took a swipe at student organisations for "enforcing" school boycotts. He said Inkatha supported the campaign of "education for liberation" - not "liberation before education".

Inkatha, Government are blamed for unrest

Sowetan 7/8/90

LB

THE Government and Inkatha have come under strong criticism from the ANC for the unrest in Natal and the organisation says both groups share the blame for the violence in the province.

The attack is contained in a statement issued by the ANC, which together with Cosatu, the South African Communist Party, UDF and other extra-parliamentary organisations took part in a peace conference in

SOWETAN Correspondent

Durban at the weekend. More than 370 delegates reportedly gathered at the University of Durban-Westville for the consultative conference, opened by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's regional interim leadership core member, Mr Harry Gwala, stressed the root cause of the violence was the Government's attempt to "balkanise" the country through ethnic

authorities.

He alleged the continuing abuse of traditional Zulu values and culture by Inkatha in pursuance of its political agenda was a contributory factor.

The meeting declared unanimously the deployment of the 32 Battalion from Namibia had contributed to the worsening of the violence.

However, the delegates acknowledged mounting poverty and unemployment affecting the African population in Natal were also contributing to the tensions in the region.

The conference advocated a comprehensive programme to reconstruct the shattered communities with the co-operation of the Government, the church,

business and mass democratic formations.

Earlier, Mandela briefed the meeting on yesterday's talks between the ANC and the Government and attempts by what he called "various warlords" to extend the violence outside Natal.

A key issue was the call for a meeting on Natal with State President Mr FW de Klerk. - Sapa.

Lawyers' group agrees to extend aid to rural areas

THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers resolved in Durban at

SOWETAN Correspondent

He said paralegals were people who had basic legal training, usually through law firms

ANC, Inkatha in Kagiso peace deal

By Stan Hlophe

Inkatha and UDF/ANC leaders reached a ceasefire in strife torn Kagiso yesterday at a meeting with West Rand police officials at the Kagiso Town Council.

Inkatha and ANC/UDF leaders said the peace treaty would be observed pending a meeting to be held at the Krugersdorp Police headquarters today.

Kagiso, where at least 11 people have died and 16 have been injured since violence broke out on Sunday, was quiet but tense yesterday.

Many township residents stayed at home. Inkatha members alleged that local taxis refused to transport them to work.

A heavy police presence was still conspicuous in the hostel and other areas in the township late yesterday afternoon.

Some streets were barricaded with burnt tyres and huge rocks. Hundreds of ANC supporters who moved out of the hostel

were temporarily accommodated at local St Peter's Catholic and Lutheran Churches.

The ANC/UDF delegation was led by Popo Molefe, the UDF secretary general and ANC member of the interim leadership, Kgalema Montlanthe, ANC convener of the Witwatersrand Region, and Sydney Mufamadi, Cosatu assistant general secretary. Inkatha's delegation was led by its West Rand Regional secretary general, Humphrey Ndlovu, and chairman of the Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza, and police were represented by a Captain Du Plooy.

Agreement

The meeting agreed that:

- Police will remain in the area to restore peace and stability.
- ANC/UDF/Cosatu/Sayco members would refrain from harassing Inkatha members residing in the township.
- Inkatha members would remain at the hostel and those

who had moved out would stay out pending the meeting today.

● Police would disarm ANC supporters and Inkatha members.

Mr Molefe said both parties were concerned about normalising the situation.

He said they would discuss how to attain peace today.

Mr Molefe expressed dissatisfaction over the role of the police in combating the violence in the area.

"We have information that police have disarmed ANC supporters and left Inkatha supporters fully armed in spite of the assurance that they would not do so. Police today gave an undertaking to investigate these claims."

Mr Khoza said Inkatha members were no longer armed. They would remain in the hostel and not attack anybody.

Inkatha was committed to peace and would go all out to restore stability and reconciliation in the area, he said.

Kagiso peace talks on today

THE Mass Demoratic Movement, Inkatha and senior Security Police in the West Rand meet today to resolve the feud which has claimed more than 10 lives in Kagiso.

The meeting takes place at the Krugersdorp police station and follows

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

a partial collapse of yesterday's talks between Inkatha, police and MDM officials. It was postponed to today after the Inkatha delegation arrived late.

The three parties agreed to resume talks "as a matter of urgency for the sake of peace" in the West Rand township.

The MDM delegation would include representatives from Cosatu, the UDF, ANC, Krugersdorp Residents Organisation, South African Youth Congress and local churches.

Inkatha's delegation would be headed by the organisation's West Rand

secretary Mr Humphrey Ndlovu. Youth Brigade chairman Mr Themba Khoza and two members of the Inkatha committee of the local hostel.

The MDM delegation said the agenda for the talks would include discussions on how the situation could return to normal at the hostel and in the township.

KRO spokesmen said proposals would be made to the police about "the need for a mechanism to facilitate peace processes" in the area.

Hundreds of dwellers have since fled the hostel.

The delegation said it would challenge the police to "come out with a clear policy" on the question of weapons.

Meanwhile, the area was tense yesterday with rumours of an imminent attack sweeping the township.

Police patrolled the area and kept a high profile at the hostel.

Sowetan 8/8/90

11B

Two more bodies found in Sebokeng

8/8/90

(118)

Sapa and Staff Reporter

Police found the bodies of two men in the troubled Sebokeng township in the Vaal Triangle early yesterday.

In an interim unrest report released yesterday afternoon, the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria said both bodies were found at separate hostels in the early hours of the morning.

One body, found at Hostel 4 shortly after midnight on Monday, had "numerous gunshot

wounds in the chest".

The other body, found at Hostel 2, had a gunshot wound in the right eye. A number of spent AK-47 cartridges were found near the body, the report said, without giving any further details.

Sebokeng has been the scene of violent clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC. On July 22, 19 people were killed in clashes at a hostel in the Vaal Triangle township after Inkatha members had attended a rally.

Inkatha mustn't be isolated, says Dhlomo

St. 9/8/90 (118)
DURBAN — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the potential to destabilise Natal right into the era of a new South Africa, former senior Inkatha member Oscar Dhlomo cautioned yesterday.

For that reason, strategies to sideline and isolate Chief Buthelezi should not be pursued.

Dr Dhlomo told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting that people should be awake to the growing tendency on Inkatha's part to interpret the Natal war, which has claimed the lives of

at least 4 000 over five years, as an ethnic rather than ideological conflict.

Increased isolation of Inkatha and desperation on its part could only heighten tension and escalate violence.

The two vital components to peace in Natal were Chief Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela, with President de Klerk playing a catalytic role by ensuring that an agreement between the two black leaders would be endorsed in the form of adequate and impartial security force activity, Dr Dhlomo said. — Sapa.

We're not siding with Govt - Inkatha

Star 9/8/90
118

By Kaizer Nyatumba, Political Staff

The Inkatha Women's Brigade yesterday denied Winnie Mandela's allegations last week that Inkatha was conniving with the Government against progressive black organisations.

A member of the Inkatha central committee and the Inkatha Women's Brigade R R Mashiyane said in a statement that Mrs Mandela's accusations against Inkatha, both during the recent international tour with her husband and during the launch of the ANC Women's League in Vereeniging last week, were unfounded.



Winnie Mandela.

Inkatha had steadfastly refused to negotiate with the Government until Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released, and the ANC deputy president had been released "because of the campaign the leader of Inkatha (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) has waged for decades".

Mrs Mashiyane said when the Mass Democratic Movement disowned Mrs Mandela last year in the wake of the controversy surrounding the Mandela Football Club and Stompie Seipei's death, Inkatha was "the only organisation that stood by her". That was no connivance with the Government.

Mrs Mashiyane said Inkatha had never been engaged in the "People's War" and had been at the receiving end of violence.

"All actions of Inkatha members have been defensive and Inkatha members reserve the right to defend themselves," she said.

9/18/90 (1) (2) (3) (4)

Police, troops seal township

By Therese Anders,
Highveld Bureau

ERMELO — Police and the army sealed off Wesselton township last night during a major swoop after three weeks of serious unrest.

At least four people have been killed, scores injured and many homes and businesses damaged during continued fighting between ANC supporters and supposed Inkatha sympathisers.

Police report that five people were arrested during last night's swoop and a large number of weapons, including firearms, was confiscated.

Eastern Transvaal police liai-

son officer, Captain Ogies van Straaten, said the police were searching only for identified criminals and suspects for whom warrants of arrest had been issued.

He said thousands of pamphlets had been distributed throughout Wesselton early yesterday warning residents of the coming police action.

The SAP's regional commissioner had written a personal letter to residents recently warning that law-abiding citizens might get caught up in the police dragnet.

Police were still in the area this morning.

Natal violence talks 'fruitful'

DURBAN. — Talks between Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu alliance on Natal violence had been "fruitful", Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of Inkatha, said yesterday.

He added that the talks had been "held in a cordial spirit", although journalists present reported that the atmosphere was tense.

Dr Mdlalose said the issues discussed would be referred to the organisations concerned, and another meeting would be held after the report-back.

The meeting followed a similar one last month at the Durban headquarters of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), which is a Cosatu affiliate.

Meanwhile, former senior Inkatha member Dr Oscar Dhlomo cautioned a Durban branch meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs yesterday that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the potential to destabilise Natal right into the era of a new South Africa, and strategies to sideline and isolate him should therefore not be pursued.

He warned that increased isolation of Inkatha and desperation on its part could only heighten tension and escalate violence. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Inkatha women take Mrs Mandela to task over accusations

Sowetan 9/8/90



THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday expressed its "amazement" at accusations by Mrs Winnie Mandela that the Zulu movement was conniving with the Government in attacking other blacks.

In a statement released by Women's Brigade and central committee member, Mrs RR Mashiane, Inkatha pointed out that Mrs Mandela made such accusations both in South Africa and abroad.

Mashiane was referring to Mrs Mandela's recent visit to Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, where she spoke about attacks against supporters of the

ANC in the area.

The Inkatha statement said: "We are amazed that Mrs Mandela should accuse Inkatha of conniving with the Government in attacking other blacks both on her overseas visit with her husband and now again at Vereeniging during the launching of the ANC Women's League.

"Mrs Mandela knows how our leader (Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi) refused to negotiate with the Government until her husband and other political prisoners were released.

"Dr Mandela acknowledged this fact in

Durban on the 25th of February. Is this the connivance that Mrs Mandela is accusing Inkatha of?"

The statement said when the Mass Democratic Movement disowned Mrs Mandela because of the activities of her football club, Inkatha was the only organisation that stood by her.

"Was that again Inkatha's connivance with the South African Government?"

Inkatha said it waged no "people's war" while the ANC did, and that was the reason why Inkatha was on the receiving end of the ANC.

**Don't leave
Buthelezi
out, warns
Dhlomo**

11B

10/8/90

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi must not be sidelined or isolated because he had the potential of destabilising Natal right into the era of a new South Africa.

This warning was made by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former senior member of Inkatha, at a meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Durban this week.

Dhlomo said that people should wake up to the growing tendency on the part of Inkatha to interpret the Natal war, which has claimed the lives of at least 4 000 people over five years, as an ethnic rather than an ideological conflict.

He warned increased isolation of Inkatha and desperation on its part could only heighten tension and escalate violence.

The two vital components to peace in Natal were Chief Buthelezi and the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, with State President F. W. de Klerk playing a catalytic role, he said. Sapa

Peace pact quells Kagiso hostel strife

BY SANDILE MEMELA

A PRECEDENT was set last week when Inkatha and the ANC alliance resolved the Kagiso conflict by signing a peace pact after clashes left at least 15 people dead.

In a dramatic bid to avoid renewed violence, members of both parties addressed packed gatherings of rival organisations to explain the agreement.

Both Inkatha and the ANC alliance committed themselves to establishing a joint committee to bring about peace in the trouble-torn Lewissham hostel.

Inkatha and ANC alliance sources told *City Press* they rea-

lised the urgent need to normalise the situation in the hostel.

They also hoped the "internal refugees" who were forced to flee the hostel will have returned by today.

The peace pact is historic as people feared the Transvaal might become like Natal if violence between Inkatha and non-Inkatha supporters persisted.

Krugersdorp Residents Organisation (KRO) executive member, Ben "Zara" Ntsimane, told *City Press* the agreement was the most positive step to happen in the area.

"The recent violence disrupted the harmony that existed among residents and hostel-in-

mates. The hostel people have always been part of the local community initiative and we welcome the return to normality," he said.

"This shows local communities should not wait for Mandela and Buthelezi to shake hands before peace can exist among their followers. We have to show our leadership we can take initiatives that bring peace to our communities."

Inkatha secretary for the West Rand, Evans Sosibo, welcomed the peace initiative.

Ntsimane and Sosibo stressed the peace pact would only halt violence between warring fac-

tions if people were involved at grassroots level.

In the past three weeks almost 50 people have died in clashes between Inkatha and ANC alliance supporters in the Transvaal.

Cosatu spokesman Nei Coleman said violence in the Transvaal had largely occurred in hostel complexes.

"There is an Inkatha presence in these complexes and this resulted in tensions that generally exploded into violence," he said.

Tensions at Sebokeng's Vaal hostel complex also exploded into violence recently, leaving 29 people dead after clashes between Inkatha and ANC alliance supporters.

Staff Reporters

Killers armed with AK-47 rifles murdered nine people and wounded 10 at the weekend in an attack on a hostel in Evaton's Sebokeng township.

Police said the killings took place on Saturday at 9.30 pm when men armed with AK-47s sneaked up to rooms in Hostel 1 and opened fire through the windows without warning.

The injured are in a stable condition at the Sebokeng Hospital. A matron at the hospital said 12

9 murdered in AK-47 attack on Sebokeng hostel

patients with gunshot wounds were admitted on Saturday night.

Frans Thupa, a hostel dweller who escaped uninjured, said more than 20 people were taken to hospital with bullet wounds.

"I still cannot believe I escaped the carnage," he said.

Four panel vans were used to ferry the injured.

Another hostel dweller, Nelson Qibinyaka, said: "Bodies were piled

on top of each other. It was difficult to tell who was dead and who was not."

One of the bodies was found in a cabinet under the sink.

Both men said the attackers shot through the kitchen windows from the back of the room. There were pools of blood everywhere.

In a strongly worded statement last night, Cosatu called on President de Klerk to intervene and end

the recent spate of shootings against hostel dwellers.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said "De Klerk must intervene to end this reign of terror and bring those responsible to book."

"This should include elements of the police who may have collaborated or who have failed to act to end it."

Cosatu said all that was known about the attack was that one of

more whites were allegedly spotted by residents at the time of the shooting.

"Pamphlets were found at the scene issued in the name of the AWP insulting blacks," Coleman said.

Whitwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the killers had apparently fled on foot. Intensive investigations have not yet resulted in any arrests.

whether the killings were linked to last month's bloody ANC-Inkatha feud which left 24 dead.

Another four people died and 18 were arrested in unrest incidents in other parts of the country at the weekend, police said.

Two men were shot dead and another two injured in Wesselton near Ermelo after gunmen fired on mourners on their way to a funeral.

In Kwamashu near Durban, gunmen shot dead a passenger in a passing vehicle and in Umlazi a man was shot dead when gunman opened fire on a group.

Star 15/8/90

(118)

NEV

Inkatha launches diplomatic drive and attacks ANC


The Star Bureau

LONDON — Inkatha has launched a diplomatic offensive in London, blaming the ANC for the violence between followers of the two organisations, which has claimed more than 4 000 lives.

In a letter to the British Foreign Office, foreign embassies and the Commonwealth, Inkatha's London representative Ben Skosana said Inkatha welcomed the agreement between the ANC and Pretoria that the armed struggle be suspended.

At the same time Inkatha felt it was the conflict between the organisations' followers which urgently needed "genuine peace initiatives".

"At no point did 4 000 South Africans die in the conflict between the ANC and the Government even after more than 25 years of the ANC's armed struggle," he said.

apt trip 14/8/90 

Mangope robbed of 'sensitive documents'

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana had thousands of rands in cash, as well as traveller's cheques and jewellery, stolen from his hotel suite during a recent visit to Zurich.

And an article in the latest edition of the journal Africa Confidential claims that the thief also took papers with details about his "personal wealth" which if published were "sufficiently sensitive to seriously

damage Mangope". The claims were refuted yesterday by Bophuthatswana's London representative, Mr Ian Findlay, who said to his knowledge no documents were taken.

Mr Findlay confirmed that a "straight-forward" case of theft had oc-

curred in mid-July when Mr Mangope stopped over for a few days in Zurich to "meet some people".

He was on his way home from London after watching the Wimbledon championships.

Mr Findlay said while Mr Mangope was having

dinner at one of the main hotels in the Swiss capital, the thief — apparently with a key — entered the suite.

Stolen were "a couple of thousand rand in notes", an undisclosed amount in traveller's cheques, a ring and a watch.

Africa Confidential claims the sensitive papers were in an attaché case "which the Bophuthatswana president keeps by his side during all his foreign trips" and which was stolen by the thief.

But Mr Findlay said he had travelled with Mr Mangope on many occasions and knew of no case "he has by his side all the time. When he left me he never carried one."

He said his staff always carried all his luggage.

C

Mandla Tyala surveys this week's appalling carnage and appeals for all South Africans to cool their passions and learn some basic tolerance



stopped making public claims that Robert Mugabe was trying to have him eliminated. Mr Nkomo is now deputy president of the country and political (some will prefer to say ethnic) tensions between the Mchese and the Shona have eased remarkably.

Hostile

They say they are being targeted, especially by the "comrades" as the bad guys who must be driven out. We all know what a stage, the all-over wall method, can do to any group. It appears to have given the factional conflict that plunged this country into chaos in 1985 and caused the Government to declare a state of emergency.

Urgency

Here are some suggested steps to defuse the situation. Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe lead must meet as a matter of extreme urgency, preferably in Natal. Their followers must be able to see an absence of hostility between their leaders.

Imps (118)

But many in Mr Mandela's camp would not let the meeting take place because, among other reasons, Chief Buthe is held politically responsible by ANC supporters for the killing of Joshua Nkomo.

Deadly

But now we are moving from the politics of protest to the politics of the ballot box. If the country is to be able to continue to progress, it does not say anything about our future ability to tolerate political opposition.

Resentment

It is true that groups like the ANC have for decades been unable to sell their message because of state repression and there is resentment that Inkatha has always been able to hold its own.

Allegiance

Finally, all black South Africa should swallow the pill and let Inkatha be the contest for mass allegiance. Unless this happens there might just be no-one left to vote when the New SA finally becomes a reality.

The contest for allegiance should be in the marketplace of ideas, not on the battlefield

THE violence in South Africa has reached a stage where it is just not enough to condemn and apportion blame. We have a right to ask our leaders: what are you doing about it? Some of our fellow South Africans may be tempted to dismiss the recent carnage between Inkatha and ANC supporters as black-on-black violence, but a great many universal interests are in jeopardy here, not least of which is the peace process. We can't have forgotten the factional conflict that plunged this country into chaos in 1985 and caused the Government to declare a state of emergency. It is also simplistic to see these battles as tribal feuds between the Zulus and Xhosa. They are ethnic undercurrents, certainly, but this is a political war between Inkatha and the ANC. This is a battle over turf that pits Zulu against Zulu in Natal, and Zulu against Zulu elsewhere. I spent a night last week with a group of Inkatha members in one of the violence-torn border areas. I came away with the impression that they view themselves as a military group, in the manner of a gangster group, in the manner of a gangster group.

Start
By Therese Anders,
Highveld Bureau

ERMELO — Police have arrested two men in connection with the shooting and killing of two pallbearers during an ambush on an African National Congress funeral procession in unrest-torn Wesselton township on Saturday.

ANC Eastern Transvaal executive member Jackson Mthembu, who was at the funeral of student David Sibonyani (16), alleged the murderers belonged to an Inkatha-supporting faction called the Black Cats, who had held a funeral only hours before the ANC.

Mr Mthembu hit out at police for not maintaining a peace-keeping force on the funeral route when it was known that two rival factions were burying their dead that day. The police replied that they were present in the township but it was impossible for them to be stationed along the whole route.

The Rev Thabang Tshenase said the procession of about 3 000 had been fired on, ap-

Cosatu to protest over growing 'reign of terror'

Stk 15/8/90

(118) (118) (118)

By Shareen Singh

Cosatu will present a memorandum to President de Klerk later this week listing attacks on its members country-wide and calling on the President to intervene in accordance with the Pretoria Minute in stopping the "reign of terror".

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said the situation was critical, with at least 13 people killed and more than 40 injured in Sebokeng alone in the past two weeks. The clash between Inkatha and the ANC/Cosatu brought to 40 the number recently killed in the township.

Both the ANC and the Government expressed concern over the increasing violence in the country last week.

The Pretoria Minute declared a commitment from both parties to undertake measures to promote peace and normalise the situation.

Residents in the area and hostel-dwellers claimed municipal police, kitskonstabels and the some members of the SAP were behind the attacks.

The following incidents will be included in the memorandum to the President:

Ambush

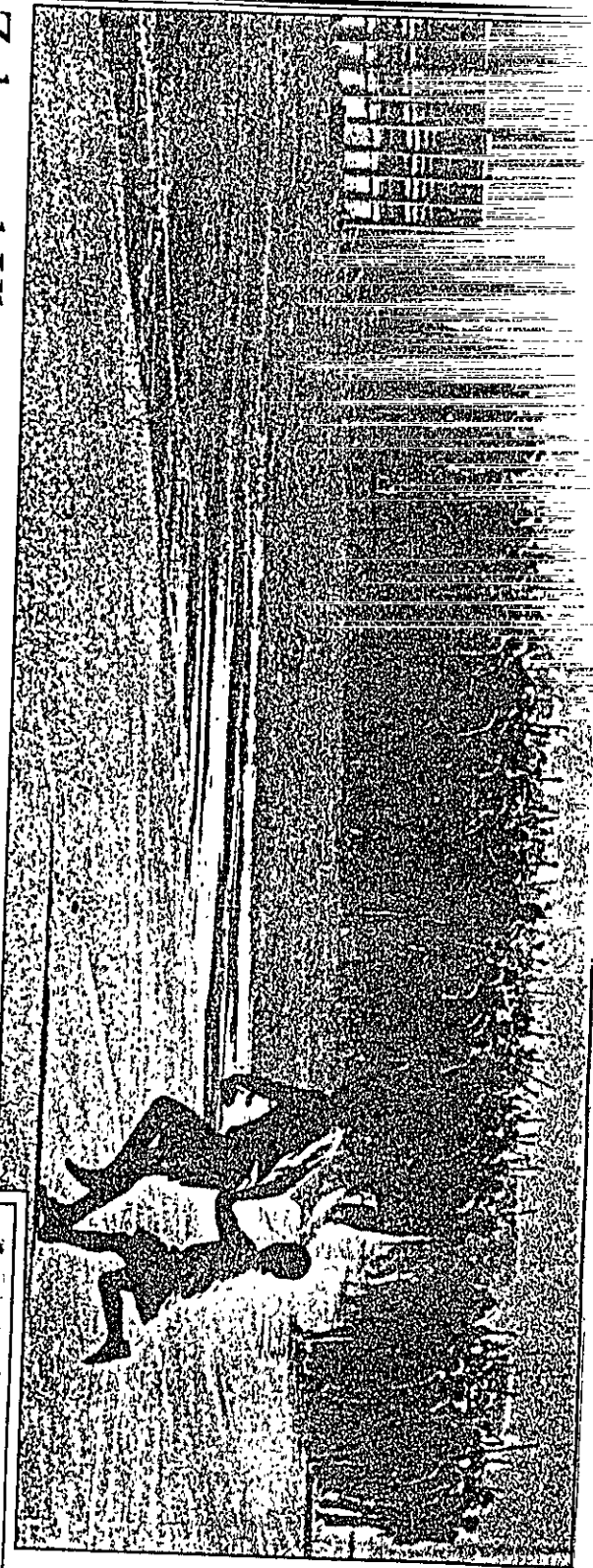
● August 1 — Two people killed in an ambush by unknown people on Sebokeng hostel dwellers at a station in the township.

The same evening police raided the hostel, confiscating weapons which hostel-dwellers were keeping for protection.

● August 2 — Shots fired through hostel windows killed two people. Eleven needed hospital treatment.

● August 3 — Unknown gun-firing on a taxi from Se-

ence. Louw Alberts.
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Mr de Klerk has since
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Running for safety. Two Tokozza children flee from an advancing band of armed men. The latest outbreak of violence between Zulus and Xhosas has left at least 39 dead and 65 injured in the East Rand townships of Tokozza, Kattlehong and Vosloorus.

● Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek.

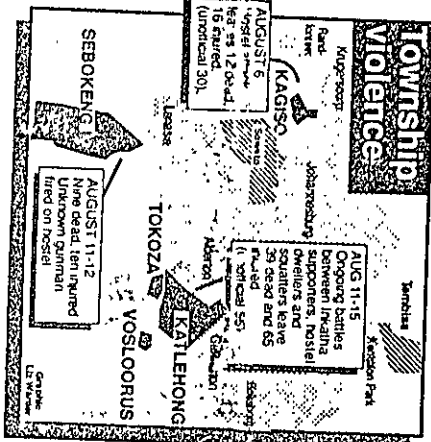
● Summons . . . A leader calls other Phola Park residents to a meeting.

Zulus and Xhosas in East Rand battles

Star 15/8/90

Troops move in to stop the slaughter

11B



Troops were rushed to violence-racked East Rand townships today after continuing running battles between Zulus and Xhosas left at least 39 dead and 65 injured in Tokozza, Kattlehong and Vosloorus.

Unofficial estimates are that up to 55 people may have been killed in the spreading violence, but police could not confirm this.

Much of the fighting has been characterised by clashes between Zulus and Xhosas. Fighting erupted early today at Vosloorus hostels when Inkatha members allegedly attacked residents.

The East Rand violence started in Tokozza on Sunday when a hostel dweller was killed. The incident escalated into full-blown clashes between hostel dwellers and squatters in nearby Phola Park.

Last night, violence spread to nearby Kattlehong and Vosloorus, leaving a Tokozza peace pact in tatters as Zulus from various

Reports by Craig Kotze, Abel Mabelane, Musa Mapisa and Guy Jepson.

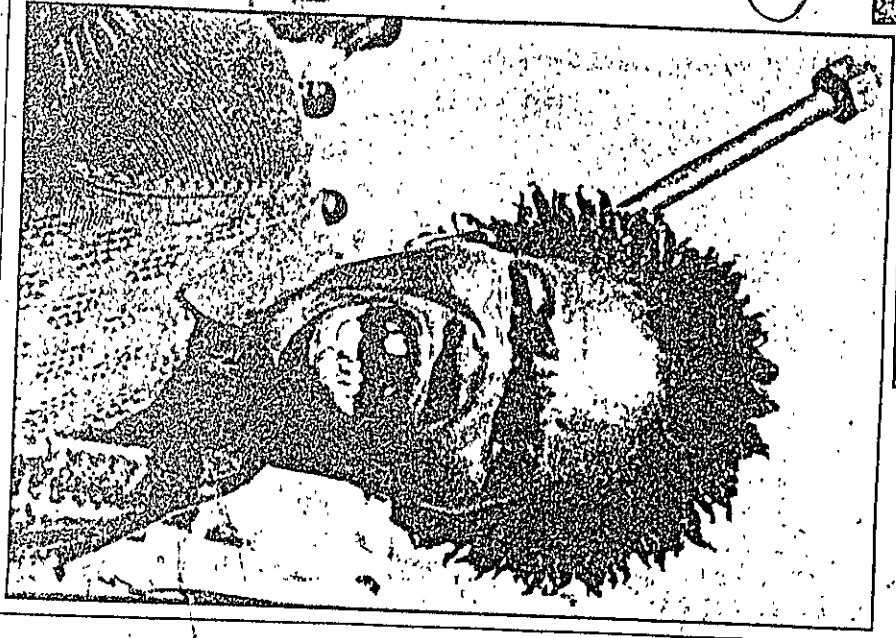
Townships joined forces to attack Xhosas, putting them to flight.

The fighting has primarily been centred at hostels and squatter camps and is a continuation of the "hostel trade" in Transvaal township fighting recently. Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle and Kagiso on the West Rand experienced the same pattern.

Vosloorus hostel dwellers said a large impi of Zulus attacked their hostel early today. "There were too many. They came with sticks and assegans," hostel dweller Themba Mahlangu (22) told The Star this morning.

He said hostel inmates were asleep when the group attacked. "We heard them singing and the next thing they were in the

● To Page 2

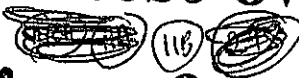


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Star 15/8/90



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The same evening police raided the hostel, confiscating weapons which hostel-dwellers were keeping for protection.

● August 2 — Shots fired through hostel windows killed two people. Eleven needed hospital treatment.

● August 3 — Unknown gunmen fired on a taxi from Sebokeng hostel. Four passengers were seriously wounded.

● August 4 — Vigilantes accompanied by municipal police fired through hostel windows, leaving 20 injured.

● August 5 — Commuters from a train were shot at next to a station in Zone 10. Several were injured. Two police vans and a private car were seen nearby.

● August 6 — One person was killed and two injured in an attack on hostel dwellers by unknown people. Another person was shot dead outside the hostel. The following day, a blast outside the hostel injured one person.

● August 9 — Two hostel dwellers were abducted by six whites in police uniforms in a raid on the hostel.



Sunbathing ... These impala were caught enjoying the sun in the Lower Sabie in the Kruger National Park on Monday.

By Julienne du Toit

The Bafokeng tribe, who bitterly fought their inclusion into Bophuthatswana last year, have become shareholders in Impala Platinum Holdings in the homeland, and can subscribe to shares worth over R300 million.

According to the company's annual report, 72 Bafokeng councillors and headmen unanimously accepted

Bafokeng tribe worth millions

Impala's lease of a rich ore body in the Bafokeng's tribal land, called "The Deeps", on January 10 this year.

Under the agreement, the tribe will be entitled to subscribe for up to 7 percent of the country's shares. The

Pollution in Buffa

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The Buffalo River in Natal, which for the past 100 years has been polluted by coal mines in the north of the province, may now be threatened by other industries operating on its banks.

Despite a campaign launched by the Department of Water Affairs in Dundee to clean up the river, the local water board has been discharging chemicals into the stream of water, a water affairs spokesman confirmed.

The owner of a farm about 50 km south of the waterworks, David Rattray, reported the pollution to the Department of Water Affairs

when he noticed piles of brown and white foam drifting down the river last week.

A spokesman for the Department said the foam was "backwash" from the waterworks' pump station, but the chemicals contained in it were non-toxic.

The foam — and the long-term pollution of the Buffalo River — had not affected the ecology of the river, the spokesman said.

Keith Cooper, conservation director of the Wildlife Society, said he was very distressed by news of the pollution since the Buffalo River had exceptional qualities in terms of the environment.

Star 15/8/90

(113)

Mandela must stand beside me – Buthelezi

Staff Reporter

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night in a TV panel discussion that violence in South Africa would not be properly addressed until he and Nelson Mandela were seen addressing joint rallies together.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister denied that Inkatha was responsible for the violence which was mushrooming on the Reef.

He said the initial outbreaks of township violence in 1985 had begun on the Reef, after which the Government introduced the state of emergency.

“It is not Inkatha which espouses violence; it is not Inkatha which brings messages from Lusaka saying black town

councillors must be killed. It is false to say the violence mushrooming in the Transvaal is imported here by the Zulu people,” he said.

Free

When asked if the UDF and ANC areas which had sprung up in Natal meant that he was losing support in the province, Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was healthy for people to be free to support whatever political organisation they wanted to support.

“Therefore I don't think it is unhealthy if people support the UDF or ANC or PAC.

“What is unhealthy is the extent of political intolerance

which has resulted in violence.” He said KwaZulu was not created by the homelands policy as the Zulu nation was a sovereign state before colonialism.

Asked whether he felt he was at the end of his political career because he had been deliberately left out by Mr Mandela who had spoken to all other homeland leaders, Chief Buthelezi replied: “That would imply Dr Mandela was God and that I was a protégé of Dr Mandela.

“While I have a lot of respect for him I don't regard him as God.”

Chief Buthelezi said he believed in one man, one vote but said a constitution for South Africa needed to consider the cultural roots of all people.

(113)

Buthelezi says he's ready to meet Mandela any time

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he had given ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela several dates on which they could meet, but these had not been followed up.

Buthelezi was responding to Mandela's claim in an SABC-TV interview that he had tried to get hold of Buthelezi by telephone several times, but had failed.

In a statement yesterday, Buthelezi said he was repeating his position that he was prepared to meet Mandela at any time for talks if it would help to resolve the KwaZulu/Natal conflict. 81004 1518/90

He said Mandela had admitted the appearance by the two at a joint peace rally in Maritzburg earlier this year was cancelled due to pressure from UDF leaders.

"Dr Mandela later re-affirmed that was the case when he spoke in Umtata about accompanying me to trouble spots in a bid to end the violence."

Buthelezi said he had called for the resuscitation of the five-a-side joint Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu committee. He had sent five delegates only to find that UDF/Cosatu delegates did not turn up for the meeting.

There were accusations against the police from all sides, he said. "Undoubtedly the police have been drawn into political strife, but to elevate that to the prime cause of violence is totally unfounded. There have been convictions in court against policemen acting against Inkatha."

Buthelezi said he would like the state of emergency in Natal lifted as soon as possible.

Our Durban correspondent reports that former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo yesterday predicted a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela soon, provided relations were not further strained.

He told about 50 leading businessmen at a Natal Chamber of Industries meeting in Durban yesterday that the meeting should be seen as a vital element in any Natal peace plan. — Sapa.

AP 11/15
August 15, 1990 5

Armed struggle was never necessary, says chief

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says what is happening in South Africa today proves that the armed struggle was never necessary.

In a television interview yesterday Chief Buthelezi said it was healthy for people in a multi-party democracy to support different political views, but political intolerance, which had resulted in the endemic violence, was not healthy.

He denied Inkatha was exporting violence from Natal to the Reef and elsewhere and called these claims successful propaganda. He also said blame for recent violence in the Boland and the Eastern Cape could not be laid at Inkatha's door.

He said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was being prevented from meeting him by elements within the ANC.

Because of this, Mr Mandela was "more of a captive now than ever before", he said. He saw no hope of a cessation of violence in Natal unless joint peace rallies were held — addressed by him and Mr Mandela.

It was put to Chief Buthelezi that because Mr Mandela was not talking to him, it could spell the end of his political career.

"That would be implying that Mr Mandela is God; and while I have always respected him, I do not regard him as a kind of God," Chief Buthelezi replied. — Sapa



BUTHELEZI

Buthelezi refutes Mandela's claim

11B
Sowetan
15/8/90

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he had given African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela several dates on which they could meet, but these had not been followed up.

Buthelezi was responding to Mandela's claim in an SABC-TV interview that he had tried to get hold of Buthelezi by telephone several times, but had failed.

Buthelezi said: "My position remains, as I have stated repeatedly, that I am prepared to meet Mandela at any time for talks if it will help to resolve the conflict in KwaZulu/Natal.

Cancelled

"On Mandela's own admission, the appearance we were due to make together at the joint peace rally in Maritzburg earlier this year was cancelled due to pressure from United Democratic Front leaders.

"Mandela later reaffirmed that was the case when he spoke in Umtata about accompanying me to trouble-spots in a bid to end the violence." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

113

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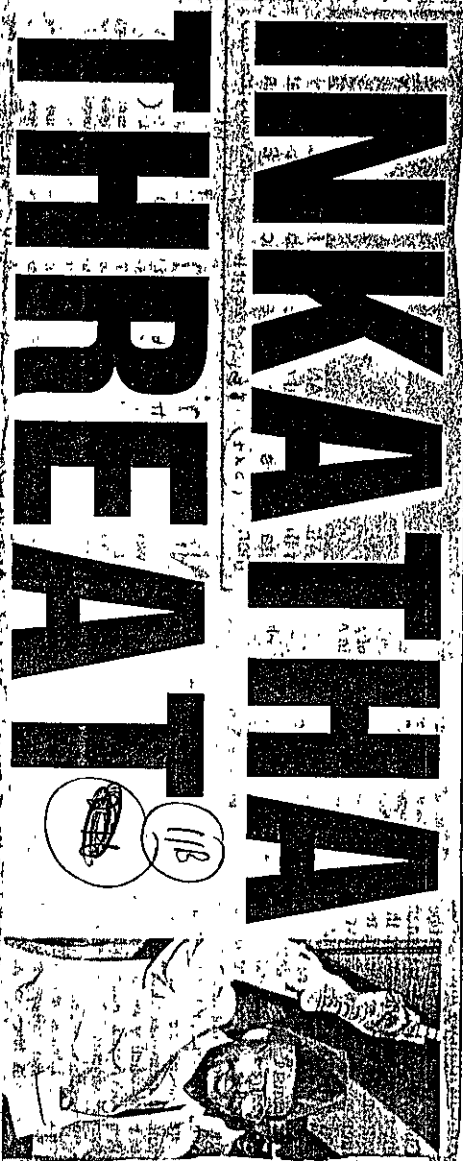
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elavs township cut-off

INKATHA TO PREPARE TO PREPARE

Gatsha Buthelezi



FROM PAGE ONE

troops were rushed to help police quell fighting between rival groups in Thokoza, Kaitshong and Vosloorus.

The killings raised the total number of people killed in unrest since the government and ANC signed the Pretoria Minute last Monday to about 230.

Whitewaterand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed that the bodies of 140 people had been found South 118 - 2218190

He said it was impossible to give an accurate figure of those injured in the two days of bloodshed, but it could be more than 100.

Township sources put the number of injured at more than 300.

The fighting between Inkatha impis and supporters of the ANC left thousands of refugees in its wake. 115

Siege

At the Crossroads squatter-camp outside Kaitshong, women carrying loads of their belongings were streaming out, carrying whatever they could grab and running for safety.

Thokoza, where the intencaine war started on Monday night, resembled a town under siege with military trucks and police caspans rumbling through the streets near the state-run Phola Park squatter camp.

ANC information officer Mr Pello Jordan said it was clear "the police were not interested in peace."

Jordan said the wave of violence in the east Rand townships was putting stress on the peace process. The ANC was committed to the process and the police were perpetuating violence, he said.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adamson Vlok called this claim "grossly unfair".

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG.—Inkatha is being accused of attempting to grab centre stage in South Africa and wreck the peace process as the Natal violence spilled into Reef townships this week, leaving at least 145 dead in its wake.

A report late on Wednesday night indicated that the violence, which started on the East Rand last Sunday, was moving to Soweto where police blocked a march by Zulu migrant workers on their way to Emville township.

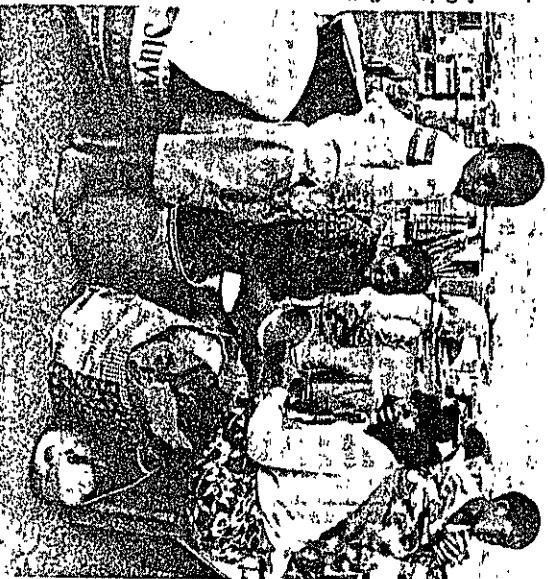
Cosatu's vice-president, Mr Chris Dlamini, claimed on Wednesday the fighting in East Rand townships was an "orchestrated campaign to spread the Natal violence to the Transvaal and establish Inkatha as a credible political party with a significant community base".

Dlamini said there was war between Inkatha and democratic movement members.

The ANC is scheduled to meet Inkatha in the Transvaal later this week to discuss the violence.

The death toll after two days of violence in the townships of the East Rand soared to at least 140 on Wednesday night.

TURN TO PAGE THREE



ON THE RUN: Refugees from the Phola squatter camp in Thokoza gather round the few possessions they managed to save in the war on the Reef

Vosloorus grim, volatile

Star 16/8/90

Montshiwa Morone

The situation at Vosloorus was volatile late yesterday with about 14 bodies strewn around the Nguni hostel.

Other bodies had already been removed by police from the hostel and the veld next to the police station.

They were apparently victims of an attack by heavily-armed Zulu imps, who, in their hundreds, moved into the Nguni hostel singing war songs.

Residents said yesterday three more youths had been shot dead by hostel inmates who alleged they had tried to set the hostel alight.

It was against this grim backdrop last night that civic leaders, including Vosloorus mayor Morrison Senokela, police and elected leaders from Zulu and Xhosa-speaking factions met in a desperate effort to bring about peace.

The Star photographer Ken Oosterbroek was shown at least eight bodies, which lay in different parts of the hostel, and another of a youth in the nearby township.

Oosterbroek said he saw hostel inmates break down a door and enter the hostel where they started assaulting a man who had apparently

been hiding there.

He heard the man screaming until he became silent.

He also saw the men smashing lockers and looting.

Meanwhile scores of non-Zulu-speaking hostel inmates, who had fled from their rooms on Tuesday night, were still stranded outside the local police station, terrified to go back to their sleeping places.

Those who fled the hostels left with only the clothing on their backs.

Buses were not entering the township last night and commuters had to alight on the outskirts and walk the rest of the way home.

Stan 16/8/90 11B

Disarmed and trapped

TOKOZA — Our car drove through the entrance to the hostel unchallenged. We were watched suspiciously by migrant workers. We had entered a stronghold of the dreaded "Zulus."

Their reputation as fearless and pitiless fighters had been enhanced by the fierce fighting which had swept through Tokoza and the neighbouring townships of Katshehong and Vosloorus during the past three days, claiming the lives of at least 105 people.

With the savage war between pro-Inkatha Zulus and pro-ANC Xhosas very much on our minds, we drove to the top end of the rows of army-like barracks.

They had been built to accommodate migrant workers as cheaply as possible.

Within minutes our car was surrounded by a group of men. My heartbeat quickened.

An enormous chasm lay between us. They were desperately poor. I was, in their eyes, fabulously rich. They were black. I was white. They spoke Zulu and broken English. I spoke English and a few badly pronounced phrases in Zulu.

I hoped they would understand that I was there as a journalist. I feared they might not.

Trap

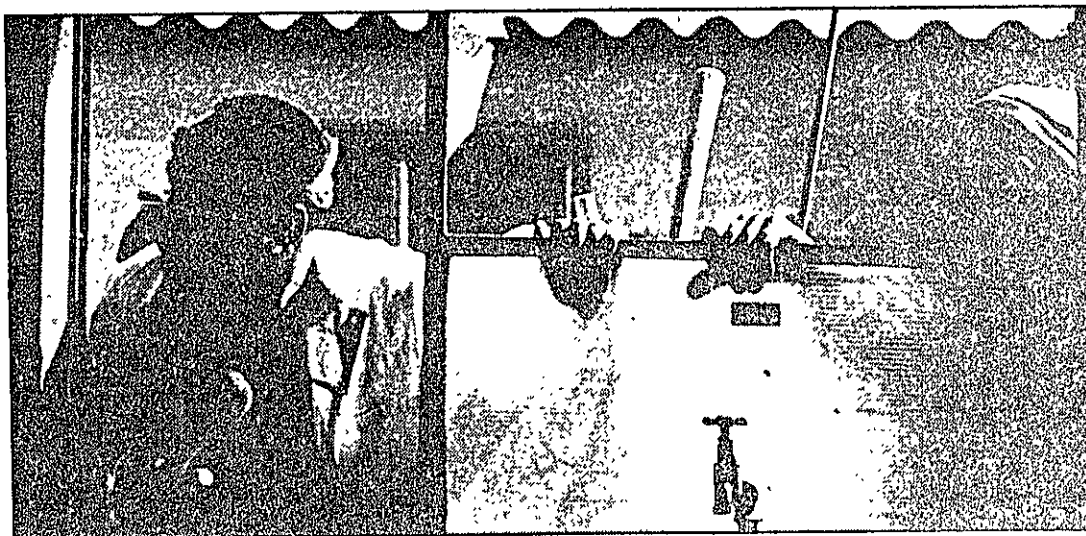
I got out of the car, solemnly introducing myself to each of the men, offering my hand and explaining my purpose. They understood my role.

What struck me immediately was that they were frightened. The intrepid "Zulus" were nervous.

Earlier, in the nearby squatter settlement of Phola Park, inhabited by pro-ANC Xhosas, grown men had fled at the first unsubstantiated hint that pro-Inkatha Zulus were mobilising for another attack.

It was like, I thought in retrospect, meeting an anxious Viking. But the Zulu men surrounding us were unquestionably scared. They had been disarmed by the police only minutes before. They felt very vulnerable.

The Zulu men's hostel, with its single entrance, was enclosed within walls. But for them it was no longer a fortress from which to mount attacks against the enemy outside. It was a trap, a ready-



Window assault . . . Inkatha supporters attack a hostel room at the Nguni hostel in Vosloorus. A man who had locked himself in the room was killed. © Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

made tomb.

Gradually, haltingly, he explained their fear. They were locked inside the hostel compound and had nowhere to hide their weapons. But the Xhosas outside had ample space in which to disperse and hide their weapons.

The tall man said: "We need transport, so that we can get out to safety. That is the only favour we ask you. Please do your best." His companions nodded. I said goodbye in Zulu.

We drove out to the squatter camp hardly more than a kilometre away. The sordid barracks were separated from the shanty town by a wasteland filled with the litter of the poor: plastic containers, paper packets and polythene bags.

Earlier, before going to the hostel, we spoke to a group of Xhosa men in the squatter camp. They had just been disarmed by the police. They, too, were fearful.

Distrust

Reflecting the distrust of the police which permeated the squatter settlement, another young man had said: "They (the police) took away our weapons. They are going to take our weapons to the hostels and give them to Zulus."

Fighting to keep control of his fear, he had added: "Many of us are going to die today." Some of his comrades had armed themselves with puny saplings to replace the stout sticks, metal pipes and homemade spears which had been confiscated.



Lone sentry . . . Alertness is the key to survival.

Some of the men that had encircled me on our first trip through the squatter camp were Xhosa migrant workers who had been driven out of the hostel by the Zulus after the start of the trouble. One of the migrant workers had said: "The



Death in the street . . . Police ex-

Zulus say they won't be ruled by a Xhosa."

They had been certain the police would not disarm the Zulus. I had replied that we were about to check for ourselves if the disarming process was even-handed. I then pro-

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BACKGROUND

d - nowhere to hide

In the eyes of the 'dreaded and pitiless' Zulus and the pro-ANC squatters in Phola Park was a similar and unmistakable look of terror, as both the warring factions fell prey to a sense of vulnerability following the even-handed disarming process which the police carried out yesterday. **PATRICK LAURENCE** caught both sides of the story.



Seeking conflict ... Inkatha impi besiege another room in the Vosloorus hostel. The occupant was murdered. Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

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broek.



Police examine the bodies of three victims who died in the Crossroads inter-tribal violence, before loading them into a truck.

© Picture by Mbuseni Zulu.

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mised to return and tell them what we saw, feeling that it would not harm my professional integrity to warn them if the Zulu-migrant workers had not been disarmed and to reassure them if they had been. Now we were back at the

same spot on the edge of the squatter camp where we first met the Xhosas. They had been reinforced by fresh arrivals of men. Their mood was tougher. I told them the Zulus at the hostel we had visited had been disarmed and that the Zulus,

fearful for their lives, wanted to leave. A well spoken man replied: "They must be driven back to Natal. We want peace and harmony. They must go." A police armoured vehicle parked on the nearby road. We drove out through the

heart of the largely deserted squatter camp. The tiny shacks were boarded up. Dogs lazed in the sun, oblivious, it seemed, of the fear of men. A Christian entrepreneur left his message: "Jesus is the Lord. Shoe shine. Same day service."

Police say...

By Kaiser Nyatumba, Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC have condemned the violence which has claimed at least 140 lives in townships on the East Rand.

IFP central committee chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday told The Star the loss of life by so many people agrieved him deeply, regardless of their political affiliation.

Dr Mdlalose, who described the latest round of violence as most unfortunate, said he was concerned that the conflict had assumed tribal connotations, with Zulus and Xhosas reportedly clashing against each other.

"I want to urge all the people concerned to lay down arms, tolerate each other and resolve the problems by talking. My appeal to the local leadership is that they identify themselves and seek out venues where they can talk to each other," Dr Mdlalose said.

IFP president and Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi was reported to be away until next week.

Internal ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said everything possible was being done to end the violence on the East Rand townships of Kallebong, Vosloorus and Tokoza.

However, he referred questions to the ANC's Witwatersrand regional office, where spokesman Barbara Hogan said attempts were being made to defuse the situation.

Ms Hogan said an ANC delegation on the East Rand had met the police at Vosloorus Police Station yesterday afternoon, and a meeting between IFP and ANC leaders in the area was scheduled for today.

She added: "The people in the township are strongly convinced that the police are assisting Inkatha. Our regional offices has compiled data and asked (ANC internal leader) Walter Sisulu to take the matter up with (Law and Order Minister) Adriaan Vlok."

Although the situation was "still in flames", everything possible was being done to get "effective intervention" in the area, Ms Hogan said.



Inkatha supporters chase an injured man whom they cornered and attacked at Nguni Hostel in Vosloorus yesterday. The unidentified badly bleeding man was saved from almost certain death when the occupants of a passing car fired on his attackers. © Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.



ANC, Inkatha indaba soon, says Dhlomo

11B
Sowetan 16/8/90

FORMER KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo says the ANC appears to be "seriously considering the feasibility" of a meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an effort to bring peace to Natal.

Dhlomo, who was also Inkatha secretary-general before his resignation, told a meeting of the Natal Chamber of Industries in Durban on Tuesday that he was optimistic a meeting would take place provided nothing further

SOWETAN Correspondent

happened to strain relations between the ANC and Inkatha.

In a wide-ranging speech in which he called for financial support from industry for his proposed Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Southern Africa, he urged business to "join all of us who are quietly encouraging the ANC-UDF-Cosatu alliance to see such a meeting as part of a peace plan".

The institute would aim to promote democracy in the sub-continent and to encourage "tolerance and respect" for opposing political

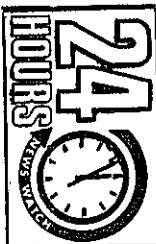
viewpoints. It proposed to use "non-political, non-ideological mass education" to spread its views.

Asked what truth there might be in reports that either Inkatha or the ANC could align with the National Party, he said: "I cannot say which parties will unite because I'm not qualified to do so.

"What I can say with confidence is that politics will no longer be practised on the basis of skin pigmentation. Ideological commonality will come to the fore; multi-party democrats will align with each other - they will realise that there are major advantages in sticking together to promote their commonality in ideological terms."

'Fighting over the political pie'

By JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter



THE fearsome sight of Zulu impiis moving through the streets of East Rand townships as this week's scenes of horrifying violence unfolded has provoked comparisons with the tribal conflict leading to the Mfecane forced migration of the 1800's.

In the early years of last century the military machine of the Zulu king Shaka sowed death and destruction, crushing tribes far and wide. The forced migration — mfecone — resulting from these attacks led to the refugees, in their turn, going on the rampage against others.

Simplistic
But academics say it is simplistic to describe this week's bloodbath as "Zulu on Xhosa".

Since Tuesday, more than 150 people have died in the townships of KwaZulu, Vosloorus and Tokoza. In what has been described as "the bloodiest outbreak of mass violence in the country for years".

Although the background to the carnage has been depicted in tribal terms, academics have cited a number of contributory causes.

Dr Patrick Harries of the Department of History at the University of Cape Town said the conflict had a lot to do with competition for resources and the need for "community security".

The ethnic nature of the conflict was a manifestation of these factors, he said.

Previous outbreaks of township violence have shown that areas of squalor and poverty are the most volatile. This has been demonstrated again this week in confrontations between East Rand host-dwellers and squatters, both living in meagre circumstances.

"The primary cause of conflict is the heightened nature of the political struggle in

South Africa among contending ideological positions," said a Cape Town academic.

"It is simplistic to label it Zulu on Xhosa, but I don't think we can rule out the ethnic element in the conflict."

At the heart of the matter is the struggle for political power. Inkatha fear that they are being marginalised because President De Klerk is talking to the ANC which is gaining a much higher profile.

"Inkatha are feeling vulnerable — a group in that situation will try to project themselves into power."

"So they are mobilising whatever resources are available to them, and the migrant labourers are a source of loyal support," he said.

Rural Zulus, who make up a large number of the migrant workers on the East Rand have a strong traditional loyalty to the Zulu royal house stemming from the days of Shaka and the great Zulu kings.

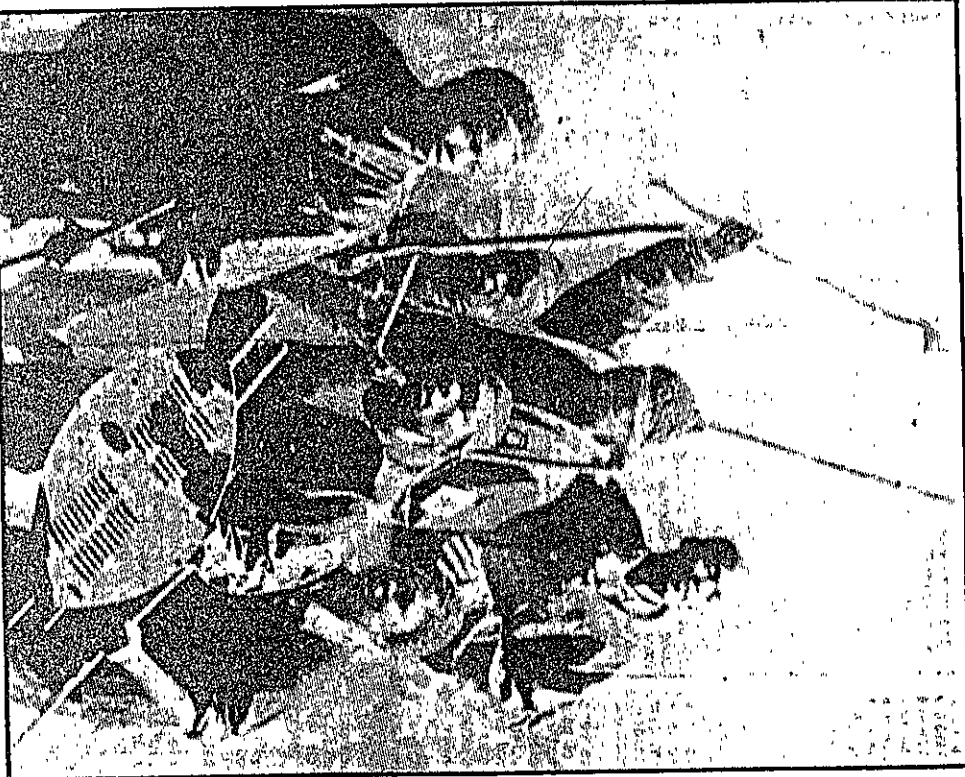
Ideological
Against them stand the "ANC adherents" who are not exclusively Xhosa. "They have a more moderate perception of what is going on in South Africa," he said.

These two groups were fighting over the political pie in an ideological conflict manifesting itself in ethnic confrontation.

The division of people on the basis of ethnic groupings under apartheid increased the likelihood of conflict, he said.

Although it was a factor, this was not purely a fight over resources, he said.

Wits University historian, Dr Phil Bonner, agreed that the Zulu on Xhosa analysis was simplistic.



READY FOR WAR: Armed Inkatha supporters chant and wave the weapons as tension rose in Soweto after a mob had attacked train passengers yesterday.

"The conflict between Zulu and Xhosa is not a traditional one — the Zulu-Sotho conflict is more traditional in this area. The violence may be the result of efforts to mobilise political constituencies in the hostels. Inkatha may be attempting to develop organisation on a national level — this may be a factor. But I don't believe that Inkatha central structures would advocate violence for this end. It must come from somewhere else — perhaps lower down," he said.

Refuge from war

From Jonathon Rees
in Johannesburg

A puppy picks enthusiastically at the rotting carcass of a dog on the outskirts of Phola Park squatter camp.

A hurried out truck and 10 temporary toilets stand like sentinels amid the litter.

A foul smell from sewage, the toilets and heaps of festering rubbish fills the air around the camp.

This home to 35 000 people was this week the scene of some of the fiercest fighting yet seen in South African townships.

Squatters live in fear of another attack from aggressors they identify as "Zulus" or "Inkathas" from the adjoining large hostel complex.

A group of men sit on a rocky outcrop at the base of electricity pylons that stretch overpoweringly across the length of the squatter camp.

Weapons taken
Jumpy and nervous, they said they had stayed back at the camp while others went to an ANC rally nearby, in order to protect the area from further attacks.

One young man said the Zulus had attacked them. He said he was a Xhosa and the police had taken all their weapons away.

"We're not sure if they took the Zulus weapons... Old, brightly coloured Kung Fu movie posters — "First of Fury" and "Secret Rivers" — adorn the makeshift wooden exterior of one shack.

An ambulance comes racing along a dirt road next to the camp.

They had come for an old Sotho man in overalls who was attacked and stabbed while walking past Phola Park with some possessions.

Bleeding heavily from stab wounds in his head and back he resignedly said his at-

tackers probably want for him because he had come from the hostels.

Shacks in the camp are made up of wooden paneling, corrugated iron, plastic and assorted improvised materials — all covered with a fine layer of dust stirred up every now and then by armoured police patrols.

Many dogs move freely around the filthy settlement and scores of people slowly leave the camp, many carrying their scant possessions on their heads.

But one group of women said they would stay — whatever happens. "We've been here since 1987 — we're staying."

One man's worldly goods, wrapped in old grain bags, were passed to him out of the nearby hostel window.

He was on his way into Tokoza, for fear of renewed fighting.

A lone elderly woman paused from pushing an old shopping trolley full of her possessions along a dusty track to echo his sentiments. "She was moving away from the fighting."

Two men hitch-hiked into Johannesburg, where they planned to sleep at work instead of home in Phola Park.

Their wives were sleeping at employers' homes and they didn't know when they would see them again.

About two kilometres away, 1 200 women and several hundred children are huddled around a community hall, having fled the violence on Tuesday and Wednesday.

At night they sleep sitting up on the floor, and rely on social workers and volunteers for food.

Police and the army have established a temporary base between the hostels and squatter camp, and as the sun sets, the puppy finishes its carrion meal and wanders contentedly off into the long grass and rubble around the settlement — Sapa

CML
Tents
17/8/90

Rally fear: Classes suspended

DURBAN. — Fears that a planned Inkatha rally on campus would degenerate into violence has led to suspension of classes at the University of Zululand.

The university said in a statement that the weekend rally "inspires fear, tension and unrest among students".

The students, apparently fearing a repeat of the incident in 1983, when five of them died after a clash with Inkatha, left the campus on Wednesday.

A spokesman for the university said students had asked the rector of the university, Prof A C Nkabinde, to cancel the Inkatha rally because they feared an outbreak of violence.

The spokesman said classes were expected to resume on Tuesday next week. — Sapa

17 die in Soweto

Star 17/8/90

tribal clashes

Staff Reporters

Tribal violence in Soweto claimed 17 lives yesterday and last night, leaving up to 150 people injured as security forces geared up to prevent further outbreaks today.

The violence erupted as the death toll in war-ravaged East Rand townships rose to 152, police said.

It was quiet in a tense Soweto this morning and residents reported a massive stayaway from work for fear of Zulu attacks.

Potential conflict in Alexandra township near Johannesburg was averted last night as police moved to swiftly intercept a large group, apparently made up of Xhosas, armed with pangas, spears, knobkerries and other weapons. The group was allegedly on its way to attack Zulus.

The group was surrounded by police and disarmed, said a police spokesman.

Guarding

Security forces in Soweto today again launched a massive operation to protect train commuters, with soldiers guarding train drivers and police guarding stations and manning passenger coaches.

A similar operation late yesterday afternoon was described as "highly successful" by Soweto spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni, who added that such operations would be conducted for as long as was necessary.

Sporadic fighting broke out in the township last night and the number of deaths mounted steadily from six yesterday afternoon to the 17 reported at the time of going to press.

Four bodies were found in Dobsonville last night.

The violence follows two days of all-out warfare between Zulus and Xhosas in Vosloorus, Tokoza and Katlehong this week, leaving 152 dead and more than 1 000 injured.

As on the East Rand, hostels were the main conflict point, with attacks being launched from mainly Zulu-occupied hostels.

● Township violence — Pages 3 and 13

are concerned.
However, chambers in all

distinctions should be made between grievances on purely political issues over which they

phaise and publicise business initiatives concerning economic, political and social reform.

Star 17/8/90

The nightmare of bitter township war

A homeless woman weeps bitterly over her husband, who has been axed to death in the bloody war raging in the townships of the East Rand. Other women around her don't know where their husbands are, or whether they are still alive. They will count the costs of the battle later.

For now, survival is the only priority.

A little distance away, the men prepare for bloodshed — knowing they may die in the next few hours. For them, defeating the enemy is the only priority.

If they should live through this nightmare, what will the future bring? And what are the prospects for their children?

For those who will survive the violence that has wracked the country's townships, the price will be high.

"In the short term, people's lives will be terribly disrupted. They will suffer constant anxiety, sleeplessness and depression. The strain on familial relationships will lead to a general

As the death toll in the East Rand's feuding townships continue to rise, so too does the price to be paid by those who survive. When the war is over, the long struggle to resume normality begins. **HELEN GRANGE** reports.

irritability, which will result in violence and neglect," says Lloyd Vogelman, director of Wits University's Project for the Study of Violence.

The absence of people killed will create a wave of resentment and anger in survivors once the fighting has stopped.

"The families and friends of those killed feel a huge loss. There is a desire for retribution, with a result that the potential for violence increases," says Mr Vogelman.

In East Rand townships, many breadwinners have been killed. "The stress on the surviving family is enormous. This situation inevitably affects the quality of life," Mr Vogelman says.

As The Star spoke to refugees in hiding near the desolate

squatter camp of Phola Park this week, an ironic scene prevailed. The ragged children gathered in groups to smile and raise their fists for the camera.

For these children, the effects of the war has made an indelible impression on their minds.

"Children become sensitised to violence, and for them it means that this is the way to resolve problems. They have seen adults behave like this and it is assimilated. The potential for violence among this generation of children is increased," Mr Vogelman says.

For the war-torn society, anxiety and depression are factors which — like a Catch 22 situation — spill over into other aspects of life.

Effectiveness at school and

in the workplace decreases — and people withdraw socially, says Mr Vogelman.

Apart from the consequences of protracted violence on the individual, the costs in terms of lost productivity and property damage are immense.

Millions of rands are lost every day that workers stay in the township to engage in the conflict and to protect their families. Buildings and vehicles are gutted or damaged, and deserted homes are a perfect opportunity for theft and looting.

But while the war rages and the death count increases with almost monotonous frequency, only the present matters.

"Consequences, no matter how serious, are not a factor among people involved in violence. There is no concern about ending up in prison for instance. The only concern is slaying the perceived enemy and defending your life.

"The long-term emotional and psychological manifestations only set in later."

Walk-out ends Tokoza peace rally

SA 17/8/90 2:30 116

By Musa Mapisa and Abel Mabelane

A Tokoza Civic Association (TCA) rally aimed at ending the five-day-old violence in Tokoza ended abruptly yesterday afternoon, when about half of an estimated 15 000 strong crowd walked out in protest while the chairman of the TCA, Sam Ntuli, was speaking.

The dissatisfaction was caused by Mr Ntuli's suggestion that police help be sought to retrieve belongings of hostel dwellers who left during the fighting.

Previous speakers had called on police to remove Inkatha supporters so that other inmates could take their belongings in peace or at least be allowed to arm themselves for their safety when entering the hostel.

Sacrificial lambs

The idea of being accompanied by police was rejected by most at the rally.

"We cannot be led like sacrificial lambs, by the police, into the hands of armed men in the hostels," a hostel dweller said.

As some of the people left the stadium, TCA members and ANC regional leaders appealed for restraint and discipline.

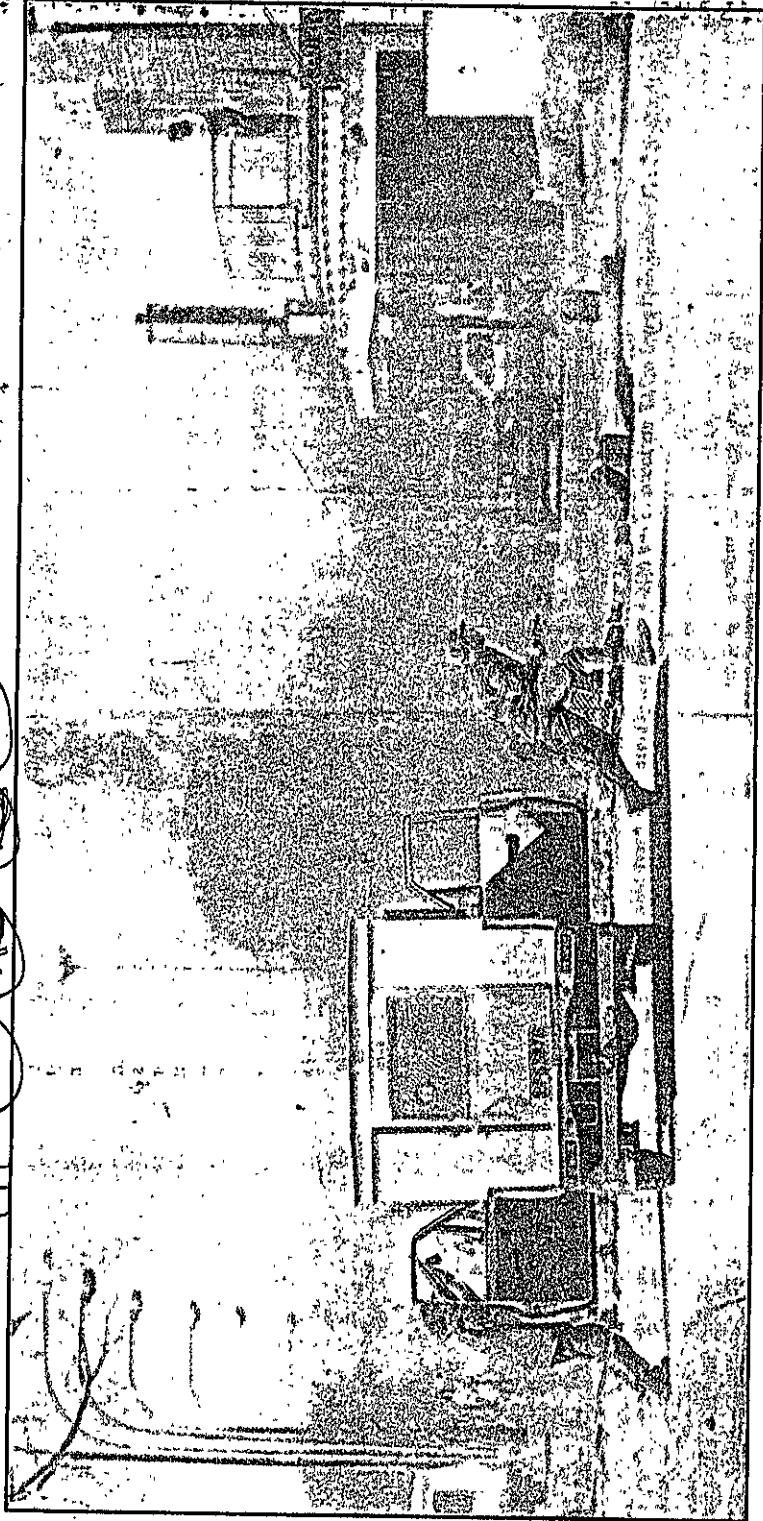
The rally had earlier started with people streaming into the stadium carrying ANC and South African Communist Party flags.

Police cordoned off all entrances and searched all people entering the stadium.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Mailherbe said a policeman was attacked by a panga-wielding man during the exercise.

He said a petrol bomb and a pistol were confiscated by police.

When police confronted the man carrying the pistol, he dropped it and ran away. The panga-wielding man was arrested.



Police action ... leaping from a van (above), police fire tear-gas and rubber bullets at residents who placed tyres in the road and lit them at Soweto's Jabulani hostel yesterday. In the activity, (right) police accidentally teargassed themselves, to the amusement of onlookers. © Pictures by Sean Woods.

Attacks on all
Zulus not fair

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has accused the African National Congress of unleashing its members against other black organisations, and certain sections of the black community now that it has announced the suspension of its armed struggle against the government in Pretoria.

In a statement issued in Harare the BCMA said political feuding in South Africa had taken diabolical and frightening proportions.

The statement said: "Inkatha is not a progressive organisation but the racist regime is far worse. What justification exists in declaring peace with the regime and escalating war against Inkatha? Is it fair to attack all and every Zulu-speaking migrant worker in the hostels simply because Gatsha Buthelezi and the majority of Inkatha members are Zulus?"

HOSTEL BATTLES: *Why there's more to the eruption of anger than 'ethnic rivalry'*

Behind the violence



Blowing the horn as the men go into battle: Inkatha supporters wearing red headbands with slogans prepare for a clash in Soweto yesterday
Picture: ELMOND JIYANE, Dynamic Images

Why civil war has exploded in the townships

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE
19/11/88 - 19/11/90

The bodies that lay in the swamps of Katlehong and along the railway tracks of Soweto this week were a grisly reminder of a prophetic warning by former Inkatha general-secretary Oscar Dhlomo.

Such pronouncements, the spate of pamphlets obviously designed to stoke ethnic hostility of Zulu people (for instance, by instigating them to revolt against "Xhosa and Indian" leadership of the ANC) lend weight to accusations

He warned th...

Why civil war has exploded in the townships

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE
 1918 - 1918/90

The bodies that lay in the swamps of Kaitleng and along the railway tracks of Soweto this week were a grisly reminder of a prophetic warning by former Inkatha general-secretary Oscar Dhlomo.

He warned that leaders who were "ethnicising" political differences among blacks were preparing the worst scenario for South Africa could possibly contemplate.

In an interview this week he singled out Inkatha leaders as particularly guilty of converting an ideological debate into a much more "highly charged" ethnic war.

Inkatha leaders in the Transvaal as well as the ANC believe the conflict in Sebokeng, Kagiso, the East Rand and Soweto is a replica of the strife that has claimed 4,000 lives in Natal.

But the language used by residents indicates that many of those affected perceive the conflict in ethnic terms: "We are the Zulus and we are fighting the Xhosas" — or vice versa — were phrases frequently heard this week.

This apparent contradiction between the everyday discourse and the political line dealt with by Dhlomo's claim that certain leaders are mobilising and organising their constituencies by deliberately playing on ethnic identity. And in the Transvaal the evidence points to Inkatha — with its virtually all-Zulu past — rather than the non-racial, non-tribal ANC, as primarily responsible for this.

University of Natal sociologist Gerh- and Mare points out that the Zulu identity is a potent factor in the lives of migrant workers from KwaZulu. "Anyone who is forced to have contact with a homeland is forced to have in part an ethnic identity," he observed.

The very existence of the homelands — and the colonial structures which preceded them — depended on fostering ethnicity, Mare pointed out. Chiefs and homeland officials would disperse their patronage and favours in such a way as to reinforce this ethnic pattern and perpetuate their own positions.

This kind of ethnic consciousness, says Natal sociologist Doug Hindson, is especially strong amongst Zulu hostel



ing singled out by the ANC/SACP/UDF/Cosatu alliance for vilification, intimidation and killings.

Such pronouncements, the spate of ethnic hostility of Zulu people (for instance, by instigating them to revolt against "Xhosa and Indian" leadership of the ANC) lend weight to accusations that Inkatha has chosen to cast the struggle in an ethnic mould.

Why the hostels of the PWV have figured so consistently in the recent bloodshed is not hard to figure.

If Inkatha is to engage — either politically or physically — with its opponents in the PWV it cannot do without its hostel constituency. A recent study by Markel Research Africa showed that a mere two percent of black people outside of Natal sought to leave their homelands. With this struggling support, the hostels — which have traditionally been Inkatha strongholds — and which Zulu workers appear to rely on more extensively than others — represent an increasingly significant factor.

Regional Inkatha Youth League chairman Themba Khoza claims that Inkatha has a dominant presence in many hostels and that it has long been established there.

According to Lloyd Vogelman, director of the Project for the Study of Violently Fertile Organising Territory for any organisation. They foster a tight identity, a sense of exclusiveness, conformity and a sense of grievance.

"Hostels are easy to organise — people congregate naturally and you can organise much more swiftly there than out in the community," commented Vogelman. "That alone makes planned attacks much more easy to execute."

There was virtually no privacy in a hostel, no place for dissenters to hide and every chance that breaking ranks with the group would result in ostracism — or even physical harm.

"People come into the hostels with frustrations. The hatreds from Natal are carried into the Transvaal, into the hostel," Vogelman pointed out.

stogans prepare for a clash in Soweto yesterday
 Picture: ELMOND JIVANE, Dynamic Images

— with its virtually all-Zulu past — rather than a non-racial, non-tribal ANC, as primarily responsible for this.

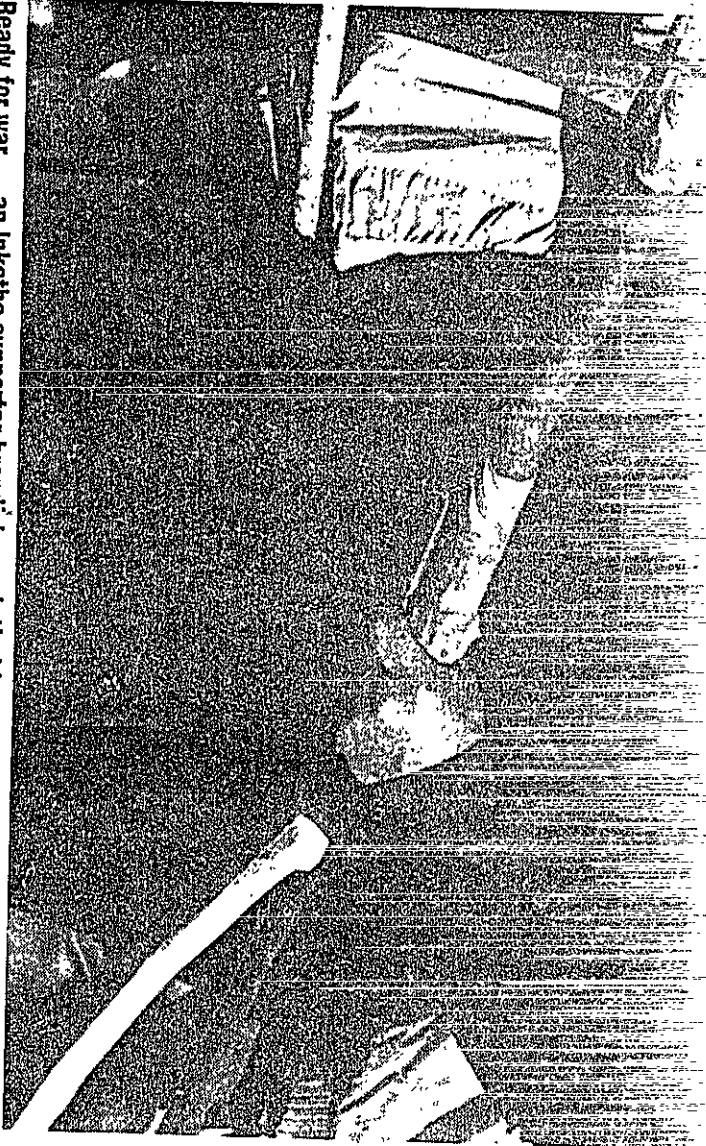
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This kind of ethnic consciousness, says Natal sociologist Doug Hindson, is especially strong amongst Zulu hostel dwellers because thousands of people from the province still rely on the migrant labour system — and rural familial and social networks — for their subsistence.

In many ways Natal contrasts with other provinces, where extreme poverty and social fragmentation is causing migrancy to break down: male workers tend to bring their families with them and rely less on links with their ethnic heritage to survive. Hence the Thokozza clashes this week took the form of clashes between migrant "Zulus" and urbanised "Xhoses".

Since Inkatha was the ruling party in kwazulu it was not strange that there



Ready for war ... an Inkatha supporter brandishes a lethal home-made weapon

could be "a total overlap of Inkatha and ethnicity in people's minds," argued Mare. To be Zulu, was to be Inkatha.

He pointed out that members of the kwazulu Legislative Assembly frequently equated Xhosa people with the ANC or suggested that the ANC was a non-Zulu organisation.

Inkatha's president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had also invoked the notion of Zulu ethnicity quite pointedly, Mare said. One example was Buthelezi's response to an ANC advertisement which called for the dismantling of the kwazulu homeland. The chief minister branded the campaign as an act of contempt for

the Zulu king, the Zulu nation and the kingdom of kwazulu.

Buthelezi added: "I hope that the Zulu people, whatever their political affiliations, will realise that the ANC campaign of vilification is no longer just against me and Inkatha, but also against the Zulu people, as Zulu people are be-

cause we are Zulu people, as Zulu people are be-

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SOWETO VIOLENT TRAIN ATTACK

BY VUSI GUNENE **17/8-1981**
A WAVE of panic spread through Soweto yesterday as tens of thousands of residents fled their homes after a vicious early morning attack on train passengers by Inkatha supporters that left nine dead and more than 100 injured.

As stunned survivors of the slaughter on the train from Soweto to Johannesburg described the attack to reporters, police repeatedly repulsed groups of revenge-seeking youths outside the station and at nearby hostels.

The township was very tense last night as residents braced for further attacks. The outbreak of violence followed a bloody three-day war in the

East Rand this week which has claimed more than 150 lives and hundreds of casualties.

Yesterday's trouble began when the 05h30 train, No 9315, en route to Johannesburg, stopped at Imhlanzane railway station.

Witnesses said about 300 Inkatha supporters — armed with axes, pangas, spears and firearms, and wearing hand bands around their foreheads — stormed the platform and attacked commuters in the coaches.

Passengers jumped from the train and fled, many of them screaming warnings to other residents in the area. "Everybody woke up and we armed

ourselves against further attacks," said one resident. "As we grouped police arrived and fired teargas at us".

The panic spread to nearby townships. SAP reports that 20 000 residents fled the area and sought refuge at the Kippitown police station.

Township youths, armed with rudimentary weapons, axes and petrol bombs gathered near Jubaleni and Merate hostels, where they believed the train attackers had come from.

Police repeatedly fired teargas to disperse the youths. Shots were also fired, but no casualties were reported. By 7am no buses or taxis were running in the townships for fear of at-

lence at Wits University, hostels are particularly fertile organising territory for any organisation. They foster a tight identity, a sense of exclusiveness, conformity and a sense of grievance.

"Hostels are easy to organise — people congregate naturally and you can organise much more swiftly there than out in the community," commented Vogel- man. "That alone makes planned attacks much more easy to execute."

There was virtually no privacy in a hostel, no place for dissenters to hide and every chance that breaking ranks with the group would result in ostracism — or even physical harm.

"People come into the hostels with frustrations. The hatreds from Natal are carried into the Transvaal, into the hostel," Vogelmann pointed out.

Because of the tight group identity and the extreme pressure to conform, the commonly held position "becomes more and more extreme" and the possibility of large groups being hijacked by a minority was far from far-fetched.

With the ground prepared, hostels could in a few moves become the soldiers' barracks they so much resemble. Or even fortresses.

Vogelmann's observations apply equally to fighting within the hostels — between Inkatha supporters and other residents — as they do to conflict between Inkatha migrants and the surrounding community.

Attacks by conservative hostel dwellers on the broader community have occurred fairly regularly during peaks of militant mobilisation in the townships, starting with Soweto in 1976. The violent divisions within hostels, which formed part of the recent pattern in Thokozza, Kagiso and Soweto, are rather newer and observers are hesitant to supply a meaning.

One thesis is that the political culture of the township — that is, for the most part, support for the ANC — is filtering through the hostels.

In Sebokeng, for instance, the hostels are known to be strongholds of progressive union and community organisation. They were allegedly attacked by Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers from other areas and subsequently swamped when 5 000 police and soldiers swooped in the dead of night in a "crime preven-

Behind the township violence

w/Mat 17/8-19/8/90

From PAGE 1

tion" operation.

In some areas, relaxation of the pass laws has meant that families of hostel dwellers are able to live in nearby shanty-towns. Through their families, hostel residents attain a link to organisations fighting for schooling, land, health services and housing. They are not longer outsiders and the civic associations become their business.

In addition many are employed in work places organised by Cosatu unions and they sign up.

Such developments inevitably produce tensions in the hostels — especially where there is an established Inkatha interest.

The shock of the week's bloodshed lay largely in its sheer bloodiness. Not even the destruction of Crossroads in 1986 claimed so many victims so fast.

It lay also in the timing. It was almost incomprehensible that this should happen a week after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, with its promise that real negotiations about the constitutional future of South Africa could start soon.

There have been various questions in this regard.

115
● Is it a coincidence that Inkatha supporters began their attacks on commuters at Soweto's Inhlanzane station days after

the Cosatu/UDF/Sayco week of mass action against the war in Natal?

● Is it a coincidence that Inkatha begins to reassert its presence in the Transvaal only weeks after its decision to constitute as a national political party and as the deadline for the launch of ANC branches — August 26 — draws near?

● Is it a coincidence that pro-ANC groups are being drawn into violent conflict at a time when the organisation seeks to minimise violence and prove the power of disciplined non-violent mass action?

Buthelezi has emphatically denied that Inkatha is the aggressor in this contest and that he is exporting violence from Natal to the Transvaal.

Perhaps the last word should be that of Buthelezi's former right-hand man, Dhlomo, who warned that the situation had to be faced that Buthelezi still had some support — but more than that "he has the potential to destabilise the region of Natal right into the era of a new South Africa".

Classes at varsity ^{Sowetan} disrupted over ^{1,718/90} Inkatha meeting ^(11B)

CLASSES were disrupted at the University of Zululand this week following a decision by students to go home before a planned Inkatha rally at the campus tomorrow.

The students, apparently fearing a repeat of October 1983 when five of them died after a clash with Inkatha, packed their bags and left the campus on Wednesday.

Rector

A spokesman for the university said students had met the rector of the university, Professor AC Nkabinde, on Tuesday, asking him to cancel the Inkatha rally because they feared an outbreak of violence.

However, Nkabinde had told the students that it would be undemocratic to refuse Inkatha permission to hold the rally at the campus since the same facility had been accorded the African National Congress three weeks ago.

Five students were killed when Inkatha and non-Inkatha supporters met in a bloody clash in the campus on October 29, 1983.


Sowetan
Correspondent

Three years later a one-man commission chaired by the head of criminal law at the University of South Africa, Professor AJ Middleton, later found that the main cause of the 1983 tragedy

at the campus appeared to be the failure of the university authorities to confine the crowd to the immediate vicinity of the Bhekuzulu Hall where the Inkatha rally was held.

The spokesman said classes were expected to resume next Tuesday.

Several attempts to reach members of the Students Representative Council failed.

Finding a role

Former KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Oscar Dhlomo, who resigned from all his official positions two months ago, has given the first hints of his future role in SA's political process and of the formation of a new, politically independent organisation — the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy.

Dhlomo, one of the most respected political figures in KwaZulu and Natal, has also been working behind the scenes to bring about a meeting between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela to defuse the Natal violence. (118)

He considers such a meeting essential as a first step towards ending the violence. A meeting does seem closer now.

Dhlomo is also concerned that the violence in Natal is now taking on an "ethnic character." He cites the ANC-led campaign to sideline Buthelezi, as well as certain Zulu leaders appealing to tribalism and making anti-Indian and Xhosa statements.

This level of conflict, he warns, will be harder to reconcile than the ideological differences between Inkatha and the ANC. ■

It's ethnic and political,' says Inkatha

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban (113)
THE Transvaal violence was fundamentally about ethnic differences with a political overlay, according to Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods.

Speaking in Durban yesterday, Woods said Inkatha had never been happy about "ethnic polarisation" and was sad to see people using it for propaganda.

He said the African National Congress had provoked the violence because it was losing support among Zulu people.

Acting national organiser of the Inkatha Youth Brigade Mbongeni Khumalo said that the trouble had a number of causes, one of which was the "provocative" behaviour of people wearing ANC T-shirts shortly before a recent Inkatha rally at Everton. He said they were giving out pamphlets "attacking Zulus".

Asked whether the background to the conflict could be found in the month-long campaign by the ANC and its allies to "isolate" Inkatha and the July 2 stay-

away, Khumalo said such action was an additional source of tension.

Both Khumalo and Woods blamed the ANC for an intolerant attitude to other political groups and said members of the organisation would "do anything" to disrupt rival groups. 17-19/8/90

Woods added, "ANC tolerance is at the root of the trouble. Inkatha is a bigger national threat than anyone else, so we are suffering more."

Khumalo said he did not believe that this is an ANC/Inkatha conflict. "There are people who have gone to the Transvaal to look for work who have been accommodated in the hostels.

"Some Zulus who have gone there are Inkatha, some are not.

"But when they pick up pamphlets saying Zulus are sell-outs and puppets, it is their right to respond to that in any other manner (sic). If it was not for the pamphlet this would not have happened."

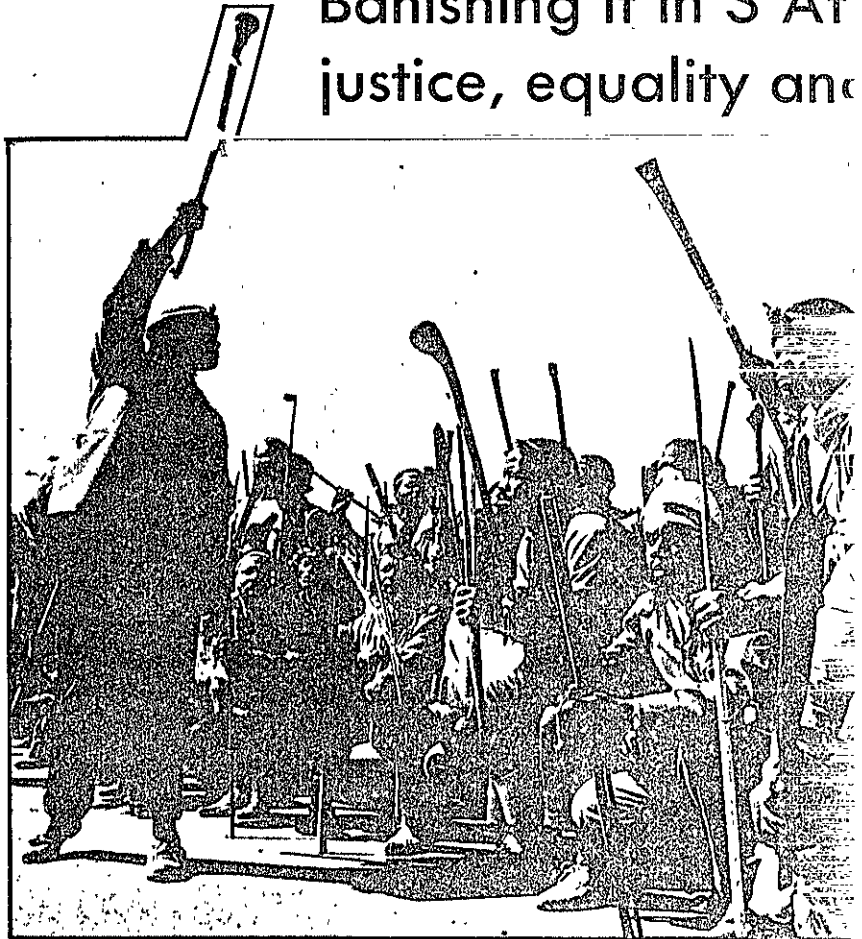
Tribalism: taboo r

Much of the violence sweeping South Africa at the moment is being ascribed to tribalism. To what extent is tribalism still a fact of African life? Does it continue to play an essential role in moulding communities or is it, as certain political groupings claim, a mere fiction invented to enable governments to divide and rule? Dr ERICH LEISTNER examines the issue.

Banishing it in S Af
justice, equality and

'Anyone who denies this pluralism implicitly asserts that all men are effectively identical — regardless of the geographical, cultural and family environment into which they were born or in which they grew up.'

'The centuries of conflict and bloodshed which preceded the unification into national states of Britain, France, Italy or Germany must be called to mind in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the issues surrounding the ethnic factor in Africa.'



ACCORDING to Sekou Touré, former president of Guinea, "Tribalism is even more criminal than imperialism". The very word is generally taboo in polite society — Western no less than African.

The reason is obvious: "tribe" is associated with "primitive" and "backward" and is perceived as the antithesis of modern, civilised society. The term also reeks of colonial domination and white racism.

Some view references to tribe as degrading human beings to the level of a species of animals, and a step on the road which led to the Holocaust.

Black Africa's loathing of the word "tribalism" is altogether understandable. However, the reality to which it refers and the problems bound up with it do not go away simply by denying their existence.

An alternative

Once we use "ethnicity" instead of "tribalism", it becomes easier to examine the underlying issues dispassionately and to treat them as manifestations of universal human conduct in response to the post-colonial African environment.

Take, for example, the United States of America, which used to be viewed as the "melting pot" in which English, German, Italian, Russian and other ethnic groups were fused into a new national identity. Since the 1970s, however, Americans have become increasingly conscious of the ethnic pluralism pervading their society.

As American scholars Howard Stein and Robert Hill write: "Basic group identity governs our lives and is the taproot of our authen-

tic identities. This ethnic bond is primordial, moulding us from our earliest hours ... selfhood is finally inseparable from group ... ethnic pluralism ... is intrinsic to the human condition."

Anyone who denies this pluralism implicitly asserts that all men are effectively identical — regardless of the geographical, cultural and family environment into which they were born or in which they grew up.

Leopold Senghor, the Senegalese statesman-poet, frankly acknowledges the formative reality of man's "roots":

"The homeland is the heritage which our ancestors have passed down to us, land, blood, language or at least dialect, manners and customs, folklore, art, in a word a culture rooted in the locality and expressed by a race."

Given the comprehensive manner in which this heritage fashions a particular group and the individuals of which it is comprised, and given also the great and often striking differences between these groups, it is only natural if difficulties arise between groups when they are thrown closely together.

In sub-Saharan Africa, where dozens or even hundreds of ethnic groups are often joined together in the new states, this is indeed a serious issue.

Historical accident and administrative convenience have been responsible for the boundaries bequeathed to these states by the colonial powers. Boundary lines frequently dissect the homeland of a particular group while traditionally antagonistic groups have been expected to consider themselves a nation.

As Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a leading Oruba politician, described his country in 1947: "Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographical expression. There are no 'Nigerians' in the same sense as there are 'English', 'Welsh' or

'French'. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria and those who do not." Or, as another Nigerian leader, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, put it, "Nigerian unity is only a British invention." By all indications, the situation is basically still the same today.

The current conflicts in Liberia, Ethiopia and Sudan have distinct ethnic connotations, as had the earlier bloodbaths in Zaire, Uganda, Chad, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Burundi. These conflicts between major ethnic groups, and the genocide practised against recalcitrant weaker groups by the dominant ones, underline the absence of a unifying sentiment bonding the constituent groups together in these (and most other African) states.

No wonder the slogans "nation-building" and "national unity" feature prominently in the vocabularies of African politicians

Europe's example

The centuries of conflict and bloodshed which preceded the unification into national states of Britain, France, Italy or Germany must be called to mind in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the issues surrounding the ethnic factor in Africa. Hecatombs of blood were spilled in these and other Western countries today considered paragons of democracy and civilisation.

Africa obviously has started much later on the road towards the building of nations and functioning democracies. The underdeveloped state of Africans economies — and the consequent scarcity of skills and disposable resources — is a crucial obstacle on that road. What is more: economic underdevelopment and the absence of democratic government

reinforce each other.

Ethnic sentiments are kept alive by a host of factors deeply embedded in the political and economic structure of today's Africa. To name the more important:

- 1. The absence of effective security forces to dependably protect the territory and chances for advancement.
- 2. The absence of a national security.
- 3. Economic conditions which intensify competition for gainful resources in general.
- 4. The social disruption caused by inter-group competition.
- 5. The close interaction into rule and modern development between diverse ethnic groups.

Under these conditions it is the individual who looks to his own security and help; if those survive, they will mobilise their own group members of that group will support the expectation of rewards if their

While those holding political power inveigh against tribalism, in practice they most invariably fill the strategic government, the security services, the administration with people from their own ethnic group.

Despite official protestations has departed with the colonial their policies of "divide and rule" tend to mirror the ethnic structure of the country at large.

It has been aptly observed: "Ethnicity is both a fact and a state of mind. It is subject to change — the latter more than the former."

As indicated above, exclusive sentiments are kept alive if

tribalism: taboo reality

Banishing it in S Africa requires justice, equality and prosperity



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In the comprehensive manner in which heritage fashions a particular group and individuals of which it is comprised, and also the great and often striking differences between these groups, it is only natural that rivalries arise between groups when they come into close contact.

In sub-Saharan Africa, where dozens or hundreds of ethnic groups are often brought together in the new states, this is indeed a serious issue.

Political accident and administrative convenience have been responsible for the bequeathing to these states by the colonisers. Boundary lines frequently dissect the land of a particular group while tribal antagonistic groups have been excluded to consider themselves a nation.

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Africa obviously has started much later on the road towards the building of nations and functioning democracies. The underdeveloped state of Africans economies — and the consequent scarcity of skills and disposable resources — is a crucial obstacle on that road. What is more: economic underdevelopment and the absence of democratic government

reinforce each other.

Ethnic sentiments are kept alive by a whole host of factors deeply embedded in the social, political and economic structure of present-day Africa. To name the more important ones:

- The absence of effective states which can dependably protect the individual's life, property and chances for advancement.
- The absence of a national system of social security.
- Economic conditions which lead to an intense competition for gainful employment and resources in general.
- The social disruption caused by urbanisation and inter-group competition.
- The close interaction into which colonial rule and modern development have forced diverse ethnic groups.

Under these conditions it is only logical if the individual looks to his native group for security and help; if those striving for political power mobilise their own group, while members of that group will support him in the expectation of rewards if their candidate wins. While those holding political power commonly inveigh against tribalism, in practice they almost invariably fill the strategic posts in government, the security services and public administration with people from their own ethnic group.

Despite official protestations that tribalism has departed with the colonial masters and their policies of "divide and rule", cabinets tend to mirror the ethnic composition of the country at large.

It has been aptly observed that tribalism is both a fact and a state of mind. Both aspects are subject to change — the latter more readily than the former.

As indicated above, exclusive ethnic sentiments are kept alive if identification with the

group is seen as a vital for survival and advancement in a basically antagonistic environment. However, the functional importance of the ethnic group will decrease significantly, and tribal sentiments with it, once jobs and opportunities for legal gain are plentiful; appointments and promotions are unimpeachable; and governments can be removed through the ballot box.

Apartheid must be seen as essentially a manifestation of tribalism, that is, the Afrikaner tribe's striving to secure survival and the greatest possible share of resources in competition with the black tribes claiming the same fatherland.

The lessons for the South Africa of the future are obvious.

- Create conditions where private initiative will generate maximum economic wealth which can be applied to eliminating the vast backlogs in education, health, housing and so forth.

No quick solution

- Build a stable democratic system where freedom and justice for all are guaranteed.

But don't expect these objectives to be realised overnight, and don't pile new injustices on old by adopting rash measures to create instant social justice and political equality.

This is easier said than done. But if tribalism, and notably its racist black-white variant, is to be banished from South Africa for good, then justice, equality and prosperity must prevail.

● The author is the director of The Africa Institute of South Africa which studies African affairs with a particular emphasis on politics and economics.

Bitter fighting pushes up township death toll

35 killed in

bloody clashes

in Soweto

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

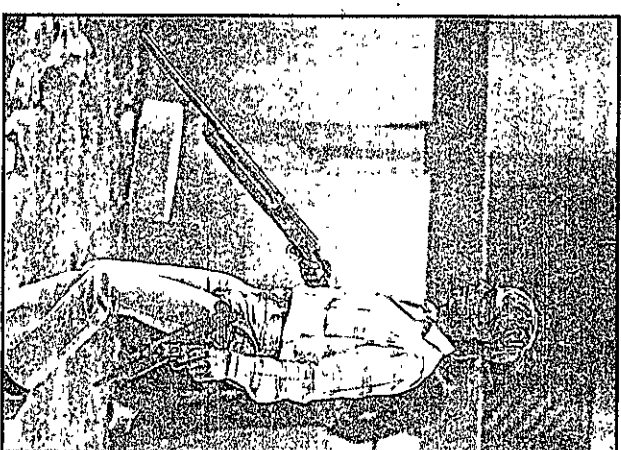
AT LEAST 35 people died during bloody clashes — allegedly sparked by differences between pro-Inkatha hostel dwellers and township residents — in strife-torn Soweto yesterday.

This brings this week's total number of dead in Soweto and the East Rand to 197 in Thokoza, Vosloorus and Kallabong — 197. The carnage in Soweto, South Africa's largest and most densely populated township, has left close to 220 people injured since the outbreak of violence three days ago. More than 1 000 people have been injured and thousands left homeless in clashes on the East Rand.

Details of yesterday's Soweto deaths were sketchy but police liaison officer for the area, Colonel Thembu Hlatshway, said the majority of the dead — mostly men — had been "hacked to death".

Stand-off

Two people, one only 13-years-old, were said to have died after a stand-off between hostel inmates and township residents in Central Western Jabavu (CWAJ) yesterday afternoon. One of the dead men has been identified as Mr Richard Lebona Mosia (29). They were allegedly killed by gunfire from a AK-47



in Soweto

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

AT LEAST 35 people died during bloody clashes — allegedly sparked by differences between pro-Inkatha hostel dwellers and township residents — in strife-torn Soweto yesterday.

This brings this week's total number of dead — in Soweto and the East Rand — to 319. The carnage in Soweto, South Africa's largest and most densely populated township, has left close to 220 people injured since the outbreak of violence three days ago. More than 1 000 people have been injured and thousands left homeless in clashes on the East Rand.

Details of yesterday's Soweto deaths were sketchy but police liaison officer for the area, Colonel Themba Halibyn, said the majority of the dead — mostly men — had been "hacked to death".

Stand-off

Two people, one only 13-years-old, were said to have died after a stand-off between hostel inmates and township residents in Central Western Jabavu (CWJ) yesterday afternoon. One of the dead men has been identified as Mr Richard Leboma Mosa (29).

They were allegedly killed by gunfire from a AK-47 rifle, with angry residents claiming the shots had come from a nearby ridge where Inkatha supporters were "huddled together in a warlike spirit".

Colonel Halibyn, however, said no shootings occurred in CWJ yesterday.

"I can assure you nobody has been shot with an AK-47 rifle in CWJ," he said.

The situation was very tense late last night. Soweto's Mapelela suburb and nearby Merafhe Hostel became the latest flashpoints with hundreds of hostel dwellers and youths in a tense stand-off.

A resident, who asked not to be named, reported that a youth had been shot, and all teenagers sunbathed from nearby homes to fight the hostel dwellers.

Hundreds of hostel dwellers had earlier been driven back by Mapelela youths and were presently camped between their hostel and the Soweto suburb, according to the resident.

Shopping centre

Another trouble spot was around the Manopona Shopping Centre in Dube, where police were reported to have closed off access to the centre and the nearby Dube hostel.

During another incident earlier in the day, a 16-year-old Std 8 pupil, Siboneni Masina, was killed when a policeman allegedly fired shots to disperse residents.

Soweto resident Mr Peter Tau was allegedly shot and hacked by Inkatha hostel dwellers near the Inkamane railway station, and another resident was killed when Inkatha supporters allegedly attacked a taxi in Zone 1 Meadowlands.

Colonel Halibyn said one man was shot dead by

● TO PAGE 2.



DEFIANT: As township comrades flee under attack from pro-Inkatha Jabulani Hostel dwellers, one man turns back to vent his anger. TOP: A heavily armed special unit policeman at the scene of a grenade and machine-gun fight.

Whites warn of violence at today's Welkom march

THE potential for conflict during today's march through the centre of Welkom has been addressed by the South African Police in a stern warning issued soon after the Conservative Party threatened to resort to violence if one white person dies at the march.

Major Johan Bankes of the Welkom police has said the SAP will not tolerate any interference and are determined to ensure the maintenance of law and order during the march by about 5 000 black residents of Bronville township.

Permission for the march has been granted by the Welkom Town Council, but it will take place in a delicate climate of racial conflict which has the potential of turning bloody if the right-wing tries to intervene.

Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for

● TO PAGE 2.

Townships want F W to stay a leader — research

RESEARCH data just released shows that President F W de Klerk has not only gained considerable support in black townships but an increasing number of blacks now regard him as one of their leaders in the new South Africa.

But, while the independent research project indicates that Mr de Klerk's star is rapidly rising in the townships, it also shows that blacks remain suspicious of the National Party still regarded as the "creator of apartheid", which it is relinquishing as slowly as possible and only because of international pressure.

The Rubicon 2 project was undertaken by the Johannesburg advertising agency McCann in May

CHRIS MOERDYK

this year as a sequel to Rubicon 1, conducted shortly after Mr de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2.

At the time, research showed that blacks generally welcomed the State President's reforms and the release of Nelson Mandela, but that two widely divergent points of view still existed in the townships — a feeling of continuing black resentment and a new spirit of reconciliation.

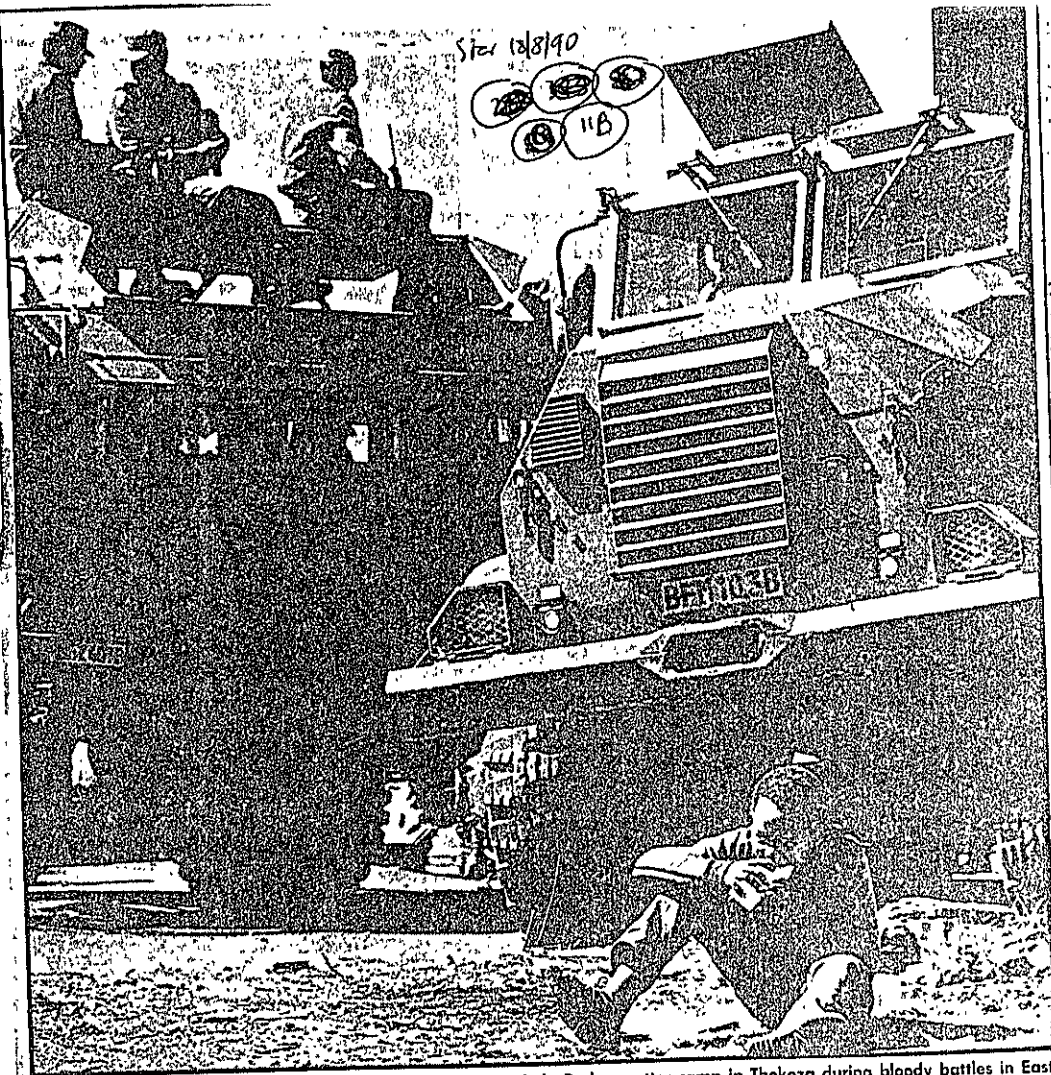
Latest research shows black middle and upper-income residents of Transvaal townships believe the National Party is not to

be trusted, that it still maintains double standards and that it is only President de Klerk who is committed to change, and not his party.

The majority view Inkatha "with loathing" and see it as a narrow tribal party that is not as much representative of Zulu interests as it is of its leader's political ambitions.

The planning director of the McCann Group, Sue Lereana, who co-ordinated both Rubicon research projects, said it was "impossible" to conduct research in Natal because of intimidation.

● TO PAGE 2.



RAVENOUS REFUGEE: Hundreds of squatters fled from the Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza during bloody battles in East Rand townships this week. One hungry little refugee managed to fill his stomach partially with police leftovers outside the Thokoza police station. © Picture: KEN OOSTERBROEK.

Township youths 'kill with impunity'

THE foundations for politicalisation and militancy among South Africa's urban black youth have been laid by the realities they face during their growing years — poverty, unemployment, high-levels of violence, breakdown of family structures and a discredited education system.

This was revealed during the screening of "The Lost Generation" on Thursday night, an investigation by SABC's "Network" programme of what South Africa's problems have done to the country's urban black youth.

Toddlers

Researched and compiled by SABC TV journalist Barbara Folscher, the programme revealed that the present violence and killing are accepted as a part of everyday township life — even by toddlers.

Paul Zulu, of Natal University's Centre for Social and Development Studies, said shooting and killing have become norms in a society moulded by violence. "Today, youths carry coffins on their shoulders," he said. "They kill with impunity."

Folscher told viewers that research by the

SUE OLSWANG

Inkatha Institute has shown the majority of township youths feel a strong degree of alienation, hopelessness and boredom. She added that the majority of urban black children feel worthless and uncared for.

The usual daily activities of the "lost generation" of about 3 million urban black youth consist of doing nothing, playing soccer, organising political meetings, smoking dagga, fighting and visiting shebeens, she said.

Absent from the list, however, was education. Folscher told viewers black pupils attend school only when they want to, and then do whatever they like when they do report to school.

"Education is listed by youths as the most important reason for their anger and frustration," Folscher said.

Manuel Ntuli, of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in Alexandra, said the present education system has "taught hostilities" between the races. "Education should be in the hands of the people. There

should be one system for all."

Existing anger and frustration, fuelled by a discredited education system, have long provided the ideal circumstances for political organisations, Folscher said.

Eugene Motlati, of the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso), said "The negotiation process is aimed at establishing a peace settlement but the youth want total revolution. These two don't go hand in glove."

Mbulelo Ketye, of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo), said they believe the country belongs to blacks. "Whites settled here through the barrel of the gun," he said.

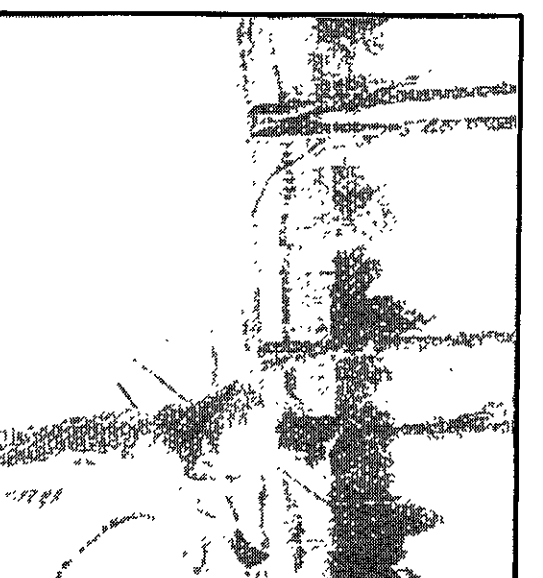
Regain

"They killed blacks, took our land and now they run our country. We believe blacks cannot regain the country at the negotiation table. We can only regain our country at the battlefield."

In her conclusion, Folscher said black youth are impatient for change. They were confident that changes would come, but blindly believed their problems would end when that moment arrived.

OPINION 2

THEY'RE ALL DEAD



THIS is the horrific sequence of a man's death at the hands of a blood-crazed mob in Soweto this week — a nightmare I shall never forget.

The victim was Sandile Gugudu, a tall man in his late 30s to early 40s, accused of being a Pondo spy.

The killers were red-bandanna'd Inkatha supporters, who claimed he had shot at them.

Gugudu tried desperately to shelter in the dormitory next to his own in the Nancefield hostel, but the mob was not to be thwarted. They rushed the hostel and kicked and hacked at the door to the room where Gugudu was hiding.

Eventually the door gave way and one Zulu fighter slipped in. The door was slammed shut, but sounds of fighting reached the restless mob outside. Another Zulu

pushed his way in and again the door was shut in a vain attempt to keep out the rest of the crowd.

But when the third Inkatha warrior forced his way in, the door was flung open and Gugudu's gauntlet of death began.

He ran out, blood already staining his shirt. Traditional sharpened sticks and steel poles and pangas hacked and slashed at him as he fled.

He managed to run 50m before he fell — and then the vanguard of the mob was on him.

Spears and sticks were flung into his body as he writhed in soundless agony, twisting into a helpless foetal position. And then came the killing blow from the axe that opened his skull.

But bloodlust was still running high. Mindless men

continued to stab and hack at him before kicking the body on to its back and searching the pockets for the pistol Gugudu was supposed to be carrying.

When nothing was found, the killers struck again at the helpless corpse as if in frustration at its innocence.

During all this, an Inkatha member — who was carrying a small Zulu cowhide shield — had been sounding the call to battle through a bent piece of pipe.

Only then did the mob begin to disperse, although a few remained to hack away at the motionless body.

Suddenly they saw me. Someone shouted "Umlungu shoota" (the white man is shooting pictures) and the remnants of the mob scattered, aware that they had been caught on film in the act of murder.

Gugudu was dead, his eyes staring glassily.

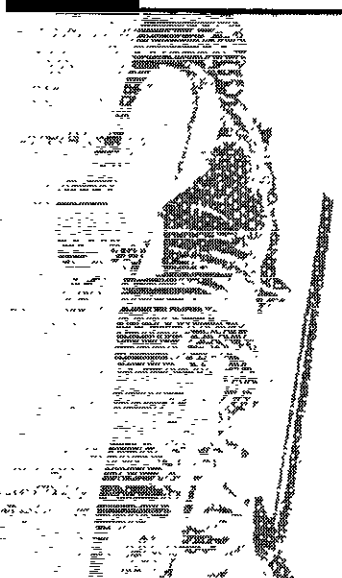
And then the ghastly truth emerged from his blood-spattered ID book. Gugudu was a Xhosa.

One of the Inkatha Zulus slowly walked around the body in its bright pool of blood, sharpening the tip of his steel rod as he stared at the patterned remains of a former hostel neighbour.

When he left, there was only the body in the deserted street.

Some 300m away, a yellow police truck appeared in the road. It came no nearer, probably unaware of the death drama that had just been acted out. But it evoked no panic among the hostel dwellers.

I walked the longest few hundred metres of my life out of Nancefield, slowly realising that I had just watched a man die a brutal death ... in total silence.



Stay out! Buthelezi warned

Chief has no mandate to speak for Zulus'

BY SIBU MNGADI

11/9

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was this week told by a senior prince to stay out of the affairs of the Zulu royal family and "go back to the affairs of the Buthelezis".

Prince Mswayizeni Israel threatened to sue Buthelezi if he did not "disengage" himself from the royal family.

He said he was putting a stop to the practice that members of the royal family had to go to Ulundi to face KwaZulu cabinet ministers on matters concerning the family.

The prince said he would hold a meeting with other family members to explain his decision. He asked King Goodwill Zwelithini to stay out of the dispute with Buthelezi.

While he was against taking the affairs of the royal family to the media, Buthelezi always did so.

"That has always surprised me because he does not do the same about his family affairs," the prince said.

He attacked Buthelezi for a recent speech at the funeral of a prince. Buthelezi took him to task for not attending.

The prince said nobody informed him about the prince's illness and death. Only his brother had a right to attack him, not Buthelezi.

About the escalating violence in the country he said: "It is unfortunate that some people have resorted to calling members of Inkatha Zulus."

This was a "gross misinterpretation" and suited those who used tribalism and racism to divide people.

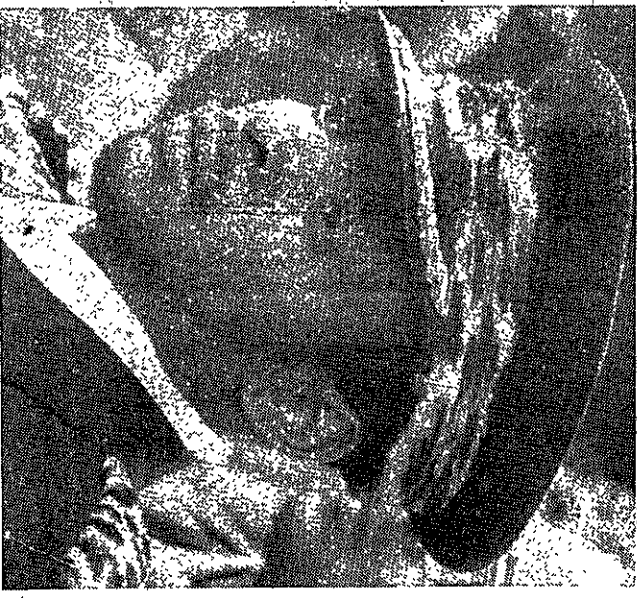
"I am Zulu but I am a member of the ANC and so was my grandfather King Dintzulu. Inkatha cannot claim to have a mandate to speak on behalf of the Zulus."

The prince sharply criticised the housing of migrant workers and called hostels "concentration camps".

He called on migrant workers to join organisations which fight for proper housing.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... should 'go back to his own family affairs'.



King Goodwill Zwelithini ... has been asked to stay out of the dispute.

During a war one does not sleep

City Press 19/8/90
118

By SANDILE MEMELA

EAST Rand residents dare not sleep in order to stay alive.

Such is the intensity of the war on the East Rand where, in just three days, South Africa counted the dead bodies of over 140 people in the fiercest black on black conflict to date.

Hundreds of people were left homeless as their houses went up in flames in the past week.

Hostel inmates and squatters in Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus were awakened to the sound of gunfire and screams as Zulu and Xhosa factions battled it out in the early hours of the morning.

The areas resembled battle zones as thousands of residents fought to save their possessions from burning shacks and houses.

A hostel inmate remarked that those who still had blankets and beds were very fortunate.

Residents told *City Press* they had hardly slept since last Sunday when squabbles over political allegiances flared up into tribal war.

Ntombekhaya Makhaya, 28, of Crossroads squatter camp in Katlehong, said as she was preparing to go to work on Monday she had heard the sound of gunfire.

"I instantly knew there was trouble as the area had been tense since Sunday. Throughout the week I have

had very little sleep and this is taking its toll."

Makhaya said she could not go to work as she had to protect her possessions.

Bigman Ndlazi, 40, of Block 6 in Thokoza hostel, said since the violence erupted he dozed off with his clothes on because he had to guard his spaza shop in the hostel complex.

"There is war and one cannot even close one's eyes for a moment. The sound of gunfire and screams has become a way of life," said Ndlazi.

Wilson Ndawonde, 27, of Natal said people were not sure what had caused the violence.

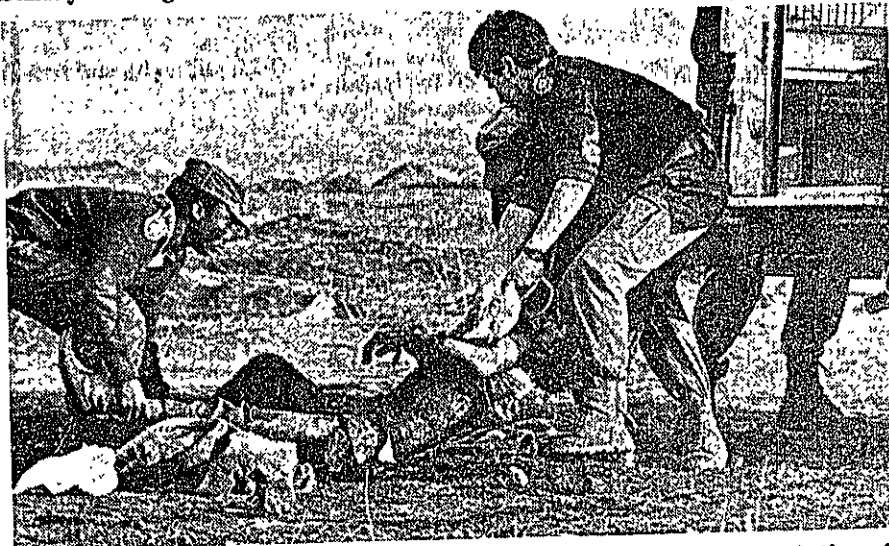
"We have formed ourselves into units who guard throughout the night," said Ndawonde.

Not so lucky were his room-mates Siphon Nzuza, 22, and Mphumuzo Tshabalala, 20, both from Mahlabathini. They were attacked shortly after 6am when an alleged Xhosa faction attacked the hostel.

"We were woken from our sleep by gunfire. As we dashed for safety a heavily armed group of Xhosa men attacked us," said Nzuza.

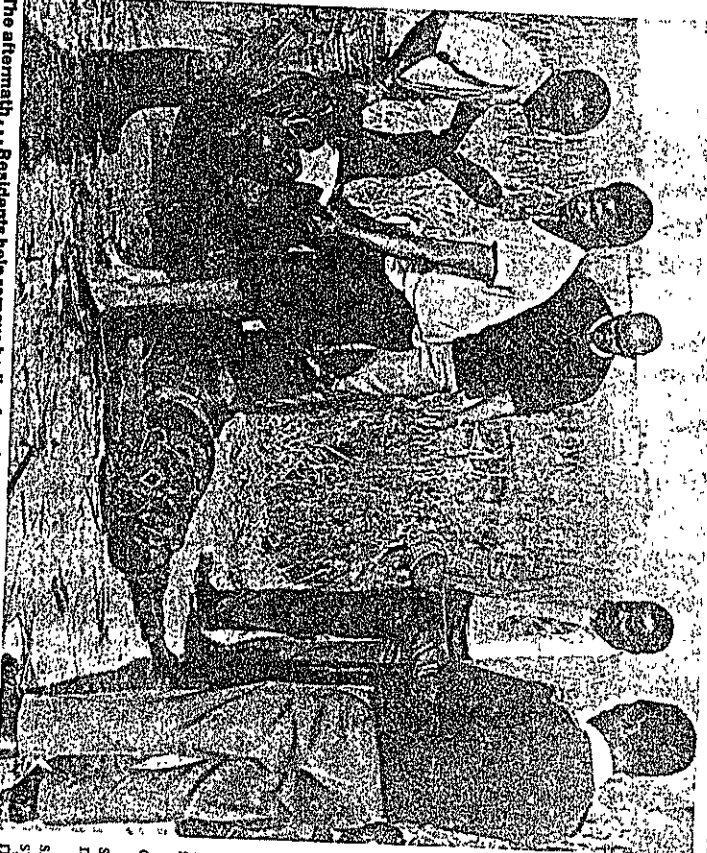
Nzuza suffered a gash on his head from a knobkerie and his friend Tshabalala was stabbed in a shoulder.

"This experience has taught us not to spend too many hours sleeping while this war is going on," said Tshabalala.



Tragic end to another life . . . police drag the body of another victim of the East Rand conflict towards their waiting van.

THOKOZA: ANARCHY AND CARNAGE



The aftermath... Residents help remove bodies found near Phola Park. BY PHIL ANDRIES MOJENKA

East Rand fighting cools

By SANDILE MENELE

FIGHTING on the East Rand has abated after leaving more than 140 dead - but the fear remains. A large contingent of police and military personnel poured into the strife-torn area late this week to disarm members of Zulu and Xhosa factions after heavy battles in Thokoza, Kaitlshong and Vosloorus.

But hundreds of residents still fear for their lives and have little hope peace and normality will return to the area.

This is despite the fact police and army patrols have been intensified. A large contingent could be seen monitoring the situation from a distance.

A truck-load of assault rifles, knives, pangas, sharpened pipes, pistols, AK-47 assault rifles and explosives was confiscated during the raid.

Police PRO Capt Eugene Opperman said police would be in the area as long as was necessary. Residents, some bearing fresh wounds and scars after bloody battles, told City Press they had no future after their arms were confiscated.

Sipho Nzuzo from Mahlabathini, in Natal, insists he is not an Inkatha member, although he speaks Zulu. He has heard injuries inflicted during skirmishes in the Thokoza hostel on Wednesday morning.

Cops confiscate arms, but residents have little hope the matter is settled

"There is no future for me here. I have become vulnerable to attack by Xhosa after I was disarmed. We now live in fear and suspect Xhosa can do as they please with us because our weapons have all been confiscated," Nzuzo said.

Scores of hostel-dwellers in the Zulu-dominated Thokoza hostel suffered from insufficient sleep. They have not been to work since the fighting started and children have not been to school.

Groups of youths could be seen milling around in the streets while others helped their parents move their belongings to safety in nearby townships.

Many hostel-dwellers said staying in Thokoza hostel would be like signing their death certificates.

Mpumuzo Tshabalala, 20, from Natal, bitterly complained about the confiscation of his weapons.

"I now consider myself a dead man. What am I expected to do if I get attacked?" he asked. Opperman told reporters the police had em-

barked on a campaign to disarm all warring forces. "It is not true that we only disarm members of a particular faction. This accusation has always been levelled against the police.

"We have embarked on a campaign to disarm all warring factions in the area," he said. In the wild outside Phola Park more than 300 armed Xhosa-speaking men were surrounded by police and soldiers who confiscated their weapons.

The men had gathered to discuss how they could get into Thokoza hostel to retrieve their belongings.

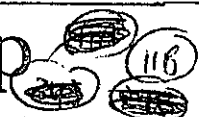
Themba Mputlwana, from Cala in the Transkei, told City Press it would be hard for him to get back his belongings.

"This area is a war zone. How are we expected to retrieve our possessions when we have been disarmed? The police should have left us alone to settle the matter in our own way," said Mputlwana.

11/1000 11/8/90 116

Butchering must stop

C/Press 19/8/90



The ANC says:

THE ANC this week made an plea for violence across the country to halt, saying people were butchering each other "like beasts".

A formal statement by the organisation blamed "misguided individuals" who had infiltrated the communities and hostels for urging people to fight.

"They spread rumours that one section of the

community is planning to attack another. They have taken it upon themselves to divide us along ethnic lines. They urge one language group to fight another."

The ANC statement came hours after State President FW de Klerk met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Pretoria to discuss the violence which claimed more than 191 lives this week.

The ANC statement

said people had political differences "but this should be the basis for our unity, not for violent conflict among the people".

Buthezi says:

I AM concerned at the violence taking place in the Transvaal.

The investigations authorised by me have revealed the following:

Most of the squatters at Phola Park are members or supporters of the ANC. Most hostel dwellers are members or supporters of Inkatha.

Approximately two months ago Cosatu called for a consumer boycott at Alberton. Inkatha was not involved in the boycott. This resulted in members or supporters of Cosatu accusing Inkatha members of delaying the struggle and tension began to develop.

On Sunday August 12, 1990, an Inkatha meeting was held at the George Goch Stadium in Johannesburg. At midday, some of the squatters at Phola Park insulted and attacked members of Inkatha at Thokoza hostel who were not at the meeting.

The attacks were repulsed by Inkatha members, but squatters again attacked the hostel on August 13, 14 and 15, despite a peace meeting on the afternoon of August 14 at which it was decided the violence would stop.

I wish to reiterate that Inkatha has always been committed to peaceful and democratic principles. We have always opposed the use of violence.

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Says Mavis Peter, who wants to go back to the Transkei soon and start a business of her own: "I have twins to



PAGE 4

CITY PRESS, August 19, 1990

Do not blame Inkatha



By MUSA ZONDI of Inkatha Youth Brigade.

THE violence in the Transvaal is no doubt a tragedy. It can only be costly and threatens to derail the negotiation process.

However, most commentators on the violence have so far tended not to be constructive. They have tended to blame Inkatha. The fact is that once people are preoccupied with who is right and who is wrong they are unlikely to generate creative ideas as to how the tragedy could be resolved.

The Rev Sizwe Mbabane's observations are no different from a babble of commentaries we have had so far. Quite rightly he calls for an end to speaking in tongues as regards the violence, but I would have expected him as a man of the cloth to have gone further.

The Inkatha rally in Sebokeng did not precede the violence as he claims. The fact is that supporters of the ANC and the UDF violently assaulted members of Inkatha before the rally in an effort to stop them from attending.

I would say the conflict in the Transvaal is much more complicated than it is made out to be. It is well known that throughout the country Inkatha is being attacked by ANC/UDF and Cosatu supporters. Yet people try to look for other reasons as to why there is violence.

Inkatha does not condone violence. What

In the shocking violence which began in the East Rand this week and spread to Soweto, at least 191 people died and more than 1 000 were injured. On this page a variety of organisations and individuals probe the reasons for the carnage.

is important now is for us all to stop the violence from spreading.

One other fact which has not been addressed by the leaders of various organisations is the issue of ethnicity in the Transvaal conflict.

There is ample evidence that a lot of the violence emanates from the Xhosa/Zulu feud. Anti-Zulu pamphlets have been distributed and anti-Zulu statements made by the ANC, calling for the dismantling of the so-called KwaZulu bantustan. The implications of this sort of statement are ominous.

In my view there is nothing wrong with ethnicity as long as people do not abuse it. Throughout the world Germans are proud to be Germans, the British are proud to be British. Nobody has accused these people of "tribalism" even though the South African government has abused ethnicity in its efforts to divide and rule blacks.

At the same time it is wrong to pretend ethnicity does not exist. It is understandable to me how Zulus feel when ANC leaders call KwaZulu a "bantustan" as though KwaZulu was a construct of the homelands policy. KwaZulu was established as a sovereign kingdom long before the advent of what is

now called the Republic of South Africa.

Secondly, it must anger Zulus to see the hypocrisy of ANC leadership calling for the dismantling of KwaZulu on the one hand when on the other they are served with tea and afforded the best of Xhosa hospitality from within the Chambers of the "Bunga" in the Transkei and the Ciskei.

It is inaccurate to refer to the Zulu people as Inkatha because Inkatha is a political party which people join on a voluntary basis.

However people must understand that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is not suddenly going to cease to be senior traditional adviser to the Zulu King.

When will people learn that to insult symbols of Zulu unity and Zulu pride, which both the Zulu King and Buthelezi are, amounts to insulting the Zulu people?

Stop insulting Zulus and Zulus will not fight anybody. On the other hand, unless Inkatha and the ANC are reconciled, violence will always be ominously present. That is why it is so important for Mandela to meet Buthelezi because these are the only people who can bring sanity back.

the attention it was

□ THOKOZA: ANARCHY AND CARNAGE

C/News 14/8/90 (116)

Horror of man's death by fire

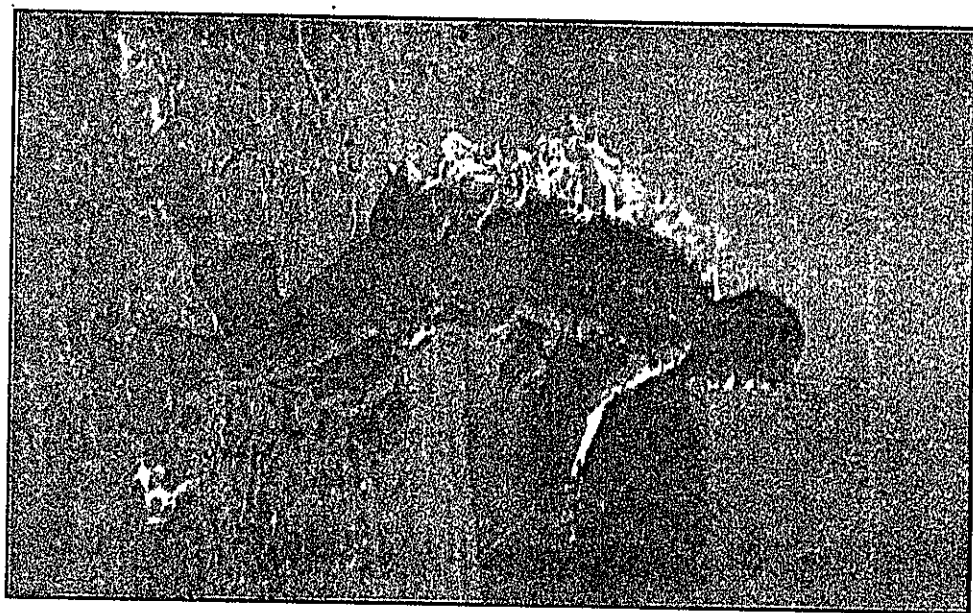
HORRIFIED journalists saw a group of youths douse Stanford Chiya, of Umzimkhulu in the Transkei, with petrol and set him alight in Thokoza this week.

Newsmen rushed to Chiya and extinguished the fire. Bleeding, he writhed on the ground, his clothes burnt off his body, skin peeling away.

A journalist described the incident as "horrific and barbaric".

Scores of policemen arrived and took up combat positions facing a nearby house while others helped the man into a police van and took him to hospital.

He died on Thursday. — Sapa



To his death . . . Terror victim Stanford Chiya is set alight by youths, but he still tries to flee.



A blazing Stanford Chiya stumbles (above) and makes a last bid to rise to his feet. But his strength has been sapped. Resigned to his fate, he sinks to the ground (right), groaning as the devouring flames spread across his clothing and to most parts of his torso.



cl/rev 19/8/90

THE RED PERIL COMES TO SOWETO

(116) (115) (114)

Face to face with rampaging 'red' menace

By NAT DISEKO

A RED peril with a difference came to Soweto this week.

Early on Thursday morning, people on their way to work were set upon by vicious hordes of Zulu-speaking

migrant workers who live in hostels in the townships.

The attackers wore red headbands and other red clothing.

At the end of the day, the police confirmed that 14 people had been killed and 129 injured.

Commuting by train between the city and the township has become perilous.

I came face to face with this red menace at the Merafe hostel on Thursday morning. With horrified fascination I watched a big body of Zulu tribesmen, armed to the teeth with knobkerries, pangas, pickaxe handles, spears and guns.

They were doing a fearsome, frenzied war dance, chanting, jumping and stamping. I heard one utter a bloodcurdling shriek in Zulu "Igazi lami iyabilla" (my blood is on the boil).

It was now mid-morning and the bloodcurdling chanting and singing was to go on until lunch hour.

Earlier in the morning, most Soweto schools were deserted after word had gone around that an attack by Zulu impi was imminent.

As the morning wore on, the tension increased.

On one side, grim-faced residents of Central Western Jabavu were massed, facing the hostel Zulus. The battlelines were drawn.

In the middle were the police, keeping the two sides apart. The residents, unlike the impi, were not displaying weapons.

The SAP had thrown razor-wire around a section of the hostel perimeter, while on the southern side smoke billowed from a section of the hostel that had been set alight. At one stage, the Zulus started to move. Police lobbed teargas canisters at them and they retreated to continue with their war dance inside the hostel perimeter. Then the residents were teargassed.

Youths and all able-bodied men were to be mustered later in the day to keep a night-long vigil to defend the township against possible attack and to escort workers to the railway station in the morning.



A man wields an axe during the fighting between hostel dwellers and nearby residents.



Police bar the way of "red peril" Zulus as they keep fighting factions apart in Soweto. Pic: EVANS MBOWENI



Rev Sizwe Mbabane ... life is more precious than politics and organisations.

Patterns in the latest violence point to a solution

By the Rev SIZWE MBABANE vice-bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa

THE current violence taking the lives of many people in the PWV area follows certain patterns. These patterns are the clue to the possible solution.

As long as people hedge around and speak in tongues about the conflict, there will be no way of ending the violence.

There is violence after every Inkatha rally. This was the case in Sebokeng and also at Kagiso.

For some strange reason, the police not only allow members of Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, they actually escort their armed impis. This is another pattern in the conflict.

Now the question is, who is organising members of Inkatha in the hostels?

It would help if our Press found out what is really happening in the hostels.

We are aware most people who stay in the hostels understand the ethnic language, and that is being exploited by organisers of the impis. This raises suspicions that some police may be involved in the organisation of impis.

If this is true, it is no small wonder that police allow Inkatha impis to roam the streets with their dangerous weapons.

Another pattern that has emerged is that whenever Inkatha members are in conflict with any group, that group is teargassed, under the guise of maintaining peace and order.

It is likely in this case that teargas is not used to maintain peace and order, but is used to render the other party powerless and therefore an easy target.

The third pattern is that after conflict and murder, there are no significant arrests. The question is, what has happened to the long arm of the law? Has it suddenly become short or amputated in the case of this organisation's

violence?

We agree with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that there may be criminal elements involved in the current violence. But why allow criminal elements to be armed, and go further to justify this murderous behaviour as Zulu culture?

It is not true the culture of Nguni groups is to carry axes, bushknives, pangas and guns when they attend peaceful meetings. It is insulting.

The pattern of violence and the attitude of the police could point to the root cause of violence in the PWV area. The present violence directed at residents in the townships should be as baffling to Inkatha leaders as it is to everybody.

Ironically, the criminal element may include those who are supposed to maintain peace and order.

There has been a way of talking in tongues and clouding the issues. Reports from witnesses in Thokoza make it clear the conflict was not actually between Zulus and Xhosas. Yet this perception was deliberately portrayed by the reporting of the police who are promoting ethnic conflict which may serve their interest.

Not all Zulus are members of Inkatha, nor are all Xhosas members of the ANC. In fact thousands of Zulus are members of the ANC. It is a distortion to identify all Zulus with Inkatha. These distortions should stop as they don't help resolve the violence.

I appeal to blacks who reside in hostels not to allow themselves to be used to kill fellow black people. Life is more precious than politics and organisations.



The scene is Jabulani hostel this week. Heavily armed police stand in front of the Zulu residents. Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

'A game of dice sparked violence'

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THIS week's war on the East Rand had its roots in a game of dice in the Crossroads squatter camp of Katlehong on the East Rand two weeks ago.

During a gambling argument a Zulu-speaking man was stabbed to death by a Xhosa, *City Press* was told by residents this week.

This led to retaliations, which eventually exploded into widespread violence on the East Rand in which more than 140 people died.

While some see it as a faction fight between

Zulus and Xhosas, others see it as a political war between Inkatha and ANC supporters. Many simply don't understand the senseless violence.

This week the violence exploded at the Thokoza hostels and spread to the nearby Phola Park squatter camp and hostels in the townships of Katlehong, and Vosloorus.

Zulus holed up in hostels virtually under their control, this week refused to discuss the gambling incident.

They said: "Tell the Xhosas to ask Mandela for help because we are going to drive them back to the Cape."

Residents in an overcrowded refugee camp near Katlehong railway station told *City Press* the background to the violence.

Velaphi Mathanda, 38, leader of a Crossroads Xhosa clan, said the trouble was started by a Xhosa who stabbed a Zulu to death during a gambling session in Crossroads two weeks ago.

"That Sunday several Zulus attacked and killed the Xhosa man who allegedly killed their man," said Mathanda.

By Friday last week, there were skirmishes between Zulus and Xhosas in Crossroads over the two killings and tension was rising as rumours spread that Zulus were planning to attack the Xhosas in the camp.

"We met the Zulus on Saturday and arranged a meeting for Sunday in a bid to bury the hatchet. We agreed on a truce that day.

"However, the following day Zulus held a meeting at the railway station. When we attended Zulus said Xhosas

should return to the Cape Colony and started shooting at us, killing three."

He said the two groups clashed, but the Zulus were forced to retreat, taking the battle into hostels and Phola Park near Alberton.

Said Xhosa leader Ntuli Jeff: "The fighting worsened in Phola Park but there was a lull at Crossroads and at the hostels on Monday."

Jeff briefed an ANC delegation led by Cyril Jantjies, co-ordinator of the ANC on the East Rand, in the refugee camp on Wednesday morning.

Jeff said on Tuesday morning there were rumours that Zulus were going to attack Crossroads and Xhosas prepared themselves for the attack.

He said Xhosas later decided to attack the Lindelani hostel in Motlamotlamayi Section on the border of Katlehong and killed nine Zulus.

The fleeing Zulus went to the Qwesini hostel in Katlehong for reinforcements.

Jeff said at 5am on Wednesday they heard Inkatha members chanting "Mandela suka endleleni" (Mandela get off the road).

"They caught us off guard and we were overpowered. Most came by train and some in trucks."

Jeff said the attackers used an assortment of weapons, including shotguns and rifles.

Jantjies said the ANC would launch an investigation to determine why it took police a long time to intervene.

Sapa reports that the ANC and its allies decried the fighting was a

tribal conflict.

The blame was placed squarely at the door of Inkatha.

However, residents at Thokoza hostel told *City Press* relations between Zulu-dominated Thokoza hostel inmates and Xhosa-speaking squatters in nearby Phola Park became strained after several corpses were discovered in a nearby park over the past two weeks.

In Crossroads residents said Zulus had grown tired of being ridiculed and called stupid because of Inkatha's follies.

For many, being Zulu-speaking has become synonymous with being a member of Inkatha.

Heavily armed factions had evolved and were formed along tribal lines, residents said.

Khalanyoni hostel was declared Zulu territory, and Phola Park Xhosa territory, they said.

An inmate at Khalanyoni hostel, Wilson Ndawonde, 27, from Natal, said he had no idea why people were fighting in the area.

"All I know is that Xhosas are attacking Zulus for being Inkatha members. I find this surprising because although I am Zulu, I do not even know what Inkatha is all about."

Jabulani Ngobese, 42, from Nquthu said rumours had been circulating that Zulus were to be attacked because they were unwilling to join the ANC.

"I do not understand all this as I am an ordinary person who has come to earn a living to support my family who are at home. I do not like being labelled an Inkatha member just because I am Zulu."

Govt must drop race laws

THE government should remove all instances of "statutory violence", *Rapport* said in an editorial last week.

The paper lauded the ANC's dropping of the armed struggle as an "enormous concession", saying the government should now drop the emergency restrictions and laws which for years have suppressed black aspirations.

It added the ANC should also honour the spirit of the Pretoria Minute by making peace with all opponents like Inkatha.

Mandela and Buthelezi should get together and talk "before much hap-

■ PRESS WATCH ■ What the Afrikaans papers are saying

pens that would make it very difficult", said *Beeld* political columnist Willie Kuhn. (118) (118)

This should be followed up by the two getting together with FW de Klerk to form a triangle of power, said Kuhn. (118) (118)

Vrye Weekblad, in its latest edition, said the blame for the East Rand violence lay with all leaders: the government, the ANC, Inkatha and the churches.

But "there is little doubt it is Chief Mango-

suthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement which is primarily behind the violence". *C/Free 19/8/90*

The paper said Buthelezi had long maintained he was a man of peace, but had also added the rider he had the ability to cause a lot of bloodshed.

"We can only pray that what is happening now is not this strategy put into practice," it said.

Beeld columnist Lood said the NP would probably decide this year whether to open their membership to all races.

Cops are criminals looking for targets, says Winnie

By ELIAS MALULEKE

SA 112
19/8/90

A DEFIANT Winnie Mandela made a dramatic appearance on Friday in violence-torn Zondi near the Jabulani Hostel, Soweto, causing a stir when she accused police of siding with Inkatha and killing people.

Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, told the media and a large group of people who gathered around her, police were not out to keep peace between warring factions.

She said police were "criminals" running around Soweto looking for targets.

Mandela was reacting to allegations that police shot and killed a 16-year-old Zondi youth.

The body of Daniel Ntsibande was found in the backyard of a house in Zone One after police allegedly opened fire on a mob in the street overlooking the hostel.

Police confirmed a body was found, but said circumstances leading to his death would be investigated.

Mandela said: "Police are Inkatha and the shooting of this boy

confirms what Nelson Mandela told Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok about police brutalities.

"Inkatha is far away from here and there is no fighting. Inkatha is only a strategy. The police force is Inkatha and they are killing our people.

"The question by youths is why not suspend talks with the government and continue with the armed struggle?" she said.

Meanwhile, violence continued to rock Soweto on Friday as Inkatha members and residents took to the streets around the hostels.

Several people were killed, mostly in and around the hostels in Jabulani and Mapetla.

Inkatha members stood guard at the hostels while youths taunted them from a distance.

Sporadic gunshots were exchanged between the two factions throughout the day and in Central Western Jabavu, a youth with an AK-47 opened fire on Inkatha members on a hillside near the rail line. Minutes later, a powerful hand-grenade from the hillside shattered nearby windows.



Winnie: Police are Inkatha and they are killing our people. Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

By the time you read this column, I hope peace and tranquility will have prevailed in our fatherland.

This comes from the bottom of my heart and I hope it applies to millions of our people throughout the country as well.

However, this does not preclude me from highlighting the events of the past week — with the sadness and numbness it brought.

Even now, as I'm writing this piece — looking at all these gruesome photographs — I keep asking myself: How are the families of the victims of these dastardly acts coping now?

You may ask, as I do, what actually goes through the minds of the mob as they go on the rampage, destroying soul and limb?

What goes through the culprit's mind as he pours petrol and sets another human being alight?

We probably may never know the answers, but at least we know some people must take a portion of the blame.

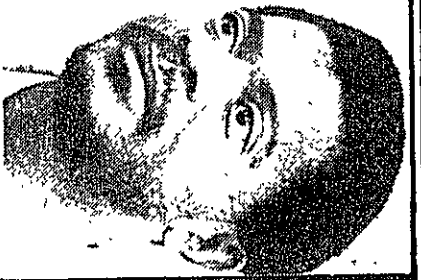
These are our leaders, who seem to be fighting for their political lives — using

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibuya

11/19/81/90

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We now need strong leaders



their followers as pawns.

Apartheid has wreaked havoc, we all know that. We also know that the hostels, the scene of the bloodbath lately, are the creation of this system. People had to be divided on ethnic grounds to perpetuate this system — which is divide and rule.

Today we begin to see the fruits of apartheid.

But when our leaders fail to convey this simple message to our people, we get disturbed.

What started this carnage was tribalism and nothing else. The Zulus against the Xhosas.

And we cannot pretend ANC leader Nelson Mandela is not of Xhosa extraction and Inkatha leader,

Chief Buthelezi, of Zulu extraction. This could not have come at a worse time — when there is so much tension between them.

That is why last week — in this column — I called for Mandela to meet Buthelezi.

Those of you who watched a panel discussion on SABC-TV with Buthelezi will recall how he justified the carrying of weapons by his Zulu people. It was tradition, Buthe-

lezi said, adding that personally he was against any lethal weapons being used by his people.

But the pictures in front of me of people carrying all sorts of weapons shows little resemblance to the traditional weapons Buthelezi was talking about.

Also, as a follow-up to that panel discussion, Buthelezi mentioned that I was a Zulu just like him. But he should have known that inasmuch as I am a Zulu, I am a detribalised one, who looks at himself as a black person under oppression from the whites. Buthelezi should have

also known that, like him, I don't walk the streets of Johannesburg or go to a political rally armed with an assegai and a knobkerrie, or a pangas for that matter, simply because I am a Zulu. As a leader of Inkatha, whose membership is predominantly Zulu, Buthelezi should know his task includes educating his people about the basic principles of democracy.

That applies to the ANC leader Mandela as well.

If Mandela can sit around the table with the Pretoria regime, the very system responsible for his many years of incarceration, what stops him from meeting Buthelezi to put an end to this senseless violence?

The time for political point scoring is over. Mandela and Buthelezi should know this. The time to apportion blame to the system all the time is also over.

We want leaders who will sort out their petty differences like adults, but above all, leaders who are able to give proper direction to their followers.

WHAT THEY SAY

RECUS
20/8/90

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● Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has strongly denied allegations by the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu that Inkatha is orchestrating violence.

Chief Buthelezi said "war talk" was irresponsible.

It was time for leaders to work together, he said.

"We must remember people's lives have been lost and we can't afford to be posturing and scoring points."

He described allegations by the ANC that Inkatha was responsible for exporting violence from Natal to the Transvaal to fight for the organisation's existence in the political arena, as "a lot of balderdash".

● Soweto church leaders said last night it was not impossible for the government to stop Witwatersrand township violence and called on police to disarm all people involved in the conflict which has left at least 280 people dead.

Following a meeting with Soweto church people, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said an urgent meeting would be requested with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, and possibly with President De Klerk.

He called on communities to lay down their arms and stop displaying symbols identifying themselves with a particular group.

● The ANC may be forced to "look into" the suspension of the armed struggle, Mrs Winnie Mandela said in Soweto yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of the Orlando West branch of the ANC, Mrs Mandela said this could come about if the carnage in the township did not end and if the hostel system were not abolished.

● Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has again appealed to the leaders of the warring factions on the East Rand to use their influence to stop the "unnecessary killing and violence".

In a statement in the latest edition of the National Party mouthpiece, Die Nasionalis, Mr Vlok expresses extreme concern about the East Rand violence, pointing out that there can be no winners.

"I also urge the leaders of the respective factions of the opposing parties to use their influence to stop this unnecessary killing and violence." — Sapa and Political Staff.

Death toll soars to 331 as battles spread on East Rand

Township war erupts again

By Craig Kotze
and Glen Elsas

Township war again erupted on the East Rand last night and this morning, leaving at least another 36 people dead as the conflict spread to even more townships.

Renewed fighting has also been reported in Kagiso on the West Rand, where three people were killed and another four injured last night in a rampage by men armed with assegais and guns.

The latest East Rand fighting brings the weekend death toll in the area to at least 79 and pushes up known deaths in a week of fighting to 243, police said.

Combined with Soweto and Kagiso, total figures for a week of township war on the Reef this morning stood at at least 331.

The toll in all areas involved is expected to rise today.

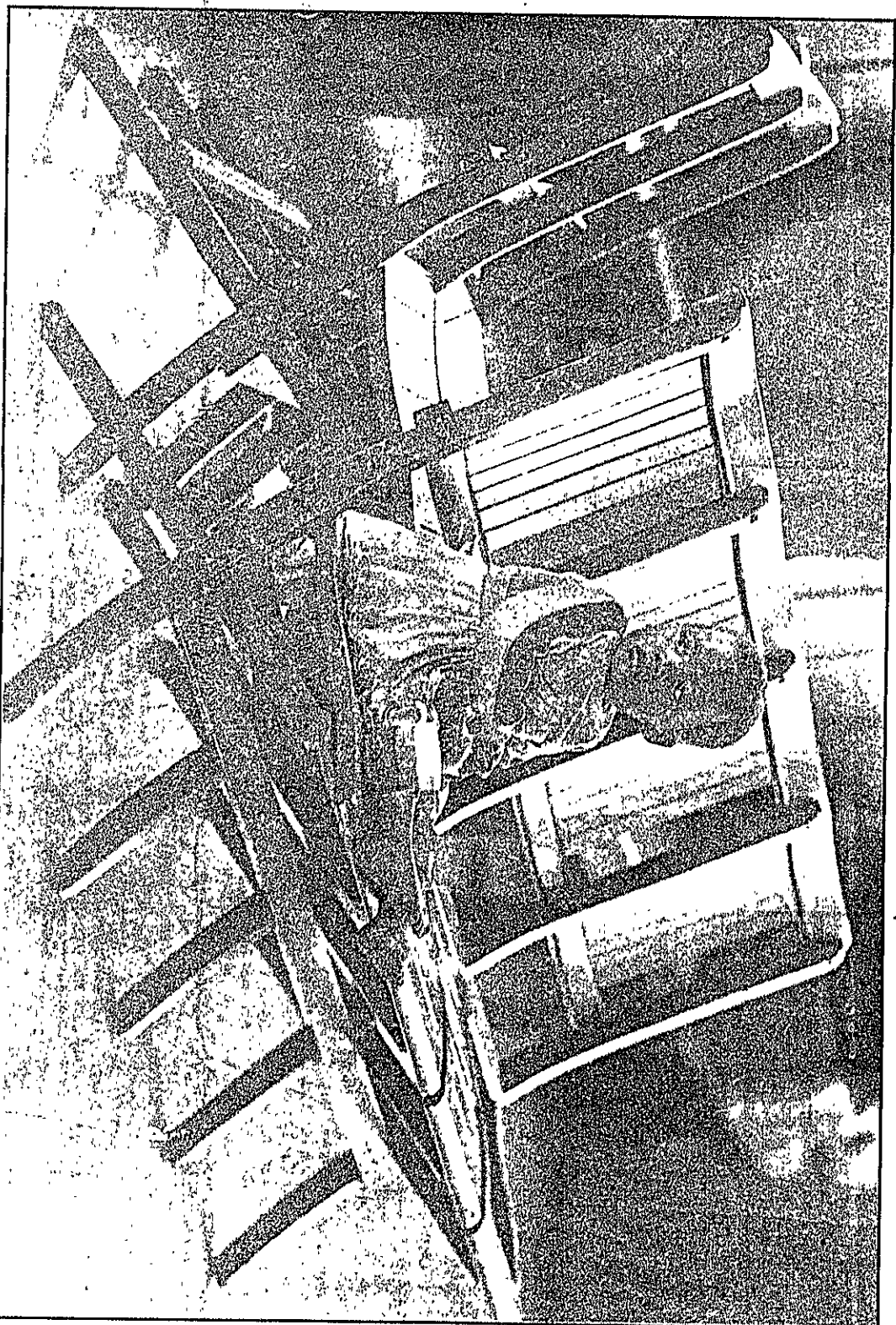
Fighting also continued in Soweto over the weekend, with the toll this morning standing at 84 for the weekend — 63 killed since Friday afternoon.

The East Rand war has expanded dramatically in scope since Friday. New townships mentioned in police reports since Friday are KwaThema, Duduza, Watville, Davyton and Tembisa.

Last night police reported another six killings in Tembisa, three in Vosloorus, and four in Kaitleng. Fighting also spread to Duduza near Nigel, and to Watville, both claiming one life.

Still raging

There is renewed fighting all



As the death toll in the East Rand townships continues to rise, thousands of refugees are seeking shelter in churches and church halls. This child is one of many who, with their mothers, escaped the violence at Phola Park squatter camp at the weekend.

© Picture by John Hogg.

West Rand, where three people were killed and another four injured last night in a rampage by men, armed with assegais and guns.

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Still raging

"There is renewed fighting all over these areas. It is carrying on as we speak," said East Rand police spokesman Lieutenant Ida van Zweek at the time of going to press.

Fighting, apparently between Xhosas and Zulus, was still raging in KwaThema, where police said 21 people died last night and today.

In Tokhoza, where the bloody conflict began a week ago, feuding Zulus and Xhosas left 28 men dead in a major clash on Saturday night.

A West Rand police spokesman said a group of men, armed with guns and spears, attacked people in Kagiso 1 at 8.00 last night. The bodies of three men were found in Munsie and Dlomo streets.

Four people sustained gunshot and stab wounds in the attack.

In sharp contrast, it was relatively quiet in Soweto today, although police were still picking up bodies, said police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni.

No incidents had been reported since about 10.00 last night.

Frantic attempts to arrange peace talks, initiated by police, have so far not borne fruit in Soweto. "Soweto is like a powder keg at the moment," said police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn.

A "necklacing" was reported at Phiri in Soweto.

After a meeting with Soweto church people, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said an urgent meeting would be requested with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and possibly with President de Klerk.

● Soweto women to appeal to Vlok

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Pressure for peace talks grows

Star 20/8/90 118
By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

There is growing pressure on African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet for peace talks as the body count in the ANC-Inkatha war continues to mount.

It now appears the ANC is resisting moves to set up a meeting.

On Thursday President de Klerk urged Mr Mandela during crisis talks about the violence to meet Mr Buthelezi.

And there have been other efforts to set up a meeting, say Inkatha sources.

But ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu appears to have poured cold water on the idea in a television interview on Saturday.

He said it would be wrong for the

ANC to meet the people responsible for the violence.

Other ANC sources have also disclosed they believe a meeting with Mr Buthelezi would be seen as sanctioning Inkatha violence.

They said it would encourage the view that "killing forces talks".

But the sources said the possibility of a meeting was being discussed by the ANC.

One obstacle is that Mr Mandela is on holiday.

In a television interview last night, Mr Buthelezi described Mr Sisulu's statement as irresponsible and stoking the fires of violence.

Inkatha believes the ANC is against a meeting because it would give Chief Buthelezi greater recognition than it feels he deserves.

The failure of the two national leaders to get together appears to

be hampering grassroots efforts to get peace talks going.

Police said last night efforts to establish a "peace forum" of the warring factions in Soweto had not yet been entirely successful.

The effort was launched by Mr Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok when they met in Soweto on Thursday.

Police sources said Soweto regional police commissioner Major-General Johan Swart had established indirect communication between Inkatha and ANC leaders in parts of the township since Friday.

These contacts had contributed to the relatively low level of violence at the weekend.

But these contacts were not in place throughout the township, and there was no direct contact.

Treurnicht's remarks dangerous - Stoffel

Star 20/8/90
Political Staff

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was skating dangerously close to the theology of revolution, Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said today.

Responding to Dr Treurnicht's remarks about resistance and violence at the CP congress in the City Hall at the weekend, Dr van der Merwe said he was "really a master at the art of insinuation".

He said if one stated that people had a right to resist and revolt

against a government if the government acted outside certain limits, it was true enough.

You could trace that back to Calvin, who analysed the question, he said.

Dr Treurnicht had drawn strongly on theology and Calvin's writings on resistance, but Calvin had not reached a satisfactory conclusion. "So it becomes very dangerous," Dr van der Merwe said.

There was a remarkable similarity between things Dr Treurnicht

was putting forward and the theology of revolution. His arguments one could also make in the case of the African National Congress.

Dr van der Merwe said Dr Treurnicht's statements were fine when they stood alone. When seen in context — such as the CP belief that the Government had no mandate for the changes it was making — there was no doubt as to what he was saying.

"The two pieces of the jigsaw then start fitting together," he said.

Thieves steal 15

ANC should talk to Inkatha, says Azapo's Solly Cheoare

Sowetan 2018/90
AZAPO deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape at the weekend told more than 5 000 people attending the funeral of Azapo leader Solly Cheoare at Mhlakeng near Randfontein that the ANC and Inkatha shared the same policies and should therefore be able to resolve their differences.

Dr Mokoape said if the ANC was able to speak to the leaders of Venda, Ciskei and Transkei, it should be able to speak to KwaZulu and Inkatha

leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Chief Buthelezi was as much a homeland leader and a member of a government structure as were the leaders of the various homelands, and the blood of the nation was as much on the

hands of State President F W de Klerk as it was on the hands of homeland leaders responsible for detentions without trial and other atrocities.

Dr Mokoape said it was imperative that peace was brought to

the war torn townships - residents could not live under tyranny.

The ANC and Inkatha particularly needed to resolve their differences. This was possible because the two organisations shared the same policies. - Sapa

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Leading articles yesterday in two prominent British newspapers, the Financial Times and the Daily Telegraph, called on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet urgently to attempt to resolve their differences.

And, while there was much media criticism of the police for alleged pro-Inkatha bias in the Transvaal violence, one correspondent said that were it not for police intervention, the death toll would already be "in the thousands".

South Africa's chances of gaining the confidence of British investors receded further as the anarchy in the townships, which has left an estimated 280 people dead, again featured prominently in the British press yesterday.

Included were graphic descriptions of macabre brutality, such as the hacking off of limbs, castration and the parading of severed hands as "trophies".

Resolving the violence was seen by one newspaper as the "most desperate challenge" now facing the process of dismantling apartheid and creating a new democratic era.

In motivating its call for talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, the Financial Times (FT) said that until such a meet-

UK press:
CAPE TIMES
Inkatha, 21/8/90
ANC must
make peace

ing occurred, "no one can be sanguine about the future of negotiations, or indeed, the future of South Africa itself".

This view was echoed in the Telegraph, which said it was "imperative that the two black leaders meet as soon as possible to negotiate a ceasefire.

"This will require courage and statesmanship — for Mr Mandela to stand up to ANC militants and for Mr Buthelezi to accept that he will have to play second fiddle to Mr Mandela in any combined black approach to the whites."

The FT said the ANC had "sabotaged all efforts to bring Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela together for a meeting.

"Mr Mandela has said he wants to meet Chief Buthelezi but his movement would 'throttle' him if he did so.

"But Mr Mandela has shown in the past that he is able to drag his supporters kicking and screaming towards peace. It is time that he exerted his will in the matter of Chief Buthelezi. Such a meeting will not stop the violence immediately — the two sides have unleashed a monster which will be difficult to tame."

The FT also questioned whether the government had full control over the police: "Police openly sided with Inkatha in incident after incident, disarming the ANC and leaving Inkatha holding spears and knobkerries, axes and shotguns.

"Pretoria's control over the deeply conservative police force — which has looked shaky for months — is now seriously in doubt, especially in view of its failure to bring prosecutions against Inkatha members accused of murders in Natal province.

"The government may want a strong Inkatha to balance the influence of the ANC; but it seriously miscalculated the cost."

The Times correspondent carried an eye-witness account of a Zulu man, found with a pistol in a paper bag, being hit with rocks and stabbed with pangas, before petrol was poured over him and he was set alight.

SABC radio news reported yesterday that Mr Mandela, senior ANC members and Natal refugees would meet Mr De Klerk next week in a bid to restore peace in the strife-torn province.

Mr De Klerk agreed to receive the delegation at the recent Pretoria talks at which the ANC announced it would suspend armed actions.

ANC southern Natal convener Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the Natal violence was one of the major obstacles to the negotiation process.

Meanwhile, law and order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said police were making "a tremendous effort" to disarm opposing factions.

He was responding to the call by the SA Council of Churches for police to disarm those involved in the violence.

"We have already taken away truckloads of various types of arms out of these trouble spots.

"They include pangas, assegais, AK-47s, hand-grenades, limpet mines, sharpened pipes, knobkerries — you name it."

Police yesterday offered rewards for information leading to the recovery of arms.

They said in a statement that an "alarming number of unlicensed firearms" were circulating in unrest areas.

A maximum reward of R300 is offered for a pistol, R1 000 for a machinegun, R600 for a rifle, R300 for a hand-grenade, R1 per bullet and R200 per kilogram of explosives.

● The Organisation of African Unity yesterday appealed for a halt to the violence between the rival black factions, calling it "senseless carnage". It called for an end to "fratricidal violence among the victims of apartheid". — Political Staff, Sapa and UPI

The total death toll from a week's fighting in Soweto and East Rand townships stood at 381 last night — 270 on the East Rand and 111 in Soweto, police said. East Rand police said the latest flashpoint in the violence — previously unaffected — is KwaThema. Zulu migrant workers living in the hostel claimed they were

attacked on Sunday night by Xhosa, while Xhosa in the township accused Zulus of murdering anyone who did not share their support for Inkatha. Police deployed in the troubled township spent the day helping "non-Zulus" remove their belongings from the hostels and trying to arrange peace talks between leaders of the warring factions. Throughout the day there were running battles between police and non-hostel dwellers. Unidentified attackers shot dead three people and wounded four in Kagiso, to the west, and opposing factions grouped for battle in Shoshanguve, near Pretoria, wielding axes and traditional fighting sticks. Police said mobs clashed in Tembisa.

Townships nearer Johannesburg were relatively quiet yesterday, though the situation was tense as residents honoured an "undeclared" stayaway. Bophuthatswana police said they had investigated rumours that Inkatha was about to march on Winter-velt and Mabopane and found this to be false. Residents in Soshanguve had claimed that "hundreds" of armed youths had been seen chanting and toy-toting towards the local men's hostel. In Thokozana, where violence first broke out eight days ago, 120 people had died. In Kalebong, 40 people were killed since last Tuesday. Fighting in Vosloorus left 14 dead and the discovery of seven bodies by police in Tembisa yesterday brought the total for to 23 for that township. In Daveyton, near Benoni, 14 people had died. Two people were killed in Dindua and one in Watville in the past week, East Rand police said. Today's meetings come amid growing pressure on Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi to discuss ways of ending violence.

Last Thursday, during crisis talks after the outbreak of the East Rand violence, Mr De Klerk urged Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi. He is expected to make the same call to the KwaZulu leader today. The ANC is discussing a possible meeting with Chief Buthelezi. But at this stage it appears to believe the time is not right as a meeting would be seen as sanctioning Inkatha violence. Indications of the kind of pressure mounting against the ANC appeared to a meeting came in a statement issued yesterday by South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) publicity secretary Mr Fatsis Amshahana. He said that none of those calling for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had demonstrated that it would bring an end to Inkatha-led violence. They, their own admission Inkatha and Gasha Buthelezi are using violence to secure a meeting that would allow the Gasha Buthelezi's personal stature and that of Inkatha as a political movement, Mr Amshahana said. "It is our view that if the people of this country were to allow an individual or an organisation to use terror and intimidation to secure a meeting that was intended to advance the opportunistic interests of a particular organisation, they would be setting a dangerous precedent not only for the immediate resolution of the problems of the country but for the future of our people." He added, "What we are not opposed to is a meeting with Gasha Buthelezi in Pretoria if we are saying that it would be wrong to meet Buthelezi in the current circumstances."

PRETORIA — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa meet here today to discuss the savage conflict on the East Rand and Soweto.

This push for peace is being convened by the Foreign Minister, Mr P.W. Botha. After this meeting Chief Buthelezi is to meet President F.W. de Klerk as the government steps up pressure to bring about a meeting between the KwaZulu leader and Mr Nelson Mandela. It is understood that General Holomisa was invited because of the involvement of Xhosa-speaking people in the East Rand and Soweto violence. The meetings were announced as tribal-style fighting spilled into previously unaffected black townships yesterday.

Peace summit stakes high ● FW to meet ANC leaders ● British press pleads for peace

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PUSH FOR PEACE

Buthelezi and Holomisa meet in crisis talks

ON PAGE 2

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Peace Summit Stakes High

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By BARRY STREEK

PRESSURE is mounting on the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to agree to a meeting with the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in an attempt to resolve the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

But Mr Mandela, who has so far rejected such a meeting, risks dividing the ANC if he does see Chief Buthelezi at this stage.

The extent of opposition within ANC ranks to a peace summit was underlined yesterday by a hard-hitting statement by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) rejecting a meeting between the two leaders.

Sayco, which has agreed to merge with the ANC Youth League, said there had been calls from the media, some political organisations and the government for a meeting between the two to discuss the violence that was haunting the townships.

However, Sayco added: "By their own admission, Inkatha and Gatscha Buthelezi are using violence to secure a meeting that would elevate Gatscha Buthelezi's personal stature and that of Inkatha as a political movement.

"None of these voices has convincingly argued that such a meeting would bring an end to the Inkatha-led violence.

"While we are not opposed to a meeting with Gatscha Buthelezi in principle, we are saying that it would be wrong to meet Buthelezi in the current circumstances."

Chief Buthelezi had to "first demonstrate his commitment to peace by going to the different hostels and stopping his imps from attacking innocent people", Sayco said. Informed observers point out that despite the

often bitter verbal attacks this year by Inkatha and the ANC, Chief Buthelezi has managed to gain some initiative by supporting a meeting between himself and Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela's problem is the strong forces within the ANC, particularly in Natal, who are opposed to such a suggestion.

While some "old guard" members — among them the UDF president Mr Archie Gumede — believe a meeting is necessary, others, such as ANC co-ordinator in the Natal Midlands and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Harry Gwala, are opposed to it.

Peaceful

Mr Gwala, who has strong grassroots support throughout Natal, particularly among the more militant youth, spearheaded the opposition which led to the cancellation of a proposed meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi in February.

Since then, the ANC line has been, as its internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, put it in April, that the levels of violence would have to decrease before a meeting could take place.

Mr Mandela, observers believe, will act on the advice of the ANC in Natal, where Mr Gwala's approach, based on the belief that Chief Buthelezi can be isolated and sidelined, holds sway.

They point out that the situation in the large townships of Umlazi and Kwamashu, where there had been conflict earlier, was now generally peaceful because it was largely accepted that the majority of people supported the charterist camp, but conflict had now spread to the south and north coasts where some people within the ANC believed a similar process would occur.

This has resulted in a situation where, as Maritz-

burg civil-rights lawyer Mr Pat Siltwell said recently, many people caught up in the Natal-KwaZulu violence did not want peace until they had conquered their rivals.

The culture of violence would be extremely difficult to break and had generated enormous feelings of hostility and hatred among participants, with the result that many people did not want peace, he said.

"They want victory. They want the situation to be brought to an end when they are victors," Mr Siltwell said.

He even likened this to the "victory at all costs" approach of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

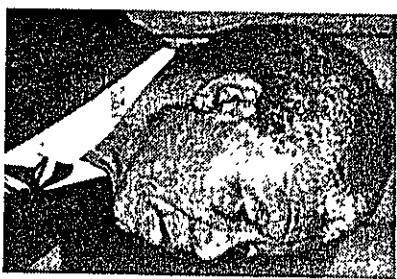
Many ANC supporters and allies say there has been too much violence and terror at grassroots level for them to be able to explain any concession of a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Because of this and because of the strategy of isolating and marginalising the Inkatha leader, there remains strong, and potentially divisive opposition within the ANC to any leadership meeting.

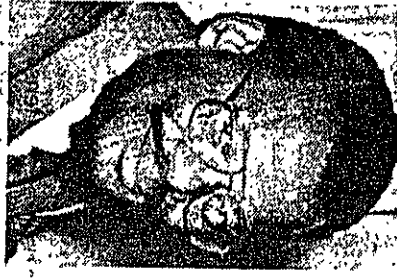
Others, however, believe this will leave the ANC in a no-win situation and that it cannot win over the region this way.

Moreover, the former Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, warned earlier this month that Chief Buthelezi had the potential to destabilise Natal right into the era of a new South Africa, and for this reason strategies to sideline and isolate him should be abandoned.

Despite this, a significant element of the ANC, particularly in its Natal and youth wings, is emphatically opposed to peace moves with Chief Buthelezi, and Mr Mandela could pay a heavy political price if he defies them.



Mr Mandela



Chief Buthelezi

Seeking peace between the asseggais



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi... leader of Inkatha.

As the death toll in the savage township war mounts and as the spectre of charred corpses begins to haunt the nation, people cast about anxiously for a prescription to end the brutal violence.

The most frequently voiced city is for ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet and to chart out a joint strategy for peace.

President de Klerk, whose brave peace initiative is in danger of being wrecked by the spiralling township war, has counselled Mr Mandela to put aside whatever political reservations he has about meeting Chief Buthelezi.

Mr de Klerk finds himself in the company of black leaders who would, ironically, not be seen at the negotiating table

with him.

Weeks before ANC-Inkatha violence ignited in townships in or near the Witwatersrand, the PAC advised the ANC and its ideological allies, Cosatu and the UDF, against the policy of seeking to isolate Chief Buthelezi.

Instead the PAC urged the ANC to talk to Inkatha, offering to mediate between them.

Now two more leaders have added their voices to the clamour for peace discussions: Mosi Molema, ANC president of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, and Audrey Mokoape, of the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

"If inclusion of the Inkatha leader in a broad meeting will contribute towards the saving of the many black lives now at risk, let us meet him," says Mr Mangena.

Pressure for peace talks between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi is mounting. The ANC is reluctant to sanction the meeting, believing it will confer undeserved "credibility" on Chief Buthelezi. But even if the two men meet and agree on the need to call for peace, there is no guarantee that they will succeed. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

The problem, however, is that the ANC appears to have set its teeth against meeting Chief Buthelezi for the immediate future.

The ANC's position invites two questions: Can it be persuaded that its diagnosis is faulty and that its prescription — isolation of Chief Buthelezi and intensified pressure for the dissolution of KwaZulu and its police force — is calculated to aggravate rather than still the malady afflicting the nation? Would a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi

ended the bloodshed if it culminated in a joint appeal for peace?

For the moment there does not appear to be much hope of persuading the ANC to revise its policy of blaming Chief Buthelezi. But, even if the ANC is convinced that it should talk to Chief Buthelezi, it does not follow that the violence will end.

Mr Mandela's address to the huge rally in Durban shortly after his release from jail on February 11 serves as a check against facile optimism: he

urged ANC and Inkatha zealots to throw their weapons into the sea but the war in Natal continued.

Now, of course, the conflict has spread into SA's industrial heartland along the Witwatersrand and, sadly, acquired a tribal dimension. In Natal the civil war is largely an intra-Zulu struggle, with the warring camps divided by ideology, not ethnicity. In the Transvaal it is in danger of degenerating into tribal war.

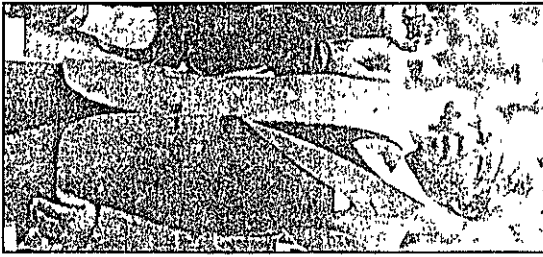
It is true, of course, that the ANC's support base and its leadership corps is supra-tribal and non-racial. But, in the township war, many of the pro-Inkatha hostel inmates feel threatened and are sometimes killed as Zulus by a movement many of whose pre-eminent leaders are Xhosa: Mr Mandela, Walter Si-

sulu, Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, Chris Ham and so on. In these circumstances the task before Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi is both more difficult and more urgent.

Mr Mandela's problem is that the South African Youth Congress has declared Chief Buthelezi an "enemy of the people." The longer he waits, the more bloodshed is spilt.

Chief Buthelezi's problem is that as the number of Zulu dead grows, his simple, tough supporters in the hostels may expect him to lead them, not as a man of peace, but as a warrior-chief promising vengeance for those slain in battle.

The challenge before the leaders is immense, requiring statesmanship, vision and magnanimity. They cannot even comfort themselves with the thought that they will succeed.



Nelson Mandela... deputy president of the ANC.

Report on 'armed struggle' threat

Star 21/8/90
①②③④

Political Staff

The continued carnage in the townships and the Government's failure to abolish the hostel system might force the ANC to seriously reconsider the suspension of the armed struggle, according to a newspaper report quoting Winnie Mandela.

Mrs Mandela was yesterday reported as having accused the police of collusion with Inkatha in the violence which has left more than 350 people dead in Soweto and the East Rand in a week.

She was speaking at

... launch of the ANC's Orlando West branch.

The ANC, Mrs Mandela is reported to have said, had evidence that the township hostels were full of Inkatha members bussed in to reinforce Inkatha.

Contacted by The Star at her home yesterday, Mrs Mandela refused to comment, referring questions to the ANC office in Johannesburg.

ANC spokesman Joel Netshitendzi said the ANC hoped that a situation forcing it to revert to the armed struggle would not arise.

Students back at university after Inkatha rally protest

118

18

Sowetan 21/8/90

STUDENTS at the University of Zululand filtered back yesterday following their mass exodus last week because of a planned Inkatha Freedom Party rally on the campus on Saturday.

Mr Vic Handley, director of development and public relations, said the remainder were expected back today.

Almost every one of the 3 400 students abandoned the campus, fearing a repeat of 1983 when five students died after a clash with Inkatha.

Mr TJ Sibande, president of the SRC, said the student body was not opposed to the holding of rallies on campus.

"The major problem with Inkatha is that they go to these rallies armed to the teeth," he said. "Even students who are politically neutral knew it was in their interests to flee from campus."



Archbishop Tutu

'Hype' could scuttle Inkatha, ANC meeting, Tutu warns

116 217
Aug 22/89

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu warned today that efforts to arrange talks between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to be made with extreme care because a meeting which failed could be "disastrous".

In a statement issued on his arrival in Johannesburg from London early today, the archbishop said: "I think we need to be looking very carefully at the conditions surrounding a meeting so that we don't have something that is 'hyped' and then does not produce the results. It would be worse than not holding the meeting at all."

Bishop Tutu cut short a trip to Canada and Sweden to return home.

He said he had returned home because he was a pastor and could not be away at a time like the present.

"QUITE UNBEARABLE"

"It looked so incongruous being asked to talk about the problems of the indigenous people in Canada when the front pages of the newspapers there were describing the carnage that was happening at home. It was quite unbearable."

He said violence would stop when people realised others could have different points of view.

"This is a major problem, that we have an intolerance of diversity of opinion."

● The Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, has appealed to the warring factions in South Africa to meet and bring an end to the violence, Argus Africa News Service reports.

On his way to Gaborone for the SADCC summit, Mr Salim told reporters in Harare that the violence could only be in the interests of those who wanted to see apartheid perpetuated.

JOINT HIGH COMMAND

He said the South African government had a duty to ensure that law and order was maintained and that its forces were used impartially.

Mr Salim, a Tanzanian, said the OAU supported the negotiations between the ANC and the government as they were "only talks about talks to create conditions conducive for negotiations."

Asked about support for the liberation movements in view of the differences between the ANC and the PAC over the armed struggle, he said: "The OAU will continue to support the struggle but the

form of assistance will be determined by the circumstances of the day."

Mr Salim said events in Liberia, which were a cause for great concern, should make Africa realise the necessity for a joint High Command and military co-operation.

● Britain's fragile confidence in South Africa's future is being eroded by the violence continuing to sweep the country's, Chris Whitfield of The Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

Business in Britain is revising its stance on South Africa's economic prospects, and political commentators are painting a considerably gloomier picture than at any time in recent years.

There is almost total agreement Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should meet urgently to resolve the crisis.

BAD TIMING

Businessmen who were beginning to eye South Africa favourably are now waiting to see if the conflict can be resolved.

A Confederation of British Industry spokesman said the timing of the violence was particularly bad because it came as some investors were deciding between investing in South Africa or in Eastern Europe.

The South Africa Foundation's London director, Mr John Montgomery, said the news hardly increased the enthusiasm of international investors and businessmen already absorbed by the Middle East crisis.

The United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association's Mr Nick Mitchell said "the level of violence must be a cause for concern".

"SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE"

Newspaper editorials this week have adopted their most pessimistic tone on South Africa in several years. The Daily Telegraph, a newspaper that generally sticks to the ruling Conservative Party line, warned that a continuation of the fighting will "pull the whole country down a spiral of violence".

The Financial Times fires a broadside at the ANC, accusing it of "reprehensible" behaviour in its handling of Chief Buthelezi, particularly in sabotaging efforts to bring Mr Mandela and the Inkatha leader together.

Until such a meeting takes place, "no one can be sanguine about the future of negotiations, or indeed the future of South Africa itself".

● See page 2.



Peace talks: Discipline will bring ceasefire

22/8/90

115

Political Staff

THERE are high hopes in government circles that the strong pleas for peace after top-level talks in Pretoria yesterday will draw a positive response from the ANC.

If the leaders of all parties in the Reef townships war pull together to stop the fighting, discipline will produce a ceasefire — and enable the underlying problems to be resolved.

The government is confident that the ANC will subscribe to the call made jointly by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha, Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa and the South African government.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said after meeting the two homeland leaders that he was sure ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela would subscribe to the call.

End the bloodshed

Although the ANC has not commented on the joint statement, and General Holomisa has denied he represented the ANC at the meeting, the government believes he presented a position close to the ANC's.

The government is encouraged by the fact that despite

his coming to the meeting with an aggressive set of proposals including a threat to send armed Transkeians to defend its citizens in South Africa against attack from Inkatha and the police — he ended up endorsing the conciliatory statement.

The statement called for an end to the debate on the causes of the fighting and an end to apportioning blame.

“The need, whatever the cause, is to put an immediate end to the bloodshed.”

It called for a joint effort by all leaders to work for peace and ensure their followers did the same.

General Holomisa took a strong ANC viewpoint at the meeting, accusing the SAP of aligning itself with Inkatha im-

pis.

He also attacked the SABC for its coverage of the fighting. The statement also makes proposals to end the fighting. Chief among these was a call for a joint monitoring committee on which Transkei would also be represented, and a commission of inquiry into the violence.

No indication was given of what concrete actions would flow from the meeting.

Mr Botha made it clear that the immediate priority was for the killing to stop.

After the meeting Chief Buthelezi made an impassioned appeal to Inkatha supporters to end the violence.

Talking to the Press after meeting President De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi also strongly denied claims that local Inkatha leaders had withdrawn from co-operation with the police and the ANC to end the killing.

He said local Inkatha leaders were talking to the ANC, and his Kwazulu cabinet ministers and officials had been into the Transvaal townships to try to end the violence.

He seemed to pin his hopes on a forum set up between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu last June which was scheduled to meet again on August 29.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok emphatically denied General Holomisa's allegations that the police were taking sides in the carnage.

He said it was time to insist that such serious allegations be backed by evidence. Unless this were done, one had to accept the allegations were lies.

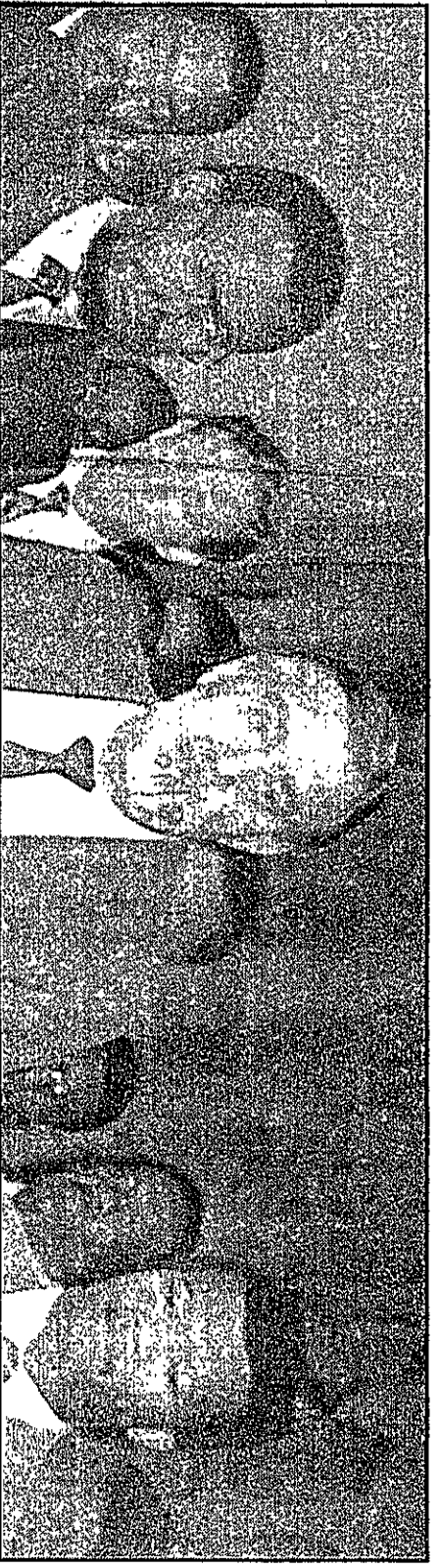
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Holomisa

explains his

militant

statement



Plea for peace . . . Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and General Bantu Holomisa present a joint statement to the media, pleading for an immediate end to township violence.

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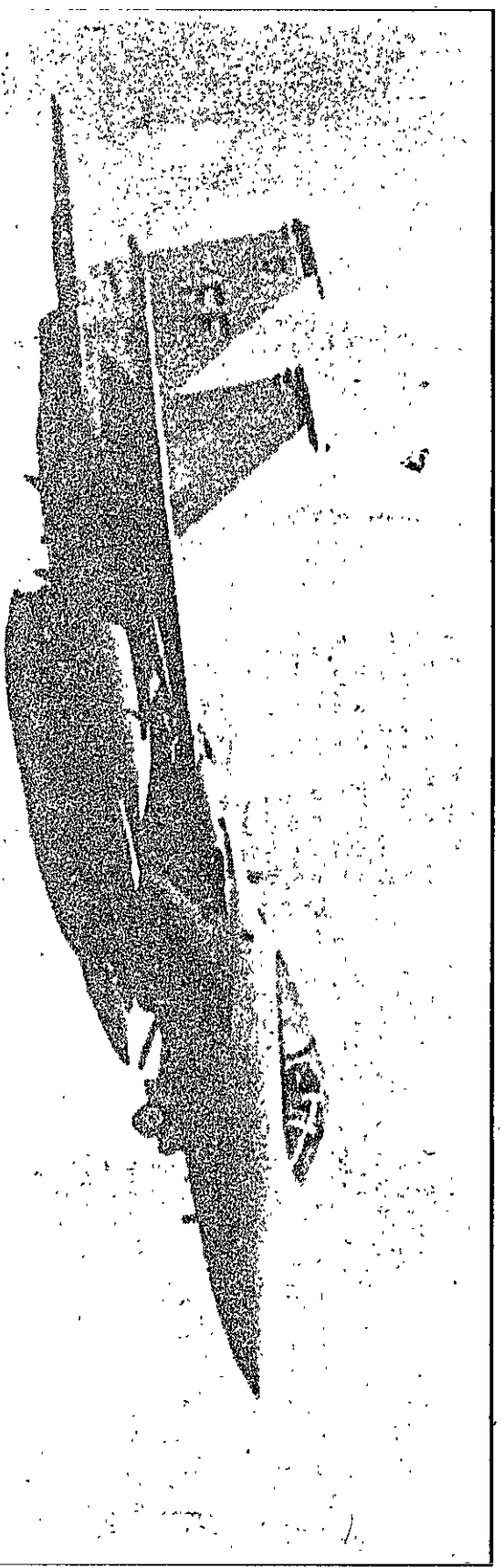
Peace accord weathers storm

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa and South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha today stood by the joint peace declaration agreed to yesterday with KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — despite the subsequent row which threatened to upset the accord.

The statement called on all political leaders to stop blaming each other for the bloody war sweeping the Reef, to stop looking for the causes and instead to work towards an immediate end to the bloodshed.

The statement was released after General Holomisa, Chief Buthelezi, Mr Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok met



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The statement was released after General Holomisa, Chief Buthelezi, Mr Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok met at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Then General Holomisa issued a statement accusing the SAP of collusion with "Inkatha impis" and threatening to send armed Transkeians into the Transvaal townships to defend Transkei citizens.

This prompted defensive statements from Mr Botha and Mr Vlok and a separate statement from Chief Buthelezi attacking General Holomisa and the ANC.

This verbal clash, which flared despite the specific agreement in the joint statement that the "war of words must cease", led some commentators to conclude that the accord has been wrecked.

Concrete proposals

But today General Holomisa said from Umtata: "That joint statement is part and parcel of the attempt to find peace. I stand by it and I encourage it." However, he believed the statement should have been broadened to include concrete proposals to end the killings.

Mr Botha said today he believed that the joint statement remained a "common objective".

"It even includes a call for the involvement of the churches. It is a document based on a moral attitude which I believe that every South African can endorse."

He said that if three parties could agree to it, others could too.

Mr Botha said the joint statement had been agreed to by the Government, General Holomisa and Chief Buthelezi in the presence of many media witnesses.

"I read it out with one leader on my left and one on my right. They had full opportunity, in front of the press, to deny it."

General Holomisa had explained at the meeting the the most serious part of his statement — the threat to send Transkeians into the townships to defend his people had expressed the feelings of his people and not their intentions.

He had also agreed that he could have formulated the statement better, said Mr Botha.

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Nov 22/8/90
**End conflict,
Buthelezi**
tells Inkatha

Political Correspondent

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has made an impassioned appeal to Inkatha supporters to end the violence which has claimed hundreds of lives in the Transvaal.

In a separate statement issued after a joint statement with Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and the South African Government, he claimed Inkatha had taken part in a meeting to end the violence in Kagiso on Monday.

The fact that this forum was continuing to meet showed Inkatha's bona fides in trying to resolve the conflict peacefully.

The chief strongly denied that the Inkatha attacks in the Transvaal townships were a strategy to force Nelson Mandela to negotiate with him.

He claimed he had had several meetings with senior ANC officials, but refused to name them because he said this might hamper chances of a meeting with Mr Mandela.

Friendship

Chief Buthelezi catalogued the many occasions on which he had "offered my hand of friendship and co-operation between Inkatha and the ANC or called for a meeting between myself and Dr Mandela".

He said Mr Mandela had only once called for a meeting or joint action with him when both leaders suggested a meeting in Maritzburg.

Mr Mandela had cancelled the meeting and had admitted that his advisers had threatened to "throttle" him if he went ahead with it.

He had written to Mr Mandela last week expressing his concern about the violence and requesting a meeting. He refused to divulge the response.

Chief Buthelezi said he could not predict whether a meeting with Mr Mandela would end the violence.

He had briefed President de Klerk about the progress of the Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu talks. They had discussed ways of ending the violence but he did not feel free to discuss them.

He said he was encouraged by the depth of concern which Mr de Klerk had shown for the many lives lost in the fighting.

sday August 22 1990

Leaders call for end to violence

Sowetan 22/8/90

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228

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday appealed to his Inkatha followers to stop the violence in Natal and Reef townships.

He was speaking after he, Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa and the South African Government issued a joint plea for an end to the slaughter.

"It is very difficult for me to sleep because of the proportions of the violence," he said, rejecting suggestions that he was allowing it to go on to force African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet him.

On allegations from Holomisa that the South African Police were siding with Inkatha's impis, he said he had told the Transkei leader he



BUTHELEZI

SOWETAN Correspondent



HOLOMISA

has often been interpreted at grassroots level as licence for violence.

"While our people are dying around us, we cannot afford to waste time in further public debate.

"We need action and renewed commitments on the part of all political leaders in the country that they will exert themselves for peace, that they will ensure their followers comply with this commitment and that it passes down to grassroots level."

was talking nonsense.

"We are sick and tired of these accusations and counter-accusations without evidence."

The two homeland leaders, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in a joint communique:

"Not only must the bloodshed cease, the war of words must cease. This

The leaders said they needed the support of churches, requesting church leaders to show people that violence was unacceptable.

"This is the time for all of us to reach out to one another, to unite in our prayers to the Almighty to bring to our hearts and minds the capacity to forgive."

Asked whether he could control fighters in his Inkatha movement, Buthelezi said it was like asking British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher whether she could control violence in Northern Ireland.

It was a situation which had escalated and gained its own momentum.

He was not afraid to visit the strife-torn areas. The warrior blood was coursing through his veins in spite of his commitment to peace.

March in Retreat on Saturday

ABOUT 200 members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) intend to hold a protest march through Retreat to the Gabriel SA factory this Saturday. *South 23/8 - 29/8/90*

They were dismissed from the factory after an illegal strike there last month.

They will be accompanied by members of other Cosatu affiliates and community organisations which have been assisting the strikers.

The workers were fired after they defied an interim interdict ordering them to vacate the company canteen and return to work.

Offer

The strike followed negotiations at which the workers demanded a minimum wage increase of R2,50 an hour and R3,00 for artisans.

The company responded with a final offer of 65 cents an hour for the lowest grade, R1,38 for supervisors and with productivity-linked incentives.

The company has been meeting with Numsa to discuss the dismissals.

Meanwhile, about 80 Numsa members who were dismissed from SA Metal after a wildcat strike last month have returned to work.

The company offered to reemploy the workers selectively and give about 30 other workers priority when vacancies occur.

About four workers were excluded from this offer.

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Conflict

By LOUISE FLANAGAN
and CHIARA CARTER

CONFLICT at the Mercedes Benz South Africa (MBSA) plant in East London has highlighted the difficulties unions face in building unity between highly- and lowly-paid workers.

The MBSA plant ground to a halt this week after about 300 workers staged a sleep-in protest against their union's National Bargaining Forum (NBF) over the weekend.

Two union officials were assaulted by workers at the plant after a demonstration against the NBF last week.

Dismissal for anti-Inkatha song claimed

THE vice-president of the Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu), Mr D Motha, was dismissed by Mondi last week, allegedly for singing an anti-Inkatha song. *South 23/8 - 29/8/90*

A Ppwawu spokesperson said two workers at the Mondi factory in Piet Retief had complained to the company that Motha had sung songs which expressed sentiments against Kwazulu's Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha. *LESA*

The spokesperson said the workers had told management Motha incited workers to take part in the July 2 anti-Inkatha stayaway. He claimed that the company favoured Inkatha and said the union was discussing solidarity action for Motha.

● A Mondi spokesperson said the company viewed the workplace as politically neutral. Disciplinary procedures had not yet been exhausted. *118 108*

GIYANI COLLEGE

Summit soon?

CHP TWP/8/90
23/8/90



JOHANNESBURG. — As the township death toll soared yesterday, the ANC indicated the possibility of a direct meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC executive member Mr Pello Jordan announced at a press briefing the formation of a special four-person commission to look into the possibility of such a meeting.

It coincided with a statement by President F W de Klerk yesterday that high-level delegations from the ANC and Inkatha are to meet soon in an attempt to overcome difficulties preventing a meeting between their leaders.

Policeman killed

He also said "additional measures" to curb the violence would be implemented.

Meanwhile, police struggled again yesterday to keep warring factions apart in Vosloorus and other townships surrounding Johannesburg and came under increasing attacks themselves.

In Soweto a policeman, Constable S Ntunduna, was killed and Constable R Ntshale critically wounded when a handgrenade was flung at their vehicle.

At Tembisa, people who gathered in the streets were ordered by police to hand over their weapons. When they refused police fired teargas to disperse them and

ANC calls for peacekeeping force in townships

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called for an international peacekeeping force to be deployed to end the township war.

"What we require at the present time is a kind of UNtag," he said. "Speaking in Soweto, he said such a force would be needed for as long as white-led police were seen by blacks to be biased."

Archbishop said revenge was fuelling the 10-day-old conflict. "If you allow the law of an eye for an eye very soon the only people around are going to be blind," he said.

"We are calling for tolerance, tolerance, tolerance and yet more tolerance. People must not seek to take revenge. We are making an appeal to our people, please, yes, defend yourselves, but don't pay back."

In a headline statement last night the ANC said their people in the Transvaal townships had lost confidence in the police. They accused sections of the government and police of "destabilisation".

"We are calling for tolerance, tolerance, tolerance and yet more tolerance. People must not seek to take revenge. We are making an appeal to our people, please, yes, defend yourselves, but don't pay back."

Archbishop Tutu said the Anglican Church was setting aside next Monday for prayer and fasting for an end to the fighting.

Tractily aligning himself with the ANC position, Archbishop Tutu said a meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be seen as a last resort. He warned that if such a meeting failed it could be disastrous.

At Dreyton petrol bombs and other homemade weapons collected 15 petrol bombs and other homemade weapons.

Three more bodies discovered in Vosloorus last night brought the death toll after 10 days of violence in East Rand townships to 361.

Police earlier reported that a total of 122 people had died in Soweto with 27 deaths in Kagiso on the West Rand. More than 446 people had been injured in Soweto.

This brings the total death toll after the 10 days of fighting on the Witwatersrand to 510.

"We want to announce that the specialised commission is investigating discussions with Inkatha with a view to having a meeting at a very high level with Chief Buthelezi to address the question of violence," Mr Jordan said.

"I want it understood that the high-level meeting does not necessarily imply a meeting between Gansba Buthelezi and ... Nelson Mandela," Mr Jordan said.

"But at the same time understand also that it does not exclude that."

In his statement, Mr De Klerk said that after hold discussions with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi he believed both leaders shared his concern about the violence that started in Natal and has since spread through the Witwatersrand.

The ANC and Inkatha accused each other of playing a decisive role in this violence, he said.

He had urged the two leaders "to overcome impiments in the way of dialogue between the two movements at leadership level."

"I have now been informed that high-level delegations from both sides will meet shortly in an effort to make progress towards this end."

Mr De Klerk said it was of decisive importance that such a meeting took place as soon as possible.

"It should result in definite steps and a plan of action to bring to an end the unnecessary conflict at a leadership level."

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"It should result in definite steps and a plan of action to bring to an end the unnecessary conflict at a leadership level."

P.T.O.

when all responsible leaders have declared their commitment to peaceful solutions."

He rejected suggestions that the SAP was to blame for the violence.

● Chief Buthelezi and Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa yesterday pursued their war of words.

Chief Buthelezi claimed that members of the Transkei Defence Force made incursions into Natal and Kwa-Zulu townships to assist "comrades" in their war against Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi said at Ulundi that he was obliged to divulge this information in the light of the allegations made public by General Holomisa on Tuesday of collusion between the police and Inkatha impis in the strife-torn East Rand townships.

General Holomisa in turn denied allegations that his troops had invaded Natal and said it was a figment of Chief Buthelezi's imagination.

● The government also yesterday dismissed as "not true" General Holomisa's contention that he was not allowed to propose amendments to a joint government-Inkatha-Transkei peace statement read out by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on Tuesday.

General Holomisa said in a statement yesterday that the reason he had decided to unilaterally release his own working document which criticised the role of the police in the Reef conflict "can solely be ascribed to a

ready prepared press statement by the South African government even before we had started deliberations, let alone reaching agreement on any issue".

He added that he would not allow the government to treat him, as it did other homeland leaders, "like a piccanin".

However, a spokesman for Mr Botha dismissed suggestions that General Holomisa had been forced to rubber-stamp a pre-prepared peace statement without making an input.

The draft statement Mr Botha took to the meeting was amended in the light of the talks with General Holomisa and Chief Buthelezi and all three agreed that the amended version should be read to the press afterwards, the spokesman said.

Mr Botha said yesterday that if the three parties could agree to the peace statement, more could do so.

"The document is based on principles that I believe every South African could endorse."

● Mr Mandela is due to visit Norway from August 25 to 31 and is then expected to go on a week's holiday.

● Dr Beyers Naude said yesterday that Mr Mandela should not be pressured into meeting Chief Buthelezi until certain preconditions had been met. He declined to elaborate on these preconditions. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



Police use a water cannon to disperse youths while on their way to put out a blaze at a municipal yard in Kagiso on the West Rand. Seven bakkies were burnt out after youths threw petrol bombs at the yard yesterday. Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Police deny helping Inkatha

By Stan Hlophe

Allegations of police violence in Soweto were made yesterday by an official of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

Booyens Mashego, Numsa's organiser and South African Youth Congress (Sayco) Soweto branch co-ordinator, visited The Star yesterday with spent cartridges and rubber bullets to substantiate his claims.

Mr Mashego said police had, on Monday night in Tladi squat-

ter camp, shot dead three men who were warding off Inkatha supporters from Merafe hostel after they had earlier burnt down several houses in the Mapetla and Naledi area.

He claimed that when residents counter-attacked they were prevented from doing so by the police, who dispersed them with teargas and rubber bullets and allowed Inkatha to attack them.

Asked whether a complaint had been lodged with the po-

lice, Mr Mashego said the community had decided against reporting to the police as it had lost confidence in them. Instead, he said the union and Sayco would brief their lawyers.

Captain Joseph Ngobeni, Soweto police liaison officer, denied the police were taking sides.

He advised Mr Mashego or any victim to come forward with evidence to lay a charge at any police station.

Buthelezi, Holomisa in row over 'invasion'

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday claimed he had reliable information that members of the Transkei Defence Force had made incursions into Natal and KwaZulu townships to assist Comrades in their war against Inkatha.

The allegation was immediately denied by Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who challenged Chief Buthelezi to produce his evidence.

"If he has any proof of such an invasion, then he is duty bound to officially inform not only his own government but also the South African Government, who can then contact the Transkei government."

Collusion

Chief Buthelezi is reported to have said at Ulundi that he was obliged to divulge information on the invasion in the light of the allegations made public by General Holomisa on Tuesday of collusion between the SAP and Inkatha impis in the strife-torn East Rand townships.

Chief Buthelezi said he had confronted General Holomisa about the role of Transkei Defence Force members during their Pretoria meeting on Tuesday and that he had not denied the allegations.

General Holomisa last night denied Chief Buthelezi's claim that during the Pretoria meeting on Tuesday he had not denied allegations concerning the role of the Transkei Defence Force.

"When I wished to challenge Buthelezi's allegations, Mr Pik Botha intervened and I was told I need only note the document."

General Holomisa reiterated that his objections, recommendations and suggestions had been ignored and that a statement prepared before the meeting had been issued instead as a joint statement to the press.



This young Comrade, armed with a club and adorned with home-made war paint, took to the streets in Kagiso yesterday.



One of two ambulances set alight at the Kagiso municipal workshop yesterday.

Man's narrow escape from chanting impi

By Montshiwa Moroke

The life of a middle-aged man from Kagiso 1, Krugersdorp, yesterday hung precariously between three young policemen and a crowd of about 100 men, chanting a battle cry.

Andries Lebeko (57) had apparently been on his way to the home of a relative when he was attacked by unknown assailants.

When reporters from The Star arrived on the scene he was lying under a wheelbarrow. A large Inkatha impi came up the road.

Minutes later the chanting group stood face-to-face with three policemen armed with shotguns and handguns.

The impi carried sticks, home-made axes, spears, assegais and possibly firearms.

One of the policemen said to The Star reporters: "Please move away. These men want to attack that man lying there."

I looked on helplessly at the man and felt a chill of fear. But the policemen beckoned to the men to get back, and they did.

Last night a Leratong hospital spokesman said Mr Lebeko had been admitted and was not on the danger list.

Summit soon?

CNT TWS
23/8/90

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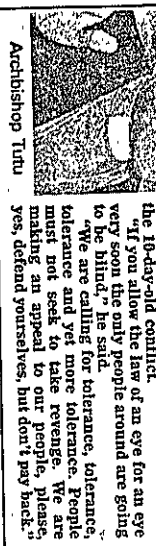
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Archbishop Tutu

He said the Anglican Church was setting aside next Monday for prayer and fasting for an end to the fighting.

"I am not a religious man, but I am a human being. I am a human being who has seen as a human being the suffering of my fellow human beings. I am a human being who has seen as a human being the suffering of my fellow human beings. I am a human being who has seen as a human being the suffering of my fellow human beings."

In a headline statement last night the ANC said their people in the Transvaal townships had lost confidence in the police. They accused sections of the government and police of "destabilisation".

More than 446 people had been injured in Soweto. This brings the total death toll after the 10 days of fighting on the Witwatersrand to 510.

The ANC commission announced yesterday consists of executive members Mr John Nkadimeng, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Ms Gertrude Shope and Mr Jacob Zuma, head of intelligence and one of the few significant Zulu leaders in the ANC.

"We want to announce that the specialised commission is investigating discussions with Inkatha with a view to having a meeting at a very high level with Chief Buthelezi to address the question of violence."

"I want to understand that the high-level meeting does not necessarily imply a meeting between Gashu Buthelezi and ... Nelson Mandela, Mr Jordan said.

"But at the same time understand also that it does not exclude that."

Decisive role

In his statement, Mr De Klerk said that after holding discussions with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi he believed both leaders shared his concern about the violence that started in Natal and has since swept through the Witwatersrand.

"The ANC and Inkatha accused each other of playing a decisive role in this violence," he said. He had urged the two leaders "to overcome impediments in the way of dialogue between the relevant movements at leadership level."

"I have now been informed that high-level delegations from both sides will meet shortly in an effort to make progress towards this end."

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Mandela and Buthelezi 'could be included'

Sta. 23/5/90
(116)

ANC-Inkatha talks soon

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

High-level African National Congress and Inkatha delegations — possibly including ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — will meet soon in a bid to end the spiralling Transvaal and Natal township violence.

President de Klerk said in a statement yesterday he had been informed that the delegations would try to establish dialogue between the two movements at leadership level in a bid to end the violence.

And the ANC yesterday confirmed that it was starting discussions with a view to high-level talks with Inkatha.

The talks would not necessarily involve Mr. Mandela, but this had not been excluded, executive member Pallo Jordan told a press briefing in Johannesburg.

Chief Buthelezi could also be included, he said.

Mr de Klerk said he had received the news of the meeting after this in-depth discussions with Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi about the violence in Natal and on the Witwatersrand — "in which the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of playing the leading role".

Mr de Klerk said it was of decisive importance that the meeting took place as soon as possible. "It should result in definite steps



cluded, he said.

Mr de Klerk said he had received the news of the meeting after his in-depth discussions with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi about the violence in Natal and on the Witwatersrand — "in which the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of playing the leading role".

Mr de Klerk said it was of decisive importance that the meeting took place as soon as possible.

"It should result in definite steps and a plan of action to bring to an end the unnecessary conflict at a time when all responsible leaders have declared their commitment to peaceful solutions.

Outcome awaited

"I am awaiting the outcome of this meeting."

Mr de Klerk said that in his meetings with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi he had repeated his "deep concern about the violence and I insisted that the violence be brought to an end through strong leadership from all sides.

"I believe both leaders share my concern and agree on the need for peace to be fully restored."

Mr de Klerk said that in the meantime the Government was giving attention to additional measures to curb the violence and to restore law and order.

He added: "I also strongly reject the persistent efforts from some quarters to blame the present state of violence on the police.

"Similarly unfounded allegations of partisanship on the part of the police should come to an end."

In later comment, Mr de Klerk said the meeting of the Inkatha-ANC high-level delegations was not taking place at his initiative.

The ANC said yesterday its initiative to establish the high-level talks with Inkatha would be undertaken by a high-powered four-person ANC commission on violence set up last month.

This is one of several initiatives launched recently by the ANC and its allies to restore peace in the townships.



Kagiso flashpoint... with the township in flames in a day of bloodletting that pushed up the death toll on the East Rand to 361, a Kagiso resident, near Lewisham Hostel, removes his belongings and joins hundreds of other fleeing residents.

Mob attacks police station

Staff Reporters

The focal point today in the Reef township conflict — in which at least 510 people have died — is Kagiso on the West Rand as a mob attacked the police station and police reinforcements were sent to the township.

No immediate reports of casualties had been received at the time of going to press.

A police spokesman said shots were fired during the attack, which started at about 7.30 am.

"It is not known at this stage which group is attacking the police," the spokesman said.

The attack comes after 27 people died and at least 20 were injured in violence in Kagiso and Chamdor, near Krugersdorp, yesterday.

Today's attack in Kagiso is the second against a police installation. Yesterday, the SAP Operations Room in Vosloorus on the East Rand was attacked twice.

For the first time since the fighting erupted last Monday, East Rand and Soweto police reported a quiet night and said at the time of going to press today that the death toll had not risen.

There was heavy fighting in Chamdor and Kagiso yesterday and last night.

And in Vosloorus, 42 bodies were found, bringing the total death toll on the East Rand to 361, said police spokesman Lieutenant Ida van Zweel.

Soweto police confirmed that 122 people had died there by last night.

Parts of Kagiso were in flames yesterday with houses and police vehicles burning.

Hundreds of Kagiso 1 residents had fled their homes by 7 pm, fearing further attacks by Inkatha supporters from Lewisham hostel.

Police fired birdshot at a crowd after a 13-year-old girl threw a petrol bomb at policemen at about 6 pm. She and 10 other people were injured in the skirmishes.

Police said that yesterday afternoon they persuaded hundreds of armed Inkatha warriors intent on attacking a group of young "commandos" down the road to return to the Lewisham hostel.

Comrades ran riot through the township yesterday, burning down council property and houses where Inkatha people stayed.

At Vosloorus, 37 bodies were discovered after bloody clashes. A further five were found last night.

A petrol bomb was hurled at a police Casspir, and two AK-47 rifles were left behind by the mob that attacked the Vosloorus police station.

Two people were found dead in Tembisa last night.

A policeman was killed and another injured in Soweto when a grenade was thrown into a police van. A man was arrested.

● See Pages 3, 8, 12 and 21

Zambia refinery shut down

LUSAKA — Zambia's main state-owned refinery was shut down as oil supplies from the Gulf dried up, officials said yesterday.

Workers were sent home when the plant at Ndola closed on Tuesday, refinery spokesman Salvatore Miele said.

He said Zambia might begin rationing fuel soon. Panic buying has worsened the domestic fuel shortage.

Last Sunday, the government increased petrol prices by about 50 percent.

Uganda's Energy Minister, Richard Kaijuka, told parliament on Tuesday that prices of all petroleum products would rise by up to 17 percent immediately.

US crude soared above \$30 a barrel yesterday to its highest levels in nearly five years. — Sapa-AP.

● Gulf crisis — Pages 4, 5 and 20.

Pink

Southern Transvaal Dist

Puro

Another step forward in th

● SYRUP - CHERRY FLAVOUR ● NO TART
● TABLETS - NO PRESERVATIVES ● ASP

Parmed

FOR INFANTS AND CHILDREN

FOR CHILDREN

Inkatha women will not join march in Natal ¹¹⁸

THE Inkatha Women's Brigade will not participate in a proposed African National Congress march in Maritzburg this weekend. Sowetan 23/8/90

Inkatha Women's Brigade acting secretary Mrs Lindi Mbuyazi said no official invitation from the ANC had been received. Even if a formal invitation were to be extended they would not take part.

Inkatha central committee member Mrs Nomthandazo Mkhize said the women's brigade could not participate in a march recommending the disbanding of the KwaZulu police.

Mkhize said Inkatha women were worried about the continued bloodshed in Natal and appealed to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an effort to end the violence.

Sapa

Cosatu fears attacks by Inkatha 'warlords'

Sowetan 23/8/90

Factories may be new battleground

118

FACTORIES are likely to provide the new battleground for the violence that is sweeping the Reef, Cosatu information officer Mr Neil Coleman said this week.

Cosatu has received reliable information that Inkatha members from Denver, George Goch and Jeppe hostels decided at a meeting on Monday to launch attacks on factories," Coleman claimed in an interview.

"Cosatu takes these threats extremely

seriously as these three particular hostels have consistently provided bases for Inkatha warlords since they began launching their attacks on hostels and townships.

"The attack on July 22 in Sebokeng hostel was planned and launched from Denver hostel in the last week of July. Two Zulus at Jeppe were killed for allegedly refusing to join Inkatha.

"On Saturday Inkatha members from George Goch launched an attack on Cosatu-strong City Deep hostel and killed three hostel residents," he

alleged. Coleman said Cosatu had held a meeting with the Johannesburg City Council on Tuesday to discuss protection for the hostel's residents.

Cosatu alleged that an Inkatha rally held at George Goch Stadium on Sunday August 19, cited Inkatha members to attack Cosatu members.

"Within days the hostels became a battleground and the police, despite being informed about the impending threat, seemed incapable of stopping the

violence," Coleman said.

"We challenge Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to show he disapproves of the actions of those Inkatha members who, like his own MP, are stirring the people to fight Cosatu members by taking immediate action against them."

Coleman added: "We will be calling on all our members in factories to form defence committees to protect themselves. But we appeal to our members to maintain discipline and obey their leaders."

Cosatu has also called on employers to take a stand against the violence.

Officials play the fiddle while the country burns



OPINION

By THAMI MAZWAI

WHILE accusations and counter-accusations over the violence between township residents and hostel inmates fly all over the place, the architects of apartheid and their minions grin wolfishly from their graves or from offices in Pretoria and Cape Town.

Their long-term planning is paying off, and blacks are once more savaging each other. Communities and hostel inmates are pitted against each other.

I suspect that powerful forces with enough resources could be fuelling this carnage in an effort to achieve their ends. What ends? Anybody's guess. Who are these forces? I do not know.

What I do know is that because of the stakes involved, such people hardly bat an eyelid when people, even hundreds of them, perish.

Arguments

The African National Congress and other black organisations must thus pull out all stops to bring peace to their communities.

Therefore, a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and deputy president Nelson Mandela is urgently needed.

Arguments that this meeting will not achieve much and will give credibility to Buthelezi for his stature is not equal to that of Mandela, are hardly worth a second thought.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Sowetan 23/8/90

Mandela and Buthelezi must meet to end this wholesale slaughter

Inkatha structures, as part of this great debate while lives are being lost, are refusing to participate in peace talks unless Mandela meets their leader.

It appears everybody is playing the fiddle while Rome burns.

Frankly speaking, I do not see how Buthelezi can enhance his image in the PWV solely on the basis of meeting with Mandela.

Butchery

In addition, some of the arguments why Mandela must not meet Buthelezi border on the metaphysical, the type of intellectually heavy stuff beyond simple minds like mine.

All some of us want is an end to the butchery of blacks by other blacks.

We are talking about putting a stop to wholesale slaughter, the saving of human lives. We are not concerned with statures or political credibilities, although we do believe that any leader who can help stop the carnage tearing our communities apart will have a special place in our hearts, even if he met with his political foe to save the lives of their followers.

Warring

Thus a public embrace by Mandela and Buthelezi, who are leaders of the warring factions, is the symbolism and tonic needed to get the message down to their foot soldiers that enough is enough.

It will give momentum to the valuable groundwork now being done.

Mandela was, incidentally, keen on such a meeting, and his first attempt was stopped by ANC officials in Natal. It now appears that such a meeting is considered inappropriate by the ANC. Walter Sisulu said as much at the weekend.

The ANC's reasoning is inexplicable. On the one hand Mandela is allowed to discuss this

violence with FW de Klerk and Adriaan Vlok, but he is not allowed to speak to Buthelezi. Yet it is Buthelezi's and Mandela's followers who are involved in this bloodbath.

When have we started having faith in the Government and the police? What blows the mind is that during the thick of the fighting the ANC accused the police of taking sides. Have these same policemen now been cleansed?

What I, however, find astonishing, yet expected, is that the South African Council of Churches, which welcomed meetings between De Klerk and Mandela precisely because they believed they would put a stop to the political conflict costing the country thousands of lives, is silent when it comes to calling for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Symbolise

Taking their argument into account, won't such a meeting symbolise some togetherness at the top which would permeate to the forces on the ground?

The SACC has instead called on the Government to take action - the ANC stance. My suspicions are that the SACC will not take a stand contrary to that of the ANC.

It is now understandable why Contralesa, strongly pro-ANC, early this week announced it would get Zulu- and Xhosa-



THAMI MAZWAI

speaking chiefs to the Reef to speak to their followers. It even ignores the fact that this is no ordinary tribal conflict, but one with heavy ANC-Inkatha overtones.

Who these chiefs will speak to in places like Mapeta, Dube, Meadowlands, Kattelohong or Kagiso confounds the mind. Townships in the Reef have no affinity with tribal rulers, unless we are being told the Government did succeed in making us rekindle our tribal affiliations.

General Bantu Holomisa has even come to the Reef to talk about his kinsmen being killed by Zulus. Is he suggesting that there are no Xhosa-speaking hostel inmates and the township residents being attacked, or fighting, are only Xhosa speakers?

Committees

A specific section of the media is also hysterically fanning the tribal conflict story. Apparently overseas audiences, who logically expect a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting as a necessity to help stop the fighting between their followers, must be convinced this is merely a tribal issue and does not need Mandela.

Yet at local level attempts are being made - and it reports on them - to get peace committees consisting of ANC and Inkatha officials.

Is it not time to stop playing politics and get Mandela and Buthelezi together. Those being killed are our kith and kin, not merely statistics on police bulletins. The men and women who are dying in their hundreds have children they love and want to see grow.



NELSON MANDELA

Buthelezi's rift with prince widens

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The rift between Kwazulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and rebel Prince Israel Mwayizeni Zulu is widening, with the prince this week distancing himself from the affairs of the Kwazulu "Bantustan".

The statement comes in the wake of Press statements by the renegade prince that he

was barring Dr Buthelezi from interfering or involving himself in the affairs of the Zulu royal family.

And yesterday the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa announced that it was sending 30 senior chiefs from Natal, Ciskei and the Transkei to hostels on the Witwatersrand to stop fighting degenerating into Zulu/Xhosa war.

Contralesa has been criti-

cised by the Kwazulu leader, Dr Buthelezi, as "a spear in the heart of Zulu unity" and as an organisation aimed at sowing discord between Kwazulu and Inkatha officials.

Prince Zulu said today that by virtue of his relationship to the king of the Zulus, King Zwelithini Goodwill Zulu, it was his duty to attend to the affairs of the Zulu royal family.

Explaining the slaughter

(118) P10 24/8/90

The internecine slaughter on the Witwatersrand along predominantly a Zulu-Xhosa divide has taken most South African analysts by surprise.

In liberal and radical circles in South Africa the struggle against apartheid has made intra-black ethnic cleavages virtually a taboo subject. In contrast, Soviet experts no longer fool themselves: they know that the break-up of multi-ethnic empires such as the Soviet Union and apartheid South Africa produces explosive conflicts along ethnic rather than class or party lines.

The apocalypse in the Soviet Union, like that in South Africa, is not the overthrow of the State but its political disintegration, leaving large areas ungovernable.

Three explanations of the Witwatersrand violence have been put forward in the press. It is important to investigate each critically if one wants to understand the significance of this grave development.

The first explanation is that it is due to instigation by the police.

Gerald Shaw in his Cape Times column makes it clear that he does not believe that we have a deliberate ploy by the De Klerk government to delay black emancipation by setting Zulus and Xhosas at each other's throats.

He does point to the worrying fact that the 1976 unrest on the Witwatersrand was ended by Zulu hostel dwellers attacking the comrades with the tacit support of the police.

And in Natal the police backing of the "legitimate" Inkatha against the "illegal" ANC appears to be one of the main reasons why the violence has continued for so long. And then there is the history of Mozambique's destabilisation.

So is the ANC correct in claiming that also in this case the police are out of control or covertly doing the Government's bidding? Somehow, this does not ring true as an explanation of the Witwatersrand violence.

The second, somewhat stronger, explanation, put forward by The Weekly Mail of August 17, reduces

The political analysts in South Africa have been surprised by the slaughter on the Reef by Xhosa on Zulu and Zulu on Xhosa. They have attempted to pin down the reasons, reports HERMANN GILIOREE.

everything to the bitter fruits of apartheid and deliberate ethnic enticement by Inkatha leaders.

Several newspapers have quoted the even-handed judgment by former KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Oscar Dhlomo.

He expressed concern that the violence in Natal is assuming an ethnic character. He mentioned the ANC-led campaign to marginalise Chief Buthelezi, as well as certain Zulu leaders appealing to tribalism and making anti-Indian and anti-Xhosa statements.

In an analysis in The Weekly Mail, Jo-Anne Collinge conveniently forgets about the first part of the quote (Dr Dhlomo laying part of the blame on the ANC) in her rush to find Inkatha rather than the non-racial, non-tribal ANC primarily responsible for the Transvaal violence.

Quoting some sociologists, Collinge proceeds to argue that ethnic consciousness is especially strong among Zulu hostel dwellers, and that if Inkatha wishes to make headway on the Witwatersrand it has to employ these hostel dwellers physically or politically against its opponents.

This is also the line of Walter Sisulu of the ANC, who asserts that Inkatha is exporting the Natal violence to the Witwatersrand in an orchestrated way.

There is a third interpretation implicit in some newspaper reports, but not very popular in academic circles, where the so-called modernisation theory still forms the orthodoxy.

This third view sees South Africa during the transition period being gripped by ethnic conflicts which no longer are primarily caused by apartheid but rather are fuelled by the same factors as ethnic conflicts

all over Africa and Asia.

What causes ethnic conflicts? The stock answer academics give is that it is a competition for scarce resources. But this begs the question: Why do conflicts invariably take place along ethnic lines? To this, modernisation theory somewhat lamely answers: It is unscrupulous leaders who manipulate their followers.

But this, in turn, does not explain why the followers follow, except if one believes, despite all evidence to the contrary, that the masses are stupid and bogged down by false consciousness.

It also cannot explain why ethnic conflicts such as those in Northern Ireland or Lebanon or the recent clashes on the Witwatersrand are so incredibly vicious and bloody.

In a major recent study, "Ethnic groups in conflict", Donald Horowitz, has greatly advanced our understanding of the dynamics of ethnic conflicts. His major insight is that individual self-esteem in divided societies such as South Africa is determined largely by the esteem accorded to your ethnic group.

Ethnic groups do not compete only for material rewards but also for power. Horowitz examines the claims which dominant ethnic groups make to legitimise their power after the colonial power has been defeated.

A particularly strong claim is the demand by some ethnic groups to succeed the colonial power because they have borne the brunt of the struggle.

Could the Xhosa as the dominant group in the ANC be making a similar claim? After all, Umkhonto leader Chris Hani said recently in Umtata that the soldiers coming from Transkei fought the hardest in his army.

The position of Zulus in the liberation struggle was quite different. Their major organisation, Inkatha, has operated freely during all the years while the KwaZulu government functioned within the broad parliamentary system. If one leaves out the few exceptions, notably Jacob Zuma, no significant ANC leader hails from Zululand.

One would hope that growing numbers of people would commit themselves to the ideal of non-racialism.

What does this all say about the prospect of a peaceful transition? First, it is nonsense to think one could isolate political divisions from ethnic divisions. Zulus will tend to see attacks on Inkatha as being directed against Zulus. The same goes for the Afrikaners and the National Party.

Second, there is a great danger of ethnic conflicts spilling over in uncontrolled violence. One now doubts that South Africa can proceed to a post-apartheid society on the basis of free democratic competition. Elections may result in horrific violence.

The need for peace and stability rather calls for all parties being drawn into the negotiations and the post-apartheid government on the basis of the degree of support received in polls.

The violence on the Witwatersrand also shows how dangerous the ANC strategy is to force all opponents of the "racist regime" into a single alliance and to have only two parties at the conference table.

While there can be no doubt that many of the ANC leaders are sincere in their democratic commitments, the fact is that they have very little, if any, control over the alienated youth who try all over the country in more or less violent ways to establish an ANC hegemony over the masses.

Surely the time has come for the ANC and Inkatha leaders to appear together in public to send a signal to their followers that there is no war between them.

Inkatha,

ANC call

for peace

24/8/90 (116)

Staff Reporter

Inkatha and ANC representatives bridled at each other's views on the causes of township violence, but both made pleas for peace on a television news panel discussion last night.

Pallo Jordan, ANC spokesman for information and publicity, said he did not believe political organisations were behind the violence, but blamed "mischievous elements who were fanning the flames" created by a build-up of tension in the hostels due to their unnatural living circumstances.

He also blamed the police for "accepting carried pangas as accoutrements of manhood" and not confiscating weapons.

Dennis Madide of Inkatha asked Mr Jordan to define the warring sides. Mr Jordan said there was the aggressive side and the receiving side and said it was quite clear hostel dwellers had come out to attack township residents.

"What would you call name-calling, insults, disparaging language? Would you call that aggressive?" protested Mr Madide.

He said it had been seen that the sight of the two leaders shaking hands and calls to followers to stop fighting had a "cooling effect".

Killings 'incredibly difficult to stop'

By Helen Grange

8 Dec 24/8/90
"difficult" to stop.

The cycle of violence that has started in the Transvaal townships may take months to subside, Lloyd Vogelman, director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Project for the Study of Violence, has said.

Speculating on the future pattern of the most concentrated violence in South Africa since World War 2, Mr Vogelman yesterday said the killings would now be "incredibly diffi-

With the death toll at over 500, there are literally thousands of people who have been affected. The repercussions of such an outburst are enormous.

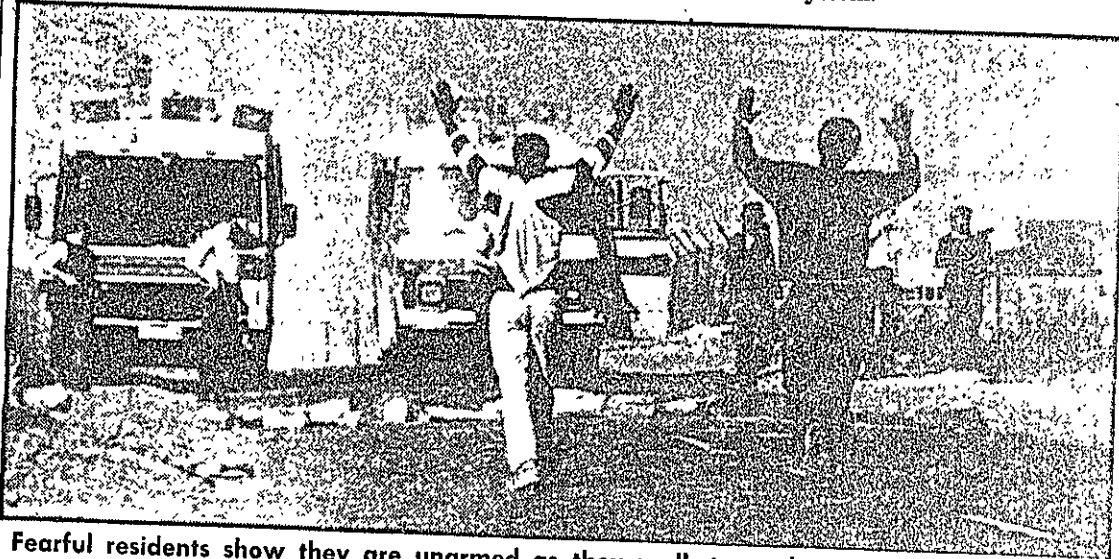
"There is enormous resentment and a desire for retribution. A lull in the conflict only means that people are reorganising strategies for further battle," he said.

Mr Vogelman warned that should the violence subside

soon, it would mean only that the next phase of conflict would happen sooner.

"The tragedy of Natal is that police were not seen to be exercising law and order. In situations like this it is essential for police to act fairly," said Mr Vogelman.

He added that the conflict raging in Witwatersrand townships therefore needed urgent resolution through the judicial system.



Fearful residents show they are unarmed as they walk towards a police patrol outside Kagiso hostel yesterday afternoon.

© Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Vision of a new South Africa

AT this juncture many people are focusing their attention on the future of South Africa rather than on the past.

The past being apartheid, racial animosity, division, hatred, exploitation, oppression, repression, poverty, destitution, disease, police brutality, ignorance and conquest. The greatest question is how do we bring about

a new apartheid-free non-racial democratic South Africa.

The Inkatha Freedom Party think the question remains a responsibility of all the people of South Africa, black and white, who are committed to genuine change and transformation of South Africa into a normalised society. We believe that all South Africans must,

through various political formations that abound in the country, shape such a future together around a negotiating table.

The IFP believes in a multi-party democracy. Any democracy worth its salt must have room for political dissent. Therefore, there must be no victimisation of one person by another simply because one person

espouses a different point of view.

The IFP is aware of the ominous tendency, especially in the black community, to want to force everybody to belong to one political organisation. That is wrong. The acceptance of the principle of a multi-party democracy must be translated into guaranteeing the right of the existence

of even smaller parties.

Any party that will become a ruling party in a future government of South Africa must not, once it is in power, suppress opposition parties and there must be periodic, free and fair elections.

The IFP believes in one-person-one-vote in a unitary state as an ideal. It

To next page

From previous page

must be universal adult suffrage on a common voter's roll. The IFP will be prepared to look at suggestions to safeguard minorities provided there is no compromise on fundamental democratic principles.

The IFP notices that the tendency in this country is for many political organisations to regard the Westminster-type parliamentary democracy as the only genuine form of democracy.

But it is not true that other great democracies which are not based on the Westminster model are not genuine demo-

Sowetan 24/8/90

CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE

cracies. So South Africans at the negotiating table must not be hand-tied to the Westminster model but should be free to look at alternative models.

Rights

The IFP upholds and adheres to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and believes that there must be an entrenched Bill of Human Rights.

It further believes that there must be protection

of individual rights because this automatically takes care of other rights such as so-called group rights.

The principle of the rule of law based on an independent judiciary must be observed. The courts must have power to test legislation against a Bill of Rights enshrined in the Constitution.

Inkatha has always been committed to achieving political objectives in such a way that the growth potential of

the South African economy is not damaged.

Inkatha knows that after struggle has been won in Africa and the Third World, people have been faced with daunting struggles against poverty, ignorance and disease. South Africa will be no different when we achieve consensus.

Apartheid

South Africa after apartheid will need high levels of sustained economic growth if political

victories are ever to be translated into benefits for ordinary people.

Inkatha's commitment is therefore a commitment to bring about radical change in such a way that we end up with an open, race-free democracy serviced by an enterprise-driven economy.

The IFP dedicates itself:

* To establish an open, free, non-racial, equal opportunity, reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all people.

* To harness the great resources of the country to fight the real enemies of the people, namely: poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, ignorance, insecurity, homelessness and moral decay.

Wealth

* To redistribute the wealth of the country to the benefit of all people and to establish political and economic structures that encourage and create more wealth.

✓

Inkatha exporting violence to the shopfloor - unions

W/M 248-26/8/90
BY CASSANDRA MOODLEY

A WORKER has been killed in alleged Inkatha-led clashes at three East Rand factories, lending support to union warnings of "terrible conflict" on the shopfloor.

National Union of Metalworkers' general secretary Moses Mayekiso said clashes had erupted at the Scaw Metals, Walro Panelbeaters and Cut Steel plants on the East Rand. Scores of workers had been injured and one had died in the violence, which was provoked by Inkatha members brandishing assegais, pangas and sticks, he said.

Numsa has warned that, by appealing to ethnic loyalties, Inkatha recruiters are setting the scene for "terrible conflict" in the factories.

And the Congress of South African Trade Union's press officer Neil Coleman this week alleged that Inkatha is planning to "export the violence to the factory floor".

On Monday Inkatha members held meetings at hostels in Denver, Goch and Jeppe where it was decided that attacks in the townships were ineffective and would need to be transferred to the shopfloor, said Coleman.

Union representatives dismissed speculation raised by some employers that workers were beginning to resign from Cosatu to join the Inkatha-linked United Workers Union of South Africa.

Kubheka said: "Workers want the goods to be delivered and they know that Uwusa is not strong on the ground, stifles worker militancy and openly supports private enterprise."

Employer sources in the retail trade say there have been many defections from Cosatu's SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union to Uwusa.

Zulu prince asks Vlok for protection

W/E Argus 25/8/90 11B (237) 102

A SENIOR member of the Royal Zulu household has appealed to the Minister of Law and Order to guarantee him protection from the Kwazulu Police.

In a letter to Mr Adriaan Vlok, senior Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, a leading member of the royal family with much support from both non-Inkatha and Inkatha members, stated that he had no confidence in the willingness and ability of the Kwazulu Police to protect him.

He said he believed certain members of the Kwazulu Police might have been responsible for the attack on his house earlier this year.

The attack occurred after Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu resigned from Inkatha.

Weekend Argus Correspondent in Durban

His house was petrol-bombed and burned and the Kwazulu Department of Works cut his light and water supply.

The prince, his wife and his son, Prince Mali Zulu, believed Inkatha members from Ulundi wanted to harm and possibly kill them.

In his letter, written on his behalf by an attorney from the Legal Resources Centre and dated yesterday, he asked for the South African Police to intervene and guarantee him, as a South African citizen, the protection to which any other statesperson would be entitled.

ATTACHED to the letter was an affidavit from his 27-year-old son, Prince Mali Zulu.

The affidavit contained details of an incident on August 18 which was apparently sparked off by Prince Mali wearing an ANC T-shirt.

When the Kwazulu Police were told of what was happening, they are alleged to have told the Inkatha supporters who were threatening Prince Mali that he should not be killed, but should be beaten.

"My family has been a target of previous attacks which include the fire-bombing of our house last year.

"Kwazulu police have failed to assist us in the past and we have reason to believe that they may in fact be involved in some of these incidents.

"It is for these reasons that we do not believe Kwazulu police are capable of affording us any protection," Prince Mali said.



Prince pleads for protection

Cape Times 25/8/90 (118)
DURBAN. — A senior member of the Royal Zulu household has appealed to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok to guarantee him protection from the KwaZulu Police.

In a letter, senior Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, a leading member of the royal family, said he had no confidence in the willingness and ability of the KwaZulu Police to protect him.

He said he believed certain members of the KwaZulu Police might have been responsible for an attack on his house earlier this year.

The attack occurred after Prince Mcwayizeni resigned from Inkatha. His house was petrol-bombed and burnt. — Sapa

The ugly price of change

Laborious solution
is a multi-faceted
approach to many
divergent problems

THE thick blankets of smoke which hang over most Reef townships in the early evening, particularly when it's cold, create the impression that the townships are on fire. This week they were.

As the death toll from 11 days of bitter fighting in the streets of apartheid's satellite cities rose above 500, the search for answers grew more desperate. Behind the news commentaries and various analyses a single overriding question dominated all discussion: Why?

The answers were almost as numerous as the death toll yet none seemed entirely satisfactory. Perhaps it is time to try a different approach and examine the events of the past two or so weeks in a wider context, free of the constraints brought about by the widely held belief that South Africa is somehow different from anywhere else.

In order to achieve that end it is necessary to retreat into the abstract and view South Africa not as something unique but as just another society in transition. This does not imply that South Africa has no unique features, it clearly has, but it shares much with societies which have been transformed in the past and with those which will undergo fundamental change in the future.

Nor is this approach necessarily cold, calculating and detached. When more than 500 people die in the space of just 10 days, often under gruesome circumstances, it is simply not possible for the average human mind to fully absorb the implications of those deaths on an individual basis. For the average human mind the death of one person is a tragedy, the death of 500 is no more than a statistic.

The literature produced by dozens of social scientists, based on their studies of societies in transition and data going back over 30 or 40 years, highlights two important features:

● First, that societies in transition are characterised by instability and a greater or lesser degree of violence;

● Second, that the focus of unrest and violence is multifaceted, in other words there is no single cause of this instability.

GARY VAN STADEN

This is not the time or place to go into the specifics of this literature but its message is clear. What is happening in South Africa today has happened in dozens of other transitional societies and it will happen again almost as certainly as mixing hydrogen and oxygen in the correct proportions will produce water.

This theory of transitional societies has identified several elements which contribute to political instability and social unrest. Among the more important of these elements are rapid social change; high levels of expectation which cannot be met in the short term and thus produce frustration, socio-economic conditions, the competition for political power; the competition for other resources; class conflict; tribal/ethnic/religious cleavages; rapid urbanisation and societal alienation or a lack of a sense of belonging.

Many of these fundamental elements of instability are inter-linked and obviously some would be more important than others depending on the precise nature of the society itself and the mode of transition.

In order to make the propositions of the theory more clear it is necessary at this point to find a concrete example. Consider an actual society in which the ruling elite decided that the political system had to be reformed or face violent overthrow. The leaders thus instituted political and socio-economic reforms which created the conditions for a society in transition. Previously restricted political activity was tolerated and popular leaders allowed to mobilise support.

Popular resistance increased and rival groups began competing for political power and for other resources such as employment, housing and other social benefits. The sudden and dramatic lifting of decades of repression produced a Jack-in-the-Box effect as people moved to prevent the reimposition of previous conditions.

Ethnic rivalries began to emerge which led to a series of violent clashes. High expectations of rapid social transforma-



PEACE MARCH: As Kagiso burned, women marched on the local police station where they prayed for an end to the

tion were not met and two weeks of pitched battles in the streets of major cities left hundreds of people dead.

South Africa? No, Romania, December 1989.

If the theory of societies in transition is applied to South Africa there is a near perfect match. Tribal and ethnic cleavages run deep, sustained by years of a divide-and-rule policy, racial divisions run even deeper, general socio-economic conditions are poor and class differences are sharp.

Ideological belief systems have little common ground and competition for resources is fierce. Competition for political power is cut-throat, often literally. The stakes are high and there is no second place: the winner takes all.

Under such conditions the violence of the past two weeks in South Africa can be explained and understood. There is no one answer, be it Nelson Mandela meeting Chief Buthezi, socio-economic upliftment, mediation, or force. The bottom line is that the solution lies in a multi-faceted approach to divergent problems.

The best that it may be possible to achieve in the short term would be to contain the violence by a series of crisis management mechanisms. The worst would be to slow down the process of transition because that would simply fuel the expecta-

tion-frustration cycle and sharpen the competition for political power.

There was little or no prospect of transition in South Africa avoiding violence. The theory of transitional societies shows us that the seeds of instability were always going to find very fertile ground in South Africa.

Our history of intolerance and the total lack of any constitutional mechanisms for political organisations outside of the current parliamentary system to demonstrate and mobilise their support only made violence more inevitable.

The theory of transitional societies shows us that South Africa is not unique. Some of our problems may appear to be unique but context proves otherwise. What may be different is the degree of division and cleavage.

The violence can be resolved in the long term but this depends on a substantial degree on what is done to meet expectations. The only real way to stop the violence is to begin to remove — no matter how slowly — those elements which sustain it — all of them. And that means going forward at almost any cost.

● The author is Senior Research Officer at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Tribal fears st

FOR the first time in 25 years, Anthony Ncwane (41) feels vulnerable.

Ncwane is physically far from the violence that has torn through black townships on the Witwatersrand in the last two weeks, but mentally, the carnage is close.

Since arriving in Johannesburg in 1965, he has never had to peer over his shoulder at his colleagues. Now he does.

Locked

Ncwane and his wife live in the domestic quarters atop a block of flats in Hillbrow. He has stoked the boiler beneath the block for 17 years.

"Every night, I make sure that my door is locked. I am sure there is no need to. All my friends drink and carry on with me as normal. But I am the only Zulu among the other Xhosas, Tswanas and Sothos, and anything can happen," says Ncwane.

That comment illustrates the mental legacy of the tribal chauvinism that has left more than 500 people dead and up to 1 000 injured on the Witwatersrand.

It is a legacy that is seeping into the consciousness of many urban black people isolated among others whose tribal affiliations are different.

"I am not a member of Inkatha. No one has been around to ask me to join the organisation. In any event, I will not join Inkatha. The Zulus and Xhosas are one nation, we speak the same language and we need one organisation. So we should not be fighting."

"But I still lock my door at night. And only when the fighting stops, will I feel safe."

Ncwane owns a smallholding about 6 km out of Umzinto, on the Natal South Coast. He waxes lyrical about the parties he throws once a year on his return home.

"Whenever I go home, a beast is killed and we drink lots of beer and vodka. All the people

price of change



As Kagiso burned, women marched on the local police station where they prayed for an end to the violence.

Photograph: Kon Oosterbrook.

Winning unwanted awards

Greenpiece
JAMES CLARKE



ENVIRONMENTAL activists in the United States are turning their attention to manufacturers who produce throw-away articles and excessive packaging.

They have hit Kodak — the corporation which coined the slogan "Leave nothing but footprints" — for producing throw-away cameras (South Africa is spared this sort of rubbish — Kodak boycotts us).

Kodak's throw-away camera has won the US environmentalists' Wastemaker Award.

And Coca-Cola has won a similar award for Minute Maid, packed in non-recyclable boxes, wrapped in non-recyclable plastic.

The corporation, here, has been asked by a coalition of green groups to take the products off the market.

A Sapa AP report earlier this year quoted an environmentalist saying "Multi-national advertising agencies have taught us that when we see these products, we should think 'convenience'. Our mission is to teach consumers that when they see these products, they should think 'waste and destruction of the environment'."

Colgate Palmolive, which has also been awarded a Wastemaker Award for excessive packaging around its Fab "one-shot detergent", is now redesigning the packaging and eliminating two components. It will also use recycled board.

Shelf space

And the end product will take up only half the shelf space.

The thought occurs to me: it will also take up only half the space in transport terms thereby achieving a saving in fuel and cutting pollution.

● A "Consumers Against Pollution" has formed in Grahamstown (Box 498, Grahamstown 6140). One of their objectives is to cut down on excessive packaging and some members, while still in the supermarket, strip away what they consider to be excessive packaging.

I am frequently getting letters from readers complaining that supermarkets will not take back their plastic bags for re-use. Supermarkets say it is unhygienic. Fine, but surely they can accept them back for recycling?

I believe that, in time, public opinion will cause supermarkets to do what is done in Britain — make shoppers bring their own shopping bags.

Incidentally, an American who has been staying with me, said on his return from Zimbabwe "My gosh that country is clean compared with yours!"

It's partly because Zimbabwe does not allow drink cans or throw-away bottles.

Tribal fears stalk flatland

NEIL LEWIS

FOR the first time in 25 years, Anthony Newane (41) feels vulnerable.

Newane is physically far from the violence that has torn through black townships on the Witwatersrand in the last two weeks, but mentally, the carnage is close.

Since arriving in Johannesburg in 1965, he has never had to peer over his shoulder at his colleagues. Now he does.

Locked

Newane and his wife live in the domestic quarters atop a block of flats in Hillbrow. He has stoked the boiler beneath the block for 17 years.

"Every night, I make sure that my door is locked. I am sure there is no need to. All my friends drink and carry on with me as normal. But I am the only Zulu among the other Xhosas, Tswanas and Sothos, and anything can happen," says Newane.

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"I am not a member of Inkatha. No one has been around to ask me to join the organisation. In any event, I will not join Inkatha. The Zulus and Xhosas are one nation, we speak the same language and we need one organisation. So we should not be fighting.

"But I still lock my door at night. And only when the fighting stops, will I feel safe."

Newane owns a smallholding about 6 km out of Umzimto, on the Natal South Coast. He waxes lyrical about the parties he throws once a year on his return home.

"Whenever I go home, a beast is killed and we drink lots of beer and vodka. All the people

around come to my place because the "madoda" comes home. And most of the people who come to my 'gumba' are Xhosas. We have a really good time. Now, who knows, they might not come this year in December."

The simple fears expressed by Newane are echoed in many places around Hillbrow.

Gibson Tshabalala runs the "Little Soweto" shebeen in the teeming multiracial high-rise suburb and is well aware of the explosive climate in his illicit drinking house.

"Things have been pretty hairy here over the past two weeks. People come here and when they are drunk, they become vulgar and might say some tribalistic things.

"So, I have decided to put into action my plan of 'first tribal word, first out'.

"I have kicked out about six people in the last two weeks. I don't want any stuff here that is going to cause major problems. People in Hillbrow are not even affected by the violence. It is all in their minds," says Tshabalala.

Like Newane, he is aware of his tribal affiliation, which is Zulu.

"In a situation where people are fighting because of their tribe, I cannot forget my culture. But only God knows when we will get rid of this thing."

Fears

"I just want my business to continue without interference. If a Zulu comes here and messes around with my customers, he is out. The same goes for anyone else. I don't want Kagiso in my shebeen," avows Tshabalala.

Newane and Tshabalala are both Zulu by tribe, but by location have managed to escape the vortex of violence. But the fears remain — regardless of where one lives. — Sapa.

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● The author is Senior Research Officer at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Govt cracks down

But negotiations with ANC are going ahead

STAFF REPORTERS

IN A MASSIVE security clampdown designed to smother the violence sweeping Transvaal townships, the Government yesterday declared 19 magisterial districts encompassing 27 black townships as "unrest areas".

The measures also included the introduction of wide-ranging curfew regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act and the implementation of section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act, which outlaws the necklacing method of killing people. But negotiations between the Government and the ANC for a new South Africa are still on in spite of the crackdown.

The continuation of talks was announced at the Union Buildings late yesterday by ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela after a 90-minute meeting with President de Klerk.

The security legislation invoked by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has effectively created municipalities of emergency in 27 black townships.

The 19 magisterial districts affected are: townships listed in brackets; Johannesburg (Sovereign, Meadowlands and Diepkloof, Rosslyn, Dobsonville, Benoni, Watville and Daveyton); Germiston (Kalahong); Alberton (Tokozo); Kempton Park (Tem-bast Springs (KwaThembu), Nigel (Dunduzi), Kagiso), Balfour (Balfour and Greylingstad residential areas), Delmas (Balfour, Heidelberg, Randstad), Boksburg (Vosloorus), Brakpan (Tsakane), Verwoerding (Sharpe-

TO PAGE 2.



ELECTRONIC MEETING: Mr. de Klerk with Ruda Landman, who conducted the conference.

NP ready to form alliance — FW

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE National Party is willing to take the lead in forming a centrist, non-racial alliance with other parties even before a new constitution is put into place.

President de Klerk gave this firm indication in reply to questions during a unique "electronic house meeting" with NP supporters on M-Net's business broadcasting conference network yesterday.

He said that proposals on alliances and opening the party's membership

to other races would be put to NP supporters at the provincial congresses starting this week.

Mr de Klerk was facing a panel of studio guests in M-Net's Randburg studio but also took questions from NP supporters at 30 k 2e meetings and in 400 homes around the country

Asked if the National Party — with its membership open to all races — could develop as the central force in a broad-based, non-racial centrist alliance, Mr de Klerk said that "most definitely" alliances

would arise in the new South Africa and even before.

TO PAGE 2.

British will die if West invades'

LONDON — Iraq said yesterday that British detainees would die if there is a Western military invasion of Iraq, Independent Television News said in a report from Baghdad.

The private TV channel quoted Information Minister Lutfi Nassir al-Jassam as saying "If Iraqis die, so will the British civilians."

ITN said the Minister referred to more than 230 Britons detained by Iraqi authorities.

In Amman, Jordan, it was reported that desperate Western families trapped in Kuwait have pleaded for US troops to rescue them quickly from a city gripped by near-panic.

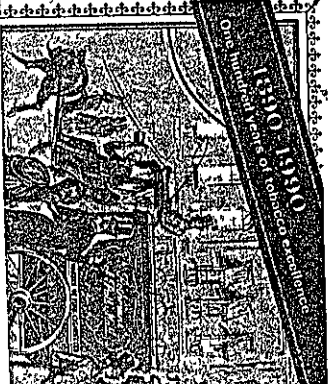
Tension was at fever pitch early today as the final deadline for the closing of foreign embassies drew near.

More stories on PAGE 9

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warned that if diplomats were not out of their embassies by this morning, force would be used to evict them. All embassies, including those of the United States, Britain and France were fast might surrounded by heavily armed Iraqi troops (see map on Page 9).

"Get the Americans in here fast," was the message brought to Amman by the exhausted wife of one Briton from Western friends in Kuwait.

The woman was among 42 British embassy dependants who made an arduous 26-hour journey across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. She refused



P7D

NP's way ahead

25/8/90
● FROM PAGE 1.

that it could even play a leading role in forming them.

Mr de Klerk also indicated that the NP intended to devolve political power right down to the level of communities, as one of its mechanisms to protect minorities and community life.

Asked by Mr Willem Vorster of Cape Town — son of former Prime Minister John Vorster — how the NP would be able to protect minority rights when all voters were on one common voters' roll, he said this was a fundamental question which would still have to be negotiated.

But the NP had certain principles in mind including:

- A Bill of Rights protecting not only individual rights but some collective ones.
- An "obligatory coalition" where minority parties had to be represented on the executive of the Government.
- Entrenched clauses on certain principles.
- Certain clauses in the constitution which could only be passed by a 75-percent majority.
- A two-chamber system.
- The devolution of power as low as possible with strong regional and local government — and even powers granted to smaller units of authority which would represent single communities and have a say over their affairs.

Mr de Klerk confirmed once again

that any new constitution that was negotiated would be put to the test of the white electorate.

"We said to the electorate, give us a mandate to negotiate a new constitution. And we promised if you authorise us to do so we will return to you to pass judgment.

"We will keep our promise to our electorate."

Mr de Klerk confirmed that the Government would "hopefully" repeal or "give attention to" the Group Areas Act and Land Acts during next year's session of Parliament.

Mr de Klerk insisted that the NP had a mandate for unbanning and talking to the ANC.

"We are now talking to the ANC to get them to the point where they can participate in negotiations because of such a commitment."

The Government had already made headway with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and exploratory talks on the constitution could now start.

On other points he said:

- The TBVC states could only be re-incorporated into South Africa by agreement between each of them and SA. But because of their independent status it was a "difficult question" whether they would participate in the same negotiations as everyone else.
- He was deeply disturbed about labour unrest which he said was more responsible for disinvestment than sanctions. He called on trade unions not to abuse the "weapons" of strikes and stayaways for political ends.
- He believed that "greater realism" was developing in the ANC about the pitfalls of nationalisation and re-distribution of wealth.

KILLED 12 CRAZED COP

Officer 26/8/90
118

By SBU MNGADI

A KWAZULU policeman, suspended from the SAP for firearm offences, has allegedly killed at least 12 people in the past six months - several after booking them out of police cells for "further investigations".

Detective Constable Siphiwe Mvuyane, now a member of the KwaZulu Police's Murder and Robbery Squad in Umlazi, is at the centre of investigations by the KZP and the SAP in connection with the murders.

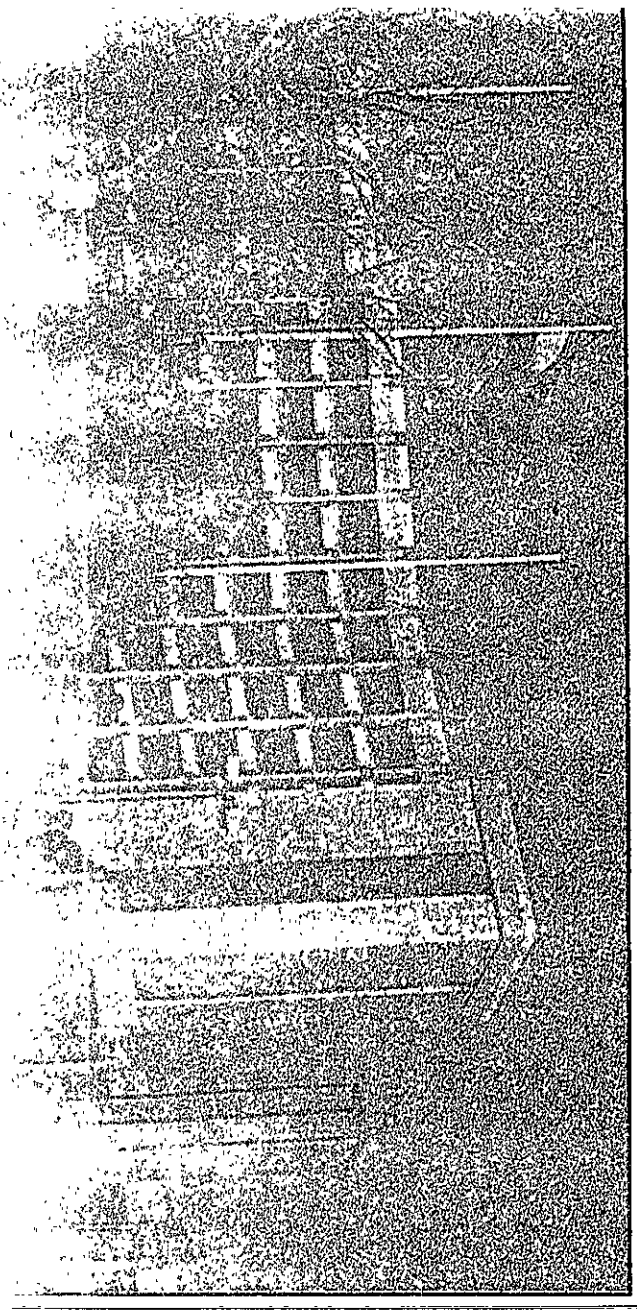
Roy Ainslie, director of the Democratic Party in Durban, believes the total number of people allegedly killed by him could be much higher.

Ainslie said: "The DP believes there is sufficient prima facie evidence for Mvuyane's immediate arrest on charges of murder."

Senior KZP officers, including commissioner Brig Jack Butcher and deputy-commissioner Brig Sipho Mthle, had to explain to the families of the victims the "mysteri-

Suspects taken from cells later found shot dead

the life of 13-year-old Thulani Makhaza who was arrested by the gun-toting Mvuyane and other unidentified men. The resident claimed that morning by Mvuyane for "further investigations". An officer later said all suspects had been safely returned to the cells.



DURBAN D 12'

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Roy Ainslie, director of the Democratic Party in Durban, believes the total number of people allegedly killed by him could be much higher.

Ainslie said: "The DP believes there is sufficient prima facie evidence for Mvuyane's immediate arrest on charges of murder."

Senior KZP officers, including commissioner Brig Jack Buchner and deputy-commissioner Brig Siphso Mathe, had to explain to the families of the victims the "mysterious" circumstances under which their loved ones died.

The pattern in most of the killings was that the victims were arrested on suspicion of having committed crimes, and detained at KZP stations in the Durban region. Mvuyane would then book them out of the cells for "further investigations".

The victims were later found shot dead and the explanations given by the KZP were that the suspects were trying to escape or attempting to attack Mvuyane.

The policeman's most recent victim was Lunga Mqadi, 19, of Umlazi's R-Section, who was killed last Saturday.

According to family members, Mqadi died from a single bullet wound. Mvuyane and two men wearing balaclavas had allegedly arrested him, demanding that he produce a gun.

The family members fled to other rooms in the house when they heard a shot going off in the lounge.

They later found Mqadi lying in a pool of blood and Mvuyane standing over him holding two guns.

Early on the same day the City Press Durban bureau received a desperate call from an Umlazi resident appealing to the newspaper to help save

Suspects taken from cells later found shot dead

the life of 13-year-old Thulani Makhaza who was arrested by the gun-toting Mvuyane and other unidentified men.

The resident claimed Mvuyane vowed to kill Makhaza once he had extracted all the information he wanted from him.

City Press immediately telephoned Umlazi KZP station where Const HS Nguse admitted Makhaza had been booked out

that morning by Mvuyane for "further investigations".

An officer later said all suspects had been safely returned to the cells.

Mvuyane has been named in connection with several other killings:

■ Affidavits held by the DP in Durban positively link Mvuyane to the killings of Baba Ndaba and Austin Zwane in Lamont-

■ To Page 2



MURG, yesterday, while
Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

'Killer' KZP cop was suspended from SAP

c/press 26/8/90 (118)

■ From Page 1

ville on August 6 and 7 respectively.

A friend of Ndaba said in an affidavit they were talking on the street when Ndaba was shot in the left arm. Mvuyane, who was running towards them, held a gun. Ndaba was taken away and his family were later told Mvuyane had shot him dead because he tried to shoot Mvuyane.

According to affidavits Zwane was shot three times in his house after Mvuyane and other policemen asked him for a firearm which he denied existed.

■ On June 12, Umbumbulu businessman and political activist Siphon Mkhize was shot dead by Mvuyane at Umlazi's Q-Section.

This was confirmed by Mathe, who said Mkhize was shot by Mvuyane when he tried to grab a pistol from a detective Sibiyi during "further investigations".

■ On the same day, Mathe confirmed, nine detectives from Umlazi's Murder and Robbery Squad - among them Mvuyane - shot dead four black males after a group of youths allegedly at-

tacked them.

According to witnesses Zakhele Ngobese, 17, was shot dead by Mvuyane while lying on the ground pleading his innocence.

■ Mvuyane shocked peak-hour shoppers in Durban's West Street in June when he allegedly shot a bag-snatcher in the back of the head at point-blank range after he was arrested.

■ Buchner confirmed in a letter to Ainslie that Phumulani Zulu was detained on February 11 and that he was shot by "a detective" on the same day when he tried to escape.

It is alleged that Mvuyane was involved in this incident.

■ Buchner however could not confirm the deaths of pupils Prudence Mhlongo and Ozias Xele, who were allegedly abducted by the KZP while they and others were celebrating the release of Mandela on February 11.

It is alleged Mvuyane was involved in their killings.

■ On July 27, Mvuyane and a Siphwe Shoji were involved in the murder of an activist, identified only as Ngawe at AA Section, Umlazi, alleges the DP.

■ In June a terrified unidentified youth was shot in the back.

Mvuyane was involved in this incident, residents claimed.

An SAP public relations spokesman told *City Press* this week a murder docket had been opened by Montclair Police in connection with Austin Zwane's murder. It would be referred to the Attorney-General.

The spokesman confirmed Kwazulu policemen were allegedly linked to Zwane's slaying.

KZP public relations spokesman Lt-Col Moses Khanyile said police investigations on all these alleged incidents were incomplete.



Zulu royal pleads for protection

By S'BU MNGADI

SENIOR Zulu Prince Mwayizeni Israel has appealed to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to guarantee him protection from the KwaZulu Police (KZP).

In a letter, written on his behalf this week by Richard Lyster of the Legal Resources Centre in Durban, Mwayizeni stated he had no confidence in the willingness of the KZP to protect him.

Mwayizeni said he believed certain members of the police may have been responsible for the petrol-bomb attack upon his Ngxangphilile royal house this year.

The KwaZulu Department of Works had also subsequently terminated his lights and water supply.

He said his harassment should be seen in the context of his resignation last year from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He now believed senior Inkatha members from Ulundi meant to do his family serious harm.

Mwayizeni, a former regent of the Zulu monarch, Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, believed a fatal attack on any member of his family would give rise to a wave of violence throughout Natal, as he was a leading member of the royal family enjoying a great deal of support from non-Inkatha and Inkatha supporters.

His son, Prince Mali, 27, said in an affidavit attached to the letter, he and a friend were accosted in Nongoma last Saturday by four KwaZulu policemen who told him to remove the ANC Women's League T-shirt he was wearing.

"They said they would burn the T-shirt and tear it apart while it was still on my body," Mali said, adding he was soon surrounded by a crowd of around 30 people. He regarded the situation as critical and removed the shirt, which the crowd then took away.

The prince alleged the policemen told the threatening crowd they should not kill Mali, but only beat him.

"It would seem that most of the people involved in the incident were persons from outside KwaNongoma because the people of KwaNongoma respect the Zulu royal family and the seniority of the senior prince.

"But I now fear these intruders will now influence the people of KwaNongoma to turn away from us and perpetrate attacks against us," Mali said.

Unite and stop East Rand killings, say black leaders

Star 27/8/90



By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Traditional leaders yesterday called on residents and hostel dwellers on the East Rand, where violent conflict has left hundreds dead and many injured, to unite and stop the killing.

Speaking at a press conference organised by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), Chief Nonganyana Mwelo explained that the weekend visit by chiefs from Natal and Transkei was an attempt to speak to people jointly in an effort to restore peace and calm in the Transvaal.

"The killing must stop. It serves only the interests of the enemy, not the cause of freedom in our country," said Chief Mwelo.

He stressed that Contralesa was not affiliated to any political party.

He said ANC and Inkatha supporters as well as other concerned parties should initiate peace talks at grassroots level because "high-level talks will not solve the crisis."

Chief Mwelo stressed, however, that the recent violence was not a Zulu-Xhosa conflict, but had its roots in the system of apartheid and the policy of destabilisation perpetrated by the Government.

He added that Contralesa took strong exception to the refusal of the Government to allow the chiefs access to certain hostels.

The role of the police was to serve the community and not to fan the flames of conflict, he said.

Star 27/8/90

Anger as ANC and Inkatha meet

By Esmar van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

"In my neighbour's house the father is Inkatha and the daughter ANC. They can't share supper."

So said a Maritzburg resident during a three-hour discussion on violence, part of the Five Freedoms Forum's weekend conference in Johannesburg on "Negotiations and the Future".

Violence

The special session on violence was an emotionally draining experience in a potentially volatile situation.

Inkatha and ANC supporters, "warlords" and "comrades", faced each other with apparent calm and reason.

But the bitterness ran deep.

There were disturbing testimonies of police involvement, vicious accusations and counter-ac-

cusations about who had started the township carnage.

There were frequent calls for political tolerance and urgent programmes by all political parties to educate their followers on the meaning of multiparty democracy.

There were calls for rehabilitation programmes for people who have become brutalised in a society where political oppression, socio-economic hardships, endemic violence and merciless retribution have become a way of life.

And there was harsh criticism of the media which has labelled the faction fighting "tribal" and "black-on-black".

Remarked one delegate: "I've never heard anyone refer to World War 2 as white-on-white violence."

A young resident from Phola Park, one of the worst trouble spots on

the Reef, remarked matter-of-factly that he knew 20 squatter camp residents who had died at the hands of Inkatha supported by the police.

An Inkatha member responded immediately: "Let us call for restraint from speakers."

"Such statements will lead to another war."

A woman got up, close to tears: "I have never killed anybody, but my hands are covered in blood."

Carnage

"I don't want to know about the history."

"We women must stand up and be voiced."

"We must tell our men to stop this carnage."

Another Inkatha member remarked that black politics lacked discipline and tolerance.

"I don't care who started it."

"The fact is we must save the very little we have left."

The conference was painful, tense and emotional.

On the surface, all was well.

But afterwards, two people who had spoken out in favour of the ANC were said to have been threatened by the very Inkatha members who had spoken of tolerance and forgiveness.

After a gruelling afternoon, I walked outside, name tag still pinned to my chest.

Three young black passersby spotted my surname.

One shouted loudly — in Afrikaans — in the middle of a crowded Johannesburg street: "You f...ing Boer!"

I recalled one delegate asking desperately if tolerance had any meaning, when it did not extend any further than podiums and platforms.

● More reports
— Page 6.

Delegates slate FFF reference to 'warlord'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A Five Freedoms Forum weekend conference ended on a sour note in Johannesburg yesterday when Inkatha delegates lashed out at the organisers for publicly referring to the presence of an Inkatha "warlord".

The term was used in reference to the participation of delegates across the political spectrum, from far-right trade unionists to "warlords".

Small delegations of the FFF and Inkatha met for more than 30 minutes after the conference to defuse tension.

FFF spokesmen said the Inkatha members had expressed grave concern about their safety in view of the public reference to the presence of a "warlord". They feared for their lives at the hands of ANC supporters following recent clashes between the two organisations in the townships.

Inkatha members refused to comment on the furor, but said they were "delighted" to have been invited to attend the conference.

FFF spokesman Gael Neke said last night the term had been used in "an illustrative and not judgmental" sense.

The "warlord" participated in a three-hour discussion on violence on Saturday.

FFF spokesmen described the incident as an "unfortunate mistake".

The conference — which brought together the most diverse group of political organisations ever in South Africa — was marked by opposition groups amicably discussing their differences.

Referring to the three-hour commission of violence in his concluding remarks at the conference, FFF chairman Mike Olivier said it was an emotional session at which much pain and hurt had been openly expressed.

Township violence:

Slr 28/8/90

Inkatha states view

By Patrick Laurence

An attempt by the African National Congress and its allies to turn Sebokeng into a "no-go" area for Inkatha triggered the 10-day township war which left more than 500 people dead, Themba Khosa of Inkatha said yesterday.

Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally in Sebokeng had been abused and stoned by ANC loyalists outside the stadium at Sebokeng on July 22, the date which marked the start of the "Transvaal war" between Inkatha and the ANC, Mr Khosa told journalists.

Later, after the rally and after a bus carrying Inkatha supporters was forced to retreat by stone-throwing youths, Inkatha's followers were escorted away from the stadium by police but were ambushed outside the hostels, he added.

A major battle ensued and, before the fighting died down, at least 22 people had been killed.

From that day onwards, violence flared in townships around Johannesburg, coming to a terrifying climax in 10 days on August 13 and abating only after a massive

police clampdown.

Mr Khosa was one of three Inkatha officials who gave journalists Inkatha's perspective on the violence in the hope of correcting what they believe has been an unfair portrayal of Inkatha as the primary aggressor.

He cited the appearance of pamphlets under an ANC logo, denigrating Zulus as pro-Government stooges, as another factor which had fuelled the violence.

Told that the ANC had disowned the pamphlets as bogus, Mr Khoza replied that the ANC disavowal had come too late and too discreetly.

The fact that most of the major battles had been fought near the entrances to Inkatha strongholds in the townships proved that their role had been defensive, Mr Khosa reckoned.

While offering the Inkatha perspective, the main purpose of the envoys was to convey a call for peace and tolerance to people of the strife-torn Transvaal townships from Chief Buthelezi.

The message was taken directly into the townships and hostels at the weekend by a strong delegation of high-ranking Zulu chiefs.

Top ANC official launches scathing attack on Buthelezi

Star 28/8/90 (118)

A top ANC official in Natal, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, yesterday launched a blistering attack on the Inkatha Freedom Party, accusing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of having sanctioned Inkatha attacks on the ANC and its allies and not using his powers to curb the protracted violence in Natal which has claimed more than 4 000 lives.

Taking part in a political debate at the Rand Afrikaans University, attended by international youth leaders, Mr Lekota gave the most detailed public explanation yet for the ANC's animosity towards Chief Buthelezi.

He was prompted to do so by Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute, who revealed that he was "of course a member" of the Inkatha Freedom Party "and a proud one too".

Mr Lekota dismissed claims

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sanctioned Inkatha's attacks on the ANC and its allies, ANC official Patrick Lekota claimed in Johannesburg yesterday. **Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** was there.

by Dr Woods that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was not prepared to meet Chief Buthelezi.

However, the SA Government would have to be party to such a meeting to ensure that Chief Buthelezi honoured any agreements reached. He gave details of earlier agreements reached between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions which he said the KwaZulu leader had "scuttled unilaterally".

Mr Lekota said the protracted violence in Natal had been sparked by Chief Buthelezi.

He claimed that the recent outbreak of violence in Reef townships had been sparked by Inkatha. The ANC had information that arms had been brought into the townships before the eruption of the violence, and that a "chief from Natal" had visited a migrant workers' hostel where Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters had first been planned.

Mr Lekota responded to Dr Woods' claim that he (Mr Lekota) had publicly vowed that the ANC would kill Chief Buthelezi by saying he had said Inkatha was out to kill ANC supporters.

"I said that Buthelezi wants to kill our people with arms, but we will kill him politically."

Battle-weary township dwellers pick up pieces

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Eight death certificates were piled on the desk of the Kagiso funeral parlour yesterday — at least three times as many as there are most days.

The eight dead are all victims of the last two weeks of hell that has seen at least 515 people die when townships throughout the Witwatersrand flared up into war.

But the war seems to have died down as suddenly as it came.

Apart from the death certificates, the odd burnt-out car, the gutted houses and the fact that nearly every window in Kagiso 1 has been smashed, life in Kagiso — on the surface at least — seems pretty much back to normal.

And police report that the East Rand, the scene of several bloody clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents, is quiet.

Late yesterday afternoon small children were playing with carts, eating oranges and skipping over the piles of rocks that once formed roadblocks throughout Kagiso.

Residents were shouting to one another across garden fences and strolling in the streets, apparently oblivious of the lone SADF patrol.

The only area unusually quiet was the street bordering the Kagiso hostel.

Opposite the hostel, under the watchful eyes of self-styled hostel sentries, Paulos Mochine was packing the remains of his furniture on to a van and moving them out.

His house has been petrol-bombed twice. The glass melted, the paint blistered on the walls, the contents were destroyed and his children barely got out with their lives.

"I am afraid, but I do not know what to do. I have been here for 30 years. There has never been trouble like this before. People keep talking about Xhosas and Zulus and ANC and Inkatha,



Children living near the Inkatha stronghold of Jabulani hostel, in Jabavu, Soweto, are taken to safer houses at night as violence continues.

but I am a Tswana. I am not a political man. I have lost everything. I do not understand why."

Teargas

In central western Soweto, where the unrest death toll stood at 126 yesterday afternoon, the only evidence of the shooting, the teargas, the stones and the bodies of last week were broken, boarded-up windows.

At Jabulani hostel, police were posted at the entrance. About 20 hostel dwellers sat at the gate. Others paced along the fence, watchful and reluctant to talk.

A young blond policeman said: "Last week was bad, but it's quieter now."

Township residents with homes bordering on the hostel were yesterday still planning to move out for the night.

One resident, David Sitabela (42), said that by the time Taeolo Street exploded into violence a week ago, he had already sent his wife and children away.

He had been alone in the house when the stones started raining on to the roof. He tried to squeeze behind a small cupboard and claw his way up the wall to hide.

Now he still stays at home alone every night. There are holes in the roof, and the windows are smashed. His television is gone and so is his peace of mind.

"At night you shut your mouth, take your weapons and look after your house. I would run, but where do I go? I was born here. This was my parents' house."

Paulina Seoma says: "The trouble is not as bad as it was a few days ago, but when it gets dark the men from the hostel still shout across the railway line: 'Seyeza! Seyeza! Ningalale! Seyeza!' (We are coming! We are coming! Do not sleep! We are coming!)"

Her daughter Disebo says: "No we do not want those men. We must burn the hostels. We must burn them."

Disebo is just 13.

Inkatha youth in plea for peace talks

Sowetan 28/8/90

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INKATHA youth appealed to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for peace talks and for all blacks to "spit on violence".

The Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, in a resolution taken at its an-

nual conference at Ulundi, called on all black South Africans in the Transvaal and Natal to recognise the extent to which the violence was inhibiting the liberation struggle.

The brigade also appealed to all blacks to "spit on violence".

"We call on ANC

deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to talk peace and to act for peace after that."

Media

There was a need for more "organised politics, fewer theatrical marches, less high profile media

politics and blustering anger and contempt".

Another resolution called on the media, especially the SABC, to adopt a more balanced approach in the allocation of time to different black leaders and organisations.

The SABC should recognise that South Africa was in a pre-

negotiation phase and that preferential time allocation would amount to "interfering in the run-up to full and fair elections", the resolution said.

The organisation said it rejected the notion that the people of KwaZulu and Natal wanted the KwaZulu police force disbanded. - Sapa.

ANC peace probe begins tomorrow

Sowetan 28/8/90

(Handwritten marks and '11B')

AN ANC delegation will meet an Inkatha group this week to discuss the violence which has been raging in the country.

The meeting is scheduled to take place in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The ANC will be represented at the meeting by its task force, appointed after the last National Executive Com-

mittee (NEC) meeting, to investigate solutions to the violence.

The task force consists of four NEC members - Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mrs Gertrude Shope, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr John Nkadameng.

A national peace committee, consisting of executive members of Cosatu and leading ANC mem-

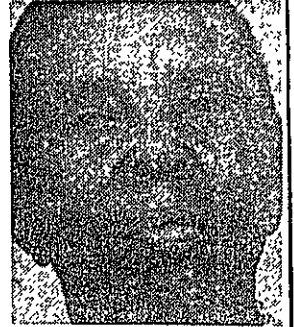
bers, is also meeting on an almost daily basis to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha find ways of solving the violence.

During the past two weeks violence on the Witwatersrand has left more than 500 people dead and many injured.

A senior ANC source said a meeting between

Buthelezi would have been "a fixed solution" to the violence.

He said the peace initiatives between the two groups are moving towards a meeting by representatives of the two organisations led by Mandela and Buthelezi and away from "a personal thing" between the two leaders. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



GERTRUDE SHOPE

Buthelezi surprised by banning of arms

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expressed surprise during an Inkatha Youth Brigade conference at the weekend at a new Government ban on assegais and other simple weapons in some areas, blamed the ANC for violence in the Transvaal and proclaimed his desire for peace.

Buthelezi, who is also the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said in Ulundi: "It is criminal and it is totally unacceptable. Anybody who wants to make any kind of political statement or do anything that is political must join the political party of his choice and do it there."

Buthelezi said the image of the ANC as the nation's leading liberation group was propaganda.

The enthusiastic, predominantly young crowd of about 7 000 was surprisingly free of arms such as spears and clubs that Zulus, who dominate In-

katha, have embraced as "cultural weapons."

In his wide-ranging address of about 90 minutes, Buthelezi cited Inkatha as the force that had pressured the National Party Government into freeing ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and legalising black political organisations.

Buthelezi labelled as "poppycock" suggestions in the Press that Inkatha was jealous that State President Mr FW de Klerk was negotiating with the ANC, but not with Inkatha. Inkatha had negotiated and talked with the Government long before the ANC did, he said.

The focus of his speech was the ongoing violence between blacks and what he called the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance's role as the instigator.

ANC "surrogates and ANC co-travellers" had incited violence in Natal between 1983 and 1986, he said.

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Many 'forced to heed stayaway'

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INTIMIDATION and fear led to many people staying away from work yesterday, the West Rand branch of the Inkatha Youth Brigade has said.

Inkatha youth spokesman on the West Rand, Themba Khoza, also told Sapa in a telephone interview that thousands of people defied the stayaway call made by the Mass Democratic Movement and travelled to work on foot. *Sowetan 28/8/90*

"With the shortage of buses and taxis contributing to workers' problems, one assumes that thousands more people were keen to go to work," he said.

Khoza said Inkatha had monitored the situation since the early hours of Monday and the organisation was convinced that the level of intimidation and fear contributed to many people staying away from work.

He said there was stone-throwing and barricades in parts of Orlando and White City, and a lot of intimidation in Zola and Emndeni.

He said he had also seen barricades in the East Rand townships of Tokoza, Tembisa and KwaThema.

He said another factor that could have contributed to

Blunders led to violence

Star 29/8/90



OSCAR DHLOMO, the former Inkatha secretary-general and now an independent conciliator, looks at violence in South Africa and discusses how it should be dealt with.

The last few weeks have seen an escalation of violence and its spread to the black areas of the Transvaal.

Various theories have been advanced in attempts to explain why this violence, which had more or less become a permanent feature of life in the townships of Natal, has suddenly surfaced, with increased ferocity in the Transvaal.

A debate has also arisen as to whether the violence is ethnic (Zulu vs Xhosa) or ideological (ANC vs Inkatha). This debate is to my mind completely futile.

The grim fact is that people are dying and it does not restore them to life to pontificate about whether they are Zulus, Xhosas, Inkatha or ANC members.

Sacrificed

These are people whose lives have been sacrificed at the altar of political expediency and one-upmanship. The questions that linger in everybody's mind are why the violence has spread to the Transvaal and why the ethnic factor has suddenly surfaced in this conflict?

Possible answers to these questions could be found in the strategies of the two warring factions, namely the ANC and Inkatha.

The ANC-UDF-Cosatu alliance committed a serious strategic blunder when it took a decision to make the violence in Natal a national issue by calling for protest marches and stayaways throughout the nation.

As if this blunder was not enough, these organisations called on the international community to isolate Dr Buthelezi and demanded that the KwaZulu police be disbanded and that the KwaZulu government be dismantled.

Dr Buthelezi complained bitterly against this "nationalisation" of the Natal violence and warned of its escalation.

We should, therefore, not pretend to be surprised that the violence did

in fact become "nationalised" and "internationalised" in line with the ANC's original strategy.

Neither should we be surprised that Inkatha countered with its own national strategy.

The combination of these two strategies led to the outbreak of violence throughout the nation.

If attempts to "nationalise" the violence using Buthelezi and Inkatha as niggers in the woodpile continue, we can expect that the Free State and the Cape Province might also experience the present violence sooner rather than later.

The second strategic blunder of the ANC was to demand the dismantling of what it calls the "KwaZulu Bantustan". No call was made for the dismantling of the other five homeland governments — KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, QwaQwa and Lebowa.

Humiliation

It is inexplicable why the ANC did not instead call for the abolition of the two Acts that established all self-governing states in South Africa, namely, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Black States Constitution Act of 1971.

This blunder has again prompted Dr Buthelezi to allege that the ANC is singling out KwaZulu — and therefore the Zulu people — for vilification and humiliation.

Given the facts as outlined above, it is extremely difficult, to say the least, to fault Dr Buthelezi's case when he asks: "Why single out KwaZulu if your struggle is genuinely against the homelands policy?"

To complicate the issue further, ANC leaders have found no difficulty in visiting capitals of homelands that have gone further and be-

come "independent" thereby "selling out and opting out" of the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

These two homelands happen to be inhabited by fellow countrymen of Xhosa extraction.

The third blunder of the ANC is its constant refusal to meet Inkatha and the way it justifies the refusal.

The solution therefore appears to be that hundreds of people must die, scores of children must be orphaned and scores of families must be deprived of breadwinners — all in the name of denying Dr Buthelezi the "credibility" he should allegedly get by meeting Mr Mandela to talk about the violence.

It is also argued that Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha must first stop the violence before a meeting can be considered. Yet the proposed meeting is precisely for the purpose of talking about ending the violence.

The fourth blunder of the ANC was to attempt to go over Dr Buthelezi's head and talk to President de Klerk about ending the violence.

I have never been able to grasp the logic of this if it is Dr Buthelezi who is fomenting violence.

Warning

It is again not surprising that Dr Buthelezi should feel slightly humiliated by the strategy, and that his followers should sound a few warning signals that they are a force to reckon with.

Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and Liberia are living examples of what happens to a country when one faction denies the other recognition and refuses to talk to it about ending the violence.

The final blunder that the ANC has made is to underestimate Inkatha's capability to defend its image and re-enforce its influence beyond the borders of Natal.

Up to the time of writing, ANC leaders still protest that Inkatha does not have the manpower resources to mount the kind of struggle it has mounted in the Transvaal.

A French philosopher once remarked: "There is nothing as fatal as a poorly observed fact."

Let me turn to possible benefits if Inkatha-ANC dialogue should take place.

In the first place, both organisations would benefit in that they would inherit more political space to recruit new members all over the country in accordance with the democratic principle of freedom of association.

Then we would witness a genuinely free, fair, democratic and civilised political contest as both parties sell their policies to us in the true traditions of multi-party democracy and political tolerance.

Sleepless

At the present time potential recruits dare not come forward to identify with any of the two organisations because they fear for their lives.

A pro-ANC person living in an Inkatha-controlled area cannot come forward and openly identify with the ANC. The same is true for a pro-Inkatha person in an ANC-controlled area.

The worst-case scenario is, of course, that if the violence escalates and the ethnic factor continues to be highlighted, both organisations could end up losing members.

I have spent sleepless nights attempting to think of a strategy for ending the violence without Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela meeting. I am afraid there is no strategy.

We can call in the entire South African Defence Force, but the fact is this force can only end the killings and give us peace imposed from the outside — what I call armed peace.

What we need at this time is peace with reconciliation. Only Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi can deliver that.

ANC/Inkatha talks raise hopes for peace

510-2918190
Own Correspondent (118)

DURBAN — High-powered peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha yesterday went well and political commentators said a meeting between their respective national executives could be on the cards.

This bodes well for the future of the bloody violence in Natal which has left at least 4 000 people dead since the beginning of 1987.

In a meeting shrouded in secrecy yesterday the two delegations met at the Inkatha Institute — with the

ANC/Cosatu/UDF delegation headed by the ANC's national head of intelligence, Jacob Zuma.

Mr Zuma's presence was of great significance as it meant the ANC national executive was greatly concerned with the Natal violence.

The Inkatha delegation included KwaZulu Minister of Health, Dr Frank Mdlalose and Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi.

It was the first time the ANC had been officially represented by a

top-level executive committee member at the peace talks.

Sources said that the possibility of a meeting between Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was also discussed.

● Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday relationships between political leaders should be normalised, and the first meeting should be between himself and Nelson Mandela, reports Sapa.

● Great divide — Page 23.



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Thousands to attend coronation

THE Peninsula's black townships will see a huge exodus on Friday when thousands of residents bus to Transkei to attend the coronation of Prince Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo in Umtata.

Prince Buyelekhaya will succeed his father Sabata who died recently.

A spokesman for the Western Cape United Squatters Association (WCUSA), Mr Gladstone Ntamo, said yesterday that buses would leave from Old Crossroads, KTC, Brown's Farm and Miller's Camp at 6pm "sharp".

Residents wishing to travel by bus should contact WCUSA by tomorrow.

● The Dalindyebo dynasty controls the Thembu tribe which is spread over six districts in Transkei and has hundreds of thousands of members.

ANC-Inkatha tit for tat over tete-a-tete

Story 30/8/90

(115)

Why did Nelson Mandela refuse to address a joint peace rally with Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Taylor's Halt outside war-torn Maritzburg?

The KwaZulu chief and Inkatha Freedom Party leader has scored much political mileage from the incident, claiming that the ANC deputy president agreed to and later called off a peace rally which was scheduled for April.

This week, the ANC's southern Natal convener, Patrick Lekota, broke the ANC's silence on the issue when, challenged by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods, he gave the ANC's side of the story during a debate at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Disastrous

Mr Lekota said the suggestion of a joint rally to end the protracted carnage in Natal had first come up in a meeting of senior ANC officials attended by Mr Mandela.

The deputy president had personally telephoned Chief Buthelezi from that meeting, suggesting that a joint rally be organised after the local branches of the two organisations had come together to make their peace.

Mr Mandela's view had been that a joint rally could be disastrous if the local organisers did not first meet. He had also suggested that the local leaders decide jointly on a date and venue.

Chief Buthelezi's response had been that he first wanted to consult his parliament, according to Mr Lekota.

"Fifteen minutes later, an official in Chief Buthelezi's office

Protracted battles between supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha have claimed thousands of lives since the early 1980s. A suggestion of a joint rally to end the protracted Natal carnage first came up, but never materialised, earlier this year at a meeting of senior ANC officials attended by Nelson Mandela.

Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** reports on some of the accusations and counter-accusations made by the two groups.

phoned back and said the peace rally would take place on this day at that venue. Mr Mandela objected and asked to speak to Buthelezi. He refused to come to the telephone.

"Shortly afterwards, Inkatha announced to the press that the rally would indeed take place at Taylor's Halt that next Monday."

This is but one example of accusations and counter-accusations between the ANC and Inkatha which have filled reams of newspaper columns over recent months.

It is a war of words indicative of deeply rooted differences and animosity between the political rivals.

Dr Woods challenged Mr Lekota to state why Mr Mandela had not responded to at least 20 public invitations over the past two months to meet.

Mr Lekota replied: "We will meet Buthelezi any time, but not for his sake. If he just wants to shake Nelson's hand, he can make an appointment to do so."

A formal meeting between the two organisations would have to take place in the presence of the Government, he added, because Chief Buthelezi had scuttled several agreements reached between delegations of Inkatha and the ANC-aligned United Democratic

Front and Cosatu when the ANC had still been banned and Mr Mandela still in jail. The Government should ensure that Chief Buthelezi honoured any agreements reached.

The two men gave different accounts on the reasons for the eruption of the Natal violence, which has since spilt over to the Reef.

Dr Woods said the ANC had, through Radio Freedom and its official magazine, Sechaba, urged supporters to kill and "marginalise" Inkatha.

ANC supporters had killed 106 Inkatha leaders over the last few years and 13 Inkatha refugee camps had been put up to assist people who had fled their communities.

Mr Lekota said 13 000 ANC supporters lived in refugee camps in the Maritzburg area alone.

Inkatha had first launched attacks on ANC supporters when the UDF was formed in 1983 and immediately managed to draw massive support in the area. "Impis" drove out communities which had set up democratic structures.

Chief Buthelezi had been so desperate to survive that children had been refused schooling if their parents had not signed up with Inkatha, and hostel dwellers and teachers

had been forced to swear their allegiance to Inkatha.

The UDF and Cosatu had called for meetings with Inkatha. Several agreements had been signed which, Mr Lekota claimed, had all been unilaterally scuttled by Chief Buthelezi.

Last year, a still-banned ANC had offered to intervene and requested that the meeting take place in Lusaka. Chief Buthelezi had refused on the grounds that the venue was not impartial.

The ANC had then suggested a Scandinavian country as a venue. This was again turned down by Chief Buthelezi.

The ANC had then asked him to suggest a venue, whereupon Chief Buthelezi had said ANC president Oliver Tambo should write him a personal letter

Pamphlets

Dr Woods said one agreement reached between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF had been that the ANC be included in talks. The ANC, then still banned, had agreed, but had never responded to Chief Buthelezi's invitations.

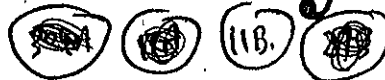
Explaining why Inkatha had last year put a moratorium on contact with the ANC and its allies, Dr Woods said the decision was taken after pamphlets had been distributed urging ANC supporters to "take advantage of the peace talks by taking control".

Dr Woods said he would refrain from responding to Mr Lekota's "select little package" of accusations.

He said there was guilt on both sides, but "democratic tolerance" was now needed to stop the carnage

Modise says

Star 30/8/90



FW must act

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise placed responsibility for ending the violence on the Reef squarely on President de Klerk's shoulders and called on him to restrain sections of the police which, he claimed, were directly involved in the bloodshed.

He also condemned the "conspiracy" in which former members of Koevoet and 32 Battalion in Namibia were being "used by the police to kill our people".

Speaking at a news conference here yesterday, Mr Modise said Mr de Klerk was "intelligent enough to know that if the African National Congress is pressed to the limit, it would definitely effect ANC decisions".

Asked whether this would mean a reversal of the decision to suspend the armed struggle as recorded in the Pretoria Minute, Mr Modise said: "We have indicated to Mr de Klerk that this (the violence) must come to an end... otherwise it could be that we would have to defend ourselves because our members are under attack."

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle in order to facilitate negotiations for the end of apartheid. In terms of its Harare Declaration to do this if the South African Government met certain ANC preconditions for talks, the ANC was "on course". Mr Modise hoped the South African Government would be wise enough to avoid a situation which would require going back on this decision.

Inkatha

"Mr de Klerk can stop the violence. He has got the force at his command and he also knows where the violence comes from." Inkatha, with the collusion of some sections of the police, were to blame, said Mr Modise.

He condemned the unrest area declaration by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as "inappropriate and irrelevant". The police already had sufficient powers to deal with the situation, Section 29, for example, which was being used against ANC members, should be applied to the Inkatha leaders.

"The declaration, we believe, serves to hide the complicity of the police in the carnage." The ANC had evidence of this complicity, he said, without further elaboration.

Asked whether, in the light of the recent eruption of violence on the Reef, the ANC might now consider that it had suspended the armed struggle too soon, Mr Modise said the resolution of the apartheid problem was of paramount importance and the decision had been taken to facilitate that process.

Mr Modise did not rule out a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela but said the ANC resented being forced into talks by violence.

Role of police in clashes comes under the spotlight

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THERE is a strong argument in support of the notion that right wing elements in the South African Police may have tacitly supported Inkatha members during last week's violence in townships on the Reef when more than 500 people were killed.

According to a memorandum on the violence compiled by the Independent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression, the reason for the support of the so-called impis was perhaps to shift the white electorate into a *ned-laager* mentality.

Statements taken from residents substantiate the claims and allegations that security forces accompanied (and failed to intervene) when Inkatha supporters, from a rally at Sebokeng Stadium on Sunday, August 22, attacked local hostels.

The IBIR believes the ANC and Cosatu, who are deemed the victims or opposition in the fight, had very little to gain from the conflict.

Quoting Mr Lloyd Vogelmann, director of The Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand, the IBIR suggests that the conflict, in fact, undermines some of the ANC's grassroots support.

Inkatha, on the other hand, has been involved in what the IBIR calls "a brutal and aggressive" recruitment campaign which compelled certain hostel dwellers to leave the hostel and join the community with whom the hostel already had strained relations.

"Thereafter, the conflict escalated along political and ethnic lines and eventually into a battle between Zulu and Xhosa," the IBIR believes.

Flashpoints

The hostels themselves had become flashpoints of bloody confrontations. The intense isolation and prison-like conditions "are breeding grounds for an aggressive and machismo culture" which is exacerbated by the absence and stability of family life.

Living in a hostel helps foster a group identity, firstly because historically been run along ethnic lines. Secondly, for the hostel residents there is a shared daily experience, all of which makes it extremely amenable to being organised," according to Vogelmann.

Vogelmann thus believes that the recent violence was not spontaneous. It was organised, orchestrated and planned, he said.

Quoting a newspaper report of August 19, the IBIR's memo said: "Ultimately, what we are witnessing is the importation of political conflicts from the Natal hinterland to the Transvaal townships. If we are to see the hand that lies behind the violence, we need to understand which organised political interests are being served by it."

The IBIR drives the point home with statements of residents that the violence on the Reef started soon after the relaunch of Inkatha as a nation-wide political party on July 14.

There is too, a precedent that backs up the idea that the violence was precipitated by a forced recruitment campaign by Inkatha.

Recruiting

Professor John Acheson of the University of Natal, who has been monitoring the Natal violence for the past three years, says a massive recruitment campaign in the Maritzburg area in September 1987 was a major factor in escalating the violence in Natal.

On the Reef too, there were claims that non-Inkatha Zulu members "would face the consequences" if they did not join the movement, according to residents.

Ms Judy Chalmers, a member of the IBIR, reported from the eastern Cape that a similar pattern could be developing there. The IBIR memo tells of two municipal policemen who were seen recruiting a hostel dweller for Inkatha in Port Elizabeth.

Which brings one to the role of the police, and the countless reports that they were "supporting" Inkatha or standing by while its members were amassing weapons that were declared unlawful only after more than 500 people had died.

"It is not immediately clear why the South African Police would align themselves with Inkatha, if indeed these allegations are true.

"One possibility that has been mooted is that it is in the interest of right wing elements in the police force that black on black violence should continue, thus driving whites further to the right," the IBIR explains.

Statements taken by the IBIR suggest strongly the participation of right wing elements in the conflict.

Copy 7/11 30/8/90 (11/12) 10

Bop verbal war continues

JOHANNESBURG. — The verbal war between the ANC branch in Mmabatho and the Bophuthatswana government took a dramatic turn yesterday when both sides questioned the nationalities of key players in the controversy.

It all started recently when the homeland's Minister of State Affairs, Mr Rowan Cronje, suggested in a statement that a number of Mafikeng ANC officials and members were not citizens of Bophuthatswana. Yesterday a counter-statement from the ANC branch said it was surprising that someone with Mr Cronje's "Rhodesian" origins should be making accusations about "outsiders".

In his earlier statement, Mr Cronje did not specify which officials and members of the Mafikeng ANC branch were from outside Bophuthatswana.

The ANC denied that any of their members came from Europe and said every single member in the branch was a South African. — Sapa

Truce declared in 'ethnic war'

CAPE TIMES 31/8/90 (11B)
DURBAN. — Zulu and Xhosa leaders yesterday declared a truce in an attempt to end the ethnic war in Transvaal and Natal.

They also called on political parties and leaders to stop making ethnic groups the target of political propaganda and attack.

At the historic meeting in Durban, delegations of members of the Zulu Royal Family and KwaZulu cabinet and the traditional leaders of the Transkei and Ciskei resolved to hold a mass rally in Transvaal on September 16 and 17 at which Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill and Transkei State President Paramount Chief T N Ndamase, will address the warring factions.

A working group has been set up to organise the rally.

The four-hour meeting was organised by the Transkei traditional leaders following the violent clashes in the Transvaal which so far have claimed more than 500 lives.

The leaders called on every Zulu and Xhosa to "purge their minds and their hearts of all ethnic animosities".

Delegates resolved that yesterday's meeting be remembered on August 30 every year as a great national day of unity and should be celebrated by a "huge mass unity rally of the masses". — Sapa

FEATURE

Women become warriors in township conflict



In the forefront . . . women, armed with a variety of weapons, prepare to fight. A university expert says the breakdown in family structures means women have taken on the male 'duties' of protecting and defending.

● Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek.

By Monica Nicolson
 During the township violence of the past few weeks it was not unusual to see aggressive women marching down dusty streets brandishing pitchforks, pangas and knobkerries, hurling stones and petrol bombs through windows and singing provocative war songs.

Township women have not only become more politicised, they have become militant and willing to fight like men, according to people who witnessed recent battles. "We are taking up



warriors in township conflict



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© Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek.

By Monica Nicolson

During the township violence of the past few weeks it was not unusual to see aggressive women marching down dusty streets, brandishing pitchforks, pangas and knobkerries, hurling stones and petrol bombs through windows and singing provocative war songs.

Township women have not only become more politicised, they have become militant and willing to fight like men, according to people who witnessed recent battles.

"We are taking up spears and guns and moving into the front line against the enemy," said Black Housewives' League vice-chairman Andronicah August, who has close contact with the conflict.

"It's our children who are being killed, our homes that are being burnt down, so even if we don't want to, we have to take sides and fight out of necessity. Giving emotional support to our husbands and sons is not enough any more," she said.

Forced

A Soweto shebeen queen who identified herself only as Irene said that many women in the township did not have husbands and were sole supporters and protectors of their children.



War dancing . . . singing militant songs, women whip up their emotions while the men sit beside a burning barricade.

She said women had been forced to take the role of the fighter, to stand up and defend themselves, as men would no longer do it for them.

"If someone tries to rob or hurt me, I will fight like hell and with everything I've got until they kill me," she said.

A Black Sash worker, who wanted to be known only as Mita, lives across the road from a Soweto hostel where many of the township's bloodiest battles took place.

After witnessing death

literally on her doorstep, Mita called on women to stand up and fight for their children's safety against what she perceived as attacks by police and Inkatha.

She claimed that last month Inkatha supporters told her they were out to kill her children.

"As a mother, I will stand up and fight to the very end. We need to help our men because they are slow and women are quick and more alert," she said.

Along with many women The Star spoke

to, she was willing to sacrifice her life for peace and believed the only way was to burn down the hostels and send all Inkatha workers back to KwaZulu.

Women became engaged in violence only as a desperate last solution, according to the director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Research Project on Violence, Lloyd Vogelman.

"Many feel that unless they destroy the enemy, their lives and those of their family would be seriously jeopardised," he said.

Mr Vogelman said with the breakdown of family structures, women were elevated to the head of the household and their duties included protecting and defending — not a normal traditional role for black women.

However, he pointed out that women did not instigate the violence and it was not common for women to get involved in active combat fighting.

"It shows how widespread the fighting has become that women have joined in. Women

have taken the law into their own hands because they believe there is no judicial retribution," he said.

Earlier this month, Winnie Mandela urged supporters at the ANC's Women's League in Sebokeng not to fight against Zulus as that would be playing into the hands of the Government, who she said were conniving with Inkatha to attack blacks.

However, she added that if the need arose, ANC women would fight Inkatha to defend their children.

Buthelezi a product of Govt policies

5/20 31/8/90 118

If the world were not on the brink of war in the Gulf, the news from South Africa would be dominating the headlines and filling the television screens.

The battles between the Zulus and the African National Congress have killed 400 people in 10 days.

The hopes of peace six months ago are being dashed, as the terrible prospects loom of the country being split apart in a tribal massacre.

The pessimists are already muttering "I told you so". They always knew that Africa was tribal: look at Uganda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Kenya.

Reading the horrific reports of the Zulu clashes, my mind goes back to a conference in London only six weeks ago, organised by the Conservative think-tank, the Centre for Political Studies.

It was billed as a conference on Britain and South Africa. But the guest of honour was Chief Buthelezi, with no ANC representative present; and after a sober introduction by William Waldegrave on behalf of the government, the speeches soon resembled a rally by Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi himself delivered his familiar attack on the

The danger of tribal disintegration now appears more extreme than the danger of a breakdown of talks with the Government, and the ANC has to accept that for the time being Chief Buthelezi represents a force that cannot be ignored. **ANTHONY SAMPSON**, a distinguished British author, reports.

communists of the ANC who were "shooting themselves into power", demanding all or nothing and threatening to nationalise everything.

Another speaker from the platform, Bruce Anderson from the Sunday Telegraph, complained to Chief Buthelezi that he was not violent enough against the violence of the ANC.

The tribal vision of SA has only a shaky connection with the realities of an industrialised country, where for a century tribes have been intermixed in the cities and where the ANC was initiated in 1912 as a deliberately non-tribal body.

I watched the first mass removals 35 years ago, when the police demolished Sophiatown, the multiracial suburb of Johannesburg, and moved its black inhabitants into a distant extension of Soweto, segregated into Xhosa, Zulu or Sotho areas, yet many of them had no idea

to which tribe they belonged.

Mr Mandela's refusal until now to meet Chief Buthelezi to try to reach a settlement — and his flying to Oslo this week — makes him appear dangerously detached from the real fray.

Mr Mandela has an obvious dilemma. Already he has taken a huge risk in proclaiming his alliance with the Government the young hotheads detest, and in preparing for negotiations while some of his colleagues, led by his friend Mac Maharaj, are detained, accused of organising a new armed struggle.

Now he is being asked to meet with Chief Buthelezi, whom many ANC followers hate even more than the Government, and whom he can trust much less than President F W de Klerk.

The ANC is oversimplifying the matter when it says the police are on his side; and without some police supervision the carnage would have been far

greater. But the fact remains that Chief Buthelezi is the product of Pretoria's past policies, revenues and weapons.

He is also the product of encouragement and support from Europe and America. However romantic and indigenous those Zulu warriors may appear, they have been sustained both by hard cash and by diplomatic support — which did much to promote Chief Buthelezi over the three decades when the ANC was banned.

While Mrs Thatcher refused to meet the ANC, she repeatedly welcomed the chief to Number 10; she did so again, against the advice of the Foreign Office, after Mr Mandela was released.

The more self-destructive South Africa becomes, the more Britain and the US will have to play a role in its future, whether they like it or not.

Those who continue to support Chief Buthelezi must answer the question: what outcome do they foresee? Are they really planning to break up South Africa into tribal units?

If there is no answer, it is still intolerable for anyone to spur Chief Buthelezi to further violence. And for Mrs Thatcher to invite him again to visit Number 10.

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Xhosas, Zulus declare truce

St 31/8/90

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DURBAN — Zulu and Xhosa leaders yesterday declared a truce in an attempt to end the ethnic war in the Transvaal and Natal.

And they called on political parties and leaders to stop making ethnic groups the target of political propaganda and attack.

At the meeting in Durban, delegations of members of the Zulu royal family and Kwa-Zulu Cabinet and traditional leaders of Transkei and Ciskei resolved to hold a mass rally in the Transvaal on September 16 and 17 at which King Goodwill

Zwelithini and Transkei President Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase will address the warring factions.

Yesterday's meeting called on Zulus and Xhosas to "purge their minds and hearts of ethnic animosities".

They said: "We recognise the true source of conflict which lies quite outside the Reef's ethnic composition and resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder as black brothers to reject all those influences and all those leaders and political parties who dare put brother against brother."

— Sapa

CM-70215 31/8/90 118

Students 'sceptical' of Chief's plans for talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African National Students Congress (NSC), the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) and the Congress of SA Students alliance (Cosas) yesterday said they were sceptical about the motives of Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence on talks with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi had reportedly declared a meeting between himself and Mr Mandela was the only basis for the restoration of peace in the war-torn Natal province, and lately in the embattled Wiwatersrand townships.

But the alliance pointed out in a statement that it was sceptical about the proposed meeting in the light of Inkatha's alleged lack of commitment to previous peace initiatives aimed at resolving the Natal conflict. — Sapa

SEPTEMBER

1990

Mandela shuns Buthelezi . . . while he slips off to Moscow

LUSAKA — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday reiterated his refusal to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss an end to factional fighting among blacks in South Africa.

"Buthelezi's political support has been seriously eroded and we cannot meet a man who wants to see the blood of black people," Mr Mandela told reporters on arrival at Lusaka airport.

The ANC vice-president, who is due to brief a summit of the seven-nation group of Frontline states today, said the violence which has cost more than 500 lives could not be solved by one person.

"The question of a South African solution to the violence is not to be handled by an individual. We have been able to force the Government to suppress this violence," he said.

Mr Mandela has been under pressure to meet Chief Buthelezi to help resolve the

escalating battle between ANC followers and Zulus of the Inkatha Freedom Party who are loyal to the Zulu leader.

Mr Mandela, who has accused South African police of fanning the violence, said Chief Buthelezi had engineered the conflict to promote his political ambitions.

"He wants to be accepted as a leader," he said.

● Mr Mandela is to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport at 4.30 pm tomorrow, according to a statement by the ANC.

He is to visit the western Cape in September, on dates still to be confirmed, and will be visiting Natal on October 6, 7 and 8, where he will meet ANC members and address a public rally.

He will leave South Africa again on October 15 to visit India, Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan and will return on October 30. — Sapa-Reuter.

11/9/90 (11B)

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is on a top-secret visit to Europe and the Soviet Union.

According to sources here, Chief Buthelezi left Warsaw Thursday for Moscow, where he was due to meet government officials, among others.

Chief Buthelezi's trip, coming just days after violent clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers is likely to rile the ANC, which has traditionally kept very close ties with Moscow.

Chief Buthelezi's visit to the Soviet Union follows indications of a thawing in Moscow's hostile stance towards South Africa. No details of his itinerary have been given to Inkatha offices abroad and it could not be confirmed how long Chief Buthelezi would stay in the Soviet Union.

Whither South Africa?

Sowetan 27/9/90

THE accelerating drift into endemic violence in South Africa is beginning to follow the same pattern as it did elsewhere in Africa, notably in Angola.

Angola drifted into a vortex of civil conflict in which it has remained trapped for the past 15 years. South Africa still has a chance to avoid getting into the same predicament. The parallels are becoming ominous, however.

In South Africa, what is referred to as "the struggle" began as a means of overthrowing white minority rule. In Angola the initial objective was to overthrow Portuguese rule.

As in South Africa, a multiplicity of "liberation movements" was formed to promote the struggle.

Objective

Once the objective of ousting the Portuguese had been achieved in Angola, the liberation movements began to fight among themselves for a new objective: political power in the "liberated" Angola.

Having obtained weapons to fight the Portuguese, they turned the same weapons on each other.

The struggle for power became more violent and more destructive than the fight for liberation had ever been.

It has caused deaths whose number exceeds several times over the number of deaths in the conflict with Portugal. It has virtually destroyed what was still a relatively healthy economy at the time of Portugal's withdrawal.

Violence

As is almost inevitable when violence is employed to gain political power, that power has not been achieved, certainly not in a form that can be exercised.

While the MPLA has been able to form a government and gain recognition in the OAU and the UN, it has not been able to govern effectively or to end the fighting. The civil war in Angola has not been won by any party - it has proved unwinnable.

As a result, the two main contestants are now beginning to move hesitantly towards negotiating a political settlement.

Painful

This is a painful and difficult process because there is inevitably deeper animosity between the parties after years of civil war than there was before the war started. Attitudes have become entrenched by conflict and glued by blood.

The parties are trying to change them only because the suffering and damage of the war have become intolerable and because no other option is visible.

If they succeed in negotiating a solution they will have to work on

restoring the damage done to their country by the war.

Politically, they will then be back to square one, back where they started when the Portuguese pulled out and gave Angola its independence.

Worse off

Economically, their country will be many years further back beyond square one. In sum, they will be worse off than they were at independence and this is all they have got from the resort to violence.

If ever proof were required that disputes cannot be permanently resolved through violence, then it is surely to be found in Angola today.

Stark

The Angolan example is not the only one that is starkly visible to the factions in South Africa as they, too, begin to drift into the vortex of violence.

Right next door in Mozambique is an example that is perhaps even more graphic in its horror, its destruction, its misery, its waste and its utter pointlessness.

Vicious

Politically, the Mozambican example is not as clear as the Angolan one in that one of the warring parties, Renamo, has shady origins in Rhodesia whereas the Frelimo government came from a liberation movement forged in the struggle to overthrow the Portuguese.

But political credentials are in the end unimportant in an internecine struggle, especially when it gets as vicious as the one in Mozambique.

What is important is whether the struggle can be won and whether the price that must be paid is worth it.

Bestial

In Mozambique, as in Angola, it has become clear that there can be no winner on the battlefield, if the term battle can be applied to the bestial methods employed by Renamo.

And it is doubtful that the price to be paid for whatever emerges from the conflicts will be considered worthwhile by those who will have to pay it - the descendants of today's combatants.

Proof?

Some might argue that Zimbabwe provides proof that violence can succeed. Certainly the government in power there was formed from a liberation movement whose armed struggle began a process that led to the capitulation of white domination.

Gerald L'Ange, editor of Argus News Service, looks at the drift of South Africa into endemic violence and says the country has still a chance of avoiding what happened in Angola.

But in Zimbabwe the opponents of white domination did not then turn on each other in a civil war for power.

They started to do so but the contest was won so quickly by Robert Mugabe's former guerrillas that won the contest but the threat of aerial attack by the (white-manned) air force against the armoured vehicles of Joshua Nkomo's Zipra army as it

Some would claim that it was in any case not Mr Mugabe's former guerrillas that won the contest but the threat of aerial attack by the (white-manned) air force against the armoured vehicles of Joshua Nkomo's Zipra army as it

moved on Bulawayo shortly after independence.

Had the separate armies of Zanu and Zapu ever started fighting one another as the liberation movements in Angola did, Zimbabwe might well have gone the same way.

South Africa is closer to the Angolan example than the Zimbabwean one because of the multiplicity of political groups adamantly opposed to one another.

The overwhelming weight of evidence from

the Zimbabwean and other conflicts shows that once political antagonists acquire sophisticated weapons and start using them against each other, the resulting conflict will almost certainly escalate to a point where it becomes extremely difficult to stop.

There appears to be a real danger that the lessons that are so clearly apparent from the profusion of such examples are not being learned in South Africa.

When deputy president of the African National

Congress Nelson Mandela suggests, as he did recently, that armed groups might be organised to protect ANC members from attack in the townships, alarm bells ought to start ringing loudly and furiously everywhere.

Bases

A liberation struggle waged from foreign bases against the government is one thing. It is quite another matter when factions within South Africa are given arms to protect themselves against other factions or forces.

From there it is only a short drift to the same whirlpool that sucked in Angola.

What makes the Angolan conflict especially tragic is that the parties were not really fighting for disparate ideologies and beliefs. Politically, they were not far apart.

Change

At independence the MPLA was not a committed Marxist-Leninist party - it became so only after turning to the Soviet Union for arms.

At this stage neither are the black political movements in South Africa widely divided by ideological barriers.

Weapons

Their differences can still be reconciled if they start fighting each other with modern weapons, however, they - and the rest of the country - may be on the way to the whirlpool.

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Peace pact in Natal's killing fields

A PEACE pact signed yesterday has ended the carnage in the killing fields of the Natal north coast.

The Lower Umfolozi Regional Peace Accord was the brainchild of the Zululand Chamber of Industries and was signed by Inkatha, the ANC, Cosatu, the mayors of Esikhaweni, Ngwelazane and Enseleni plus security forces in the area of Empangeni and Richards Bay, reports Sapa.

The ANC said: "Local leaders of the people feel strongly that this commitment to peace principles will lead to real peace in the area and they believe this peace process will assist national leaders to effect broader reconciliation."

Signatories said they wished to promote the following principles:

- All people must be free to choose whether to support stayaways, boycotts or any other legitimate political activities.
- All people shall have freedom of religious choice.
- Direct or indirect intimidation is a criminal offence and every effort will be made by organisations to inform security forces of potential criminal activities.
- The practice of denigrating leaders and organisations through inflammatory and insulting rhetoric must cease.
- Mayors and their representatives will play a neutral role in ending conflict.
- Places of learning must

not be disrupted by political activity

■ Problems experienced by refugees must be urgently addressed with a view to their rehabilitation and return home.

■ Organisations must not abuse the youth for violent purposes.

■ Dangerous weapons should not be carried in public and the possession of illegal weapons is condemned.

■ Residents should be guided by local leadership and rumours by outside forces which incite people to violence must be stamped out.

A joint peace rally will be held soon, the ANC said.

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ANC seeks backing for peace talks with Gatsha

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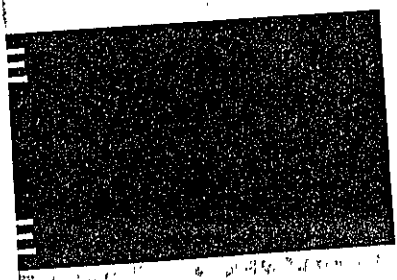
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DURBAN. — ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela will visit Natal next weekend in what appears to be an attempt to muster membership support for peace talks with Inkatha chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) decided last week to invite Buthelezi to a meeting of homeland leaders on October 5, and, according to an Inkatha source, the Kwazulu Chief Minister is likely to attend.

Power

Mandela will address a mass rally at Stanger next Saturday after visiting Chief Albert Luthuli's grave.

On Sunday he is expected to address a rally in Pietermaritzburg.

Most ANC supporters in Natal are not opposed to a meeting with Buthelezi provided it does not take place at his seat of power, Ulundi.

However, there is widespread dissatisfaction at the way the NEC decision was taken with little consultation or report back to the region.

Mandela's visit is seen as an attempt to rectify this.

ANC NEC member, Mr Jacob Zuma, held a one-to-one meeting with Buthelezi earlier this month.

Gesture

At the meeting Zuma extended an invitation to Buthelezi to attend the October 7 meeting — a gesture which Buthelezi welcomed.

Inkatha sources said Zuma's invitation to Buthelezi was significant in that it was the first indication that the ANC did not want Buthelezi cut off from the negotiation process.

This week also saw the second round of a meeting between ANC NEC members, led by Zuma, and Inkatha Central Committee (ICC) members led by their chairperson, Dr Frank Mdlalose. The meeting focused on ways to begin a local peace initiative.

The success of local peace initiatives could lead to a one-to-one meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Star 3/9/90 11B

Mandela and Kaunda hit at Buthelezi

The Star's Africa News Service

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

Mr Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, is reported by the Africa News Organisation (Ano) to have told reporters at Lusaka airport over the weekend that "it is dangerous to meet such a man; he wants to see bloodshed and we cannot see him".

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

Mr Mandela and the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, John Mlambo, met in Lusaka with leaders of the seven Frontline states to brief them on recent developments in South Africa.

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

However, Ano reports that PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, was "not serious or honest" when he issued the invitation to the PAC to join the talks.

At the summit the Frontline leaders reportedly said they would not recognise Chief Buthelezi until he put an end to the violence among blacks that was sweeping Natal and the Reef townships.

President Kaunda accused Chief Buthelezi of fanning the violence. He called on him to go back to the days when he had won international respect through his message of love.

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KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Picture: ROBERT DOTHA

Buthelezi still keen on Mandela meeting

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KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was still willing to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to discuss a joint strategy to end the township violence.

Speaking at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a visit to Poland, he said he was "very, very disturbed" by recent attacks on him by Mandela and other ANC figures.

Asked about a possible alliance between Inkatha and the NP, Buthelezi said he would welcome such co-operation, adding that "the more alliances we have, the more likely we as South Africans are to get our act together".

He said he had no objection to the working rela-

PETER DELMAR
tionship between government and ANC which has been described as a form of alliance.

Buthelezi said he believed that a meeting between himself and Mandela would make "a major contribution to the diffusion of the violence".

He had been told that a "very important leader of the ANC" — who he declined to name — wished to meet him.

Meanwhile the ANC-aligned SA Youth Congress (Sayco) yesterday called for Buthelezi's arrest, saying he was guilty of "associating and involving himself in criminal activities which are carried out by his impis".

... bodies were ...



KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Buthelezi still keen on Mandela meeting

PETER DELMAR

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Khala can go to conferences

By Celeste Louw

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) succeeded yesterday in having his bail conditions amended to allow him to attend union conferences. He faces charges of armed robbery and attempted murder.

Sithembele Khala (32) asked permission of a Johannesburg magistrate not to report at the

Jabulani police station daily in September as Mwasa was involved in negotiations in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Mr Khala was granted bail of R25 000 earlier this year after his arrest for allegedly robbing a branch of Nedbank in March.

According to the charge sheet, Mr Khala and a co-accused, Mchgwati Diseko (34), also allegedly attempted to shoot three men.

Hostel raiders wreak carnage in Naledi Ext

SIX people from the same family were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital after a well-planned attack on residents of Naledi Extension which left four dead and 14 injured this week.

The attack occurred while residents of the township on the west of Soweto, known as the "wild west", were watching their favourite TV2 and TV3 programmes.

Agnes Thutloane (13) told how a group of seven men, allegedly hitmen from Merafe hostel, attacked her family after entering their home through the windows. She said a woman ran into their house, while the family was watching television, shouting that hostel dwellers had arrived.

"The men then entered and stabbed my granny, Augustina Tsibogo (55), with an "intshumentsho" (a long sharp steel instrument) in the stomach.

Axe defender

"They then hit my aunt, Josephine Tsibogo, who was hiding in the wardrobe, on the head with knobkerrie."

She said her grandfather, Josiah Tsie (80), tried to defend them with an axe but the men wrested it from him. "They then chopped him on the head. The axe stuck in his head and was removed at Baragwanath Hospital."

Lebo Molefe (9) and Nthabiseng Maphalala (10) were also injured in the 7.45 pm attack. Agnes's sister, Kefuwe Thutloane (18), tried to run but was hit several times with a knobkerrie. Agnes survived the attack by crouching behind a dressing table.

The men then attacked several other houses. One man died instantly after being shot several times. Soweto police spokesman, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, confirmed that three others died on arrival at Jabulani Police Station.

A Baragwanath Hospital spokesman said 14 people from Naledi were treated at the hospital.

Rabu Raletsema, whose home was also attacked, said the men were travelling in three vehicles, including a Cressida and a minibus.

THABO LSHILO and ABBEY MAKOE

Phari Matlou (51) said he and a number of companions were in the street when they heard screams followed by the sound of gun shots. They ran into a nearby yard seeking shelter. Then two of his companions, Solomon Seema and Khambule Mpherethane, insisted that they jump the fence to escape from the advancing mob.

Mr Matlou said that because he had an injured knee, he decided not to jump the fence but to crawl under a car parked nearby in the yard.

From under the vehicle he watched as his friends tried to jump the fence. But it was too high for them and they were caught by the advancing mob which in a frenzied attack inflicted terrible injuries on them.

Seema was killed and Mpherethane injured. He is in a critical condition at Baragwanath Hospital.

Mrs Martha Seema, now a widow, told Saturday Star that she arrived at 9 am the next day from night duty when the news of her husband's death was broken to her. That was all she could say. She just sat there and cried.

Just opposite the Seemas' house Martha Kwena (56) was also killed.

Only an hour later men thought to be Inkatha members stoned her house and attacked Mrs Kwena. She was killed — stabbed to death by men she had earlier warned her daughter to avoid.

David Magano used to live in the house next door. His widow, Lydia (49), said they were watching TV when she was hit by a stone thrown through the window. They all ran to the kitchen for cover.

After entry was forced, she was stabbed with a spear below her shoulder but managed to run to the street, she informed Saturday Star.

But her husband (53) was not so lucky — as their daughter discovered when she saw the raiders dragging his corpse away from the combi parked in their yard.

It was last TV show for family of six

Stop the 'killer cop'!

118
9/19/90
9/19/90
BY S'BU MINGADI

NOTORIUS KwaZulu cop Det Const Sipiwe Mvuyane has allegedly struck again. This brings the total of alleged killings in which he has been involved to at least 16 over the past six months.

His latest alleged victim is Lucky Khumalo, 20, of Umlazi who was shot dead on August 27 after being arrested at his grandmother's home. According to an eyewitness of the arrest, Mvuyane headed the arresting party.

The Natal Coastal region of the Democratic Party has now petitioned Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to personally intervene, and provide the names of 15 people the policeman is said to have killed.

The DP tells Vlok in a letter there is a "lack of any apparent intention on the part of the KwaZulu police authorities to investigate allegations" against Mvuyane.

It warns that unless these allegations are publicly and thoroughly investigated independently of the KwaZulu police, there could be further conflict in the region.

The DP says Mvuyane is accused of rape, torture, abduction and shooting and seriously wounding several people during the course of the year.

In further developments:

■ A judge last week granted an interdict to a 16-year-old youth, Bongani Mbatha, restraining Mvuyane and other members of the KwaZulu police from assaulting, molesting or harassing him;

■ Another judge refused to grant an interdict last week to an SRC member of the Makhumbuza High School in Umlazi, who asked the court to restrain Mvuyane from carrying a firearm;

■ An Umlazi professional woman told *City Press* how she was raped by Mvuyane in February this year, but charges laid with the SAP in Durban led to nothing;

■ It has now been revealed that in June Mvuyane brandished his service revolver and walked out of a Durban court building after senior magistrate Buthelezi

DP asks Vlok to step in and mount a full investigation

ruled that he be held in custody for failing to appear in court on a charge of assault;

■ On August 10 Mvuyane arrested Buthelezi outside the court on an apparently trumped-up charge of assault; and

■ Mvuyane is driving a car registered in the name of a businessman who said Mvuyane helped him after his butchery was robbed in January.

Judge Alexander of the Durban Supreme Court last week restrained Mvuyane and the KwaZulu Minister of Police, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, from assaulting 16-year-old Bongani Mbatha.

Mbatha said in his affidavit, supported by his father Thami, there were rumours last month that Mvuyane wanted to kill him for allegedly having pointed out Mvuyane's brother to a group of youths.

Mbatha was detained on August 18 by five policemen. Mvuyane drove the vehicle. At Umlazi police station Mbatha denied having pointed out Mvuyane's brother but he was assaulted for 15 minutes by policemen. He was later taken to the home of a Lunga Mngadi, and Mvuyane shot dead Mngadi.

The youth was later taken to a place where a number of people were alleged to have been killed by KwaZulu police. He tried to run away but was shot in the thigh. Other shots were fired at him and he believed the police left him, assuming he was dead.

He was taken to hospi-

tal by a passer-by, where he was soon put under police guard and made to sign a document he did not read.

Mbatha said Mvuyane told him in hospital he would "finish me off" after his discharge if he did not disclose the information he wanted from him.

In another application to the Durban Supreme Court last week, Phelani Siyabonga Khoza, a member of the SRC of the Makhumbuza High School in Umlazi, asked that Mvuyane be restrained from carrying a firearm or acting unlawfully towards himself and other SRC members.

The interdict was not granted by Judge J Combrink.

Khoza said in his affidavit a pupil, called Thulani Mkhize - a friend of Mvuyane - was forcibly removed from the school by a group of outsiders. Pupils received information that Mkhize escaped from the outsiders and had threatened to seek the help of Mvuyane "who is greatly feared by young and old in the entire Umlazi township".

The fear was that Mvuyane would come and shoot scholars in the school grounds.

Mvuyane and Mkhize twice went to the school with firearms. On the last occasion they addressed the entire student body and said they wanted the SRC to attend a meeting at the school on August 27. The SRC had been in hiding since then.

In his affidavit, Khoza listed the names of several people allegedly killed by Mvuyane.

Killers must be stopped, ANC warns government

Press 9/9/90 (118)

■ From Page 1

The ANC's internal head Walter Sisulu said it was clear certain forces were killing black people at random.

"It seems a certain people in white kombi or kombis is involved in shooting black people. To date, such white kombis have appeared in Tembisa, Thokoza, Katlehong and Soweto. Their occupants have shot innocent people without provocation or reason," he told Sapa.

"These forces are not necessarily Inkatha. The killings are beginning to resemble the Strydom massacre. These forces must be identified and dealt with immediately before they kill more peo-

ple." Following is a dossier of the killings:

■ Residents of Katlehong in the East Rand described how they were shot at by armed black men in blue uniforms, travelling in a Ford van driven by a white man.

■ A group of men in a minibus left a bloody trail in Tembisa and Thokoza last weekend, killing 12 people at random.

■ In Moletsane, Soweto, Catholic priest Father Emmanuel Lafont said at least four people were killed and a number of homes damaged by men travelling in a minibus.

However, Soweto police liaison officer Captain MJ Ngobeni said the people travelling in the

minibus were engaged in taxi warfare;

■ In Sebokeng, witnesses told how masked white men backed up vigilantes attacking the residents on Tuesday. Thirty-six people were killed.

Inkatha's Reef Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza was arrested in Sebokeng Hostel, allegedly heavily armed and in the company of balaclava-clad white men. Newspaper reports said seven witnesses had identified Khoza as the leader of a pre-dawn attack on residents by Inkatha "rooi-doeke" and a number of white men.

Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi denied on his arrival from abroad this week that his organisation was behind the violence. "We do not have access to an armoury of AK-47s," he said.

Residents relive their horror

By SOPHIE TEMA

WHEN 23 visiting Anglican bishops and other clergymen visited Sebokeng Hostel this week, a blood-soaked blanket, shirt, shoes and pools of dried blood in a lonely street near the hostel bore witness to the violence that erupted in the area on Monday night.

They listened as residents caught in the upsurge of violence relived the horror which left 36 people dead and about 50 badly injured.

The bishops were from many parts of South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Bishop Tomaz Manhique of Mozambique went as he led the congregation of St Michael's Anglican Church in Sebokeng about similar attacks on the people of his country by Renamo rebels.

He said his house had been destroyed by fire during an attack and he and his colleague Bishop Dennis Serulanti Lebombo had witnessed several killings of their people.

Residents said the attack on the hostel on Monday night by Inkatha supporters was the worst since violence broke out in the area two months ago.

They told the bishops of the gruesome deaths and the agonising screams as their colleagues called for help, saying they were being attacked by Inkatha members.

Two dormitories in the hostel, block 32 and Block C, were ripped apart by two blasts in which about 17 people died.

Lizzy Nxumpane had a leg damaged in the blast and it had to be amputated.

Speaking from her hospital bed, Lizzy, 22, said: "I had arrived only two days before the incident from Umataa to look for my father who lives in the hostel."

"I was asleep when I was suddenly woken up by the screams of people in the dormitory. Suddenly I felt the whole room shaking. I lost consciousness and when I came to I found myself in hospital. My leg was severed." Lizzy said her body was also full of shrapnel wounds.

Residents living near the hostel said they heard the blasts but were too scared to go out into the dark and could

Sebokeng blast victims tell churchmen of Inkatha attack

only helplessly peep through their windows.

Scores of people who accompanied the bishops on their tour were shocked to see clotted blood in the soil where some of the dead had been lying.

Nobandile Lwabe, who had come from Jantjantjwa to visit her husband, also sustained injuries to her legs when the room in which she had been sleeping was rocked by a blast. Her husband escaped injury, although some of the people who slept next to him had died.

She said doctors told her they might have to amputate her left leg as it had been severely mutilated in the blast.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who visited the government mortuary hours after the bodies had been removed from the scene of the violence, described the attack on the hostel dwellers as vicious and cruel.

At a Press conference at Sebokeng on Tuesday, Mandela said when he and other members of the ANC visited the mortuary they saw the body of one man

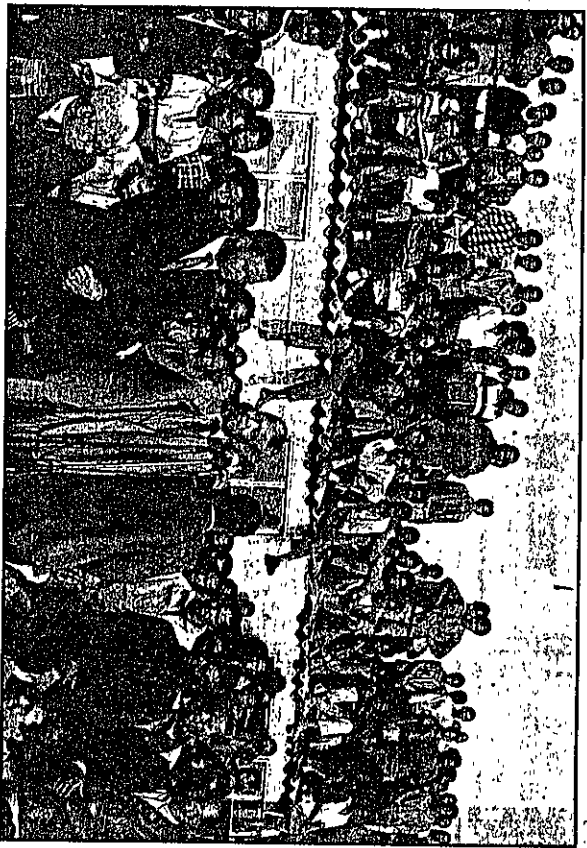
who had been shot in the back of the head.

Sello Tunelo, who lives near the hostel, said he and his wife were woken by gunshots and two heavy blasts coming from the direction of the hostel.

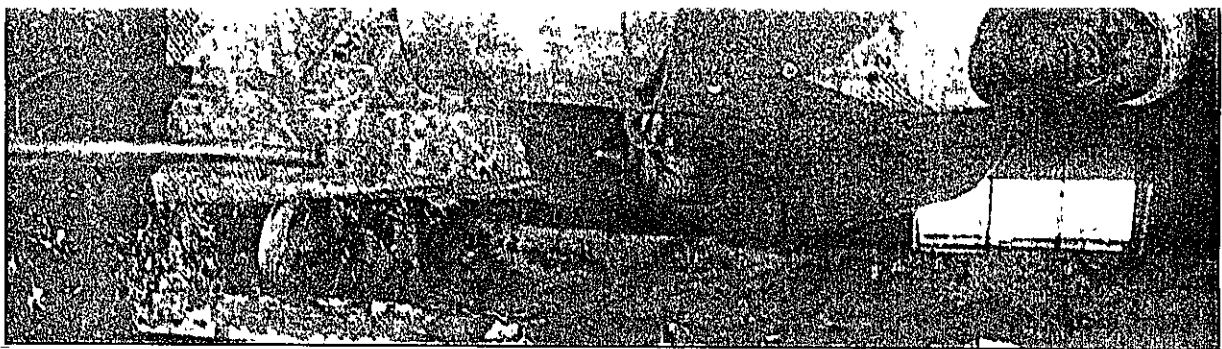
"I jumped out of bed and crept up to the window. I saw people running from the hostel towards the township. They were screaming for help, saying they were being attacked by Inkatha."

"At about six o'clock I went out of my house and in the street I saw a group of residents. We mobilised other residents and moved towards the hostel where we noticed a man known to us as the leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade handing out guns to a group of men."

"When he saw us he drove off at high speed towards the hostel in a car that had no registration plates. When we arrived at the hostel we were shocked at the number of bodies lying strewn all over the place."



Nelson Mandela addresses an enthusiastic crowd at the Sebokeng Hostel this week.



Residents living near the hostel said they heard the blasts but were too scared to go out into the dark and could

Buthelezi backs (11B) Inkatha member (11B) on arms charge

Sowetan 11/9/90

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has come out strongly in support of an Inkatha member who was arrested last week in Sebokeng for allegedly possessing firearms.

Buthelezi also denied categorically that Inkatha had colluded with the police in Sebokeng.

In a statement issued on Sunday night, Buthelezi said that Mr Themba Khoza, the Transvaal chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, had gone to the area to assist with attempts to reduce the tension and prevent the outbreak of violence.

"It was during this time that he was arrested and is presently being

detained," Buthelezi said.

"It is alleged that Mr Khoza was in possession of rifles. Mr Khoza denies any knowledge of the allegations being made against him and disputes them.

"Mr Khoza, like other members of Inkatha, joined the organisation because he is committed to the democratic principles and peaceful objectives of the organisation.

"In the circumstances, statements and allegations made by people accusing Inkatha of police collusion and being responsible for the violence, are devoid of truth."

Sowetan Correspondent

● Station panga attacks

● Ambulance 'no go' areas

Str 11/9/90



Orgy of killings continues

By Carina le Grange,
Shirley Woodgate
and Gien Elsas

The orgy of violence on the Reef is continuing unabated and ambulances have been withdrawn from Soweto after being stoned by mobs.

Today commuters were hacked and stabbed by panga-wielding thugs in an attack on a train between the Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations.

Overnight clashes in Katlehong on the East Rand left at least 12 dead; and roads throughout Soweto have been blocked by makeshift barricades.

At the Johannesburg station today, shocked commuters were greeted with pools and trails of blood on the stairs and platforms.

Witnesses told The Star the attack on the Soweto-Johannesburg train took place shortly after 7 am.

A gang of panga-wielding men mercilessly hacked passengers as the train pulled out of Braamfontein station on its last leg into Johannesburg.

Terrorised

The body of a man who had been hacked to death and flung from the train was left lying under the Queen Elizabeth Bridge.

Other passengers leapt from the train to escape the attack. The number of injured is not known.

Black station workers told The Star that passengers were terrorised every day on the trains and the railways was "just not providing any security".

Today the death toll from clashes in Soweto and on the East Rand since Friday rose to 75 — a total of 41 in Soweto and 34 on the East Rand.

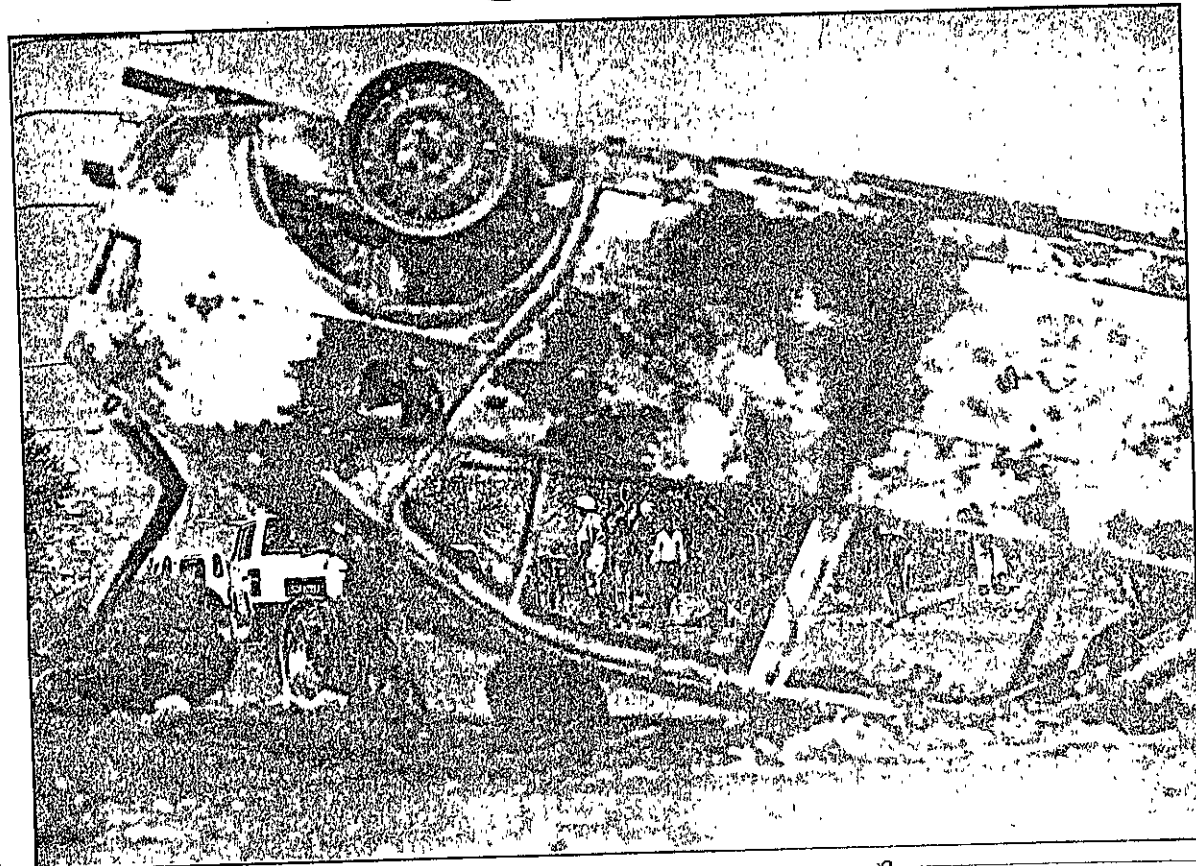
This morning Sowetans streamed to work despite barricades of rocks, burnt-out cars, rubble and tyres blocking roads.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, spokesman for the Soweto police, said among the victims was the body of a man who had been killed and set alight last night.

Colonel Halgryn said 80 patients were being treated at Baragwanath Hospital for gunshot wounds.

A spokesman for the police on the East Rand, Captain Ida van Zwiell, said Katlehong was quiet today after last night's fighting which, she said, was between Zulus and Xhosas.

She said the warring parties



Life goes on . . . after the violence that swept the sprawling township at the weekend, Soweto residents skirt the grim debris and go about their daily work. Barricades block the streets of Central Western Jabavu to slow down expected night attacks. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

fired shots at each other and at police and members of the SADF. One policeman was injured.

The president of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC), the Rev I E Thloloe, said among the dead were three people were killed at the Mandela Park squatter camp and four in the southern parts of Katlehong.

Mr Thloloe said parents withdrew their children from school yesterday as fierce fighting raged in Ramokonopi, Moseleki and Muisi Sections.

In a new development, ambulances have been ordered to enter certain parts of Reef townships only under police protection, said

Johannesburg Fire and Emergency deputy director Danny Joubert.

"Ever since two ambulances were stoned and a patient being transported was attacked by a mob on August 18, we have instructed crews to wait for police protection if they are required to enter volatile areas

Aggression

"Most of our staff live in the area and are very aware of the situation and the mood of the people in various sections," he said.

On Saturday night a group of people fighting in a street in

Johannesburg turned their aggression to ambulancemen.

Police dispersed the mob after considerable damage had been done to the vehicle's equipment.

Late last night a Johannesburg ambulance service spokesman said they had been forbidden to send ambulances to certain parts of Soweto because the vehicles were being stoned. The areas were Naledi and Tladi camps, Moletsane, Zola, Ermdeni, Mapetla and Phiri.

The ambulance service was encouraging callers to go to Jabulani Fire Station to be picked up, and 50 to 60 people had been picked up this way yesterday. Some were very seriously injured.

Govt proposal aimed at ending trouble in Natal

PRETORIA — Government has drawn up a four-point proposal which it hopes will form the basis for discussions between the ANC and Inkatha in Maritzburg to end the violence.

Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday the proposal was a result of separate discussions held last week with members of Inkatha, the ANC and the Maritzburg Town Council.

He would be holding talks with the ANC on September 24 for a response on the proposal and he hoped Inkatha and the ANC would accept it as the basis for negotiations.

Delport said if the proposal facilitated a peaceful settlement in the Maritzburg areas of Mpumalanga and Edendale, he hoped it would have a ripple effect on the rest of Natal.

The four-point proposal suggests first that all parties subscribe to a code of conduct whereby the princi-

EDYTH BULBRING

ple of mutual tolerance is accepted. "It is important that people get away from the idea that peace can only be achieved when all opposition is destroyed," Delport said.

Secondly, government must provide some form of security to displaced people who would like to return to their original homes.

Security

Government would have to provide some financial assistance in the reconstruction of these communities, he said.

The parties would have to look at security measures in the affected areas and decide to what extent they needed to be increased, and what form they should take, Delport said.

Regarding financial assistance, government had made R6m available in July for the reconstruction of

the Natal communities.

This money could only be used once the conflict had been solved.

The third point was that government had to make available alternative stands to those people who did not want to return to their original area. He said the department was in the process of identifying land for this purpose.

The fourth point, he said, was to find a solution to educational problems where conflicts between Inkatha and ANC supporters had arisen at school level.

Delport, who is responsible for the political co-ordination of social upliftment programmes in Natal, said the Maritzburg Town Council had expressed concern over the refugee problem in the region.

It was believed the assistance to refugees was costing the council, church and welfare groups more than R25 000 a week.

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11/9/80

Edging towards a new SA

Star 12/9/90

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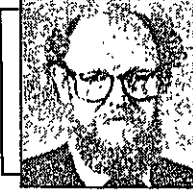
Amid cries of anguish, agony and anger ringing from the turbulent townships, South Africa's main political actors, President de Klerk's governing National Party and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, have begun to etch out their negotiating positions.

They know the violence threatens a negotiated settlement, but at the same time the murderous strife underlines the importance of negotiations as the only long-term solution to the conflict.

With what may be viewed as robust optimism, the NP and the ANC have even begun to prepare for the non-racial elections — the first on a national scale in South Africa's history — which lie beyond the negotiations.

On the negotiation front, the NP has taken a tough stand on two issues: an interim government and a constituent assembly. It will countenance neither.

The latest Cabinet Minister to spell out the Government's opposition to an interim government is Constitutional Development Minis-



Unprecedented township violence threatens to delay and even subvert the negotiating process. But pre-negotiation manoeuvres continue because the violence makes negotiation more necessary than ever, writes **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

ter Gerrit Viljoen. The present government will remain in control until a new constitution is agreed on, he says.

Mr de Klerk's invitation to all parties, no matter how small, to join the negotiating process pre-empts calls for a constituent assembly.

The parties he named specifically at the NP's Free State congress are interesting and instructive: the right-wing Conservative Party, the opposition parties in the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament, the National Forum, a loose organisation of black township councillors, and Sofasonke, the ruling party in Soweto's town council. They have one key feature in common: their support is minuscule.

As they are essentially conservative organisations, it is fairly certain they will support Mr de Klerk

in his opposition to the notions of an interim government and a constituent assembly. But the ANC may be able to woo some of the black organisations to its side, a stratagem which it has used to deprive the Government of the assured support of tribal leaders.

The ANC is pressing hard for both an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly. They are key components of its opening position. Its commitment to them dates back the Harare Declaration of August 1989.

The OAU-endorsed declaration wants a transitional administration, not the "apartheid regime", to supervise the drawing up of a new constitution. It does not refer directly to a constituent assembly. There is, however, mention of the need to negotiate a "mechanism for

drawing up a new constitution". The ANC's preference is for a constituent assembly.

If the Government succeeds in persuading the Pan-Africanist Congress to join the negotiating table, it will have attracted another strongly anti-ANC force to the discussions. But it will have to pay a price: the PAC is adamantly committed to elections for a constituent assembly.

Dr Viljoen is wont to describe negotiations as a process of give and take.

In the past few days, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, second-ranking NP leader after Mr de Klerk, has spoken of a post-negotiation Cabinet being representative of all political parties in the new Parliament. Mr Mandela, too, has spoken recently of a post-negotiation government being representative of all parties.

Juxtaposition of their speeches raises the intriguing prospect that the NP and the ANC may be fairly close to agreement on what they have to give and what they can take.

Some call it anarchy, others say it's civil war

By Dawn Barkhuizen

"A man was lying dead in the street like a dog. His head was cracked open like an egg, he had been burnt and shot."

"A little further were two bodies under a blanket. Around the corner was a woman who had been shot in the leg, her companion was dead. Under some newspaper in a burnt-out car there was a skeleton."

"The windows in most houses were broken. The TVs and radios were gone. People were crying in the streets, some said they wanted guns. On one corner a group of kids were making petrol bombs."

An eyewitness account from Beirut?

No, from Kattlehong township, East Rand, September 11 1990, 8 am.

At least 26 people were killed when rival bands attacked one another with axes, spears and knives, hacking and stabbing victims in the township on Monday night.

The violence continued unabated yesterday when trouble erupted in a train in central Johannesburg. One man was hacked to death and several injured when men with machetes rampaged through carriages

Chopped up

The dead man was thrown from a train. His body had been chopped up, police said. A wounded man was found shot on the train. More injured peo-

ple found their own way to hospital.

Iny Tokoza, 300 women were marching on the police station, demanding that troops remain in the townships overnight.

In Ennerdale, drunken residents returning from a rally yesterday went on the rampage and burnt down the civic centre, gutted buildings and fought with police.

People die nightly in the townships of the West and East Rand and in Soweto. The situation is increasingly fluid and volatile, despite threats and appeals for peace from the Government, political organisations and church organisations.

The death toll has risen to an estimated 650 over the last month. It is higher than that of the 32-month-old Palestinian uprising in Israel's occupied territories.

As the killing becomes more and more indiscriminate, the potential for anarchy increases, predicts Lloyd Vogelman, director of the Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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

of Natal," he said. A spokesman for the International Red Cross said that while the fighting was still localised and the townships not totally ungovernable, the situation had all the makings of a civil war.

Control

"Our workers leave the townships at night because it is too dangerous to continue working, but during the day we are still able to make contact with all the various sides. Were the situation anarchic we would not be able to do even that."

SAP spokesman General Herman Stadler said: "In certain townships, people are taking

the law into their own hands, but there is still control to a large extent. Even in the violence-stricken areas, people have still been going to work and doing their daily tasks."

Asked why the Government did not send in massive reinforcements, the general said: "The violence fluctuates, but is not continuous."

"One never knows where it is going to happen. If it gets worse we will send in the army, but we cannot keep a continuous large force in every area. We can only take our guidance from daily events."

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

Whistling in the dark heralds brutal death

By Shirley Woodgate

"Whistling in the dark" has taken on a sinister new meaning for thousands of terrified residents of black townships on the Reef.

Residents claim the thin whistle, accompanied by the Zulu war cry, "Shaya" (meaning "attack"), is the way attackers keep in touch as they invade the townships under cover of dark.

Last night it was the turn of householders in the Mokwana section of the war-torn East Rand township of Katlehong.

This is the story told by "Mary", a woman who, fearing reprisals, asked that her real name be concealed:

"The Zulus came for us just after 7 pm when we heard whistling in the dark and the chants of 'Shaya'.

"They went from house to house, chopping down wooden front doors with pangas, smashing windows and burning cars.

'Friends'

"Sometimes when they come they greet the inmates with calls of 'Open up, comrade, we are your friends', then beat them up, but mostly they bash their way in.

"If there are men in the houses they attack them, if there are no men they attack the women and children with pangas and sjamboks because they say our men have run away.

"It was pitch black outside last night when they hacked my neighbour to death.

"They target children between 13 and 21, so my teenagers have been sent like refugees to Rustenberg, and last night I and my two remaining youngsters listened in terror to the mayhem next door, to the sounds of murder which could be our fate at any moment.

"They say the attack will come again tonight. What can we do? We are scared and alone. I do not want to die tonight."

Violence: blacks don't know cause

Star 12/9/90 (113)

Black South Africans in the main do not know the cause of the ongoing violence in the Witwatersrand area, while whites feel the conflict is largely ethnically based, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey released yesterday.

Significantly, a slightly smaller percentage of blacks said they viewed a lack of communication and understanding among themselves as the main cause of the violence.

Asked what should be done to stop the killing, most blacks called for negotiations, while, in answer to the same question, whites said they did not know.

The survey, conducted among 845 respondents — 424 blacks and 421 whites — was carried out telephonically by the MarkData organisation of the HSRC.

The respondents all had a minimum qualification of matric and were resident in the PWV area, the Cape Peninsula, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Of the whites, 27 percent believed the conflict stemmed from ethnic differences, "and more specifically differences between Xhosa and Zulu".

Some 25 percent of blacks said they did not know the reasons for the violence and 21 percent believed the cause to be "lack of communication and mutual understanding between the groups". — Sapa.

113

Kill the enemy, not Africans, says PAC

Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress's external defence department yesterday called on the ANC and Inkatha to "stop killing the African people" and join forces to destroy the SADF and SAP.

In Dar-es-Salaam, PAC political commissar Romero Daniels said the two warring groups should concentrate their powers against their common enemy, the

"European colonialist forces".

"It is high time that the army of the enemy — the South African Defence Force and South African Police — die in large numbers."

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC media officer Saki Macozoma said the Reef township war was much more complicated than a conflict between the two groups.

Bring Inkatha, ANC together - Pik urges UN

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha has suggested to the UN that the international community appeal to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces to end the bloodshed in South Africa.

In a letter handed to secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar on Tuesday, Botha said his government had been pressing for such meeting, because ending the violence between the ANC and Inkatha had become a major Government priority.

"Mandela claims that the ANC will not allow him to participate in such a meeting," said Botha.

He added, "I have appealed to governments through local diplomatic representatives to use their influence to bring about such a meeting but I believe it would be useful if the international community could issue a public appeal to the two leaders to join forces in putting an end to the bloodshed."

The letter was handed to De Cuellar in response to a UN debate on a UN document titled "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa".

Botha also objected to the UN's intervention in South Africa's internal affairs, saying it was the sole right of South Africa's leaders and people to negotiate a new constitution for the country.

He warned the hard-

ships flowing from a continuation of sanctions would cause "an explosive situation which will have serious consequences for the negotiation process and for the Southern African region, if not for Africa as a whole".

Botha said attempts by any one political party or alliance or parties to become, through intimidation and threats of violence, the sole and dominant political force in South Africa would be met by reaction including violence reaction.

Discussing allegations of police bias, Botha said: "There are no angels in the South African Police, just as there are no angels in any of the political parties of this country."

He told De Cuellar that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Ger-

rit Viljoen had stated the South African Government was prepared to consider an interim arrangement which would allow organisations such as the ANC and other parties an opportunity to influence decisions in Parliament while negotiations were underway.

Viljoen had said the Government would be prepared to negotiate the creation of "informal channels" to allow extra-parliamentary groups to influence decision-making in the executive and in Parliament.

"This does not amount to an interim government.

Botha said the removal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act would be addressed during the next session of Parliament. - Sapa

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Police hunt for

Shes 13/9/90

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Random city street killers

By Guy Jepsen

Four unidentified black men driving a minibus unleashed a wave of terror in central Johannesburg last night, randomly firing on commuters and pedestrians, killing three people and wounding at least eight.

Police launched an intensive manhunt but no arrests had been made by this morning.

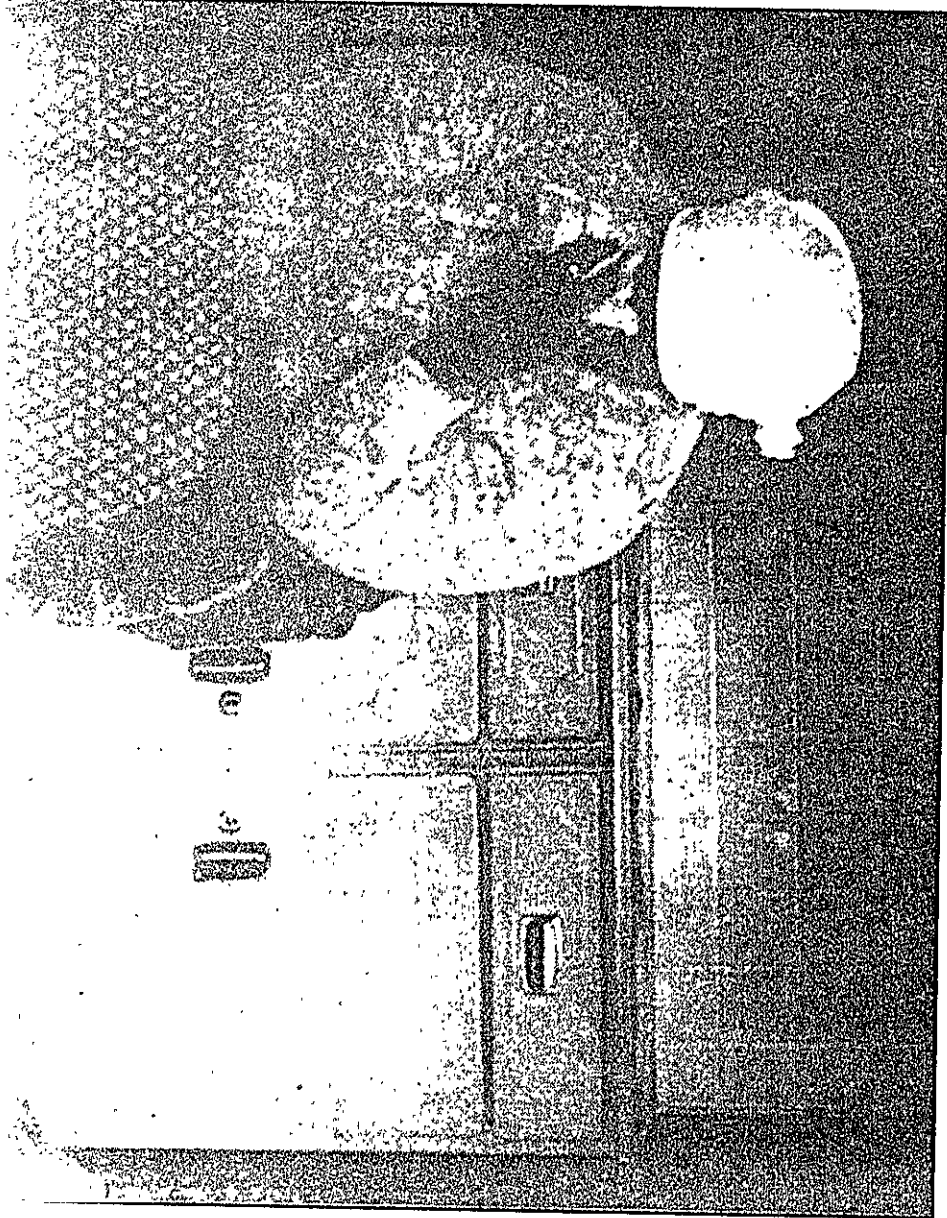
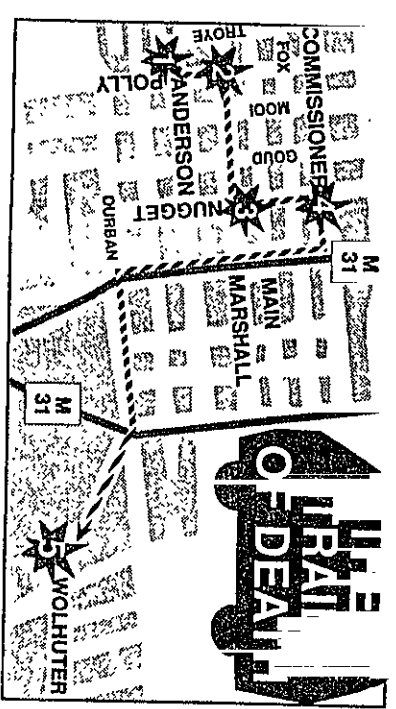
Jacob Motispe, who was injured at the Polly Street taxi rank, described the attack to The Star while lying on his back in an ambulance, waiting to be taken to Johannesburg Hospital.

"I was waiting for a taxi to take me to Chiawelo Station. There was a big crowd of people standing here waiting," Mr Motispe said.

"Then these guys just started shooting at us. Everyone started panicking and running away."

The series of apparently motiveless attacks shocked police and emergency services personnel who followed the trail of destruction left by the gunmen who used AK-47 rifles.

Three victims were rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital, and five to Hillbrow Hospital.



More police shot dead in township

Shes 13/9/90

By Glen Eisas
West Rand Bureau

Attacks on policemen continued in Soweto last night.

Their deaths brought to 63 the number of people killed in the township since renewed violence broke out last Thursday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tiemie Halgryn, spokesman for the Soweto police, said Constable D Z Dlamini was on duty at the Dube Railway Station at 8 pm when three men approached him.

One then pulled out a gun and shot him at point-blank range between the eyes.

One of the killers took the policeman's gun from his body.

A private security guard shot and killed one of the attackers.

In another incident, municipal Constable J Fokane was on duty with colleagues at the Sinoane municipal offices at 11 pm.

followed the trail of destruction left by the gunmen who used AK-47 rifles.

Three victims were rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital, and five to Hillbrow Hospital.

Picture — Page 3

Today, a Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said a woman shot in the stomach had undergone surgery last night. She was in a stable condition today.

A man wounded in a knee was "doing very well", the spokesman said. A third person had been discharged after treatment.

A spokesman for Hillbrow Hospital said two of the injured, a man and a woman, had been admitted to theatre for emergency surgery.

Both were in a serious condition. The other three, all males, were being treated in casualty and would probably be discharged later today.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, today described last night's three murders as motiveless and senseless.

"It appears on the surface to be faction-type shootings. But, it is highly unlikely that all those killed and wounded had anything in common. It was just senseless, random shooting," he said.

Police have pieced together the sequence of brutal shootings which the gunmen carried out.

⊙ The first attack took place at a taxi rank on the corner of Polly and Anderson streets in central Johannesburg at about 7.30 pm when the gunmen, driving a red and white minibus opened fire with AK-47 assault rifles on a crowd of commuters waiting to catch taxis to Soweto. Two men died instantly and two other men were injured.

⊙ The attackers then drove down Polly Street, left their vehicle and fired on a security guard outside a building between Marshall and Main streets, wounding him in both feet.

He managed to return their fire, injuring one of his assailants in the stomach. The man's accomplices helped him back into the minibus and they drove off.

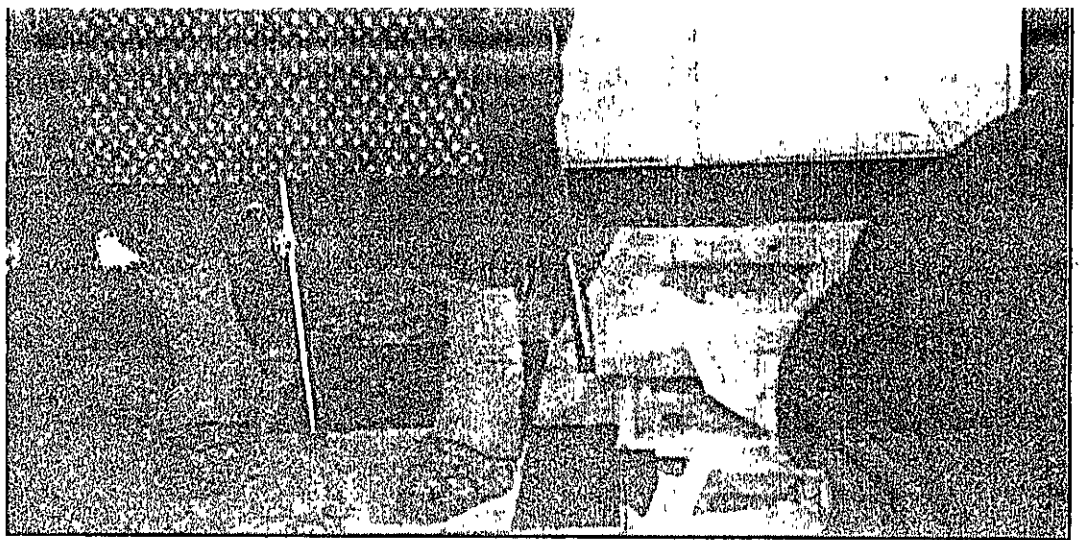
⊙ They stopped again on the corner of Nugget and Marshall streets and shot at and wounded another pedestrian in the legs. They shot another pedestrian, again in both legs, on the corner of Nugget and Commissioner streets.

⊙ The gunmen then drove out of the city centre. They found their last victim at the Wolhuter Men's Hostel in Wolhuter Street, Jeppestown. A man standing at the hostel entrance was gunned down. He died instantly.

Mr Hennie Bekker, MP for Jeppe, today offered R1 000 reward for information leading to the capture of the gunmen.

Mr Bekker, whose constituency includes Johannesburg's central business district where the gunmen went on the rampage, expressed his condolences to the next-of-kin of the victims of "this senseless deed".

He called on city businessmen to set up a standing reward for the capture of such killers, similar to the standing reward offered by banks for the arrest and conviction of bank robbers.



Tears for the victims . . . a woman mourns over the blanket-shrouded corpse of a man killed in an Inkatha attack in Vosloorus. © Picture by Stephen Davimes.

'Calm' returns to townships after night of mob horror

By Monica Nicolson and Abel Mabelane

Relative calm returned to war-ravaged East Rand townships today following 24 hours of violence on the Reef with mobs shooting and hacking people to death, burning houses and looting.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said today the townships were reported calm but very tense.

Five bodies had been discovered in Tokoza since midnight, he said.

Last night, police liaison officer Captain Henrietta Bester said Tokoza was chaotic, with hundreds of houses petrol-bombed.

In Soweto, two policemen and a gunman were shot dead in two separate incidents last night.

In Vosloorus, where 19 people have died since yesterday, people rampaged, burning down houses

and shooting and cutting people down.

A commuter train was ambushed by a group of youths between Lindela and Katlehong stations and three coaches were burning last night, Spoornet sources confirmed.

Gunman

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant Govindsamy Marie-muthoo said last night that two policemen on duty at Dube station were approached by a gunman who shot and killed one of them.

The second policeman and a security guard at the scene then fired shots, killing the gunman.

In a separate incident in Soweto last night gunmen shot dead one of two municipal policemen on guard at the municipal police offices.

In one of the bloodiest scenes yet, 25 Zulu migrant workers were hacked to death at the Vusumuzi

Hostel in Tembisa early yesterday morning by a group of men.

Police reported that municipal policeman Constable L Madadolu's bullet-riddled body was found near the Etlaweni Hostel in Tembisa.

In Vosloorus, at least three groups of youths armed with stones and petrol bombs clashed with the police yesterday afternoon.

A Casspir was petrol-bombed by an angry crowd.

Police confiscated two AK-47 rifles, a Scorpion and a truck filled with ammunition and lethal weapons. Nine men were arrested.

A petrol-bomb factory was also discovered and destroyed.

The known breakdown of deaths in East Rand townships since yesterday morning was 28 in Tembisa, 19 in Vosloorus, nine in Tokoza and one in Katlehong.

⊙ Township terror — Page 3.

Domestic air fares to rise a second time in next few days

By John Miller

Fares on all South African domestic flights are to be increased by at least eight percent in the next few days — a second increase following one 43 days ago.

The latest increase comes after the rise on August 1 of 12 percent on economy fares and 17 percent on business class fares, and is a result of the crisis in the Gulf and the subsequent rise in jet fuel prices.

At a recent, hastily called meeting of all IATA members held in Switzerland at the end of last month, the 82 members, including South African Airways, agreed to increase international air fares by between five and eight percent.

However, these proposed rises by the representatives will first have to be submitted to governments for

ratification. A spokesman for the association said this normally took between 45 and 60 days.

The secretary of the Airline Association of South Africa, Des Collins, said last night all members would probably follow suit and increase their fares by between six and nine percent within days.

Emotive

"I think air fares are quite an emotive issue, but that it is no different to the motor industry or any other because we are all facing the same problems and inflation rate.

"Our fare increases in the industry are exchange rate-related because every mortal thing we buy, including fuel, has to be paid for in US dollars."

Cancer: experts give diet warning

LONDON — For people with cancer, a high-calorie diet of potato chips and beefburgers may be more effective than vegetables and lentils, British dieticians say.

They were reacting to an earlier report that care given by a Bristol cancer help centre, which included a vegetarian diet, might shorten patients' lives.

"Cancer patients wishing to follow vegetarian, vegan or macrobiotic diets should be made aware of possible nutritional inadequacies," warned the dieticians.

A cancer dietician at the Royal Marsden Hospital in London said it was possible that people on a strict vegetarian diet might lose weight. This could complicate surgical or other therapy by increasing the chances of infection. — The Star Bureau.

'Calm' returns to townships after night of mob horror

8 Dec 13/9/90
By Monica Nicolson
and Abel Mabelane

Relative calm returned to war-ravaged East Rand townships today following 24 hours of violence on the Reef with mobs shooting and hacking people to death, burning houses and looting.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said today the townships were reported calm but very tense.

Five bodies had been discovered in Tokoza since midnight, he said.

Last night, police liaison officer Captain Henrietta Bester said Tokoza was chaotic, with hundreds of houses petrol-bombed.

In Soweto, two policemen and a gunman were shot dead in two separate incidents last night.

In Vosloorus, where 19 people have died since yesterday, people rampaged, burning down houses

and shooting and cutting people down.

A commuter train was ambushed by a group of youths between Lindela and Katlehong stations and three coaches were burning last night, Spoornet sources confirmed.

Gunman

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said last night that two policemen on duty at Dube station were approached by a gunman who shot and killed one of them.

The second policeman and a security guard at the scene then fired shots, killing the gunman.

In a separate incident in Soweto last night gunmen shot dead one of two municipal policemen on guard at the municipal police offices.

In one of the bloodiest scenes yet, 25 Zulu migrant workers were hacked to death at the Vusumuzi

Hostel in Tembisa early yesterday morning by a group of men.

Police reported that municipal policeman Constable L Madadolu's bullet-riddled body was found near the Etlaweni Hostel in Tembisa.

In Vosloorus, at least three groups of youths armed with stones and petrol bombs clashed with the police yesterday afternoon.

A Casspir was petrol-bombed by an angry crowd.

Police confiscated two AK-47 rifles, a Scorpion and a truck filled with ammunition and lethal weapons. Nine men were arrested.

A petrol-bomb factory was also discovered and destroyed.

The known breakdown of deaths in East Rand townships since yesterday morning was 28 in Tembisa, 19 in Vosloorus, nine in Tokoza and one in Katlehong.

© Township terror — Page 3.



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sta #19/90

NEWS

Staff Reporter

Steps next week to control violence — FW

Steps to bring the present violence under control would be announced next week, President de Klerk said in a mid-night statement following last night's Johannesburg train carriage.

Mr de Klerk said the steps would supplement comprehensive measures already taken.

He said the "violent events of the past week, in which many people lost their lives, have

brought our country to an unfortunate turning point".

The latest wave of violence, unrest, arson and damage to property could not be tolerated in any civilised country.

"The offenders, whoever they may be, will be firmly dealt with.

"At the same time the Government will not allow the country to degenerate into an

archy, whatever the cost."

Mr de Klerk said he again appealed to all leaders and the public to give the Government and the security forces their full support to counter crime.

"Accusations will achieve nothing. There are forces which do not wish peaceful negotiations to succeed.

"All those desiring peace must stand together to identify

and counter these forces."

He said those responsible (for the violence) were greatly mistaken if they believed the Government's search for a peaceful solution was a passport to lawlessness, unrest and murder.

"The new South Africa, which is the goal of all sincere South Africans, is being threatened by present events. The Government is determined to ensure

stability and to carry out the process of renewal which has been initiated, within a safe and secure South Africa," he said.

● Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in Cape Town that some measures to bring the situation under control had been initiated earlier this week but details had not yet been announced. More details were expected to be announced today.

He said the Government would announce further comprehensive steps soon.

He declined to indicate what these would be, but it appeared they would include measures to expedite judicial processes, including court appearances as well as additional measures involving the police and the Defence Force.

Mr Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were today conferring with top officials in Pretoria.



sta 4/9/90

NEWS

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Wounded describe their nightmare ride into hell

Star 14/9/90

Staff Reporters

Amid scenes reminiscent of field hospitals after a pitched military battle, wounded survivors of last night's "train of death" told The Star of a commuter trip that turned into a nightmare ride into hell.

At the Johannesburg, Hillbrow and South Rand hospitals scores of medical personnel battled to cope with the deluge of bloody victims.

As ferry services of ambulances

roared in, the wounded told of the most cold-blooded and merciless slayings yet seen on the country's transport network.

Obed Sithole of Soweto, being treated by medics for head wounds resulting from leaping out of a carriage said he heard one of the men, "hefty, middle-aged and wielding a gun", speaking in Zulu.

Just before he jumped he saw the man fire a shot through a window, then ask a passenger why he

had not jumped like the others.

A man in the emergency section at Hillbrow Hospital, where about 25 of the injured were taken, said passengers had been singing and praying before the violence began.

Thomas Ndimande of Soweto said he jumped when the shooting began. He injured his leg and arm.

"When I heard the first shots everyone opened their eyes from praying and started screaming and running. Some jumped out of the

train and others hung on outside from the doors and windows.

"I saw two black men, about middle-aged. One was wearing a black tracksuit with white stripes down the arms. I saw one of them stabbing a woman.

"They were using their pangas on anyone. I didn't think I would come out of it alive. I was very scared," Mr Ndimande said.

Another eye-witness, Sidney

● To Page 2

Nightmare ride into hell

Star 14/9/90

● From Page 1

Ntshingila, said he had seen four black attackers between the ages of about 28 and 36.

Two of them had knives, one a panga and another a pistol. They wore ordinary clothes and "just started stabbing and shooting".

At Johannesburg Hospital, Edison Tshilamali of Dobsonville, said black men who boarded at George Goch station

and opened fire.

"They were shooting at random, men and women. People started throwing themselves out of the windows in panic.

"I remember one of the men was dressed in an army outfit.

"He had a panga in his hand and his pockets were bulging."

Mr Tshilamali did not know how many attackers there were — but enough to give him nightmares for years to come.

26 die and 100 injured on Soweto-bound train as Reef slaughter continues

Squatters hacked and shot, shacks demolished
50 more slaughtered in township violence

Station panga attacks ● Ambulance 'no go' areas
Orgy of killings continues

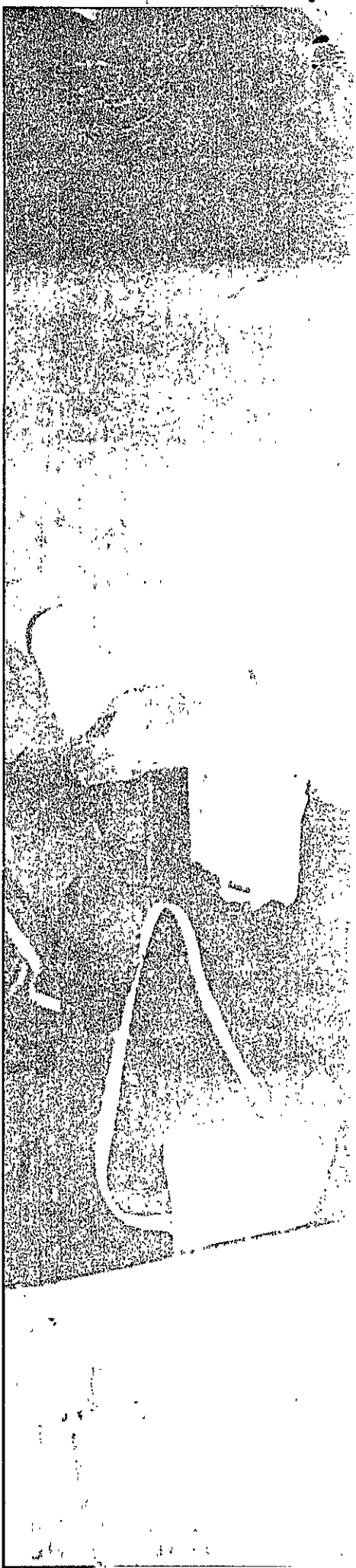
A week of violence . . . The Star's front-page headlines on Monday (left), Tuesday (above) and yesterday (right).

Militant gang guns down 11 pedestrians
Police hunt for random city street killers

Star (14/9/90) (11/9) (11/9)

The carrriages of death





Death train . . . the bodies of a man and a woman lie in a railway carriage — two of the victims of yesterday's brutal rampage among passengers.

● Picture by Associated Press.

Train gangs may be city street killers

By Julianne du Toit, Guy Jepson, Shirley Woodgate and Carina le Grange

The gang which carried out the slaughter of the innocents on a Soweto-bound train last night may be the same killers who ran amok in central Johannesburg on Wednesday night.

Police said today they were investigating the possibility that the gang responsible for last night's train attack also gunned down 17 people in the city on Wednesday, killing three.

There is still no apparent motive for either attack.

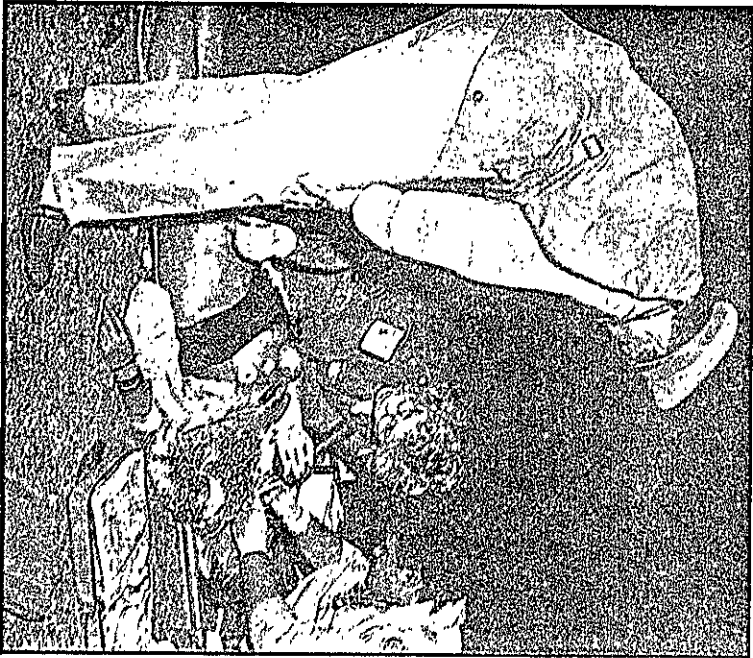
Last night's train carnage left at least 26 people dead and more than 100 injured when a gang armed with shotguns, pangas and knives hacked and shot their way through a crowded passenger train on its way to Soweto.

Planned

Survivors told The Star of the cold-blooded, planned slaughter which began when the killers climbed aboard at Jeppe Station.

With their weapons concealed, they joined the mass of workers on their way home to Soweto.

It was 5.15 pm and the train took the "loop line", which heads through Johannesburg's eastern suburbs before turning towards Soweto. Several minutes later the



To the rescue . . . paramedics give emergency treatment to a victim at Denver station.

● Picture by Karen Fletcher.

train made its scheduled stop at George Goch station.

Then began the "journey of death". The 8 km of line between George Goch and Denver stations

became a trail of carnage.

Patrick Makhado was sitting in the second carriage from the front of the "death train". "I saw about five people with

shotguns, pistols and pangas.

"They just started killing everyone. Then two or three people came from the back, also with guns and pangas. They had trapped us all."

"I jumped off the train. I think I saw some of the attackers run off towards George Goch hostel."

Moving from carriage to carriage, the black attackers shot, stabbed and hacked their way through the passengers.

Some, such as Mr Makhado, jumped for their lives.

Others covered under seats. Some were slain where they sat, or hacked as they tried to flee.

The killers shouted as they carried out the slaughter.

The Highveld evening was rent by the screams of the injured and dying in the train and along the track. It was a five-minute rampage that left 26 dead and more than 100 injured.

The driver brought the train to a stop at Denver Station.

Contrary to earlier reports, police said today a second group of killers were not waiting at Denver.

The attackers used pangas and knives, with most of the victims having slash wounds or injuries from leaping from the train.

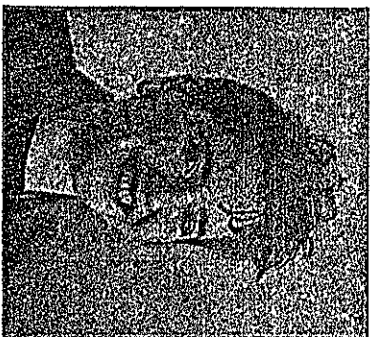
As the train lurched to a stop, passengers fled into the night and the killers escaped.

A huge rescue operation — involving helicopters, a disaster bus and virtually every available ambulance in Johannesburg — was carried out as reports of the

● To Page 2

"LET YOUR VOICE WORK FOR YOU"

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Monique Rissen
BA(IONNS) ATCL, LTCL, MEd, SASDPT

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Successful communication!

Train gang may be street killers

From Page 1

wholesale slaughter on the Naledi-bound train filtered through.

A section of the M2 highway was closed off as emergency services personnel battled to get the injured out of the scene.

Last night the Denver Station platform was coated with blood.

Bodies lay in the train and along the platform — some trembling, some motionless. One man lay propped up against a pillar. His chest was shiny with blood.

Emergency personnel had to step over bodies strewn on the ground.

It was impossible to tell how many were dead and how many unconscious. Some had blood-soaked rags or jackets over their faces. One or two moaned softly, only their eyes moving as they watched ambulance men carrying other injured on stretchers, drips attached to bleeding patients.

Security police blocked off Main Reef Road and riot gear police surrounded Denver Station after more shots were heard from there.

They refused to let anyone close to the area or to say if any more people had been killed in that incident.

An intensive manhunt was launched, but no arrests had been made, said Witwaterstrand



Violent death . . . the body of a victim lies on Denver station platform last night.

Clar 14/9/90

1118

police liaison officer Captain Henriette Bestler.

She said "a large group of blacks" who boarded the train at Jeppe station launched an attack on passengers as the train passed George Goch Station, using firearms, pangas and sharp instruments.

"Many passengers fled their attackers by jumping of the train between George Goch and Denver Stations."

Johannesburg director of public safety John Pearce, holding an Uzi sub-machine gun in one hand and a walkie-talkie in the other, was on the scene

at Denver Station.

He co-ordinated emergency personnel, which included three helicopters, a disaster bus and "every ambulance available".

Ambulances were loaded and helicopters hovered overhead waiting to land.

A total of 57 injured were sent to the Hillbrow, Johannesburg, South Rand and Baragwanath Hospitals.

Dozens underwent surgery. Eighteen were discharged after treatment. Other victims received first aid at Denver Station. Early today several patients were still in a serious

condition, and at least two of them were critical.

Two of the 29 patients treated and admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital died after emergency surgery, a spokesman said early today.

Their deaths took the death toll to 26.

Injuries ranged from lacerations, fractures, stab wounds to gunshot wounds.

Acting superintendent of Hillbrow Hospital, J Norman-Smith, said today 11 patients were admitted to the emergency surgical unit last night and

three patients were in a serious condition.

Eight more patients were referred from the hospital's casualty section to the Johannesburg hospital.

Another 15 were treated last night and discharged, Dr Norman-Smith said.

A South Rand Hospital spokesman said two patients were admitted and were in "a stable condition" this morning. She said one, a pregnant woman, who had jumped from the moving train, had sustained lacerations while the man had undergone surgery.

Picture by Associated Press.

In Wednesday's ailing spree, which is now being linked to last night's carnage, four unidentified men in a minibus unleashed a wave of terror starting at about 7.30 pm in the Johannesburg city centre.

Randomly firing on commuters and pedestrians with AK-47s as they travelled down Polly Street towards Marshall and Nugget streets to the Woluter mens' hostel in Jeppestown, they killed three people and wounded at least 17.

ANC deputy chief Nelson Mandela blamed "hit squads."

"We certainly have instances where people have been paid . . . it is quite clear that Inkatha has not got the capacity to organise this type of attack.

"There is no doubt that the people are very angry. I have never seen them as angry as they are. They are demanding to be armed and we are going to find it very difficult to resist that demand and you know the implications of that," he said.

President F W de Klerk said: "Those responsible are greatly mistaken if they believe that the Government's search for a peaceful solution is a passport to lawlessness, unrest and murder."

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said: "This was a blatant attack on innocent passengers.

"I can't call it faction fighting — anyone could have been on the train."

The cold facts of Reef carnage

By HELEN GRANGE

For just more than a month, black townships throughout the Reef have been racked by brutal killings, fear and tragedy.

The death count yesterday stood at more than 700 — over 100 more than the final official death toll of 550 four months after the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Although township violence was escalating countrywide throughout this year — peaking at the end of July/beginning of August with a sudden outbreak of Inkatha-ANC fighting in Sebokeng and Kagiso on the West Rand — bloodshed on the Reef began in earnest when the East Rand township of Tokoza erupted into faction war.

A Zulu man was found dead by police in the township on August 12. That night and the next morning, mayhem struck as hostel-dwellers and squatters from Pholo Park engaged in battle, leaving at least 20 dead.

Police at the time described the Tokoza situation as "quite serious". Mini-states of emergency, imposed on several townships, have since emphasised the growing weight of the problem.

By August 14, the violence had spread to the other East Rand townships of Katlehong and Vosloorus. Crossroads squatter camp near Katlehong was in flames and charred bodies were being removed from the gutted shacks.

By this time, police were expecting an outbreak of violence in Soweto. An ominous illegal gathering outside Jabulani hostel was reported, with angry township residents seen threa-



Confused and frightened, children like the one above have been caught in the midst of the violence.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

tening the hostel-dwellers. Claims were being made that Inkatha supporters were threatening commuters as they boarded trains.

Well over 140 people had now lost their lives in the East Rand.

By August 17, the first 17 casualties of Inkatha-ANC clashes in Soweto were reported. At Merafe hostel, hundreds of Inkatha warriors massed together, chanting and dancing, brandishing assegais, shields and other home-made weapons.

Newspapers were now carrying front-page editorials calling for a stop to the carnage. Horrific pictures of burning bodies and homeless refugees covered the front pages.

In spite of these calls, the death toll kept rising, and by August 18 the official death count for Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong and Soweto was 191.

By August 22 the violence had spread to two more East Rand townships, Tembisa and Daveyton. In the West Rand township of Kagiso, Lewisham hostel was the focus of vicious attacks, and residents were claiming that Inkatha imps were being bused in by police.

The death toll had now soared to at least 510.

Clampdown

The Government decided to impose mini-states of emergency on 19 magisterial districts affected in a massive security clampdown. Hostels were searched and weapons confiscated.

Over the weekend August 24-25, Reef townships were relatively quiet, but warnings that a resurgence of violence was not far off only increased anxiety.

On August 27, eight of the first Soweto violence victims were buried.

On the first weekend of September, the predicted happened. Police found 23 bodies in Tokoza and Tembisa after occupants of a minibus drove around shooting and stabbing residents.

On September 4 bloody battles raged in Sebokeng, where 36 people were killed, allegedly at the hands of the SADF. Reports were made that armed whites took part in a pre-dawn attack on a Sebokeng hostel before the killings.

On September 6 five people were killed and 14 injured in an attack at Jeppe station in Johannesburg. It seemed a senseless and motiveless attack on civilians.

Last weekend saw another 50 killed in further attacks on squatter camps in Soweto and the East Rand townships. People were hacked or shot dead by marauding armed bands, and thousands of shacks were demolished.

Yesterday, after another four days of carnage, the official death toll stood at over 700 and rising...

Truce requires b

As township violence spirals out of control, millions of South Africans are asking: "How can the violence be stopped?" Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE asked some experts for their proposals.

South Africa's political leaders must shift their ideological differences into the background and join forces to stop the carnage in Natal and Reef townships which has claimed hundreds of lives, politicians and analysts believe.

This is about as far as the consensus goes, and the one solution is rendered virtually impossible by deep-rooted ideological differences and, particularly on the Reef, confusion about the bloody clashes.

Those who believe the violence to be a straightforward battle for power between the ANC and Inkatha have called for a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to facilitate a truce.

However, there is a general fear that such a meeting would no longer restore peace because the conflict has spread beyond ideological boundaries and that many exacerbating factors have since come into play. Those include:

- Widespread claims of police partiality and the existence of a "third force".
- Fear psychosis among township residents whereby attacks and counter-attacks are often launched following rumours of pending attacks by opposing forces.
- Revenge attacks.
- Ethnicity.
- Unemployment and appalling socio-economic conditions.
- Criminal behaviour.

The ANC and Inkatha are said to be involved in efforts to facilitate a meeting between top officials which, ANC sources said, should include Chief Buthelezi but not Mr Mandela. A meeting between the two leaders should only follow later.

ANC southern Natal con-

KAGISO

AUG 6
Hostel attack in Kagiso leaves 12 dead, 16 injured. (unofficial 30).

JOHANNESBURG

SEPT 6
Two gunmen open fire on commuters at Jeppe station. (6 dead, 14 injured)

SEPT 12
Four gunmen in minibus go on terror from the Polly Street taxi at the men's hostel in Wolhuter (3 dead, at least 8 wounded)

SOWETO

SEPT 8-9
33 dead

SEPT 10
7 dead

SEPT 11-12-13
7 dead

SEPT 9
Tladi squatter camp residents allege dwellers from Merafe hostel, in minibuses driven by police, fired on them (32 dead)

SEPT 11
Police vehicle ambushed near Diepkloof squatter camp (1 dead)

SEPT 12
Minibus carrying Carlton Hotel staff attacked outside Nancefield hostel (3 dead)



The conflict has spread be

vener Patrick Lekota recently suggested a meeting between President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. The Government should be involved to ensure that the KwaZulu leader adhered to any agreements since he had a record of "scotching" agreements.

The anti-negotiation Pan Africanist Congress has offered to mediate between the two organisations, but this offer has been turned down by both groups.

This week the PAC made a controversial call to the ANC and Inkatha to "stop killing the African people" and rather to use their collective forces to destroy their common enemy, the SAP and the SADF.

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Fanie Cloete believes the violence could be stopped if Mr Mandela and President de Klerk fully committed themselves to finding solutions.

Noting that Inkatha supporters started the violence, Cloete said Chief Buthelezi seemed to be able to control people if he were satisfied he would not be overlooked in the negotiating table.

"The solution is for Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to commit themselves to stopping violence. So far, they have yet done so.

"It seems as if Mr Mandela is not really the one to be meeting with Chief Buthelezi, but some people within the

Stop making police the ur

By SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Until the root causes of the violence are solved by those involved in the township fighting, the police cannot end the unrest.

They can merely keep the lid on the boiling pot of unrest, says SAP public relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler.

Responding to allegations of partiality, conniving and incompetence, he said that while the police could act to contain violence, the force was unable to put an end to it.

"We can only urge those who are involved to stop making the police the scapegoat for their problems and to try to solve the real issues at hand," he added.

"It would appear that double standards are being applied by our detractors.

"First the police are called on to leave the townships and police action is condemned

"The next moment, calls are made for the full might of the security forces to be used to curb the violence.

"Should this be done, we are certain a hue and cry will be raised by the very people who

have been requesting for force action."

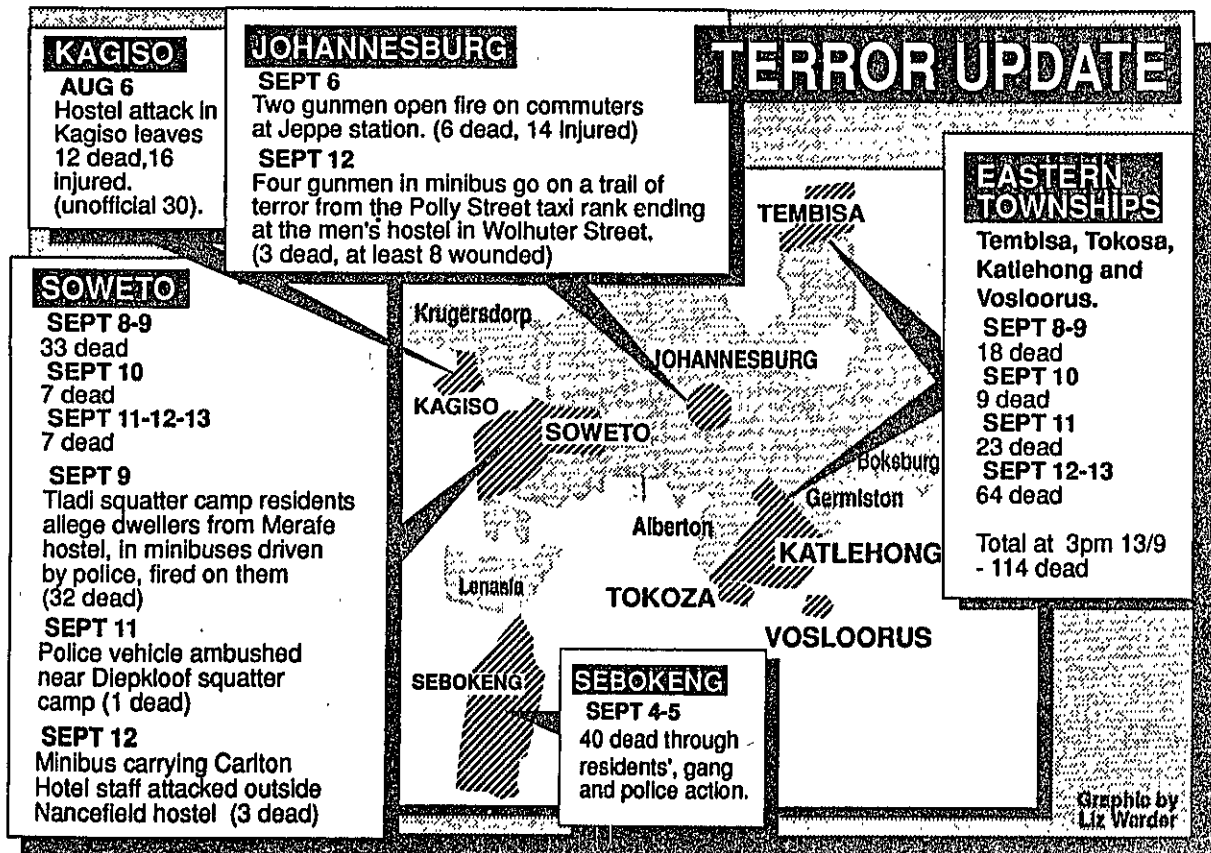
Reacting to what he perceived to be "the concerted, orchestrated propaganda slaughter" against the force, Major Stadler assured the public of total impartiality in dealing with township unrest.

The attack on the SAP appeared to be getting on hand and a sharp increase in the sustained attack had been noticeable since August 6 year, he said.

"We do not deny there have been isolated incidents in individual policemen

BACKGROUND

requires burying of hatchet



tely causes rifts between various organisations because it wants to portray the country as consisting of various minority groups," Mr Nefolovhodwe said.

Deeply suspicious of elements within the security forces which are being used to destabilise the situation, the ANC has proposed the establishment of central command structures to exercise control over the security forces

It has also proposed the establishment of liaison and monitoring mechanisms in unrest areas. This call has received wide support.

Former Inkatha leader Oscar Dhlomo, now of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, believes leaders such as Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should draw up a code of conduct to guide the actions of the security forces

Mr Mandela's call on the Government this week to use the SADF to quell the violence has been widely criticised.

Political commentator Jan de Plessis warned this week that the use of military force to solve a political problem could lead to civil war.

Nic Rhodie, head of the Centre for Conflict Analysis, said the significance of this call had not yet been grasped. In effect, the use of military force would make Mr Mandela an accomplice to murder if people died because of SAP or SADF activities.

Various black organisations have also criticised Mr Mandela on this score. In the words of Azapo's Mr Nefolovhodwe "It is naive to call on the people who cause the violence to maintain law and order. The campaign to get the security forces out of the townships was launched precisely because they were killing our people."

While there is a growing fear that the country's political leaders are no longer in control of the situation, other peace efforts are being planned.

Government representatives and traditional chiefs from KwaZulu and Transkei will this weekend hold joint rallies in Reef townships in an effort to defuse tension between Zulus and Xhosas.

The conflict has spread beyond ideological boundaries

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"The solution is for Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to commit themselves to stopping the violence. So far, they have not yet done so.

"It seems as if Mr Mandela is not really the one to oppose a meeting with Chief Buthelezi, but some people within his or-

ganisation are. He should stand up and say enough is enough.

"On the other hand, Mr de Klerk has only made half-hearted efforts because he does not want to alienate Chief Buthelezi. He should give him an ultimatum by putting financial pressure on him.

"Then there is a growing suspicion that some elements in the police, the defence force and even some politicians do not want to find solutions because it is a good propaganda tool - particularly overseas - to portray the violence as black-on-black."

From the Black Consciousness Movement came a different suggestion.

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the organisation had in March - before the Natal violence spilt over to the Reef - suggested a conference among all "liberation movements" to stop the violence and map out joint strategies for the future

Neither the Government nor Inkatha should be involved in peace initiatives because apartheid was the cause of the violence and "Gatsha has been built by the State as a pawn to do its dirty work", he said

"It is apartheid and nothing else that is causing the violence. We had the experience when the UDF and Azapo were said to have been at war. The State was behind it. It delibera-

ing police the unrest scapegoat, says general

"We can only urge those who are involved to stop making the police the scapegoat for their problems and to try to solve the real issues at hand," he added.

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"Should this be done, we are certain a hue and cry will be raised by the very people who

have been requesting security force action."

Reacting to what he claimed to be "the concerted, well-orchestrated propaganda onslaught" against the force, General Stadler assured the public of total impartiality in dealing with township unrest.

The attack on the SAP now appeared to be getting out of hand and a sharp increase in the sustained attack had been noticeable since August 6 this year, he said.

"We do not deny there have been isolated incidents in which individual policemen have

overstepped the mark, but we neither condoned nor tolerate this.

"It should be noted that this is not unique to the SAP and we believe it is also unfair for anyone to condemn the entire force for exceptions to the rule," he said.

The spiral of violence now sweeping the country was placing an increasing burden on the resources of the SAP, and the killing of policemen had now become an almost daily occurrence.

"Despite this deteriorating situation in our own backyard,

the propaganda is continuing," he said.

"Allegations being levelled against the police are viewed in a serious light, so much so that an experienced team of detectives under the leadership of a senior general has been appointed to investigate these claims.

"The police do not want to conceal the truth and we therefore have no qualms about such an investigation.

But at this stage, despite intensive research into various allegations, we have found no concrete confirmation to sub-

stantiate them," the general said.

Turning to the role of the media, he said that while the press and television had a duty to inform the public, their duty also extended to acting responsibly.

"The repeated publication of unsubstantiated allegations against the SAP cannot be considered responsible and cannot be to anyone's benefit.

"A false perception is being created which can lead to a wedge being driven between the police and the public," he added.

Stop making police the unrest scapegoat, says general

By SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Until the root causes of the violence are solved by those involved in the township fighting, the police cannot end the unrest.

They can merely keep the lid on the boiling pot of unrest, says SAP public relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler.

Responding to allegations of partiality, conniving and incompetence, he said that while the police could act to contain violence, the force was unable to put an end to it.



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have been requesting security force action."

Reacting to what he claimed to be "the concerted, well-orchestrated propaganda onslaught" against the force, General Stadler assured the public of total impartiality in dealing with township unrest.

The attack on the SAP now appeared to be getting out of hand and a sharp increase in the sustained attack had been noticeable since August 6 this year, he said.

"We do not deny there have been isolated incidents in which individual policemen have

overstepped the mark, but we neither condoned nor tolerate this.

"It should be noted that this is not unique to the SAP and we believe it is also unfair for anyone to condemn the entire force for exceptions to the rule," he said.

The spiral of violence now sweeping the country was placing an increasing burden on the resources of the SAP, and the killing of policemen had now become an almost daily occurrence.

"Despite this deteriorating situation in our own backyard,

the propaganda is continuing," he said.

"Allegations being levelled against the police are viewed in a serious light, so much so that an experienced team of detectives under the leadership of a senior general has been appointed to investigate these claims.

"The police do not want to conceal the truth and we therefore have no qualms about such an investigation.

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for a meeting
Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi to facilitate a truce.
However, there is a general
... that such a meeting would

SEMI 14
Minibus carrying Carlton
Hotel staff attacked outside

40 dead through
residents' gang
and police action.

Graphic by

Nic Rhoadie, head of the Centre for Conflict Analysis, said the significance of this call had

Violence

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FROM PAGE 1

Mr de Klerk's views on a "third force" or "hidden hand".

Expanding on his views of a Renamo-style force being at work in South Africa, Mr Mandela said it was significant the group of attackers on Thursday's Soweto-bound train did not say a word while executing more than 20 people.

"It is clear that they have considerable experience in this type of attack."

● Mr Mandela yesterday told Reef township residents to defend themselves against their killers.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, a tense-looking Mr Mandela was repeatedly asked to convey a message of peace and hope to panick-stricken residents in the wake of brutal and unprovoked attacks this week.

He said President de Klerk's admission that a "hidden hand" was manipulating the bloody violence, and the fact that the ANC's national executive committee had called an urgent meeting for Tuesday to discuss ways "to stop the violence and defend our people", should inspire confidence.

Later, when asked to appeal for peace, he said: "It is not for me to appeal for peace because the violence is not caused by residents but by faceless people."

"If I have to say anything, I would say they should defend themselves."

He declined to reveal possible actions which

the NEC might decide upon on Tuesday, or what he would tell his executive.

Confidentiality was an important element of any strategy.

The ANC would seriously consider the demand from its supporters that they be armed to defend themselves, he said.

If Mr de Klerk's new yet-to-be-announced measures to curb the violence were considered to be successful by the NEC, it would affect the NEC's views on whether to respond to the demand that its supporters be armed.

Asked if the ANC was considering resuming the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said: "We'll wait and see."

● A man — "sounding like a white person, especially trying to imitate an African accent", yesterday telephoned an independent radio station claiming that Thursday's train massacre had been ordered by ANC militarist Chris Hani.

This was announced at a press conference yesterday by the ANC's head of information, Pallo Jordan.

Dr Jordan said the man, who had claimed to be an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, told Radio 702 that he and others refused to take orders from ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and would only act on the instructions of Mr Hani, MK's chief of staff who is currently in Transkei.

Dr Jordan said the man was an imposter.

He vehemently denied that Mr Hani had issued any orders, least of all instructions that innocent people should be killed in such a brutal way.

'The Zulus are coming!'

**FW has
conceded
3rd force
— Mandela**

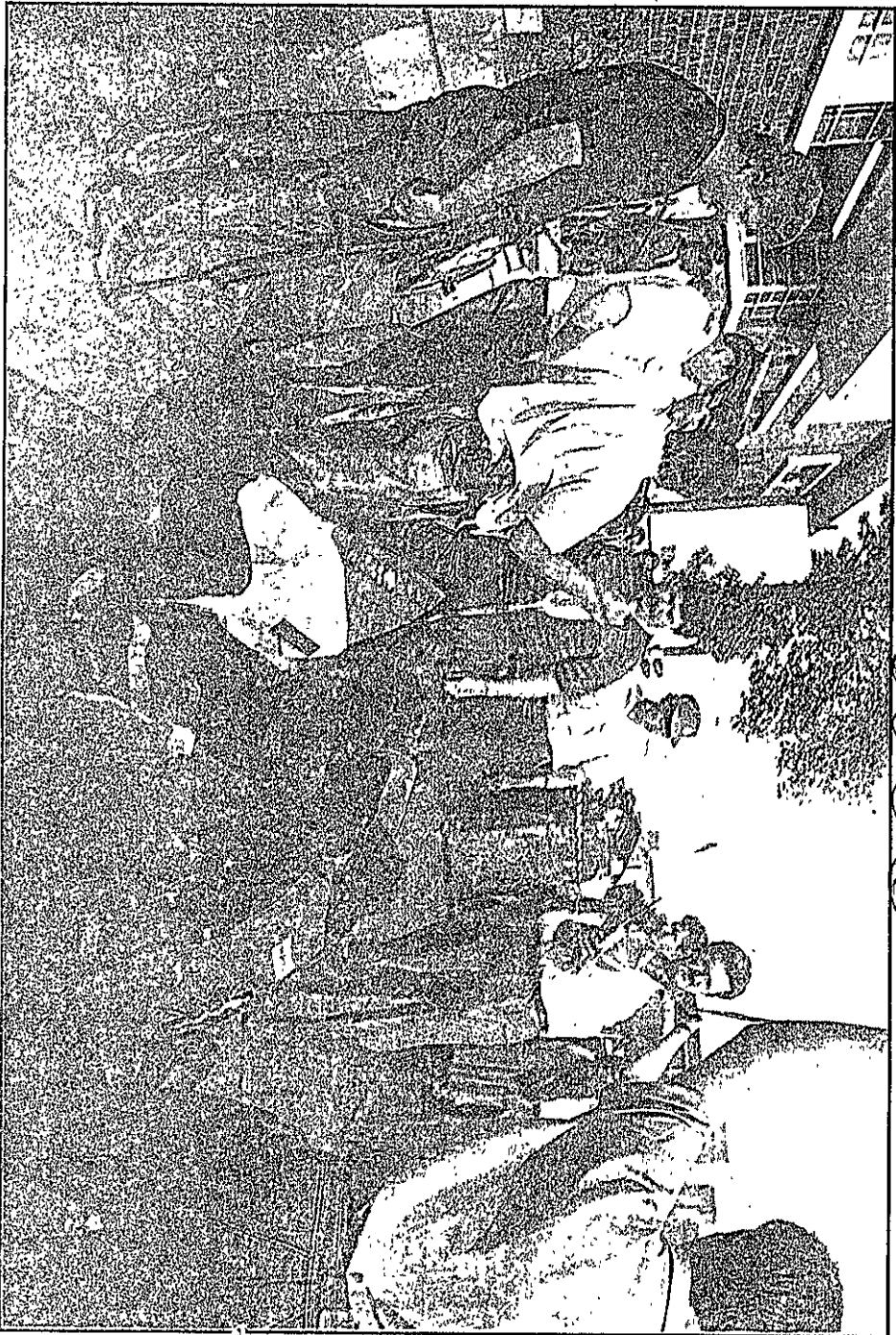
**ESMARÉVAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter**

AS more violence on trains in Johannesburg broke out yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela announced that President de Klerk had finally conceded the existence of a sinister "third force" manipulating the Reef violence.

After urgent talks with Mr de Klerk in Pretoria, Mr Mandela held a press conference in Johannesburg that the President was now convinced that the Reef carnage was no longer a clash between black and black. Inkatha and the ANC, or Zulus and Xhosas, but that "some hidden hand" was at play which intended to destabilise the peace process.

Mr de Klerk had informed him of a new comprehensive plan to end the violence and track down those responsible for the carnage.

Asked if he approved of the plan and whether the ANC would co-operate in implementing the plan, he said: "There is no question of any co-operation with regard to any measures he might take."
It was the task of the Govern-



Star 15/9/90



FIRST AID: A victim gets emergency treatment at Jeppe station yesterday.

Jews cheer Mandela

Soweto's mayor

... ..

© Photograph: Sean Woods.

**Many hurt as
panic sparks
train stampede**

STAFF REPORTERS

FIFTEEN people — possibly victims of mass hysteria — were injured on two trains in Johannesburg yesterday in a sequel to Thursday night's Benrose station massacre.

Late last night it could not be established whether the 15 had been flung from coaches or had jumped out in panic when fellow passengers stamped yelling: "The Zulus are coming!"
Less than 24 hours earlier, a rampaging mob killed 26 people and injured 100 on a Soweto-bound train. And yesterday morning three people died in attacks at Soweto taxi ranks.

Police, the South African Rail Corporation and Spoor, a joint effort last night to increase security forces and personnel on railway stations. It would be difficult to place men on each train, a policeman said.

Yesterday's incidents — between Braamfontein and Mayfair stations at 3.45 pm and between Jeppe and Ellis Park stations at about 4 pm — came within hours of an emergency meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk to discuss the wave of violence on the Reef.
Train victim Hilton Thabathe (35), who had been on train number 9412 when it approached Jeppe station.

© TO PAGE 2.

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It was the task of the Government to track down the killers.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was convinced that the latest spate of indiscriminate and unprovoked attacks on commuters and citizens was the work of highly professional and well-trained killers.

A new 'Renamo'

"The efficient manner in which they execute their crimes indicates that we are not dealing with amateurs. What we have here are the beginnings of a Renamo movement."

He welcomed Mr de Klerk's admission that some sinister hand was behind the violence as a significant departure from the position previously taken by the Government.

He had no reason to believe that Mr de Klerk would not carry out the new security plan. If Mr de Klerk had indicated to him why he "had changed his mind so sharply" on the reasons for the violence, he would not discuss it with the press.

In a short statement, the President's office said the two leaders had discussed the serious situation on the Witwatersrand, Thursday's senseless killings and the prevailing violence in general.

The State President stressed that the Government intended to take strong and comprehensive action to curb the violence and that additional measures had already been taken to this end.

The statement did not refer to

● TO PAGE 2.



FIRST AID: A victim gets emergency treatment at Jeppe station yesterday.

Jews cheer Mandela after speech at temple

AN address by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to the Jewish community went unhindered at Johannesburg's Temple Shalom last night — in spite of circulated pamphlets expressing outrage that a "power-hungry despot" be allowed to speak at a temple.

Wearing a yarmulka, Mr Mandela quickly addressed the issue which has led to widespread controversy among Jews — his embrace of Palestinian Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yassar Arafat.

He told the congregation that the fact that the United Nations had on two occasions met Arafat in Geneva was indicative of the man's support.

"If Zionism means to deny Palestinians the right to freedom and self expression, then it must be strongly condemned. But if Zionism means freedom, liberty and the right to expression, then it is a healthy move-

HELEN GRANGE

ment... "Peace in the Middle East depends on Palestinians and Israelis accepting each other's right to existence."

Mr Mandela said that blacks identified strongly with Jews on the question of racial intolerance.

At the end of his address, Mr Mandela was cheered warmly. Early yesterday, pamphlets from an organisation calling itself "People for Racial Peace and Harmony in Africa" were distributed, claiming Mr Mandela had embarked on a wave of terror against all disagreeing blacks.

He was getting ready to "out-Nazi the old Nats" and he "kisses the cheeks of Arafat and Gadaffi", the pamphlet said. "How dare he be invited to speak in a holy place?" it added.

Soweto's mayor willing to mediate

ABBAY MAKOE

SOWETO mayor Sam Mkhwanazi last night demanded that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet to end township violence.

He said he wanted them to shake hands in public and said he would be prepared to mediate in any move aimed at ending the carnage.

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) has added its voice to the growing call for an end to the violence, saying that President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should commit themselves to action for peace.

FFF press officer Gael Neke said: "We are extremely concerned at the lack of urgency demonstrated by the three leaders who should be most concerned by the violence. They should at this time be demonstrating 'on the ground' involvement and intervention."

Train drivers fear attacks in townships

SHAREEN SINGH

TRAIN drivers are reconsidering servicing townships after the spate of attacks on trains travelling to and from Reef townships.

Mr Abraham Koekemoer of the South African Footplate Staff Association said drivers are in constant fear for their lives.

There is no real protection for drivers servicing the townships. The issue has been raised with Spoornet management, but no concrete steps have been taken, he said. The association was planning to meet management next week to address the situation.

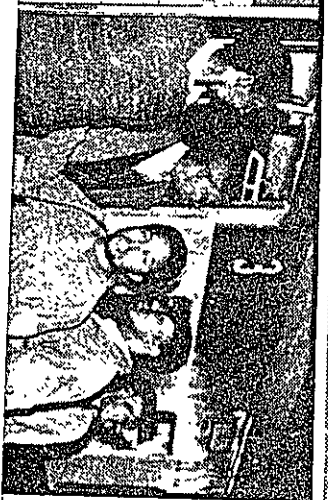
Attacked

Several train drivers have been attacked and one seriously injured during the past few weeks while walking from one end of the train to the other, Mr Koekemoer said.

A spokesman for Spoornet, Transnet's rail division, said train safety was a broad transport issue and not just the responsibility of Spoornet.

Spoornet is a subcontractor to the state-owned South African Communist Corporation. He said the Minister of Transport and Public Works, Mr George Bartlett, was meeting the South African Police to discuss the issue.

● Photograph: Sean Woods.



The Death Train — No 9436

JOVIAL RANTAO

LAST night I rode the death train — the ill-fated Naledi-bound Train No 9436 on which gunmen ran amok on Thursday, killing at least 26 commuters and injuring more than 100.

My ride began at the Johannesburg station where the train, dubbed "jikeleza" by commuters, pulled in at exactly 5 pm.

Black train commuters, usually packed on the platforms in their hundreds during peak hour,

Between sips from a quart of beer, Mr Radebe said commuters should be allowed to arm themselves for protection. "Check now," he said. "If an attack takes place, where will the police be?"

A walk through the other carriages revealed a

ICL
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hour
the
train

Zulu King blames ANC for violence

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE,

TRANSKEI President Tutor Ndamase and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, accompanied by traditional chiefs and Cabinet Ministers, will tomorrow hold joint rallies on the East Rand and in Soweto in an effort to restore peace in the war-torn Reef townships.

A Transkei embassy spokesman in Pretoria said the first rally would be held at the Tokoza stadium from 10 am to noon and the second at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto from 2 pm to 5 pm.

Similar peace rallies would be held in the Vaal Triangle and on the East Rand on Monday — the first at the Sebokeng soccer field from 10 am to noon and the second in the Springs township of KwaThema from 2 pm to 5 pm.

Propaganda

The decision by Zulu and Xhosa leaders to visit the Reef was taken at a meeting in Durban late last month where the two delegations called on political parties to stop making ethnic groups the target of political propaganda and urged Zulus and Xhosas to "purge their minds and hearts of ethnic animosities".

King Zwelethini this week told a meeting of Zulu chiefs that he held the ANC and its allies — the UDF, Cosatu and the SACP — responsible for the violence which had flared in KwaZulu, Natal and the Transvaal.

Despite several attempts by KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and himself to hold discussions with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, he had up to now not had the time for such a meeting.

Therefore he and traditional leaders from Transkei and Ciskei would visit the Reef to plea for peace.

"My message will be that people should put a stop to the violence. I will even say they should not engage in counter-violence if being provoked," he said.

chiefs to plead for peace

NEWS

Sh. 15/9/90



Social friction fans flames

Press 16/9/90
SOCIAL friction between streetwise black youths and traditionalist Zulus is worsening the bloody struggle for political ascendancy in South Africa's townships, say analysts.

Black groups, trying to influence negotiations on ending white rule, have ignited a powder keg of tensions between tribally minded Zulu migrant workers and township residents of all tribes used to modern big city ways.

More than 800 people have died in violence between Johannesburg's township dwellers, often including urban Zulus, and the 125 000 migrants living in 31 men-only hostels dotted around the city.

Magazine columnist Nomavenda Mathiane, a Zulu Soweto resident, wrote: "If the truth be known it is that many

of us in Soweto - and particularly the people who speak English and have good jobs - have considered ourselves 'upper-class Zulus' and we see Inkatha as 'lower-class Zulus'."

Residents loyal to the ANC say they are fighting poorly educated but aggressive migrant workmen manipulated by the Zulu Inkatha movement of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who, they say, is trying to shoot his way into negotiations on reform.

University of Zululand analyst Herbert Vilikazi said adult migrant workers "were turned off, puzzled and infuriated by the impatient, impetuous tactics of youth, in a manner totally outside the traditional code governing relations between young and old". -Sapa-
Reuter

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Survivors tell of mindless ki

By ELIAS MALULEKE

SURVIVORS of the latest township massacres told this week of their narrow escapes from death. But most were mourning the loss of loved ones.

Three families were wiped out on the East Rand as the carnage entered its sixth week in Reef townships and spread to taxi ranks and suburban trains in Johannesburg.

Many others were maimed by gangs when renewed fighting erupted in Kaitlengong, Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza, Vosloorus and Soweto. In Kaitlengong, two families were wiped out on Monday after

Kwesini hostel dwellers and stormed into five sections in the township including Dikathole, Khumalo, Mosilki, Mokwena and Ramokonopi, killing more than 20 people.

One survivor of the killing spree, Alpheus Hajane, 50, a self-employed motor mechanic in Mosilki Section, said a Zulu impi killed his mother Se-mole, 70; his wife Leah, 48; brother Frans Hajane, 38; and 18-year-old son Johannes.

Hajane said the "chanting impi" started hacking and setting fire to cars outside the house and then stoned it, fired shots and forced their way in. The family heard gunshots

outside and a mob chanting. "My mother, wife and younger brother ran into one bedroom. I ran into the other bedroom with my two daughters and hid under the bed."

Hajane jumped out of the bedroom window and hid in the backyard. His 16-year-old daughter Rosina said that while she was under the bed with her sister Gladys, 5, she heard her mother move to the front door and tell their attackers there were no men in the house.

"I heard shots being fired, then came screams from the bedroom as the shooting continued and at the same time other men ransacked and destroyed furniture," Said Rosina.

Not far from Hajane's home, the sole survivor of a family of five, Sheila Monyela, 20, is grieving for her two sisters who died during the attack and her critically wounded parents are lying in Leratong Hospital.

In Vosloorus, a family of five was almost wiped out on Tuesday night when a Zulu impi charged into the Sotho section. Three members of the Segole family in Mokgako street were killed in the house and two amazingly escaped.

The attackers killed Ezekiel Segole, 50, his two sons Brian, 26, and Kelo, 22. His wife Sessy and their daughter Maria escaped by hiding in a toilet.



Grieving but lucky to be alive, Rosina and Gladys Hajane. Four of their family were killed.

Reasons for killings no longer clear

ANC is to urgently review options

By SEKOLA SELLO,
Political Editor

THE killings sweeping through most of the country's black residential areas, particularly of the Reef, have brought the country perilously close to a civil war - eclipsing the horrors of some of the world's worst trouble-spots.

The violence has taken on the dimensions of Lebanon, the Argentine of the 1970s, Northern Ireland and the recent bloodletting in Liberia - all rolled into one.

What is frightening is that instead of abating, the violence is getting worse.

When inter-organisational fighting started in the townships around Durban and Maritburg, the divisions were clear. The protagonists were Inkatha on the one hand, and the Cosatu/UDF alliance on the other. Even the causes of the conflict seemed clear enough. This was supposed to be an ideological war, while some analysts said it was also a fight over scarce resources.

When the fighting started on the Reef in recent weeks, first in the Vaal triangle township of Sebokeng, it was assumed this was a continuation or "importation" of the ongoing fighting between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance.

It was believed that

leave them. There were many solutions.

While prospects for peace seemed to be increasing, the fighting suddenly went beyond the townships.

Blacks are now being being attacked at railway stations in the city. They are being attacked on trains on their way home from work.

At least 30 people have died after being attacked at the Jeppe and Denver stations.

They are also being attacked at taxi ranks in town as they prepare to go home. Some taxis have been ambushed in the dead of the night.

This spate of killings - in which hundreds have been killed in just two weeks - shows the fighting is no longer tribal, ideological or even between township residents and hostel dwellers. The killings are now indiscriminate.

Explaining the reasons for the escalation of violence, director of the Project for the Study of Violence at Wits University, Lloyd Vogelmann, said this could be a combination of several factors.

He said whereas in the past the violence seemed "well planned and well orchestrated," today the picture had changed.

Vogelmann said the latest killings could indicate there was a "third force"

emerging, made up of ultra rightists - and possibly some elements within the security forces who shared their sympathies.

Vogelmann said although it was difficult to say some members of the security forces were involved in the killings, the fact the Law and Order Minister felt it necessary last year to make a ruling forbidding police from belonging to party political organisations, showed some members could be ultra rightists.

"I don't think this ruling has eliminated such elements in the forces."

Adding a more ominous note to the latest killings, Vogelmann said given the poverty in the townships, it was possible this "third force" could exploit the situation by "hiring black mercenaries to kill for money".

It would be naive to discount such a possibility, he said. "People in the townships are poor and brutalised. If they can rob for money, what is there to stop them from being employed to kill fellow blacks? This is a real possibility."

Vogelmann said it would be in the interests of the ultra rightists to create a climate of anarchy in the country. "If there is too much violence, (State President) Dr. Klerk will be forced to halt his reform initiatives. This is

what the ultra rightists want. Such anarchy would also put paid to negotiations."

According to Vogelmann, a climate of total anarchy could also precipitate a coup. "I am not saying this is going to happen, but a coup could be an outcome of anarchy."

Two of South Africa's leading clerics, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church, and Dr Stanley Mogoba, head of the Methodist Church, also conceded a "third force" could exist which was fanning trouble in the townships.

If indeed there are now mercenaries involved in the conflict, Reef townships could soon be worse than Lebanon - where random and senseless killings are a daily occurrence.

The ANC's National Executive Committee is to hold an emergency meeting early next week to focus specifically on the endemic violence. The NEC is also to review the prevailing situation - and to look at strategic and tactical options in the light of current circumstances.

This terse statement does not indicate whether some of the options to be reviewed would entail pulling out of the ongoing talks about talks and reverting to the armed struggle.

C Press 16/9/90

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Mandela and Buthelezi must talk

By CHARLES MCGALE

(118)

CALLS for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi grew this week as the death toll reached 736.

Thousands of people have been injured and homes burnt down as the level of violence reached unprecedented heights. The violence has spread into "white" areas with wanton attacks of people in trains and taxi ranks by groups of men believed to be mercenaries.

Mandela has persistently refused to meet the Zulu leader to discuss the wars between Inkatha and township residents. ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said a meeting between the two would be tantamount to Inkatha bringing the ANC to its knees.

Buthelezi, accused of not helping the peace process by justifying the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, has said he wants to meet Mandela. He said he believed this could help the peace process.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said a meeting between the two men could have a positive effect on their followers. Botha was reiterating President F.W. de Klerk's repeated calls to Mandela to meet Buthelezi.

In a veiled reference to the two leaders, John Allen, Press secretary to Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said churchmen were giving urgent attention to a range of steps to curb the violence, "including the possibility of getting the warring parties together".

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), which is meeting in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss the violence, said it shared the view that a meeting between the two leaders would be helpful.

The call was echoed by Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi.

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TONY FOLLOWS IN HIS DAD'S FOOTSTEPS

Couple re-tie knot in dusty Serowe

IN Southern Africa's wedding of the year Anthony Khama, son of the late Sir Serete Khama, married his white South African wife, Margaret le Roux of Rustenburg, for the second time yesterday, in the sweltering heat of Serowe. The people of Botswana have been waiting for this wedding for years. The couple arrived after 11am in a



Staff Reporters and Correspondents

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday warned that if the South African Government failed to take effective steps to end the current violence in South Africa, the only defence of the people would be to take up arms.

"We are not prepared to accept and witness the death of our people while the Pretoria government is conducting war against us," Mandela told the 5th summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad hoc committee on southern Africa.

The ANC leader blamed the South African Government for inciting members of the Inkatha Freedom Movement, faceless elements and State agencies for systematically mounting attacks and brutally killing the people of the ANC.

"Although the ANC is doing everything possible to avoid a war situation, the country will be drowned in blood if the South African Government fails to take firm action against these elements," Mandela warned.

He said the ANC suspended the armed struggle on August 7 because the movement believed in peaceful negotiations.

"We have removed obstacles to negotiations and we want a climate conducive to these negotiations."

plotted by the racist forces to their own advantage".

He said the continued lack of a united front between the ANC and the PAC plus violence between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC were serious drawbacks.

Mandela's warning follows killings on the Reef this week which appeared to be the work of faceless and efficient hit squads. Fears are growing that white rightwingers are being

We'll take up arms if government does not act - Mandela

now playing a hand in violence which this week claimed more than 65 lives on the Reef. Blacks on the Reef said they did not feel safe in the streets. The worst of these cold-blooded slayings was the Jeppe station shootings in which five people were killed on Thursday night. The death toll rose to six when one of the 11 victims admitted to hospital died on Friday.

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City Press



Staff Reporters and Correspondents

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He said the ANC suspended the armed struggle on August 7 because the movement believed in peaceful negotiations. "We have removed obstacles to negotiations and we want a climate conducive to these negotiations."

Mandela said the ANC rejected the government's demand that all leaders in the political structures set up by the government - like homeland leaders - be involved in negotiations.

This would mean the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements would be in the minority which would only increase the problem.

The ANC leader also called on the international community to continue to isolate South Africa and to maintain economic sanctions.

This sentiment was supported by the OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yeweri Museveni, who also called for sanctions until apartheid was dismantled.

Museveni said while some modest developments had taken place in South Africa it did not mean a fundamental shift in the policy of apartheid.

He called on anti-apartheid movements inside South Africa to forge a "common strategy" in the struggle against apartheid. Inter-factional fighting "can only be ex-

We'll take up arms if government does not act - Mandela

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The ugly face of mass murder . . .



A mysterious "third force" at work? A commuter and a loaf of bread that never reached home.

'Amen, so be it', their last prayer

By SOPHIE TEMA

"AMEN, SO BE IT" were the last words two women who had been praying uttered on Thursday before they and 24 other passengers were massacred by a gang of armed men who entered train No 36 - better known as "Ilicenza".

The killers boarded the 5.10pm train from Johannesburg to Naledi at George Goch station. Witnesses said they were armed with pangas, spears and guns.

As soon as the train started moving, the gang began attacking passengers indiscriminately. Of the 26 people killed, most were women who were shot and stabbed. And, said police, of the over 100 injured, most got hurt when they jumped from the train trying to get away from the killers.

A grisly sight greeted waiting commuters when the train arrived at Denver station. Next to one of the coaches - that of a woman - lay a Bible and next to another was a loaf of bread.

Train services shunned

THE number of suburban train passengers dropped significantly on Friday morning on the Keef, following the second attack on peak-hour commuters in just over a week of bloody carnage on carriages and station platforms.

Spoornet spokesman Jacques Pienaar said that on average there were 40 percent less passengers in trains running in and out of Soweto, Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus and Kagiso.

Tembisa, another flashpoint of conflict, was not affected, said Pienaar.

In just over seven days, 26 people were killed in a Soweto-bound train on Thursday night and three other people died when gunmen fired at commuters at Jeppe station.

Meanwhile, the decline in train passengers is not helping minibus taxi operators.

Taximen, according to a spokesman for the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association, Fanyana Sibhuti, are on average losing two operating hours a day, because they fear doing business before dawn and after dusk due to the ongoing violence.

Sibhuti said in some of the affected areas, taxi operators who lived in the hostels were forced to stop operating altogether because of tensions between local residents and hostel dwellers.

"In several places such as Katlehong, Vosloorus and Thokoza, taximen can only risk operating from the outskirts of the townships," he said. - Sage



A rescue worker wheels a victim of the train massacre to a waiting ambulance at Denver station.

"I then saw a man with a gun in his hand and a woman who was sitting on the seat opposite me was screaming hysterically as he shot her. I saw blood coming from her stomach. Another man from the gang walked up to her and stabbed her several times - until she stopped screaming.

"One of my friends whom I only know as Matlopo, died on the platform after I noticed that he had been battling for breath and gasping."

Elizabeth Lerke, who has a gaping wound in her forehead, said she and other frozen passengers were cornered by three of the killers after trying to escape. She said she saw the three killers stab a man with what looked like a spear - before they hacked him with pangas.

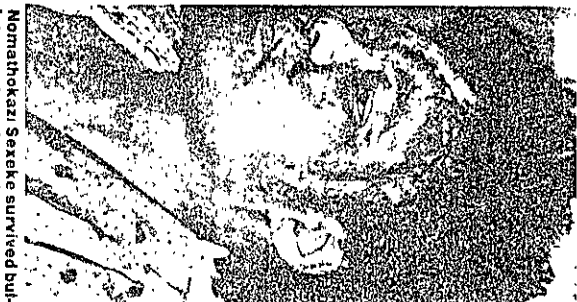
Traffic police threw a tight cordon around the Denver station, while paramedics in a helicopter and several ambulances ferried the injured to hospital.



The horror which left the country reeling with shock. M. PIER-ÉVANS MROWEH



Martina Mthembu . . . heard people screaming as she was praying.



Nomathokazi Seseke survived bullet wounds and a gash on her head.

A rescue worker wheels a victim of the train massacre to a waiting ambulance at Denver station.



Bodies of women – who moments earlier held a prayer meeting – litter a blood-spattered train coach after the killing spree.



Rescue workers and a victim alongside the train of death at Denver station. The killers escaped arrest. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWEN

My nightmare of hacking, screaming and death

By THABO HLATSHWAYO

AT about 6.30pm on Tuesday, Marimba Gardens in Vosloorus was plunged into darkness, but there's nothing sinister about this daily occurrence.

Two hours later, as I was preparing to go to bed, there was a knock on the door. A neighbour came to tell us the "Zulus" were about to attack.

I was duty-bound to join him and others to set up barricades. Sporadic machine-gun fire could be heard nearby, but this has also become a way of life in Vosloorus.

We discussed our plan in case of attack but we were helpless. None of us knew what to do. We resigned ourselves to a bloody fate.

The attack did not materialise but in the morning, people going to work were stopped

at the entrance to the township because the "Zulus" were about to mount an attack. I asked myself: "How could they attack in broad daylight?"

I decided to visit a friend who owned a car to ask him to take my family to Soweto. Before I reached his place, I met fleeing youths carrying petrol bombs. They were fleeing the "Zulus".

In the ensuing chaos, I ran into the nearest house. Inside, everyone huddled in silence. A few minutes later I saw a white minibus approach from which people were firing in the direction of the fleeing youths.

I was panic-stricken when I thought about my wife and 17-month-old daughter who were alone in the house. I wanted to get out and return home but was afraid to do so.

Twenty minutes passed before I could gather enough courage to go outside. I got

home safely but the house was locked and there was nobody there. I heard my wife call me. She was next door.

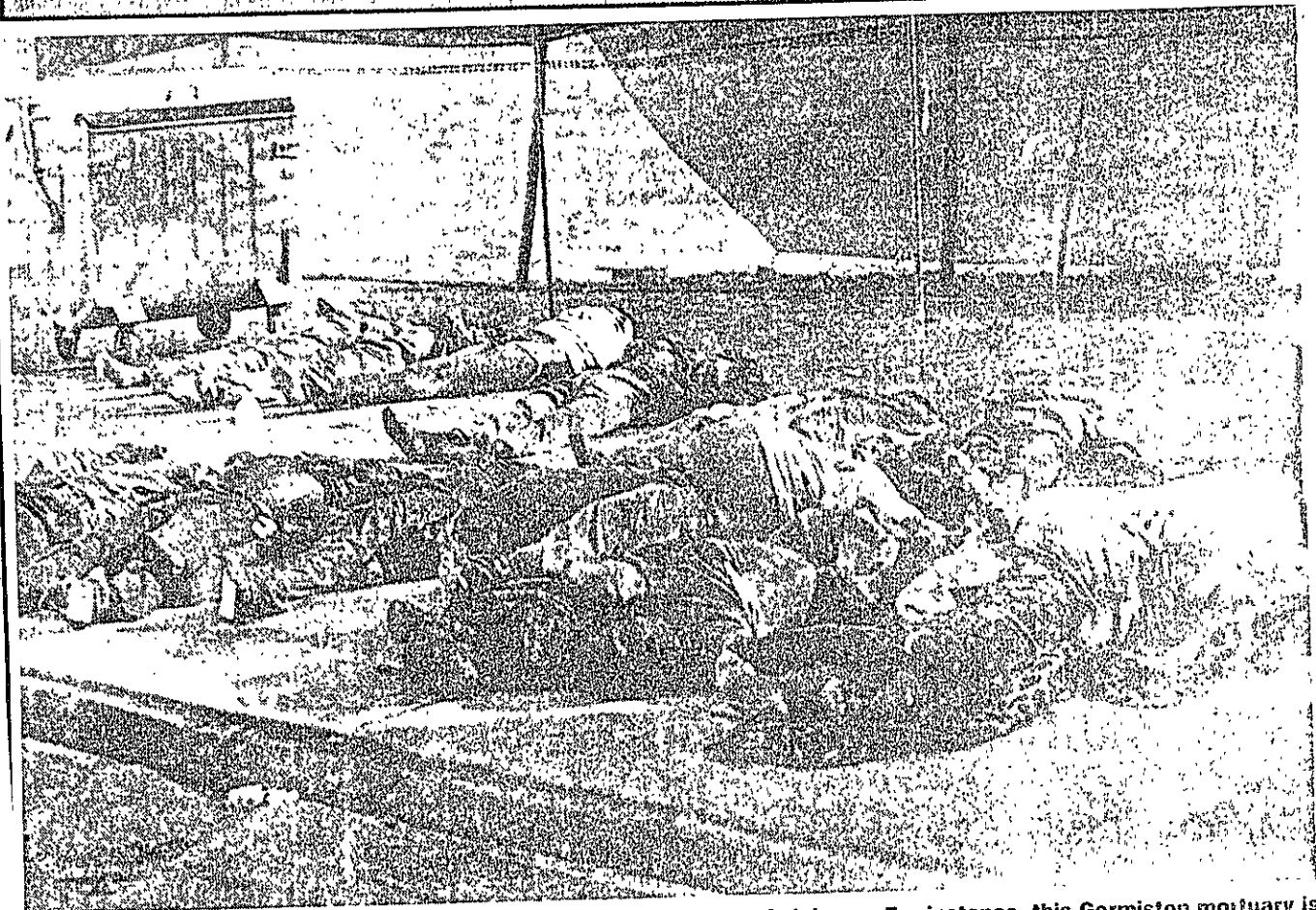
She told me the youths I had seen were being chased by the "Zulus". Some had jumped over our garden fence to escape.

Men chasing them wore red headbands and were armed with an assortment of pangas and spears.

Two youths were cornered just 200 metres down the road and were stabbed and hacked with pangas. I believe one was dead, the other near death. In another street, three more bodies were found - they had been shot dead.

When nightfall came, fears increased that the "Zulus" might return. But the night was peaceful. The electricity was turned on again - but no one dared switch on their lights.

The rotting victims of a rotten war



Mortuaries on the Reef were already full before this week's surge of violence. For instance, this Germiston mortuary is overflowing and bodies have been dumped in an open backyard where they have rotted under the scorching sun. These victims of violence are mainly from the East Rand.

Culture of intolerance spreading - experts Bloody struggle for power is worsening

Sowetan
17/9/90
113

SOCIAL friction between streetwise black youths and traditionalist Zulus is worsening a bloody struggle for political ascendancy in South Africa's townships, analysts say.

Black groups, trying to influence negotiations on ending white rule, have ignited a powderkeg of tensions between tribally-minded Zulu migrant workers and township residents of all tribes used to modern big city ways.

More than 750 people have died in violence between Johannesburg's township blacks, often including urban Zulus, and the 125 000 migrants living in 31 men-only hostels dotted around the city.

"We township people, Zulus and non-Zulus alike, have looked down on hostel people," wrote magazine columnist Nomavenda Mathiane, a Zulu resident of Soweto township.

"If the truth be known it is that many of us in Soweto - and particularly the people who speak English and have good jobs - have considered ourselves 'upper-class Zulus' and we see Inkatha as 'lower-class Zulus'."

The violence has degenerated to such an extent that blacks are sometimes summarily killed if they answer in the Zulu language when accosted by township youths near hostels.

"If the gangs point at a person's nose and ask what it is called you must judge whether to say 'Ikhala' or 'Impumulo'."

In some cases if your accent is wrong you still get hurt," she said.

Residents loyal to Nelson Mandela's ANC say they are fighting poorly-educated but aggressive migrant workmen manipulated by the Zulu Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mandela's main black rival.

They say he is trying to shoot

FOCUS

Sowetan
Correspondent

his way into negotiations on reform between Mandela and the white-led Government by inciting migrant workers to attack urban youths they feel lack respect for traditional values such as obedience to elders.

ANC officials seek to play down any suggestion of tribalism - a source of conflict throughout independent Africa - in the South African conflict.

But Buthelezi often plays on Zulu tribal loyalties.

"We will not tolerate attacks on the Zulu nation," he told Zulu chiefs last week. "We will not be annihilated as a people."

Largest

The Zulus are South Africa's largest black tribe and have a proud martial history. Zulus, literally "People of Heaven," live in Natal and Buthelezi's adjoining KwaZulu tribal homeland, where highly-structured black tribal life based around mud hut villages is much as it was centuries ago.

Praising Inkatha members as "Zulu brothers born out of Zulu warrior stock," Buthelezi said modern African states which ignored tribalism had always come to grief.

"Whenever new rulers attempt to rule without traditional leaders, the historical natural leadership that exists among people always surfaces to claim its rightful role."

Mathiane said: "It makes me feel so angry and bitter that Zulus who have nothing to do with Inkatha are associated with this violence.

"Most Zulus in the townships have no interest in Inkatha. Most of us have been scornful of In-

katha because they have collaborated with the Government."

Mamphela Ramphela, who teaches social anthropology at the University of Cape Town, said township residents had for years despised migrant workers as country bumpkins.

Migrant

In turn, the migrant workers used to traditional authority of village elders were outraged by importance accorded youths for their role in spearheading the anti-apartheid struggle.

The clash was worsened by a culture of intolerance spread among blacks by working for whites who operated the oppressive apartheid system of race segregation.

"The clash between the hostel dwellers and the residents may not

have been the cause of the fighting but now it has started, the hostel dwellers realise they have got a great opportunity to avenge years and years of being treated as non-persons," Ramphela said.

Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's Information Department, said hostel dwellers were living under conditions of great stress and alienation.

"They don't always understand why the young activists want stayaways (strikes) and so forth."

University of Zululand analyst Herbert Vilikazi said adult migrant workers "were turned off, puzzled and infuriated by the impatient, impetuous tactics of youth, in a manner totally outside the traditional code governing relations between young and old". - Sapa-Reuter



Death on the streets of Tladi... two women sit mourning beside the covered corpse of a male relative who was struck down in the violence sweeping the townships

FW urged to hold early conference

Sowetan 17/9/90

11B

11A

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) urged President FW de Klerk on Saturday to hold an urgent preparatory conference of all who hoped to participate in negotiating a new South Africa.

The party also called on the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to demand that ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela,

meet its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "for the sake of black people now being killed and maimed".

The party's central committee further warned US President George Bush and his government of the disastrous consequences if the US continued "its financial funding bias" in favour of the ANC and its SA Communist Party ally.

In politics money bought power, according

to the IFP, and the prospect for a multi-party democracy - as opposed to a one-party dictatorship - was threatened as long as the world, and the US in particular, continued to regard present negotiations as only involving the National Party Government and the ANC.

The IFP called on De Klerk to recognise that "those who posture for peace but campaign for violence must be

endorsed out" of the negotiating process.

Negotiations must begin with those parties who campaigned against violence and in favour of peace.

The committee also urged black South Africans to stand up and be counted in the process of establishing that the ANC's "so-called armed struggle was no more than an ANC-armed attack against black political opposition". - Sapa

70 000 at rallies hear calls for tolerance and patience

Zulu, Xhosa leaders' peace bid

SE 12/9/92



By Musa Mapisa

About 70 000 people yesterday flocked to Reef peace rallies at which traditional leaders called for an end to violence and for political parties to exercise tolerance, patience and vision.

The two joint Zulu-Xhosa rallies held in Tokoza Stadium near Alberton and Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto were addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Paramount Chief Turator Ndumase, the Transkeian President.

Thousands of Zulus with red head-bands and carrying an assortment of weapons streamed through Tokoza's streets, dancing and singing on their way to the rally while shouting women lined the roads.

Chief Ndumase said the Tokoza rally was not a political meeting but rather an effort by traditional leaders to stop the violence by blacks against blacks.

"We are here not to say who started the violence, who is guilty and who is not guilty, but to say let there be peace among blacks," Chief Ndumase said.

He called on blacks to fight apartheid and not to allow themselves to be used to kill other blacks. He pleaded for black people to embrace each other as brothers and not to take up arms against each other — for the sake of their children, wives and land.

It would be sad if the affairs of the country were to be decided by a single political party, Chief Ndumase added. He called on the Government to ensure that people felt safe in their homes.

He commended President F.W. de Klerk for the steps he had taken to dismantle apartheid.

King Zwelithini told the Tokoza rally he had come to the Reef to put out the fires of violence.

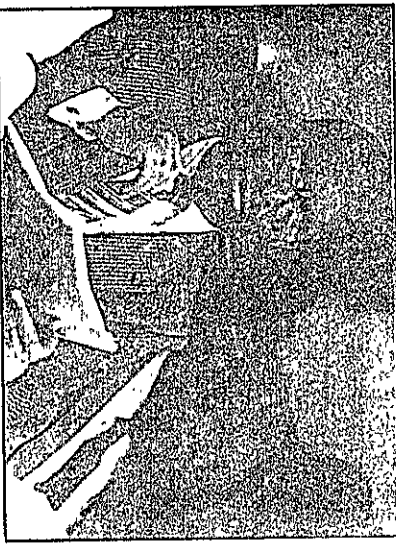
"I have come to tell my father's people that I, as King of Zulus, will not tolerate violence perpetrated in the name of KwaZulu," he said. The monarch said he differed with the people who called for the destruction of hostels as this would not solve the problem.

He said the cause of the fighting was the political mobilisation of people for certain purposes where hostel dwellers and Inkatha members were excluded but were required to conform.

The Alberton consumer boycott was an example, he said.

King Zwelithini and Paramount Chief Ndumase ended the rally by shaking hands.

At the Jabulani Amphitheatre rally, King Zwelithini and Chief Ndumase repeated the appeals for peace they had made at Tokoza.



Joint effort . . . KwaZulu's King Goodwill Zwelithini (left) and Transkeian President Paramount Chief Turator Ndumase at the rally.

Plea to media

The king emphasised the importance of respect for political differences. "It is wrong to launch personal attacks against leaders and attempting to shame them before the world," he said.

He appealed strongly to the media to stop reporting events in such a way that it would encourage the violence and to stop blaming only one group for the violence.

Other traditional leaders who were present were Paramount Chief Mopeli of QwaQwa, Chief Nk. Mahlangu of KwaNdebele, Princess Stella Sigcau, the former Transkeian Prime Minister, and Prince Ngebo, a Pan Africanist Congress member stationed in London.

Police report that sporadic incidents of stone-throwing broke out when large numbers of Zulu men marched back to their hostels after the peace rally.

Lieutenant Colonel Tyeme Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said a Zulu man who had wandered off from his group was knocked unconscious in White City when he was hit on the head with a stone. He was also stabbed in the chest and seriously wounded. He is being treated at Baragwanath.

Several minor incidents also occurred on the march to and from the stadium. The large police contingent present had dispersed groups before any major incidents.

A man was set on fire but rescued and taken to hospital at an incident after the Jabulani peace rally. Freelance photographer John Kumalo said he saw a large group of armed Inkatha supporters leave the stadium.



Praying for peace . . . An Inkatha supporter at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday. Pictures by Pat Heggen.

137 men on 34 murder charges

Star 17/9/90 (118)

Vereeniging Bureau

A group of 137 Inkatha members, arrested after a bloody battle in Sebokeng earlier this month, jam-packed the Vanderbijlpark magistrate's court in a brief appearance on Friday.

In the group was Themba Khosa, Transvaal chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

So full was the courtroom as one Zulu after the other filed into the

courtroom from the cells below, that the court had to be cleared of all spectators.

The 137 men, many of them elderly and greying, appeared before magistrate Rinus Langenhoven in connection with several charges, including public violence, 34 counts of murder, unlawful possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives and wilful damage to property.

No charges were put

to the accused and no evidence was led.

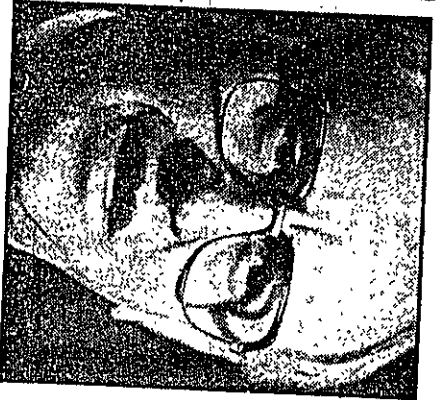
Many of them stood expressionless while others looked on in a baffled fashion as counsel for the defence, M Basslian, made an application for bail.

The question of bail was referred to the Attorney General's office.

The case was postponed to September 28, until which time the accused will remain in custody at the Leeuwhof and Groenpunt prisons.

Vlok 'averts possible large clash' in Tokoza

Staff Report
By Guy Jenson



Minister Adriaan Vlok

Police say that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe averted a possible large-scale confrontation yesterday when they addressed about 2 000 heavily armed Phola Park residents who had gathered 2 km from the Tokoza Stadium.

Inside the stadium thousands of people, the majority of them armed Inkatha supporters, were being addressed by the Zulu king, Goodwill

Zwelithini Ka Bhhekuzulu, and Transkei president and paramount chief, Tutor Ndamase.

Mr Vlok, General van der Merwe and Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet were flying over the troubled East Rand township in a police helicopter when they noticed the crowd marching on the stadium.

Mr Vlok ordered the pilot to land near the gathering, Brigadier Mellet said last night.

"We approached the crowd, who

were very hostile. Mr Vlok addressed the crowd, urging them to sit down. Although the Phola Park residents refused to be disarmed, they listened attentively to Mr Vlok who urged them to wait until he could negotiate with President Ndamase, who agreed to address them," the brigadier said.

The crowd left the area chanting "Viva Vlok, Viva SAP", Brigadier Mellet said. But Sapa reports that a panga-wielding man shouted: "SAP, go away."

Retribution before reconciliation - PAC



17/9/60

CAPE TOWN — The militant Africanist chant "One settler, one bullet" was a call for retribution against the crimes against black South Africans, senior Pan Africanist Congress official Barney Desai told more than 1,000 people in Cape Town on Saturday.

Addressing a mass PAC rally in the Hanover Park civic hall, Mr Desai said: "I say if you think we are going to absolve you of the crimes you have perpetrated against the black people of this country you are mis-

taken."

He was referring to a letter written by a reader of a Cape Town newspaper this week who took exception to the slogan.

Mr Desai said the PAC stood for reconciliation but "there can be no reconciliation between master and servant, oppressor and oppressed unless justice is done."

The PAC called for a constituent assembly as it believed the people of a country had to draw up their own constitution. The organisation demanded a

constituent assembly based on one-person-one-vote in a unitary state.

"It is not a question of writing a constitution in someone else's lavatory. If you do it the only thing to do with that constitution is to pull the chain," Mr Desai said.

People opposed to a constituent assembly wanted to protect their racist privileges.

Launching an attack on the ANC for taking part in negotiations with the Government, Mr Desai said the PAC asked no fa-

vours from "our oppressors".

The organisation had been invited to talk to the Government and it may do so — but it would not budge from its demand that the people write their own constitution.

The meeting also featured speakers from the National Council of Trade Unions, the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

Chanting youths added to the militant tone at the meeting: — Sapa.

Convene an urgent conference, FW urged

116 2004 Star 17/9/90
The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on Saturday urged President de Klerk to hold an urgent preparatory conference of all who hope to take part in negotiating a new South Africa.

The party also called on the Organisation of

African Unity and the United Nations to demand that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela meet its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "for the sake of black people now being killed and maimed".

The party's central

committee further warned US President George Bush and his government of the disastrous consequences if the US continued "its financial funding bias" in favour of the ANC and its SA Communist Party ally. — Sapa.

The Red Arrows, the Royal Air Force precision flying team, streak over a statue on top of the Queen Victoria Memorial, opposite Buckingham Palace, during Saturday's flypast of 150 aircraft to mark the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain. Picture: REUTERS

Inkatha seeks slice of US funds

Business Day Reporter

INKATHA is vying with the ANC for the \$10m the US Congress set aside earlier this year to promote negotiations on a new constitution.

At its meeting at the weekend the Inkatha central committee accused the US government of bias towards the ANC and said it was "deeply aware of the extent to which money actually buys power in politics" *B10m 17/7/90*

It was responding to a report in Business Day last week on the ANC proposal that Congress transfer \$9 587 062 to the ANC's treasury to fund offices, communications, transport, salaries and operating expenses for its negotiating secretariat, department of legal affairs and women's and youth leagues.

The ANC said this would enable it to "harness the tremendous political support" it claimed to enjoy in SA.

It wanted the nearly \$10m Congress intended to be spent over two years, for just one year's activities.

Inkatha said it would become disadvan-

taged if the world, and particularly the US, continued to favour the ANC.

It resolved to inform US President George Bush and his government that the bias in the US's various funding programmes, "both governmental and non-governmental, will have disastrous consequences for democracy in SA if the bias continues to favour the ANC and their SA Communist Party".

The central committee resolved to call on the US ambassador to convey disquiet to Bush and to obtain a formal US statement about the criteria under which aid was going to be provided for the development of democracy in SA.

It wanted the US to assure its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that Inkatha would get "its fair share of whatever financial support the US deems fit to provide for the development of democracy in this country".

Ex-MP slates Mandela, Times talks of 'miracles'

118 Star 18/9/90

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's blacks and their leaders could have isolated any "mischievous and malicious third force" by getting together and concluding a peace treaty.

This is the view of former Labour MP Robert Kilroy-Silk who believes the solution lies to a large extent in the hands of Nelson Mandela, who "could use his undoubted authority to call for peace in the townships".

He criticises Mr Mandela's "consistent refusal" to call for peace in the townships and to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and asks whether the ANC leader is "fearful that his young militants will ignore him and show him up to be an empty vessel, representing no one but himself, Winnie (Mandela) and a few hardliners".

Or is it, he adds, "that he feels that the ANC — which he is now threatening to arm — is gradually getting the upper hand?"

Mr Kilroy-Silk says the world "treats him (Mr Mandela) as a statesman. But to act like one means that he must do what's right for all South Africans, not what is politically expedient for the ANC".



Chief Buthelezi . . . realist who wants all blacks to have the vote.



Nelson Mandela . . . fearful that young militants will ignore him.

The Times, meanwhile, says President de Klerk has had no choice but to use force to stop the "gang warfare" between Zulus and Xhosas.

To deny that the South African State, "despite its shortcomings", is charged with the primary task of maintaining order would embrace not revolution or evolution, but anarchy.

The paper, in its second leading article yesterday, says Mr de Klerk will retain his initiative only if he can restore order in the townships without serious loss of life, and bring the Zulus into the constitutional

process without alienating the ANC leadership — "a double miracle".

"But since the preservation of a stable, though democratic and multiracial South Africa is in the interest of the entire southern half of the continent, the lives of millions depend on his success".

In the Daily Mail yesterday, Paul Johnson berates Britain's "white liberals", whom he claims are "losing control of the thugs from their beloved ANC". He adds that the liberal message rests on the "manifest lie" that Mr Mandela speaks for all South African blacks.

Stemming the mayhem

Star 13/9/90



The merciless orgy of violence that has erupted in certain Transvaal townships bears many of the characteristics of the 1984-86 uprisings — only it is more vicious and it is killing more people.

Ironically, the massacres and mayhem have reached new levels of intensity in the immediate wake of the August 2 Pretoria Minute. In the six weeks since then, when the African National Congress (but not the Pan Africanist Congress) announced the suspension of its armed struggle, more than 700 people have lost their lives — and thousands have been seriously injured.

Most of the barbaric blood-letting has been at the hands of butchering bands of thugs who have hacked, stabbed and shot their opponents with crude weapons and guns. A good deal of the violence has become increasingly indiscriminate — directed at random against innocent commuters and pedestrians.

More widely, the scale of the slaughter is beginning to jeopardise negotiations between the Government and the ANC as protagonists trade political accusations of irresponsibility, partiality and complicity in the violence.

Behind the grisly carnage lies a cocktail of "tribal", ideological and economic factors. At one level, conflict is sparked off by mutual fears between two groupings — one apparently dominated by (mainly) Zulu supporters of Inkatha, in tandem with politically conservative hostel dwellers; the other aligned with radical urbanised residents whose loyalties lie with the ANC/SA Communist Party/United Democratic Front/Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance.

What is certain, however, is that many of those involved perceive the conflict in ethnic terms.

"We are the Zulus and we are fighting the Xhosas" — or vice versa — are refrains frequently reported by journalists. This kind of ethnic consciousness seems to be

DR SIMON BAYNHAM, chief researcher in political and strategic studies at the Africa Institute of South Africa, considers the causes and cures of the Reef township war.



especially prevalent in the hostels which have traditionally been Inkatha strongholds.

The increasingly volatile situation has been fuelled by grim living conditions inside the burgeoning squatter camps, by a dangerous dearth of employment and education opportunities and by the militant criminality of the nothing-to-lose dispossessed as traditional patterns of civic culture and authority fragment and collapse.

Against this backdrop of political bitterness and socio-economic grievances come competing claims of complicity and bias directed at the security forces.

As with cancer, it is relatively easy to diagnose the causes but much trickier to suggest cures. There are, however, a number of specific proposals that deserve detailed consideration. Most of these relate to the role and deployment of the security forces:

- Strict adherence to the principle of minimum force. (This should not be misunderstood to mean that maximum force should never be used). To date, riot-control techniques have often been unnecessarily heavy-handed.

- Years of political neglect have rendered the SA Police undermanned, underpaid and grossly over-stretched. There is an urgent requirement, for a rapid expansion of the police — especially black police — over and above the belated measures to expand the force and improve conditions of service announced by the Government in

June. This would eventually permit the SAP to focus on its primary role: tackling "ordinary" crime which is running at an all-time high.

- Consideration might also be devoted to decentralising police authority so that local communities could have a greater say regarding the role, methods, and composition of these forces.

- Linked to the above points is a need for the SAP to be depoliticised and sensitised to the rights and requirements of all SA's citizens. There is an imperative for the SAP to become visibly identified with the process of reform (rather than reaction) if its name is to become synonymous with its motto: *Servamus et servimus* (To protect and to serve).

- The creation of an entirely new paramilitary riot force, one independent of both the military and police, should be examined. Such bodies are common in the European democracies. This would enable the SAP (and the Defence Force) to cultivate an image of serving the interest of all members of the community, thus divorcing it from those duties that have given the SAP a stigma as enforcers of apartheid laws and internal order.

- In the aftermath of the Goldstone Commission, there have been fresh demands for an open inquiry into the SADF Sebokeng shooting (which left 11 dead) and other incidents. Unless this happens, the security forces will remain wide open to unsubstantiated allegations regarding their behaviour and discipline.

- In the above respect, a permanent judicial commission could be established to investigate the violence — as suggested to President de Klerk by an Anglican church delegation on September 10. The clerics also argued that independent monitors (including judges, lawyers and community and church leaders) accompany security forces acting in unrest situations.

- Also of crucial importance is the requirement to speed up the judicial process, so that court cases are dealt with quickly, and to implement measures which will address the material and educational grievances that lie behind so much of the turmoil. In both respects, the Government has already initiated a number of specific steps, but these will take time to percolate through the strata of bureaucratic red tape to have any effect.

- Penultimately, there is an urgent imperative for the ANC and Inkatha to co-operate in stemming the bloodshed. For this to happen, there must be a willingness on the part of all legitimate leaders to participate in a process of reconciliation to stop blaming one another and to discipline their respective constituents.

The catalyst for this should be a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi — a meeting that must mark the end of provocative speeches by khaki-clad men (and women) of the radical Right and Left.

- Finally, non-partisan security force action in the townships must be immediately stepped up (at least in the short term), as now called for by the ANC. If this requires a massive show of force from the SADF, then so be it. For unless the current levels of localised anarchy are checked and drastically reduced, many more South Africans — and especially black South Africans — will be staring a savage state of nature in the face where, in Thomas Hobbes's immortal lines, life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short".

Blood-letting swings blacks against Buthelezi

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

A nationwide poll by Intergrated Marketing Research last month showed that many blacks regarded the ANC as most representative of their lot. ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela led among the politicians making positive contributions to a future South Africa. President F W de Klerk came second.

The poll among 2 100 "economically active" blacks showed that 51% believed Inkatha "was making a negative contribution to the future of SA". In a similar study in April, 18% were critical of Inkatha, IMR said yesterday.

11/5
Chf 7/2/83 19/1/83
The performance by Inkatha rivalled the extreme conservative movement AWB, which polled 52%, an 8% drop since April.

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

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

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

Twenty percent held a similar view of President de Klerk and 12% for the National Party. Seventy percent said the ANC was representative

of black opinion today, a sharp rise from 20% in a study conducted in January.

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

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

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

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

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

Top-level Natal peace talks start today

113

Sowetan
19/9/90

A TOP-LEVEL meeting between Inkatha and four members of the African National Congress's national executive appointed to deal with the Natal violence will take place in Durban today

This will be the first time that such high-ranking delegations will have met to discuss the bloodshed in the province which has left thousands of people dead.

Their discussions follow a weekend meeting between ANC and Inkatha delegates from Ndwedwe near Verulam, during which an agenda was drawn up for further

SOWETAN Correspondent

joint talks on how to restore calm to the troubled area.

ANC head of intelligence, Jacob Zuma, and KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, Steven Sithebe, were present at the weekend meeting, and were also an integral part

of the Lower Umfolosi Peace Accord, which has gone far in keeping the peace in the Empangeni area.

Today's meeting is expected to take the question of peace "one step further."

They said the two delegations were approaching the meeting with an open agenda and

a positive attitude. The four ANC executive members due at the meeting are Jacob Zuma, Gertrude Shope, Thabo Mbeki and John Nkandeng. The Inkatha delegates are Steven Sithebe, Frank Mdlalose, Musa Zondi, Denis Madide, Velaphi Ndlovu and Nqobizizwe Nkehli.

Poll shows urban shift against Inkatha

URBAN black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha during the past few months, says an Integrated Marketing Research survey.

A poll conducted among 2 100 economically active blacks last month showed 51% (18% in April) believed Inkatha was making a negative contribution to SA's future.

Only the AWB — at 52% — was regarded as more negative than Inkatha, followed by the Wit Wolwe (18%) and the PAC (13%).

The ANC was making a positive contri-

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Blair 19/9/90
Business Day Reporter

bution, said 66% of respondents, while 34% named ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela as a positive contributor and 20% named President F W de Klerk.

Seventy percent (24% in January) said the ANC represented black opinion, while 44% (13%) felt Nelson Mandela represented their opinions.

The UDF took second spot with 28% and Inkatha was given 4%.

Big row brewing over SADF shootings

mcus 5/9/90



Picture: SEAN WOODS, Argus Group Picture Service

OF FRIENDSHIP: A smiling President De Klerk shakes hands with a schoolgijgi during his surprise tour of Soweto.

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force has appointed a board of inquiry into the killing of 11 people by SADF troops in Sebokeng yesterday amid calls for a judicial commission of inquiry.

The 11 township residents were shot dead during a confrontation between a 5 000-strong crowd and a contingent of troops called in by the police.

Today both the African National Congress and the Democratic Party said a judicial inquiry must be held. A military probe would not satisfy them.

While saying today that a military board of inquiry had been appointed, a Ministry of Defence spokesman said no further statement would be issued at this stage.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said Mr Nelson Mandela had called for a judicial inquiry.

The SADF could not investigate itself, said Mr Macozoma.

DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said of the military probe: "In the light of the recent Goldstone inquiry (which sternly criticised police for the shooting of protesters in the township earlier this year) this is simply not good enough. That inquiry showed beyond any doubt that at least in certain instances the security forces have acted improperly in suppressing unrest.

"The public will expect a similar objective and authoritative inquiry into the latest episode."

Mr Mandela said the ANC was outraged at the "carnage".

Meeting with Vlok

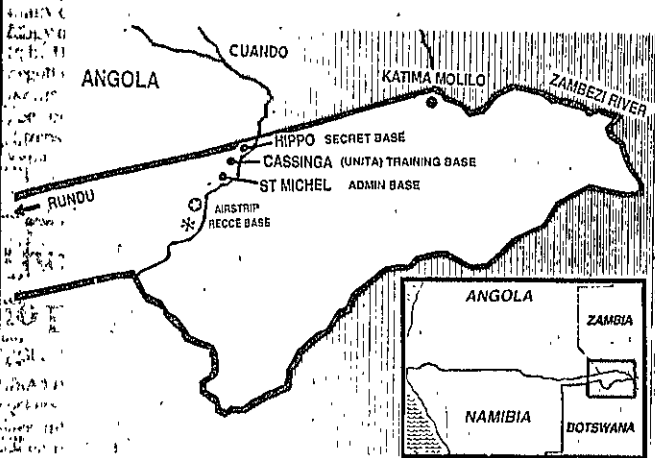
He was speaking after he and other ANC executive members had seen some of the bodies of the people who were slain — just hours before Mr Mandela left the order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to



Mr Nelson Mandela... outraged at "carnage".

EXPOSED: Caprivi base where SADF officers gave lessons in guerrilla tactics

Inkatha's secret train



The secret bases in Caprivi ... the trainees thought they were in Zaïre

UB
 AN elite unit of Inkatha fighters has been trained in guerrilla warfare by South African army officers at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip.

This base, called Hippo and located on the banks of the Cuando River 80km west of Katimo Mulilo, fell under the control of Chief of Staff Intelligence.

This division of the South African Defence Force took over control of the Mozambique guerrilla group, Renamo, from the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation in the 1970s and turned it into the clandestine force that it is today.

The Inkatha training base fell under the command of Colonel Jan Breytenbach, founder of the SADF's 32 Battalion that specialised in cross-border operations in Angola. Second in charge was a Colonel Sachsen, who commands the Fifth Reconnaissance Commando in Phalaborwa. This commando unit has, in the

Wimal 2119-2711
EDDIE KOCH reports on evidence

past, been involved in support for Renamo and has recruited Mozambicans, Angolans and former Zimbabwean dissidents into its ranks.

The Hippo base trained at least 200 Inkatha guerrillas in 1986. The SADF officer in charge of training was Major "Jakes" Jacobs. He was assisted by a lieutenant, a sergeant and another officer. Some recruits remember being met by four white men who slapped them on the back and joked about how they were going to make soldiers of them.

A training base for Unita fighters, an administrative centre for Chief of Staff Intelligence and a military airstrip were located some 10km south of Hippo. Personnel at these bases were instructed not to go near the Inkatha base.

Mystery 'third force' is hurting FW too

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE success or failure of Operation Iron Fist could determine the outcome of President FW de Klerk's entire reform initiative.

He has to stop the violence. He has to root out those who are using it to destroy the negotiation process. He has to restore some measure of credibility to the security forces. And he has to create the stability needed for the negotiations on which he has staked his political life to proceed.

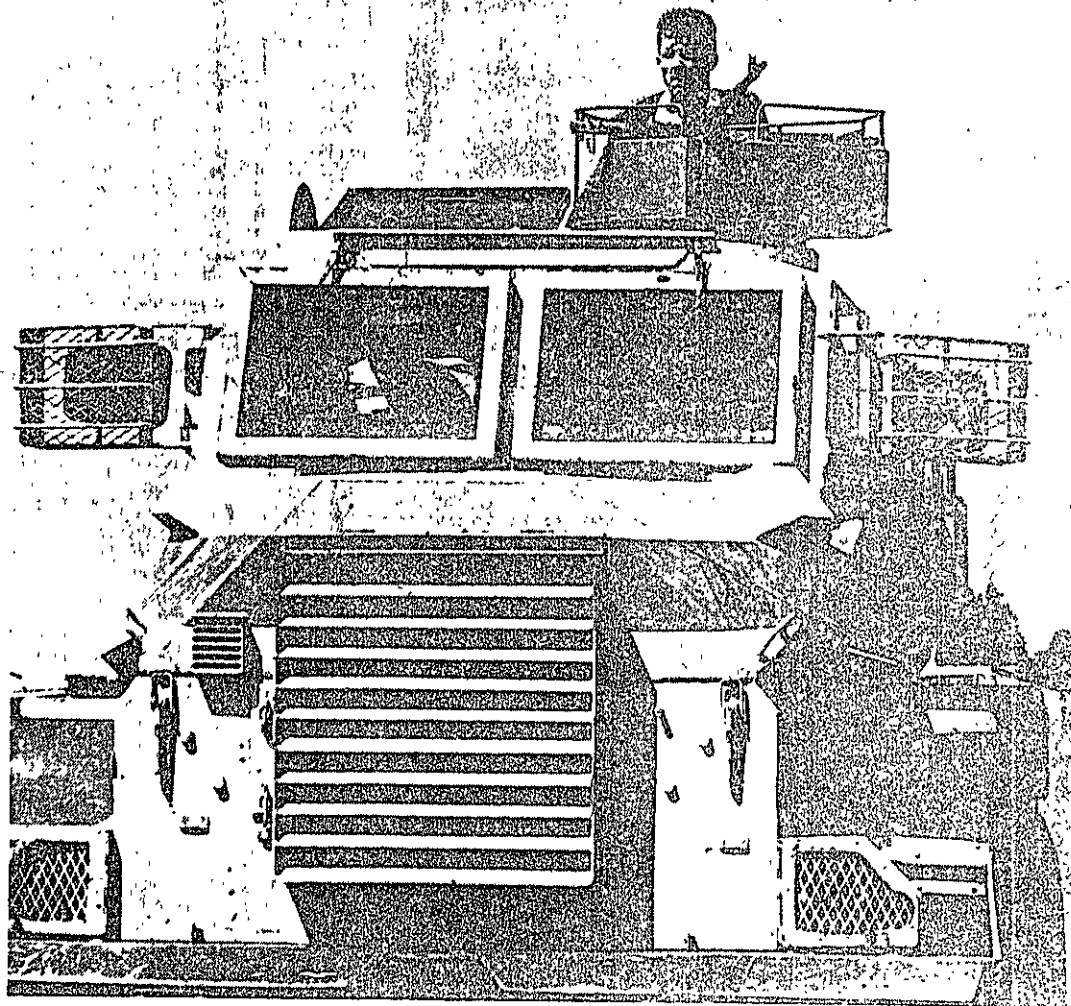
The big losers in the violence are De Klerk and the National Party, the African National Congress, and the residents of the townships. Ordinary people want peace. They are even prepared to stomach a police operation with the unpromising name of Iron Fist if it means they can get on with their lives without fear of being slaughtered on their way to work.

They are as dismayed at the ANC's ineffectualness in the face of the violence as at the government's failure to stop it. But it is ultimately the responsibility of the government of the day to protect people's lives.

Not only have the security forces failed to prevent the murder of almost 800 people, but some sections have been accused of complicity in the violence. The problem of rogue elements in the security forces has dogged De Klerk since he came to office a year ago and inherited a highly politicised police force and army.

They were moulded by the old order; many of them are still steeped in the ideology of "total onslaught". They ought to be De Klerk's biggest strength at the negotiating table, but they are proving to be his biggest liability. On the day he goes out to spread goodwill in Soweto, dozens of people are massacred in Sebokeng.

The inherent contradiction in De



Klerk's position has been spelt out by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. "You can't put the negotiation cart before stability," says Slabbert. "De Klerk needs stability if the negotiations are to succeed, but the agents of that stability are so contaminated by the past that they have no legitimacy."

The trouble with the past is that it is brutally present in the township violence. Mandela has called on De Klerk to take the strongest measures against the perpetrators of the violence, including elements within the police. De Klerk has set up special units to seek them out.

Significantly, he is also considering appointing an independent, "highly respected" person to investigate allega-

tions against the police and the SADF. That person will have to be really determined because the fox behind the wolves — as one Mapetla resident colourfully described whoever is orchestrating the violence — has kept himself well hidden.

Civil rights lawyer Nicholas Haysom says that though there has been abundant evidence of police intervention on the side of Inkatha in unrest situations, there is no hard evidence backing up claims that whites, with their faces and hands blackened, have led the vigilantes into battle. It is certainly an open question whether the "hidden hand" is within the state or right-wing "freelance" groups, perhaps on the margins of the state.

What there is is a logic to the violence. The Denver station massacre, for instance, had all the hallmarks of a Renamo attack — random brutality, striking terror into the hearts of ordinary black people. The pattern of the Reef violence, the concerted way in which it moved from hostel to hostel, was too concerted, too reminiscent of state-sponsored vigilantism elsewhere, to be coincidental.

Haysom says one has to look at the patterns, who benefits and who loses. "There are elements of real ethnic tension which are being capitalised on," he says. "The result of the violence is to expose De Klerk's reforms as leading to anarchy and chaos, and to create real divisions in the black community."

Officers gave lessons in guerrilla tactics

secret training base

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EDDIE KOCH reports on evidence of a Renamo connection

AN elite unit of Inkatha fighters has been trained in guerrilla warfare by South African army officers at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip.

This base, called Hippo and located on the banks of the Cuando River 80km west of Katimo Mulilo, fell under the control of Chief of Staff Intelligence.

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past, been involved in support for Renamo and has recruited Mozambicans, Angolans and former Zimbabwean dissidents into its ranks.

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A training base for Unita fighters, an administrative centre for Chief of Staff Intelligence and a military airstrip were located some 10km south of Hippo. Personnel at these bases were instructed not to go near the Inkatha base.

At least two batches of Inkatha fighters, each about 100 strong, were trained to use AK-47s, RPG7 rocket launchers, G3 submachine guns, Browning machine guns and anti-personnel mines. The course at Hippo lasted seven months and included lessons in urban and guerrilla warfare, use of explosives and demolition, and contra-mobilisation — a form of military intelligence work.

The recruits were never told where the base was but remember seeing elephant, giraffe and lion. Some were led to believe that they were in Zaire.

After training was completed the unit was divided into four divisions — called "offensive", "defensive", "ministers' aides" and "contra-mobilisation intelligence" — before returning to Ulundi

where some of them were required to train other Inkatha members. One of these units spent two weeks at a farm north of Pretoria, where they went on a refresher course.

These details have been denied by the government of kwaZulu and a representative of the SADF told said he had no knowledge of the Inkatha training base. However, they have been verified by a former member of the military's Civil Co-Operation Bureau (CCB), a member of the SADF who served in the Caprivi Strip region at the time, and by Inkatha members who were trained at Hippo and have made statements to lawyers about their experiences.

There are also reports that there was, at least until last year, a training camp for Renamo members at Lake Sibaya near the border between Mozambique and Natal. Prior to that a supply base for Renamo bands operating in southern Mozambique existed at Katwyn village, which is in Ndumu game reserve.

Both of these bases are in kwaZulu and falls under the control of Ulundi. Inkatha officials would have known of these camps. This would have provided extensive opportunity for collusion between members of the Zulu organisation and the Mozambican rebels.

A member of the kwaZulu Police has made an affidavit stating that one of the camps where Inkatha "hit-men" are trained is located at Mkuze about 60km from Ndumu. This camp, the affidavit says, was commanded by a Captain Langeni and "members of Inkatha go there, in particular members of the central committee".

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela hinted at a connection between civil strife in Mozambique and internecine war in the Transvaal when he told reporters at a press conference in Johannesburg last Friday that the "third force" involved in the Reef violence marked the beginnings of a Renamo movement in South Africa.

He made it clear he meant this in more than a figurative sense — the Reef killers were well-trained, ruthless and professional, he said. They may have come from a foreign state and it was significant that they did not speak when carrying out the attacks. But the comments were left vague and Mandela refused to elaborate. Clearly the ANC did not yet have enough evidence to firmly indict Renamo and its backers.

How likely, then, is it that networks of the rebel movement which still exist in South Africa are now being called on — either by Inkatha or members of the security establishment — to carry out similar tactics to those that forced Mozambique's Pretimo-led government to abandon left-wing socialism in favour of co-operation with Pretoria?

There is no doubt that the Zulu nationalist movement has ample opportunity for contact and collusion with Renamo.

The ANC has statements from township residents that contains more substantial suggestions of Renamo in the Reef violence. Accounts abound of Mozambicans supplying AK-47s and training in how to use the assault rifles to Inkatha combatants. Hostels rooms in Vosloorus and Watville on the East Rand are said to have been converted into arsenals for these weapons.

According to statements from ANC supporters on the East Rand, former Renamo members are living in the area and are using the hostels to sell AK-47s and other weapons to Inkatha supporters.

© To PAGE 2



This is the real 'Iron Fist': First glimpse of a Casspir with a light-machine gun newly-mounted on top, in Soweto yesterday
Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

While it is difficult to distinguish between fact and rumour in the conditions of terror in the townships, the gut instinct of most residents — that some sinister hidden hand is behind it all — is probably not far wrong.

Even De Klerk accepts that. In an interview with the *Star* newspaper this week, he said that small groups had organised to kill people at random and that there "might be a yet unknown group which has decided to misuse the general state of unrest and violence in these specific areas to derail the negotiation process".

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Shanggaan group seeking political status

XIMOKO Xa Rixaka, Gazankulu's version of the erstwhile Inkatha cultural movement, may soon become a political party.

BY SY MAKARINGE

estimated 70 000 membership to form a political party.

The controversial leadership of Professor Hudson Nisanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, is to hold its sixth annual congress in Giyani on October 20 at which it will seek a mandate from its

This was confirmed by the movement's general secretary, Mr K R Myakayaka, who last week said it was high time that the image of the movement was adjusted

to "fit in the present political climate."

If it gets the mandate, Ximoko Xa Rixaka (a loose Shanggaan translation for Whip of the Nation), will become the second of the so-called cultural movements to become a political party after Inkatha under the presidency of Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Myakayaka said that depending on the decision

on the issue of forming a political party, the congress might also discuss the question of forming an alliance with an established political organisation or party.

He declined to name possible allies, but observers believe the movement may try to make inroads into the ANC or forge links with the National Party, widely regarded as a natural ally.

Nisanwisi himself has been in constant contact with the leadership of the ANC, since the organisation was unbanned on February 2.

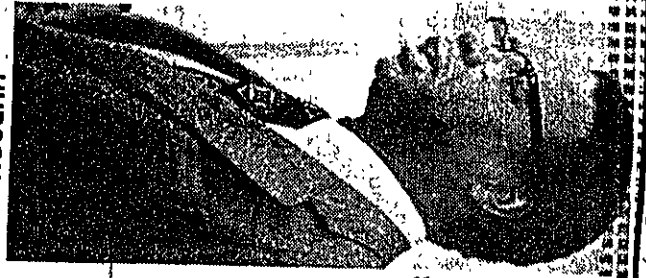
Ximoko Xa Rixaka was in the centre of a political storm earlier this year when activists in the homeland called for its disbandment as it was seen as an obstacle towards the liberation of black people.

In his address on the future of Ximoko Xa Rixaka in June, Myakayaka told members that the movement should distance itself from the Gazankulu government and that active participa-

tion in organisational and promotional work should be done by politicians and not by those employed by the government.

He said the movement should not disband but must rather look for a "larger organisation which has a broader base and seek alliance with it to merge and form a viable political party."

He said Ximoko Xa Rixaka should also get rid of its ethnic and racial base "and remain a non-racial branch of the new party."



HUDSON NTSANWISI

A few days later he was aflame

By Glen Elisas,
West Rand Bureau

A Soweto man, who told The Star he was upset by the attitude of some Church leaders who visited Reef townships last week, was the same man who appeared in photographs days later being hacked, stabbed and burnt alive.

Last week The Star conducted an interview with Linder Tshabalala, who was upset by the action of church and other leaders after a visit to the area by church dignitaries.

A few days later South Africa was shocked by pictures of Mr. Tshabalala being attacked, stabbed and set alight.

Mr. Tshabalala had described himself in an interview as an apolitical resident who just wanted fairness and a chance to get on with his life in peace.

His brother said he was horrified at the way Mr. Tshabalala had died as he had not been involved in any unrest.

Mr. Tshabalala was an eye-witness during a visit by church leaders to Soweto last Tuesday.

He told The Star: "I am upset and horrified by what I experienced and now wonder if our leaders, church and otherwise, really do want to find a solution to our crisis or if they are just pawns dancing to the tune demanded by their particular audience at any given time."

In Soweto started. I read various articles and letters and saw television interviews in which different parties and organisations were held responsible for the unrest in Soweto.

"After it was announced in the media last week that the SAP was put in charge of the unrest areas, there was suddenly an increase in violence in these areas all over the Witwatersrand. In the meantime the Minister of Law and Order held discussions with several leaders in Soweto. After this, more accusations were flung at the feet of the SAP."

"The police in Soweto have undertaken several projects to help the community — from soup for the pensioners on pension day to the starting of a band for the youth. These are all projects aimed to improve the quality of our lives and they show me that the police are serious about their tasks and responsibilities," he said.

"Our State President jumped the queue and took the initiative by visiting Soweto. He was open and honest during discussions and admitted that the only force able to stop the disorder and instil law and order was the police. Despite his visit, renewed violence broke out."

"I regard myself as an impartial resident and I, and many others, agree that the senseless murder of an innocent Zulu man who was on his way to work last Thursday was



1 Death sentence... Linder Tshabalala, accused of being a Zulu supporter of Inkatha, is pulled across a railway line by a group of ANC supporters.

the cause of the violence.

"Suddenly the residents living in the western areas of the township grabbed the opportunity and made the police the scapegoats for the violence.

"Church leaders climbed on the bandwagon and tried to defend what leaders like Nelson Mandela, Sisulu and others were saying by carrying out Christian visits to the area.

"Yesterday the Reverend Frank Chikane and his following visited the township. They went to the Tladi squatter

camp without the SAP. Then the honourable reverend wanted to visit the Mervale hostel.

"The police were asked to meet them on the way as they felt it was unsafe to go there without police protection. Two unarmed police officers accompanied the reverend through the hostel. I was there.

"Rev Chikane prayed for the hostel residents and moved across the road where he spoke to a group of youths. They asked him questions, especially concerning the police.

"The reverend actually replied fairly positively concerning his police escort and the police role in the township. He thanked the police in front of us for escorting him at the hostel and on his way to and from the hostel.

"Less than a half an hour passed and the reverend, his following and I went to the same church where the morning's activities had started.

"Several speakers addressed the dignitaries and church representatives. They stated the



2 Stabbed... An assailant stabs him in the head.

police and insinuated they were the scum of the earth. And without a word of contradiction the reverend, who had asked the police to protect him, agreed, through his silence, what the speakers were saying.

"Where and how must we find a solution to the problems facing the new South Africa if we cannot even open our eyes and see what is happening before us? We must learn to stand by our convictions and at least give credit where credit is due," Mr. Tshabalala concluded.



3 Second assault... Already bleeding from a number of wounds, he is systematically beaten, stoned and assaulted.

He is finally killed by being set alight with petrol.

● Pictures by Sebastian Bolic.



After 11 years of silence: ANC ~~and~~ Inkatha talk

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban ^{21/9-27/9/90}

ELEVEN years of official silence between the African National Congress and Inkatha were broken this week when high-ranking delegates of the two organisations met in Durban for talks.

About 4 000 people are estimated to have died in violence throughout Natal between supporters of the ANC and supporters of Inkatha.

But political considerations have prevented leaders of the two sides talking to each other — until Wednesday night.

In what could be a significant breakthrough, seven top officials from Inkatha and six of the ANC's national executive committee had talks which ended shortly before midnight.

NEC delegates to the talks flew from Johannesburg to Durban for the historic discussions at the end of the second day of this week's ANC summit.

The agreed statement noted the talks were the first between such high-ranking officials of the two organisations since a meeting in London in 1979.

Boost for peace hopes

Buthelezi my friend: Mandela

By Andrew Walker
and Shirley Woodgate

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela today expressed his friendship for Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This raised hopes for a formal ending to the Fief township war, which has claimed more than 700 lives in the past six weeks, an end to the Natal conflict — and peace between the ANC and Inkatha.

Senior Government sources today welcomed the ANC decision to talk to the Inkatha leader to try to stop the township killing, and said this was what the Government had been urging for some time.

Indebted

Mr Mandela's show of public sympathy with Chief Buthelezi, made on television this morning, followed last night's statement by the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) stating the organisation had resolved to meet Chief Buthelezi as well as officials of other homelands.

Mr Mandela said today he was strongly in favour of talks with Chief Buthelezi.

"He was, and remains, my friend because of the tremendous support which he gave me in prison, demanding my release and that of my comrades, taking the view that he would not negotiate with the Gov-

ernment until the political prisoners had been freed.

"I remain indebted to him for his friendship and support," said Mr Mandela.

He added that the NEC aimed to call a three-day conference of all anti-apartheid forces as they were determined to "cut out the fist".

In its statement last night the NEC, after a three-day special meeting called to discuss the violence which was threatening the negotiation process with the Government, said a meeting of all homeland leaders would be convened "to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence and seeking measures to prevent any future outbreak.

"The ANC in cooperation with its allies will, at the earliest possible date, also call a conference of the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid and democratic forces with a view to discussing a common strategy to combat the forces of destabilisation and violence.

"In order that they can mount effective defence, the extended NEC (the meeting included Cosatu and United Democratic Front representatives as well as regional ANC officials) encourages all our people in the areas affected by vigilante violence to organise themselves for the purposes of self-defence."

The NEC welcomed "the successful exploratory meeting" between ANC and Inkatha officials in Durban on Wednesday.

Government left 'speechless' by ANC allegations

Political Staff

The ANC and the Government are at loggerheads over Operation "Iron Fist" — over both its stringent security measures aimed to stop township violence and the way in which it was announced.

A statement issued last night by the ANC's national executive committee was mostly devoted to attacking the security measures. Government sources said today they had been left "speechless" by some of the attacks.

Last night's ANC statement said: "The meeting noted that while the South African Government is evidently committed to political change in South Africa, it is becoming clear that it prefers that change occurs on terms most favourable to itself."

ing with the Government "to discuss the gravity of the situation".

The statement said the ANC regarded the new security measures as being designed to repress legitimate political activity and reintroduce the state of emergency by guile.

President de Klerk was accused of acting in bad faith.

The ANC said the joint Government/ANC working group devised to implement strategies for a ceasefire had among its tasks the disposition of weapons belonging to the ANC's military wing.

"The State President has delibera-

tely undermined this Working Group by pre-emptively criminalising the possession of such weapons."

In reply, the Government warned today that the ANC's call to its supporters to arm themselves was an "ambiguous, dangerous statement".

Senior Government sources said if the statement meant that ANC supporters should defend themselves when attacked, it was difficult to fault. "They should clear up this

ambiguity," they said. The Government dismissed the ANC's charge that the measures announced this week to seize arms, in the townships had pre-empted the findings of a joint ANC/Government working group.

One of the aims of the Government delegation on the working group was to try to persuade the ANC to point out arms caches inside the country.

"The point is that the working group didn't make the progress it was supposed to. It was supposed to have reported by mid-September but made little progress. And this was

no one to any omission from us. The second point is that quite apart from ANC arms caches, there are a lot of weapons circulating in townships in the possession of other groups like Inkatha.

These we had to get out of circulation. We couldn't wait for the report of the working group to do this."

Sources said the accusation that Operation "Iron Fist" was intended to curb civil liberties had left the "speechless".

Mandela has been criticised for calls for the State to end violence, after hitting out at its "Iron Fist" measures.

"I accused a police general of 'juggling the gun' in his announcement of stem security measures to stop street fighting."

Inkatha, ANC to discuss Buthelezi, Mandela summit

(116) PETER DELMAR

A HIGH-level meeting between Inkatha and the ANC next week will discuss the mooted summit between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The two organisations met in Durban on Wednesday night and agreed to meet again next week to discuss "grave, vital and urgent" issues. (on 21/7/90)

The ANC's delegation included five national executive committee members while the Inkatha central committee delegation included three KwaZulu ministers and one deputy minister.

A joint statement described the meeting — the first at such a high level in more than a decade — as "historic".

Sources said next week's meeting would consider whether the meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela should take place.

The ANC has repeatedly declined to take up Inkatha's appeals for a meeting between the two leaders to address the violence between their supporters.

Yesterday's statement said matters discussed were mostly exploratory, adding that "each party sought to understand the other party's stance while explaining its own."

"Naturally, the issue of violence in Natal and elsewhere in the country was on top of the agenda and reports of the various local initiatives to defuse it came under the spotlight".

South Africa's class

Apartheid's right-wing apologists believe township violence is fuelled by tribalism. JOHN CARLIN finds envy and resentment behind the bi

RIGHT-WING commentators in Britain and South Africa, having feasted long and well on the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, are now turning their attention to South Africa, seeking still further opportunities to gorge themselves on righteous vindication.

All this violence in the townships shows that we were right all along, they say. Those white liberals have been exposed for what they are, dreamers deluded by their vision of a South Africa in which all races live in harmony. But, say the right-wingers, they never understood Africa the way we do.

We have always known that to understand Africa you must understand tribalism, they say. The historic conflict between the Zulus and the Xhosas is what the slaughter of the last five weeks has been all about. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha's Zulu leader, has always understood this, the right-wingers believe. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who fraternises with communists, imagined that tribalism could be swept under the carpet and a non-racial unitary nation — as the slogan goes — forged. How naive Mandela and his white liberal acolytes have been.

Thus do they gloat. If only life in general, and in South Africa in particular, were so amenable to armchair definition.

To refute the "tribalism" argument is so simple that it is almost embarrassing. The violence in the townships around Johannesburg has been an extension of the violence in Natal province, where some 4 000 people have died in the last five years. Those killing each other in Natal are all Zulus — Zulus who support the African National Congress and Zulus who support Inkatha.

Further undermining the notion of the Zulu tribe as a monolith led by one formidable leader, is the fact that when Mr Mandela, a Xhosa chieftain, appeared at a rally in Durban after his release from prison, 100 000 Zulus paid homage

In Soweto, to name but one of the battlegrounds of recent weeks, Zulu residents make up approximately 40 percent of the population. They have been on the receiving end of the Inkatha hostel-dwellers' knives just as much as the Xhosas, Sothos, Shangaans and all the rest. Zulus have been patrolling streets of Soweto at night to defend their homes against attack by Inkatha warriors.

So if tribalism is not the problem, what is?

In essence, of course, it is about power — on this all would agree. The Government and the ANC thought that together they could hammer out the shape of post-apartheid South Africa and, in the process, end up sharing



SOWETO PATROL: The police, says the writer, have blatantly taken sides with hostel dwellers and made a mockery of their PR men

power between themselves. Chief Buthelezi, who has long cherished a vision of himself as an equal — at least — of Mr Mandela's, was not happy about this. Nor was the white right wing.

Violence, as in Natal, is the most effective instrument of political persuasion that Inkatha possesses. And again, as in Natal, the right-wing security forces — time-warped in the P W Botha era — saw a pleasing confluence of interests. The details of who schemed what and when have not yet been revealed. But that, in general terms, is the politics of what is going on.

A much more interesting question, and a more difficult one to answer, is why individu-

als have shown such a savage propensity to kill innocent people? Just as interesting is why things have gone so out of control, why leadership has failed to impose order? The answers to both questions are related.

A more helpful term here than "tribalism" is "class" — social class. "Economics" and "education" are also useful terms of reference. The Zulu-on-Zulu war in Natal is being waged between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, the tribal and worldly.

It is in the rural areas and in the squatter camps on the fringes of the townships that Inkatha finds its support. The atavistic sense of loyalty to the tribal chief lingers there. But what spurs the peasant to become a warrior is his envy and resentment, his desire to have what his neighbour has.

As in the killing fields of Natal, so in the Johannesburg

townships. The Inkatha hostel-dwellers who have been terrorising the townships are migrant workers who come from the rural areas of Natal. More importantly, the hostels are perceived almost as leper colonies by the township residents.

On one side there is revulsion, on the other hatred. A spark ignites the hatred and transforms it into slaughter. The spark comes from Inkatha, which tells its people in the hostels that insult has been added to injury. As a spear-wielding Inkatha elder explained in the first week of the fighting: "The problem is Mandela because he is taken to be the king now, and Chief Buthelezi is not seen as the king any more. When they talk, they always say Mandela is the king and Buthelezi a sell-out."

More than a month on, the violence has acquired a logic of its own.

And the police have driven it

along, blatantly taking sides with the hostel warriors in a manner that makes a mockery of the PR men in Pretoria who scream that such allegations are malicious propaganda. The police dislike the townships' residents, whom they associate with the ANC, only marginally less than the Inkatha men do. And they dislike the broader political transformation that is afoot just as much. Natural allies. A marriage made in heaven.

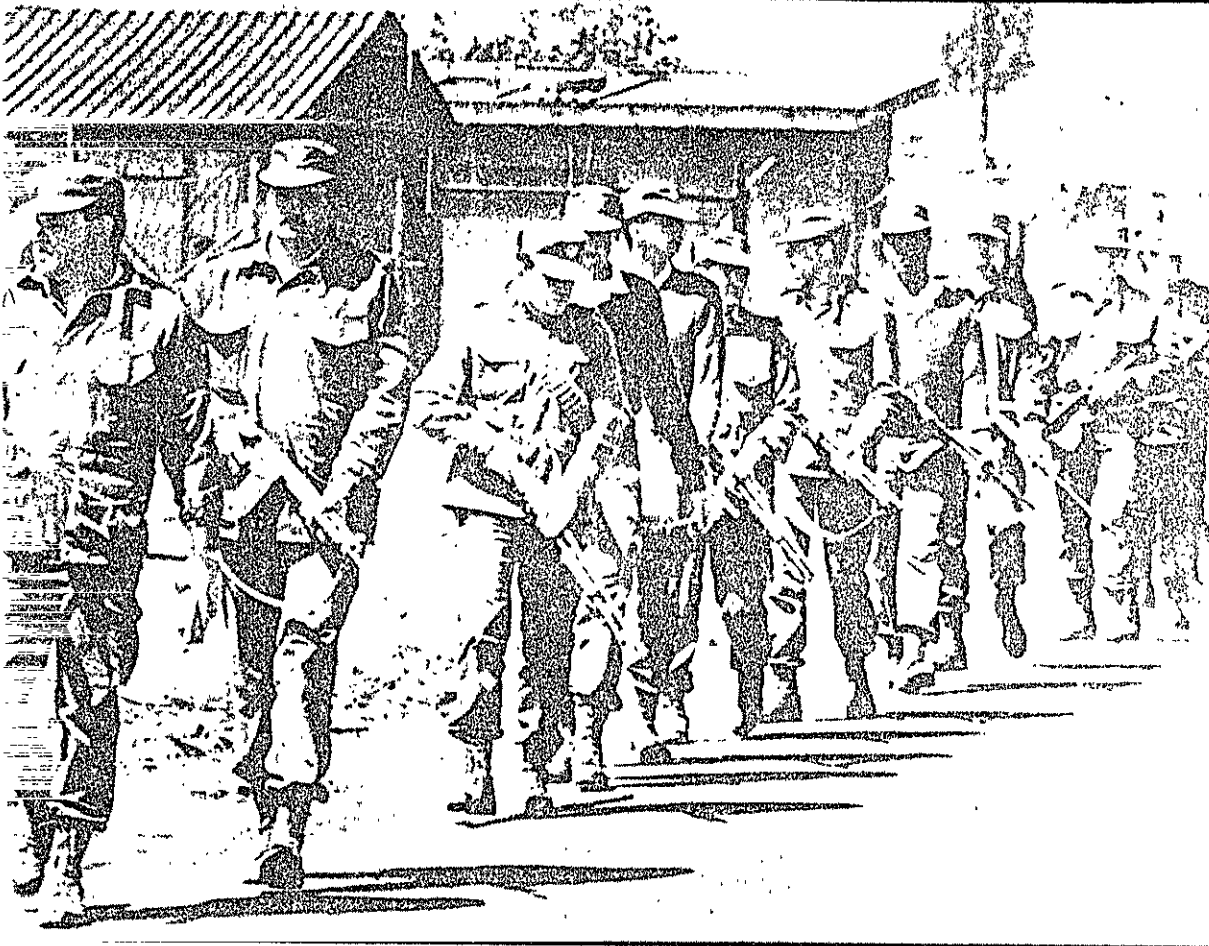
By contrast, a marriage facing much stress these days is that between Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk. Inkatha and the right wing have much to cheer about. The political process of negotiations is seriously under threat — as the two men have been forced to recognise

Both are... Both are... were able to... that together... in keeping... able to pen... "the new... term each... Every... They already... minds the... political... But gaining... would... danger... would be... task far... respective... Blithely... spect — they... wipe the... thought... the country's... sides-old... and prejudice... justice

Africa's class war

...theid's right-wing apologists believe township violence is fuelled by
...ism. JOHN CARLIN finds envy and resentment behind the bloodshed.

They have been awakened rudely from the dream. Pol-holes were expected on the road of change. Some bloodshed, too. But nothing on this scale. What the violence has done is expose the gap between the two leaders and their respective constituencies, the organisations from which they believe they derive their power.



PATROL: The police, says the writer, have blatantly taken sides with hostel dwellers and made a mockery of their PR men in Pretoria.

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By contrast, a marriage facing much stress these days is that between Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk. Inkatha and the right wing have much to cheer about. The political process of negotiations is seriously under threat — as the two men have been forced to recognise

Both are lawyers by training. Both are men of peace who, until the middle of last month, were able to nurture the dream that together, in an environment in keeping with the solemnity of the courtroom, they would be able to pen the constitution of "the new South Africa" — a term each loves to employ.

Everything was on course. They already had clear in their minds the broad outline of the political system they wanted. Bargaining and compromise would resolve the details. The danger always was that they would be setting about their task far above the heads of their respective constituencies. Blithely — as is clear in retrospect — they thought they could wipe the slate clean. They thought they could factor out the country's history, the decades-old accumulation of hate and prejudice, of poverty and injustice.

The police force, the security establishment on which government builds its authority, is not dancing to Mr de Klerk's tune. They don't want "the just new South Africa in which discrimination on the basis of race is a thing of the past." The question did not arise while the country was relatively at peace. But now one must ask, is Mr de Klerk in control? Is he in touch?

The same goes for Mr Mandela and the National Executive Committee of the ANC, the organisation's top leadership body, most of whose members are now home after long exiles. What capacity has Mr Mandela to restrain the angry township youth? The problem at hand requires shrewd thinking, not fighting fire with fire. To do battle with Chief Buthelezi on his own terms — the youth ask for weapons and the ANC threatens to provide them — is a recipe for disaster.

There has to be a clever way to deal with the chief, but the ANC leadership lacks the lines of communication to convey such a message to its militants. To look at the ANC now is to see a head without a body, or rather a body which is not responding to the dictates of the head.

Mr Mandela's problem and Mr de Klerk's are essentially the same. The class issue again comes into the picture. The two men are educated patricians, men of reason, pragmatists aware of the limits of the politically possible. But that is not the way in which politics have been conducted in South Africa. Not until now. The white policeman in the township offers a faithful and not too extreme political expression of much of white South Africa, and probably a majority of Afrikaners. The youthful militant has a monopoly on the energy of ANC liberation politics. Politics is about confrontations, about raw emotions.

All of this indicates that today the Inkatha leadership and the right-wing leadership are more in tune with their people than the ANC or the Government. Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk face a political challenge now the likes of which they never anticipated. If they fail to rise to it, the new South Africa, as Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last week, is "for the birds" — The Independent, London.

ANC sees curfew as licence to hunt people

22/9/90

116

THE African National Congress last night rejected out of hand the impending curfew slapped on strife-torn Witwatersrand, saying it gave police "license to hunt people as if they are game".

The measure, announced by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday, is part of "Operation Iron Fist", the police effort to stop township violence.

The steps have met with mixed reaction from township residents.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on law and order, Denis Worrall, welcomed the measures, saying drastic steps were required to rectify a drastic situation.

"While a curfew limits the movement of law-abiding citizens, it is a measure to keep the instigators off the streets," he said.

Violence subsided markedly this week following joint appeals for peace by King Goodwill Zwelithini Ka Bhhekuzulu and Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, the Transkeian President, last Sunday.

The new Iron Fist regulations — to be imposed in Vosloorus, Tokoza, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville — restrict residents to their homes from 9 pm to 4 am from Tuesday.

Employees can be exempted if they carry written proof from employers that the curfew will interfere with their work. However, police may arrest people without a warrant and detain them for 12 hours to verify the validity of their documents.

Anyone convicted of breaking the curfew may face a maximum fine of R1 000 or six months imprisonment.

In a strongly worded statement, the ANC said: "The 12-hour detention without trial on mere suspicion or opinion of a police officer is a return

STAFF REPORTERS

to the most barbaric form of repression. The curfew will have the effect of lessening the capacity of the people to hold meetings, build organisation and defend themselves from vigilantes. It gives licence to the police to hunt people as if they are game."

The curfew was not "aimed at the perpetrators of violence, but at the communities", the ANC said.

"We would not be surprised if the result of these measures is the outbreak of large-scale vigilante attacks on communities that we experienced at the beginning of the violence in the Transvaal."

Soweto community leader Sister Bernadette Ncube said: "This is like carrying a pass all over again. Just imagine the potential harassment".

Soweto teacher, Mr T J Mokoena, said: "I just want it (the violence) to stop. Whether the Government introduced Iron Fist, or any other tough measure, it must be stopped."

In Vosloorus women living in houses neighbouring a hostel welcomed the curfew if it would "cool down the horrible violence".

Soweto telecommunication technician Muzi Shongwe said the curfew was unreasonable and would not work. "The police won't stop the violence with this curfew. They can only worsen their poor relationship with township residents," he said.

A National Union of Mineworkers spokesman Jerry Majatladi said thousands of workers would be affected by a "recipe for disaster" that amounted to a serious violation of basic human rights.

National Taverners' Association chairman Lucky Michaels said while a curfew might assist in curbing violence, it would badly affect township business. "It will kill the shebeens, which represent 70 percent of the liquor industry and 90 percent of township trading," he said.

● Addressing a plenary session of the President's Council yesterday, Mr Vlok said that from June 1 to September 10 this year, 110 incidents of terrorism occurred. Of these, 82 acts were committed by suspected radical leftists and 28 by rightists. This was a sharp increase compared with the 77 incidents which occurred between January 1 and May 31 this year.

Fragile peace bid heads for the rocks

By SEKOLA SELLO and SAPA

THE fragile peace efforts initiated by the ANC this week appear to be heading for the rocks amid fears that the violence – which has already claimed 700 lives on the Reef – could resume.

The ANC this week announced it would meet KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders on October 5.

But a major obstacle likely to torpedo the talks is Buthelezi's insistence that he meet the ANC as leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and not as Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

The ANC, on the other hand, seems to be digging in its heels, saying Buthelezi goes to the talks as Chief Minister of KwaZulu – just like the other invited homeland leaders.

The ANC's Gill Marcus yesterday told *City Press* that "the stand of the ANC on Buthelezi's invitation is clear – he comes as stated in the invitation and so far there is no change on this position".

In another development yesterday, which further threatens the prospects of Buthelezi and the ANC edging closer to each other, the caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) endorsed Buthelezi's proposal that the ANC review its position and invite him as leader of Inkatha.

Soon after receiving the invitation on Thursday night to join other homeland leaders "to get

to the root causes of the recent violence and devise means to end it", the KwaZulu leader voiced doubts about the motives behind the invitation.

He said he would have to "explore whether or not the invitation to attend a meeting as one of a group of the leaders of the self-governing states ... is a continuing attempt to deny me my prime political identity as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party".

The ANC proposal for a meeting with Buthelezi and other homeland leaders was made this week after the organisation's National Executive Committee met in extended session over three days to discuss the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

The trading of accusations by both Inkatha and the ANC further complicates any chance of the two parties breaking the current stalemate and making it possible for Mandela and Buthelezi to meet personally (which is Inkatha's demand) and hopefully end the slaughter in the townships.

Meanwhile, acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen has reiterated the government's commitment to the negotiation process.

Speaking soon after the departure of President FW de Klerk to the US, Viljoen said the government remained committed to the negotiation process, no matter what other parties decided. This is seen as a reference to the ANC's threats that they may review their position on negotiations if Pretoria did not curb the violence.

Viljoen said the government was surprised that the ANC should question its good faith.

SOME call it the calm before the storm and others believe the thorny transitional period - which was to be expected anyway - has finally come and gone.

The police strongly believe the situation is now under control since the introduction of the Iron Fist measures. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said residents had called, saying they could sleep peacefully for the first time in weeks.

Whatever the contradictions, it is a big relief to most that the situation in our areas is finally back to normal. What remains to be done by the community is to pick up the pieces and rebuild our lost pride.

We should not wait until the curfew is lifted before we embark on a programme of action. While the possibility of another violent flare-up cannot be ruled out because the main causes have not been addressed, the time has come to seek unity in action.

We are already seeing signs pointing towards this elusive goal. Political foes, who in the past would not even be seen to be talking to each other, are today brave

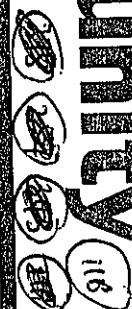
MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

It's time to

seek unity

cf/1/200 23/9/90



enough to appear together on public platforms.

A few weeks ago, at a private function held at advocate Dikgang Mosenke's Pretoria house, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander came face-to-face for the first time with ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

These two powerful politicians had never met before. It took Mosenke to bring them together. After friendly exchanges they both realised what kept them apart in the first place was sheer political idiocy.

The second largest trade union federation, Nactu, this week had both ANC general

secretary Alfred Nzo and Alexander as guest speakers.

Although not aligned to any political movement, Nactu is known for its strong leanings towards Africanism. It was a commendable step indeed for Nactu to invite both the ANC and the PAC to their congress.

The meeting which will take place this Thursday between the ANC and homeland leaders is another sign of maturity among our people.

Through exchanges and discussions we will be able to see our way through. Calling other people collaborators and sellouts, as was the case with homeland leaders and

councillors, is not the solution and no strategy for unity.

I bet whatever negative thoughts Benny and Thabo had about each other do not exist any longer. But had the two appeared on a debate in front of the cameras, they would have torn each other to pieces trying to score political points.

That time will come. But for now, let us iron out our differences in private and also encourage our followers that to differ on strategy does not necessarily mean we are enemies.

Father Mlungisi Nisele, head of the South African Council of Churches' hunger

and relief department, is concerned about the mass paupers' burials given to our people.

A number of bodies which remain unclaimed in government mortuaries will also be given given paupers' burials.

Nisele believes the black community should avert further paupers' burials by community-based action.

Here are some of Nisele's proposals:

- An ad hoc committee must be formed to bring local congregations together;
- These congregations must adopt a body or bodies for a decent funeral; and

- Any donations, towards the burials or assistance for orphans would be put in trust.

This is precisely what I mean by unity in action.

Unconfirmed figures revealed that there are more than 80 unclaimed bodies at Diepkloof mortuary, and more than 300 at Germiston. It is therefore important for the black community to look seriously into Nisele's proposal.

Our culture demands we bury our dead in a decent manner.

Zulus 'will remain Zulus in a new SA'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Star 24/9/90

Inkatha 'key player' in SA

118

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Nelson Mandela had claimed he was "almost throttled" by other ANC leaders when he proposed a meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader told British television viewers at the weekend.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking live from Durban on Channel Four's "The World This Week" programme. Also taking part was Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer.

Mr Meyer, in London for the interview, stressed that the Government had no plans to exclude Chief Buthelezi from negotiations.

The Inkatha leader dismissed as nonsense allegations that his organisation was orchestrating the violence to

ensure he would be a key player in South Africa's future.

However, he said he was already a key player: "My constituency is visible and it is huge."

Mr Meyer said there had been no proof yet that a "third force" had helped fuel the Reef violence, but he added that "if one looks at the picture it might seem there will be elements on both sides of the political spectrum who would have an interest in disrupting the political process in South Africa".

Chief Buthelezi pointed an accusing finger at the ANC, saying that in the past it had declared that "collaborators" — including those who did not support their methods — should be killed as part of the "people's war".

Inkatha men charged ^{11B}

by ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

INKATHA Youth Brigade chairman Mr Themba Khoza and 137 of the movement's members or supporters are to appear in court on Friday to face 52 charges ranging from murder to assault and possession of firearms.

Police spokesman Major S Senekal said last night that Khoza was arrested on September 4 and the others were arrested later.

At the time of his ar-

rest Khoza was accused of "distributing AK-47's" at hostels.

The day after his arrest, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told a crowd of people on the East Rand that Inkatha members were killing ANC "comrades" and working with whites.

Referring to the arrest of Khoza earlier that week and the allegation that he had been arrested

for distributing AK-47 rifles, Mandela said: "Inkatha members cannot deny they are causing the township violence."

Inkatha has been singled out by most left wing organisations as the single most black factor working against the tide of liberation in the country.

Until late last week, the ANC had not made even a friendly gesture towards Inkatha and excluded it from all its forums.

Senekal 24/9/90

Still friends

MOVES to end the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha gained fresh momentum on Friday when Mr Nelson Mandela said he would hold a meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying the KwaZulu leader was his personal friend. *Sowetan 24/1/90*

"He was one of those who demanded my release. And he took the position that he would not negotiate with the Government until political prisoners were freed.

"I remain indebted to him because of our friendship and the support that he has given to me," Mandela said in an interview with SABC TV. -
Sapa. (10) (113)

Mortuary like scene from a horror movie

Star 25/9/90

By Thabo Leshilo

The Sepedi saying that a human being is not like a dog whose body can just be thrown away to rot, might as well be amended, a visit to the Government Mortuary in Diepkloof, Soweto revealed yesterday.

The bodies of many victims of the recent Reef conflict, which have been kept at the mortuary, end up being buried as paupers.

When The Star visited Diepkloof yesterday, more than a 100 people from Tembisa, Vosloorus, Katlehong and Tokoza had come in an attempt to identify their relatives and prevent paupers' funerals.

Joyce Mbatha (42) had come all the way from Empangeni, Natal, to identify her son, Siphwe Ishmael Mbatha (20).

Siphwe went missing after he and fellow hostel dwellers

went out during a fight with Tokoza residents.

Although his death has not been confirmed, Mrs Mbatha harboured no illusions that her son was still alive.

She has been visiting the mortuary since last Monday and has seen dozens of bodies — but none was that of her son.

She said that although the trips were costing her a fortune, she was prepared to pay until her son's corpse had been found and buried decently.

The mortuary storeroom looked like a scene from a horror movie yesterday.

Bodies were lying on the floor, one on top of the other.

Most had turned black from decomposition. Many had gaping hack wounds and gouged-out eyes, making identification difficult.



King Goodwill Zwelithini ... calls on KwaZulu's attackers to desist.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Zulus saying "enough is enough"

'Indomitable Zulu pride will survive'

Star 25/9/90 (118)

STANGER — Anyone who dared think the Zulu people could be annihilated, and that they would cease to be, should go somewhere quietly and ponder over the gross error of the thought, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was addressing a King Shaka Day celebration at Stanger where he introduced the king of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Chief Buthelezi said those who were attacking KwaZulu, calling for its disbandment and attacking him as chief minister, knew there was an "indomitable something" in the Zulu character which was beginning to show now as Zulus drew together and said "enough is enough".

"Neither the king nor I have ever declared any war against anyone. We want peace. I have worked for peace all my life," he said.

He was proud to be a Zulu and to introduce a Zulu king because he knew King Zwelithini was loyal to South Africa and committed to its development.

"The new South Africa would be fair and just because there would be no racism and all would be equal before the law and constitution," he said.

In his address, King Goodwill said in recent weeks there had been "a very dastardly series of attacks" on KwaZulu.

"Today I stand up amongst my father's people and I say with great clearness and great emphasis that those who are attacking KwaZulu today must now please desist from what they are doing. What they are doing can only have awesome consequences which none of us want to see.

"In particular, I call on the ANC and its SACP ally, and I call on its supporters in the UDF and in Cosatu, now to forthwith desist from mounting hideous attacks on KwaZulu. To call for the disbanding of KwaZulu is to insult me as king of the Zulus.

"It also insults my father's people who know where they came from and where they are going to, and who know they have a historic role to play to bring the great work of our founding King Shaka, and the illustrious kings that followed him, to final fruition."

He said he and his uncle, Chief Buthelezi, were inseparably bound in fulfilling the promise of Zulu history.

"Let it be known that we do so for South Africa and as South Africans, and let it be known that we shall complete our mission. At this ceremony, in which we remember our founding king and ancestor, King Shaka ka Senzangakhona, we all feel the throb of Zulu life in our beings" — Sapa.

Slabbert pleads for an SA Untag

How can one expect past agents of violence to become non-partisan peacekeepers? Idasa executive director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (right) proposes a domestic equivalent of Untag.

Idasa executive director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has made an urgent plea for a South African equivalent of Untag, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, to maintain law and order while political organisations negotiate a new constitution.

In an interview in Johannesburg, he said none of the country's existing "agents of violence" — including the SA Defence Force, the SA Police and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe — had the legitimacy to maintain stability during the difficult process that lay ahead.

Stability

The current crisis of violence had the very real potential of derauling the peace process.

"You cannot negotiate effectively — you cannot even try to normalise the situation — if you don't seriously address the problem of stability."

"One cannot just ignore the past. You can't pretend that you're negotiating in an entirely fresh situation. You have a history which comes into this process of negotiation."

The process itself, Dr Slabbert said, was an attempt to negotiate away white minority domination and find an acceptable constitutional alternative.

"In these circumstances, who is going to maintain stability while the parties negotiate?"

"We haven't got an Untag that can say to the different sectors: We will provide the stability. You sort out the poli-

ties," he said.

"In the South African context you have to develop a domestic equivalent of Untag because we certainly haven't got international agents that can provide us with that."

The overriding question now, however, was "how do you develop a domestic equivalent of Untag in a situation where we've come out of polarised confrontation between the different groups that are opposing each other?"

"What, of course, has happened, was that at the end of the 1980s we'd reached a state of deadlock — the country was coming to a standstill and we couldn't move," he said.

"Now, with this movement to a negotiated transition, you suddenly have a situation where the regime or the Government has opened up political space and said to people that they want to negotiate."

"But you can't just ignore the past," Dr Slabbert stressed.

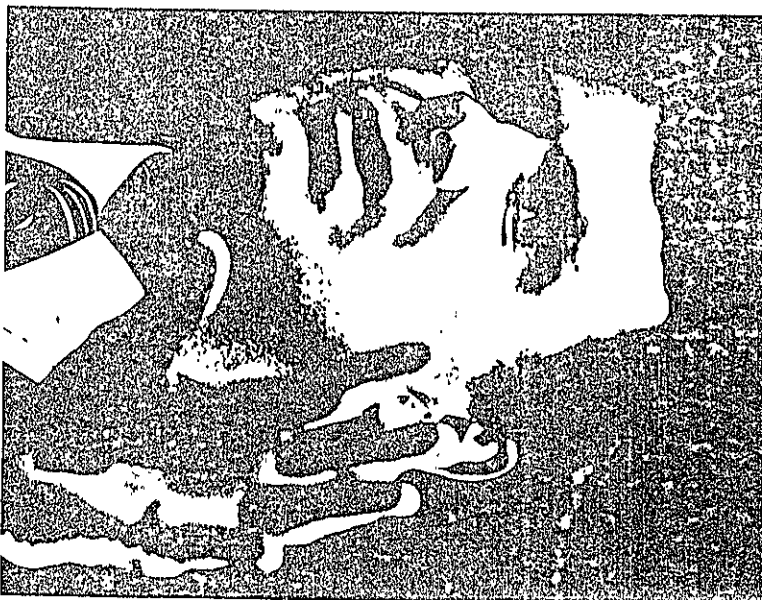
"I draw a very clear distinction between what I call constitutional and unconstitutional agents of violence."

"Constitutional agents of violence in any country will be the defence force, the police force. They're constitutionally legitimised to be instruments of violence. In the South African sense we have a crisis of constitutional legitimacy. And that crisis relates also to the agents of violence — the SADF and SAP."

But they were faced with the impossible task of coming from a past that had been polarised politically, and now had to present themselves as non-partisan agents of violence. It was precisely that dilemma which had to be resolved.

"In exactly the same way you can't say that MK vigilantes," Windoeko, "Aha the PAC military wings have no past. They also bring their past into this process of change. They

being unable to move when the



blame one another. It doesn't help to question one another's motives or intentions, because the more you do that, the more you simply highlight the inability to agree on what kind of stability there must be.

"And if you can't agree on that, then it's just self-defusion to think you can seriously begin to discuss how to develop a new constitution or a new civil service, or how to negotiate anything in the economy, or housing, or education."

"If the major players avoid coming to terms with this crisis, it has the potential for derauling the discussions."

"Let me put it to you quite bluntly. Last year this time a young constable in the SAP could more or less be quite sure of promotion if he killed (MK chief of staff) Chris Hani on sight. Now it is expected of him to protect Hani when he comes for talks at the Pretoria Union Buildings or Tuynhus in Cape Town."

Suspicion

"Last year this time a young cadre within the ANC's resistance movement (MK) would be expected to kill agents of the SAP and the SADF. It was deliberate policy."

"Now it's expected of him to calm down and wait for people to negotiate transition."

"So, you have a history of mistrust. You have a history of deliberate hostile action towards one another. You can't pretend that that has suddenly evaporated, because you've suddenly discovered the word 'negotiation'," he said.

The problem was to be addressed immediately. "You have to say: Let us first calm down the fact that we've had these hostile attitudes to one another. Let us agree how to solve that, and then move ahead." — Sapa.

South African Press Photo

AP Wirephoto

By DAVID WILLERS

Buthelezi confident of Zulu role in ruling SA

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, whose mother Princess Constance Magogo Zulu was the granddaughter of King Cetshwayo and daughter of King Dinuzulu, and whose father, Chief Mthole, was the grandson of Chief Mnyamane Buthelezi, prime minister to King Cetshwayo, is also the holder of one of Liberia's most prestigious awards.

It may seem bizarre now as we contemplate the ultimate heart of darkness in that shattered country that this should be so, but in fact there was a time under President Tolbert — last seen tied stumped to a pole on a beach — when Liberia felt confident enough of its mission to award orders. Thus it was, while visiting Liberia as a guest of Tolbert in 1975, that Buthelezi was awarded the Knight Commander of the Star of Africa for outstanding leadership.

Mulling over this curious addition to the list of other awards he has received, one is struck by a then and now dimension. Then, Liberia was an orderly if austere run country still visited by black American tourists looking for their roots. Then, South Africa had yet to have its head squeezed by the forceps of violent revolution which gripped Soweto in 1976. Then, it was still possible for men like Tolbert, without being ostracised by fellow Africans, to make Buthelezi a Knight Commander for his pacific resistance to apartheid, although I am not sure that the late Samuel Doe would have approved.

Disparagement
Nowadays things have changed. The Guardian quotes Buthelezi as saying that blacks are not

angels in South Africa or anywhere else on the continent, and asks whether this means that the process of change in Government will be as harrowing in South Africa as it is in Liberia? Nowadays Inkatha is widely perceived as having embraced violence as an option in order to secure for itself a place at the negotiating table commensurate with what Buthelezi feels is its correct status.

Chief Buthelezi himself, interviewed by The Natal Witness, said the mayhem on the Reef demonstrated he was a major player, not someone to be sidelined or marginalised, although he was careful to distance himself from direct responsibility.

As a result the carnage in Monrovia and Sebokeng have a sameness — the Kafkaesque metamorphosis of Buthelezi from a Tolbert to a Doe is complete in the eyes of the ANC — and the citizens of battered South Africa wonder whether President De Klerk can avert even greater bloodshed in the future.

The answer is "maybe" — if he can solve the question of who will sit at the negotiating table and on what grounds and by what procedures they will be chosen. The problem, however, is that South Africa is now, at least in the view of Buthelezi, in a state of civil war — and in the opinion of Mandela, on the brink of one — and ways have to be found of

stopping the conflict before one can start the negotiations.

What sort of man is Buthelezi these days? And what prospect is there that he can halt the carnage? I travelled to Ulundi to find out, armed only with the scribe's traditional weapon of scepticism. Having lunched recently with Mandela, I thought it would be interesting to compare the two men, one who defected long ago from the ANC, the other its leader.

In the courtyard of the administrative complex at Ulundi there is a rather fine statue by Naomi Jacobson of Shaka Zulu. He stands holding a great shield, a rather slender figure, slighter than history would suggest, in the way that we are always surprised at the smallness of medieval knights. And indeed there is something medieval about Ulundi, with its echoes of an African courtesy and ritual now largely lost.

Buthelezi stands in front of his family tree, painted on a wall. He is linked somewhere in the upper branches to the figure outside. He tosses off his genealogy lightly, but one suspects he takes it very seriously. He says he warned for years there would be civil war if the enemies of Inkatha continued to insult the Zulus. Now his prophecy has come to pass and there is little he can do to stop Zulu reaction. A meeting between himself and Mandela might help. — a shrug conveys that matters have long gone beyond this point.

In conversation one gains the impression that Buthelezi would need to be convinced that Mandela was still his own man in the ANC. He never refers to F.W. de Klerk by name but there is a whiff of disparagement in the air, that the leader of the white tribe should have so obviously been taken in by Mandela.

Zulu fighters
In the set of his shoulders and general manner, one detects that Buthelezi is a new man. He is all firm resolve, outspoken in his opinions of others, often scornful, quite removed from the somewhat apologetic, almost unctuous, figure he cut on the international circuit only a few years ago when he was trying to win support for his decision to work for change within the system.

British writer and confidant of Margaret Thatcher, Bruce Anderson, waxed lyrical about Zulu fighting qualities after last week's slaughter on the Reef, describing a Zulu impi coming over the crest of a hill, pangas and knobkerries



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI Holds himself as one whose people are assured an important role in the division of power in South Africa.

at the ready, every eye filled with frenzy, every soul filled with bloodlust, a spectacle of savage magnificence. But this account is interesting because in its romanticised version of Zulu fighters it captures very much Gatsha Buthelezi's own *Weltanschauung*, his confident belief that Zulu nationalism's hour has come at last. And, since the Zulus are the largest ethnic group in the country there is now a real possibility that the "re-born" and revitalised Buthelezi will break out, like German panzers in the Battle of the Bulge.

How will he do it? Who can say. He lacks an army; others whose interests run parallel to his own may choose to do his fighting for him. He is patently interested in the apparent hijacking of the Transkei army by the ANC, but not having his own army would suit his projection of himself as a man of peace, distance from operational decisions.

Silent majority
Zulu imps in the townships are another matter; they are an expression of mobilised Zulu nationalism, and the para-military style of Inkatha provides the modern clothing. The question is whether, by turning a blind eye to the possibility that elements in Inkatha could be suborned to the interests of others, Buthelezi might not eventually find himself compromised by those who do not have his best interests at heart. Recent (unsubstantiated) press re-

ports, for instance, link Inkatha members with MNR-type training.

The MNR's destruction of the Mozambican infrastructure sapped Frelimo and demoralised its members. There is absolutely no reason why the ANC could not be targeted as Frelimo was, and the townships gutted to create a psychosis of fear and instability which would fragment the organisation. Would Buthelezi allow Inkatha to be thus misused to eventually become the Frankenstein that the MNR is? He said: "I believe the new South Africa will come. I believe it will be a democracy. I believe there will be freedom of expression in it."

He wrings his hands in anguish at the pain the bloodletting has caused. But he also thought the ANC was aiming for a winner-takes-all situation, a future socialist, one-party state and was planning a two-stage communist revolution. He said: "The day of truth will arrive when the talking drops away and we are left with parties facing each other in what could be a very ugly struggle for the right to form a government." He thought the most underrated factor in South Africa, the will of the silent majority, would emerge as more dominant than anybody expected.

"All we need to do politically is to give the will of the people of South Africa open expression," he said forthrightly.

David Willers is editor of the Natal Witness



ANC and Inkatha in peace pact



ANC director of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki

TOP-LEVEL talks between the ANC and Inkatha have ended in an historic peace initiative which could end the carnage in Natal and Transvaal. **Sa (L) 27/9-31/10/90**

Leaders of the two organisations left a four-hour meeting in Durban on Wednesday, optimistic that progress has been made to stop the bloodshed which has claimed thousands of lives in the past few years.

In an interview after the meeting, held at the offices of the Inkatha Institute for Research, Inkatha Central Committee chairperson Dr Frank Mdlalose told four

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details: "We are making headway. We have already appointed some people to look into the aspect of joint monitoring."

Mdlalose refused to disclose further details.

The ANC delegation was led by John Nkadineng and included intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki, treasurer general Thomas Nkobi, security chief Joe Nhlambhla, NEC member Gertrude Shope and publicity officer Joel Neshienzhe.

Also in the eight-person Inkatha dele-

gation were Kwazulu Minister of Interior Steven Sinye, and Inkatha Youth Brigade chairperson Musa Zondi.

The meeting was a sequel to a meeting held by the two parties last week.

High-level discussions between ANC and Inkatha were last held in London in 1979.

In a joint statement, the two parties said, at the next meeting on October 15, they would consider additional steps "to ensure the involvement in the search for peace of as many of the respective members as possible."

ANC, Inkatha agree on unrest monitoring

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Peace in Natal took a further step forward last night when senior members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed on joint unrest monitoring and visits to strife-torn areas "in the near future".

Dr Frank Mtshali, KwaZulu Minister of Health, revealed late last night that "some people" had been ap-

pointed to investigate all aspects of joint monitoring projects.

He was speaking after the second session of top-level peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha in Durban last night. They first met at a secret meeting in the city last week as part of their attempts to bring peace to Natal.

The delegations said a very good spirit had prevailed.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting, the delegations said they believed it was vital that they continued to meet and to agree on practical steps to end the violence, not only in Natal but elsewhere in the country.

They welcomed the reduction in the level of violence "achieved through local initiatives and the intervention by His Majesty the King of

the Zulus and the President of the Transkei", and said they would encourage similar initiatives in all affected areas.

"The meeting agreed that at its next session it would consider any additional steps it should take to ensure the involvement in the search for peace of as many of their respective members as possible," the statement said.

Hostels where truckloads of arms were sold

28/9 - 4/10/90
N.M.W.

BY WALLY MBHELE
TWO East Rand hostels, which were not affected by the recent Kest violence, are allegedly arms-smuggling depots for pro-Inkatha forces in the township clinics.

This week police raided one of the hostels, arresting three people and confiscating a machine gun, two AK-47 rifles, two pistols and rounds of ammunition.

The *Weekly Mail* has information that the two hostels — Warville men's hostel and the Nguni section of the Vosloorus men's hostel — received consignments of arms during the height of the Kest violence.

The arms were alleged to have been transported from Mozambique and held in storage in the Vosloorus hostel. Some of the weapons were later transferred to the Warville hostel for sale.

A hostel resident confirmed in an affidavit that the Nguni section of Vosloorus hostel was used as an arms and ammunition storage depot. He also gave lawyers the registration numbers of three mini-buses which had allegedly been spotted transporting armed Inkatha men around Vosloorus. The Nguni section was one of the hostels raided in a police swoop this week.

Blocks K and C in the Vosloorus hostel were de-

scribed by the resident as "Inkatha headquarters" where meetings were held and attacks planned.

Heavy weapons, such as AK-47's, were lubricated and buried underground, said the man in his affidavit.

According to police spokeswoman Captain Ida van Zweel, some firearms were found under a bush near one of the hostels. She could not identify which hostel.

A long-time resident of the Warville hostel said that every night during the clashes trucks from Vosloorus would arrive at the hostel and be loaded with weapons.

Three other Warville hostel residents independently confirmed the existence of the large arms caches. According to several sources the arms supplier, who was alleged to have come from Maputo, operated from the Vosloorus hostel. In Warville a senior hostel resident was the main contact for buying weapons. He was allegedly assisted by a committee which dealt with or-ganising potential customers and recruitment.

During a Warville hostel meeting the senior resident allegedly issued a warning to those testing firearms, saying that "the noise of gun shots will invite police attention". The following day, on September 13, the hostel was raided. AK-47 rifles, shotguns and "some-

thing like a small cannon" were confiscated, said a Warville hostel dweller.

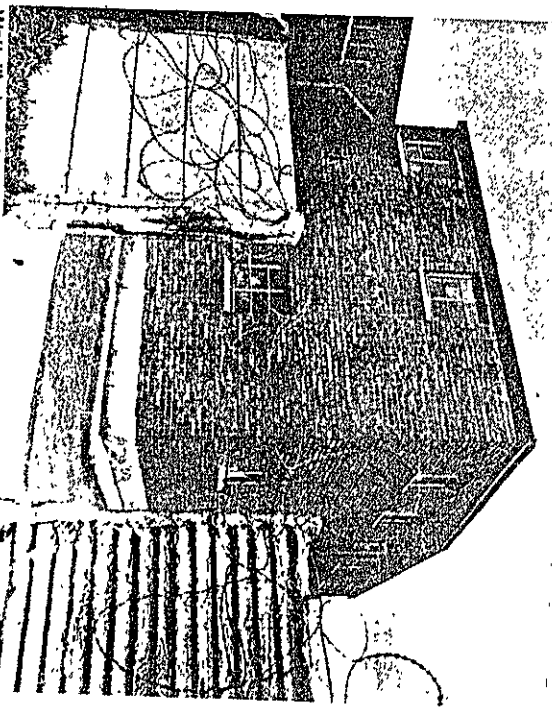
However, inmates had been tipped off about the pending raid, said the man. Residents had thrown some weapons into dustbins and only these had been confiscated, he claimed. Police did not enter the hostel.

Van Zweel confirmed the raid and said police had seized, among other items, "four AK-47's, three Makarov pistols, two air pistols, one .38 special revolver, an assortment of dangerous weapons and about 50kg of dagga". Three people were arrested.

In Warville hostel there were "more firearms than people. Arms were brought into the hostel in big delivery trucks, sometimes in private cars and sold to various people in the hostels," said a hostel resident.

AK-47's sold for about R1 200 and people were taken to Vosloorus for training by Mozambican "Shangans". Another hostel resident said: "... I understand others come from Natal."

The hostel councillor had told the residents to contribute R5 to buy arms and *muti*, said another man. Some had refused as they did not want to fight Xhosas because "we have been living with them".



Warville hostel, allegedly a major weapons depot

Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

MIKE ROBERTSON

FOREIGN governments are encouraging KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend the October 5 meeting of homeland leaders called by the ANC to devise a joint strategy for ending violence.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that foreign governments, including major EC countries with which Buthelezi has a good working relationship, believed the meeting could play a role in ending violence and were encouraging him to attend.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday would not comment on whether the organisation had received a formal response from Buthelezi.

She said details of the meeting were still being worked out.

Buthelezi could not be contacted for

Go to peace talks, Buthelezi urged

comment. A spokesman said he had issued no further comment since Friday when he stated he would have to consult the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus.

He said he would be in contact with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to "confirm that the ANC's intention is genuinely to attempt to bring about the lessening of violence". He would then attend the meeting as Inkatha president. (113)

In a later statement that caucus urged Buthelezi to seek a one-on-one meeting with Mandela.

Police siding with ANC — Khoza

WITWATERSRAND Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Themba Khoza yesterday accused the South African Police of using the Government's "Iron Fist" strategy to harass Inkatha members, thus siding with the African National Congress in the conflict.

Mr Khoza told a press conference in Johannesburg that it appeared the police, who had now "gone beyond merely disarming our people", were taking sides with the ANC.

He said his arrest together with about 136 other Inkatha supporters in Sebokeng on September 4 — "when they had not done anything illegal" —

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29/9/90
KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Staff

was clear evidence of this latest police harassment of Inkatha members.

The Inkatha members' lawyer, May Mosselson, told the press conference that although no formal charges had yet been drawn up against his clients, the Attorney-General had indicated that they faced charges ranging from public violence to attempted murder.

About 100 of them have since been released without being charged and the rest were released on bail and are due to appear in court on October 31.

Bold move on Gatsha needed

BEING prepared to take bold steps and calculated risks usually separates great political movements and leaders from the ineffective and the mediocre.

Some bold and principled decisions are required from the ANC specifically and the MDM as a whole to end the horrible bloodletting we have witnessed in Vaal townships over the past few weeks — and in Natal over the past four years.

There seems to be consensus that a Nelson Mandela/Gatsha Buthelezi meeting will not stop the violence. This may be so.

Buthelezi will undoubtedly exploit such a meeting to enhance his own image as a leader and a person to be reckoned with when it comes to deciding the future of South Africa.

But what are the long-term implications for the ANC?

Squander

The ANC's greatest advantage over any other political movement is that it has been entrusted with the hopes and wishes of millions of South Africans to bring about justice, equality and peace.

It faces the gravest danger if this trust is ever squandered because of short-term tactics.

Its image as a harbinger of peace took a severe knocking this week. Instead, "peace" was seen to be restored by a ring of steel thrown around the townships of Thokoza, Kagiso and Vosloosrus.

FW de Klerk, custodian of the most violent political system in the world (in the eyes of many South Africans), is being seen as a greater man of peace than Mandela.

Why is the ANC squandering this advantage simply because it does not want to meet Buthelezi?

South 30/8 - 5/9/70

The ANC may have to review its stance of not speaking to Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi if it wants to retain its image as harbinger of peace:

South Africans, especially those living in the affected areas of Natal and Transvaal, want peace.

They are tired of the grim headlines and the ongoing statistics of death and destruction.

The toll of four years of civil war in Natal is measured in thousands, while a few weeks of fighting in the Transvaal have already cost more than 500 lives.

While the analysts debate the whys and wherefores of violence, and political leaders fling accusations at one another, the killing continues.

Hotchpotch

It is only with peace that the country will be able to begin to address the damage done by decades of apartheid.

It is only with peace that a sound economy to serve as an engine for development in this troubled sub-continent can be built.

While the roots of the fighting are complex and deep, at a political level there can be no doubt that a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi would go a long way towards easing tensions.

Mandela has the necessary stature and authority within the democratic movement to allow him to meet Buthelezi without losing face.

A bold move, albeit risky, is required.

Certainly, the experience of the UDF and Cosatu in Natal — where there have been numerous failed attempts at peace missions and joint monitoring — gives weight to the view that nothing will be achieved on the ground.

One viewpoint holds that it is precisely because the MDM stuck to a peaceful line that Inkatha has been able to flourish, and it would have been bet-



Gatsha Buthelezi

ter to declare war on the organisation years ago.

On the other hand, it is difficult to understand what the ANC has to lose from a meeting with Buthelezi.

The ANC has met with a range of groups — from the right-wing to the discredited Labour Party.

Unlike such groups, Buthelezi undoubtedly has a base, although the extent of this support is questionable.

Strategic

While a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi would undoubtedly give the Kwazulu leader the national stature he wants, it would also give the ANC the moral high ground.

Beyond strategic considerations, the ANC has a duty to make every attempt to end the violence.

If it is difficult to understand why the two leaders do not meet, it is still more difficult to understand how Mandela could leave for Algeria while a war is waging in his backyard.

The spreading of the killing fields carries serious lessons for both the govern-

ment and the ANC.

The first is that both sides are in grave danger of losing control of the situation.

This underlines the urgency of achieving a just political settlement soon.

The second is the danger of delaying calls for some form of election in which the support of the various political groups can be tested.

The negotiation process has so far been between two players — the ANC and the government.

Left out in the cold, other political groupings have to assert themselves or face obscurity.

The ongoing conflict between comrades and their counterparts in the other liberation movements calls for greater political tolerance — a quality which has never distinguished South African politics.

Failure

The MDM needs to face the fact that its strategy has failed in two key areas — Inkatha and the white working class.

While there is little doubt that to a large extent Buthelezi has chosen to go it alone, the fact that the liberation movement has been unable to bring him within the broad front is a major failure.

This might have had the effect of neutralising his bid for power in the townships and brought him under the discipline of the front organisations.

During their bid for a negotiated settlement, the ANC needs all the allies it could get, and trying to win Buthelezi's few thousand members makes more sense than trying to woo Hendrickse or Boshoff.

This country needs peace.

If the ANC has acknowledged that it can be attained by talks with the National Party, which has also been responsible for decades of violence, perhaps they should consider meeting Buthelezi as soon as possible.

Aggrieved to sufferings of war victims

AN UNOFFICIAL WAR: Inside the conflict in Pietermaritzburg
 by Matthew Kenridge
 (David Philip, R29,95)

It is history told from the darkness of a torched shop, observed through the shattered windows of a kwazulu transport corporation bus, weighed in the scratch of a soggy Natal cemetery where fresh graves gape.

Matthew Kenridge's *An Unofficial War* is remarkable for its capacity to lift individuals above the terrible monotony of violence and death in Natal: to create them in flesh and habit and to restore an edge, a jagged edge, to the suffering endured by black residents of Natal.

It is a collection of perspectives, rather than an untaken narrative. The focus switches from Inkatha's "brass people", to "Mr Average Journalist", to church leaders, political activists, Inkatha warlords and a police brigadier. The scene moves from the graveyard to the schoolyard; from the court room to the news room; and, naturally, into the hills and valleys, where settlements are sharply divided, owing allegiance either to Inkatha or to the United Democratic Front Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Kenridge has been accused of bias. Indeed, he states in his conclusion that "of alternative histories of a decade of conflict between Inkatha and the UDF and its forebears, the non-Inkatha account is more plausible. It has fewer omissions and fabrications, and unlike Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rendition it avoids any appeal to conspiracy theory."

The greater part of the book is devoted to UDF/Cosatu-sympathetic accounts of the conflict. But they are certainly not all from UDF/Cosatu sources. A fair number of academics, journalists, service workers and even representatives of business embody or incline to this position.

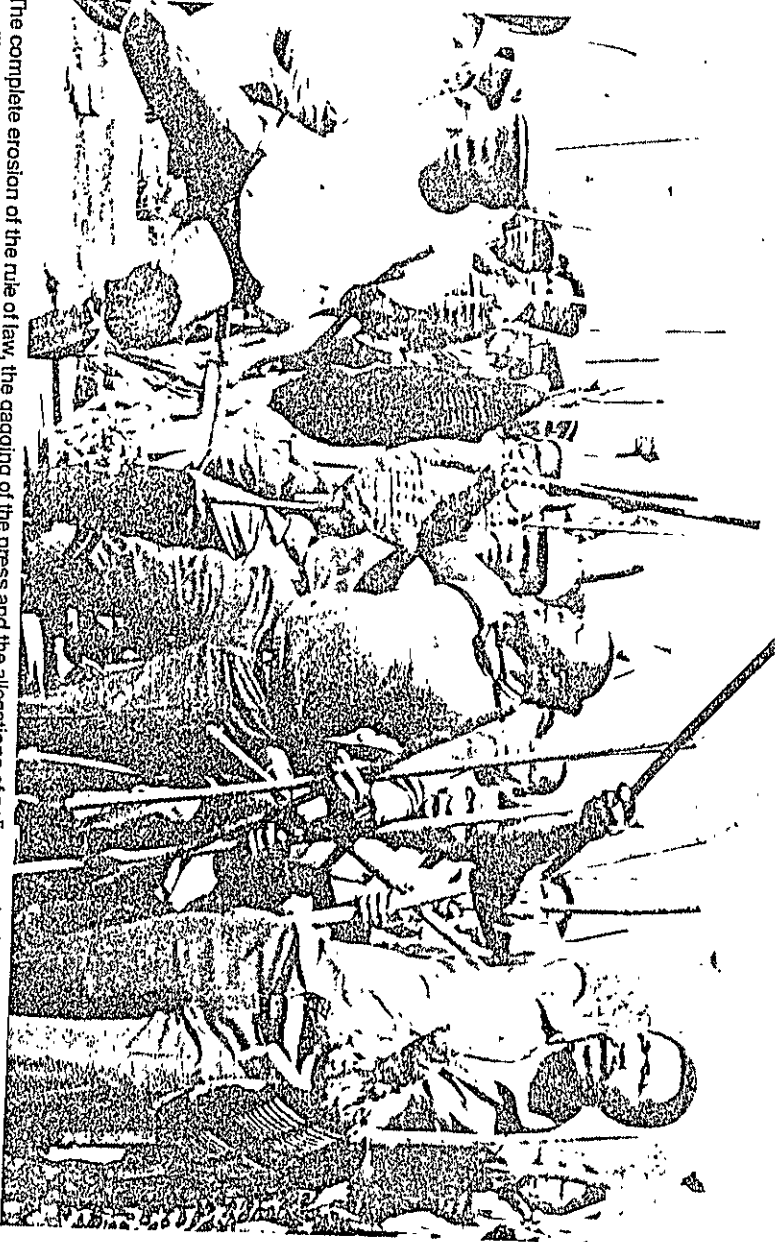
The fact that they do, suggests that Kenridge's stance is not an inflexible one, adopted *a priori*, but a function of the process of investigation and the nature of the war itself where the only available statistics put ratio of attacks by Inkatha to attacks initiated by the UDF at about 4:1.

The story is undoubtedly told with emotion. But this in no way debases the store of factual information at the heart of the writings.

The anecdotal presentation is deceptive — and it is a deception that keeps the reader turning the pages. Within the give-and-take of interviews, under the vivid sketches of description, the many of the central themes and serious questions of the Natal war.

The central dynamic of the war — as a struggle for territorial sovereignty which brooks no neutrality and swallows the political uncertainties along with the rest — permeates the book.

The constantly frustrated peace initiatives are related sequentially and treated with rare coherence.



The complete erosion of the rule of law, the gagging of the press and the allegations of police constituting a "third force" in the conflict are substantially discussed in *An Unofficial War*

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cuttings from magazines which she had gathered over the years. Three mats in green and yellow, white and red, woven from sperm whale bags, lay on the floor and on the door she had strung a calendar, new with the year.

In the back cover blurb to the book, it is stated that the political implications of the war are not the author's main focus. One cannot help thinking that the author has much in common with the British war poet who declared: "my subject is war and the pity of war. The poetry is in the pity."

Take, for instance, Kenridge's thoughts in Mounam Rise cemetery. "When a father calls a son the 'fallen' disappeared into a military as their crosses fractured over their graves became overgrown. But that, after all, is what this war, like any other, is all about: living people with their histories, thoughts and passions simply vanishing into the hillside."

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS
1990

OCT. — DEC.

OCTOBER

1990

ANC attacks

Ntsangwisi

copy - 7/10/85 1/10/80 116
GIYANI, Gazankulu. —

ANC leaders yesterday vowed that the organisation would oppose the relaunching of Xi Mo Ko Xa Raxaka (the Whip of the Nation), a cultural organisation led by Professor Hudson Ntsangwisi which is expected to be converted into a political party on October 20.

In a bitter attack on Professor Ntsangwisi, they said that allowing the relaunch of Xi Mo Ko would be like allowing the "Natal type of violence" to start in Gazankulu. — Sapa

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Inkatha peace march marred by stabbing

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — About 20 000 supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party took part in a march through the city centre at the weekend, but the event was marred by the killing of a man and the attempted murder of another.

Apart from calling for peace in the townships and the restoration of law and order, the march was a demonstration of support for Inkatha and ANC peace initiatives in strife-torn Natal.

One man, identified as Mr Bhekhokwakhe Mdlalose, 21, was found stabbed to death in Churchill Square. He had 33 stab wounds in the body and head.

Police detained a suspect at the scene but he was later released.

An SAP spokesman, Lieutenant Henry Budhram, said yesterday that no arrests had been made in connection with the killing.

In another incident a 29-year-old man, Mr Fano Zondi, was stabbed several times. He was rescued by police and taken to hospital.

The crowd marched to the Loop Street police station where a memorandum was handed in by march leader Mr David Ntombela to Captain Frans Maritz of the SAP.

Captain Maritz said he would forward the memorandum to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

A handful of young whites also took part in the march.

No incidents of violence were reported in the townships overnight.

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Buthelezi says 'no' to Mandela talks invitation

Political Staff

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

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

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

DAMPEN VIOLENCE

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

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

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

Mr Mandela telephoned Dr Buthelezi

ARGUS 2/10/90



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi



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

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

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

See page 6.

day for the first time in a Lufthansa aircraft... in and in West Berlin's Schoen... ber... net... Police... down...



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi tells reporters in Geneva yesterday that he has declined an ANC invitation to peace talks.

Picture: REUTERS

Buthelezi 'no'
B/20/90 3/10/90
to ANC invite

Business Day Reporter

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has declined the ANC's invitation to peace talks scheduled for Friday, saying he does not believe they would help end violence. (113)

Inkatha sources said Buthelezi's refusal was mainly due to his not being invited as Inkatha Freedom Party leader.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday government was in contact with the ANC regarding the possibility of a top-level meeting before the weekend.

● **Comment: Page 6**

Blow to

peace

Buthelezi snubs offer of talks

OWN CORRESPONDENT

IN a major setback to peace efforts by State President FW de Klerk, KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected an invitation from Mr Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress for talks on Friday on curbing the political violence.

Big blow to talks

From Page 1

Buthelezi said he was concerned because he was invited as a leader of a national state and not as

president of Inkatha Freedom Party. He asked if this was a deliberately strategised attempt to deny me my prime political identity as president of Inkatha.

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

The ANC expressed its "sincere regret" yesterday that Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi has declined an invitation to attend.



Injured constable Neels Goosen gets a visit from his father Colonel Gert Goosen at Garden City Clinic, where he was treated after being shot by a suspect in a car chase in Soweto yesterday.

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

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

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

Invitation

The ANC said Buthelezi refused to accept the invitation in a letter to Mandela.

De Klerk was pinning a lot of hope on the two men getting together for talks as a further input to peace besides the government's Iron Fist security crackdown and top-level meetings between Inkatha and ANC officials. In Natal and KwaZulu these meetings are credited with going a long way to curbing political violence.

Mandela telephoned Buthelezi on September 20 and invited him for talks. This raised hopes around the world that the two men would at last meet after Mandela's release from jail, after murderous clashes between their organisations and a war of words.

But within 16 hours

To Page 2

CHARLIE PARKERS

Buthelezi stands firm on talks with Mandela

Sowetan 5/10/90

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INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday reiterated he would not attend today's meeting between the Afri-

By SY MAKARINGE
can National Congress and homeland leaders.
Speaking to the Press at Jan Smuts Airport

shortly after returning from Geneva, Buthelezi said he rejected the invitation because Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, had not yet clarified issues he had raised with him during a telephone conversation on September 19.

Today's meeting will be held at Mandela's Orlando West, Soweto, home at 10am.

It will be attended by Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa, Dr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa, Professor Hudson Ntsawisi of Gazankulu, Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and KwaNdebele leader Mr James Mahlangu.

Buthelezi said although he did not despise "my other brothers in the self-governing territories" he believed the discussions on the violence should initially be between people whose followers or supporters are involved in the conflict.

He said the last time he had heard from Mandela was when the ANC leader phoned him from Pietersburg.

Homeland chiefs to stand together

W/E ARG 6/10/90
118

But Buthelezi says he'll sit this one out, thank you

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — All homeland leaders — except for Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had agreed to act as a united force in deciding principles for negotiations with the government, said African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Speaking yesterday after a meeting with non-independent homeland leaders at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said it was regrettable Chief Buthelezi could not join the briefing on the violence and discussions on the way forward to negotiations.

The reason given by Chief Buthelezi for his absence was that he was invited as a homeland leader rather than the leader of Inkatha, said Mr Mandela.

'Inconsistent'

"This is inconsistent, because when President De Klerk invites him as a homeland leader, he accepts. He has hardly missed a meeting."

Mr Mandela said it was agreed by all leaders at the meeting that there was a third force orchestrating violence in the townships. It was not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus as alleged by the media.

The government had to take full responsibility for the conduct of its own state agencies orchestrating the violence, said Mr Mandela.

The leaders at the meeting had agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems.

"It is the only way problems will be resolved," said the ANC leader.

Asked whether there was a chance of a one-on-one meeting with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said it was "always possible", but that the climate for this was not ideal.

'No difference'

"I would meet him as an individual. I am not concerned with labels. It makes no difference whether he comes as a homeland leader or the leader of Inkatha."

Mr Mandela did not confirm or deny reports of a top-level meeting between the government and the ANC in Cape Town on Monday. "The government has not denied what's already in the papers," he said.

Apart from Chief Buthelezi, two other homeland leaders were absent, but were represented. They were Qwaqwa's Chief T K Mopeli and Kwandebile's Prince Mhlangu.

Those who attended were Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr Enos Mabusu of Kangwane and Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa.

Buthelezi shuns ANC talks with homelands

HELEN GRANGE

ALL non-independent homeland leaders — except for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had agreed to act as a united force in deciding principles for negotiations with the Government, ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

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Third force

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TO PAGE 2.

Saturday Star October 6 1990

Buthelezi

FROM PAGE 1.

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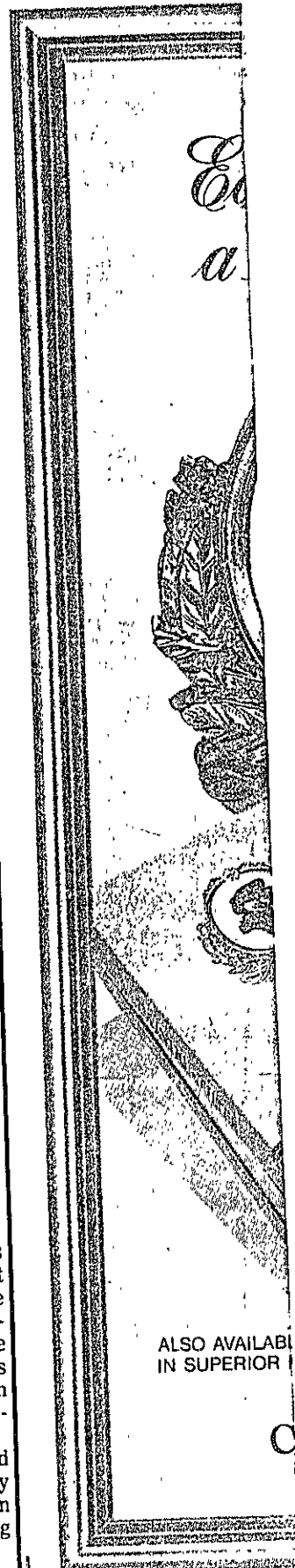
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IN SUPERIOR

Police bury Reef bodies

By CHARLES MOGALE

Cliven 7/10/90
POLICE have already given pauper's burials to 196 Reef unrest victims because their bodies could not be identified at the mortuaries.

A police spokesman said the bodies were buried in separate graves in Germiston this week. Last month 212 bodies were given paupers' funerals, and more than 100 unidentified bodies are still lying unclaimed in Reef mortuaries.

Most were victims of the recent violence which erupted between hostel dwellers and township residents.

The police burials come at a time when the South African Council of Churches has appealed to churches and other organisations to "adopt a body" to give decent burials to the victims.

A police spokesman said relatives who come forward can still exhume their bodies for family reburials.

"We are keeping their pictures, and all the graves are numbered," he said.

The police have also called on people whose relatives have disappeared recently to come forward and see if they are among the victims.

Killer cop linked to attack on home of ANC lawyer

By S'BU MNGADI

NOTORIOUS policeman Siphwe Mvuyane has been linked to a KwaZulu police squad which killed three youths at the Umlazi home of ANC lawyer Kwenza Mlaba on Tuesday.

This brings to 21 the number of killings in which Mvuyane has allegedly been involved in the past seven months, according to affidavits and sworn statements made by alleged eye-witnesses and survivors.

The ANC has demanded the immediate arrest of "the KwaZulu constable".

"Such atrocities cannot be allowed to continue unchallenged," the ANC said in a Press statement released in Johannesburg on Friday.

The KwaZulu police, however, say the three dead men were wanted in connection with the murder of Bheki Makhanya, and were armed. They claim the three were killed in a shootout when they resisted arrest.

A survivor of the attack at Mlaba's house, Rhilane Gwala, a Std 9 pupil at Umlazi's Igagazi High school, identified Mvuyane as one of the heavily-armed KwaZulu policemen he saw at the scene of the shooting on Tuesday.

Gwala alleges that shortly before noon on Tuesday he was outside the house when he saw KwaZulu policemen in plain clothes entering the house. Mvuyane's car was among the police cars parked in Mlaba's yard, he said.

Mvuyane spotted him as he tried to run away and fired three shots at him, but missed.

The three dead are Thulani Mkhize, 16; Mapi Mboyisa, 15; and Sibusiso Kunene, 19. They were all ANC-supporting scholars.

118 8/10/90

NEW

Shongweni, rare valley of peace

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By Graham Spence

Once it was called the valley of death, now it is the valley of peace.

For the rugged valley of Shongweni, home to about 55 000 people, is the only township in Natal where peace has held fast for more than a year.

On Thursday last week, this remarkable peace pact was acknowledged by President F W de Klerk during a whistle-stop tour of Natal's flashpoints.

Warring

At the Charles Memorial School he presented Bibles signed by himself to Thulani Zulu, a leader of the United Democratic Front, and Victor Sibisi, a leader of Inkatha, to mark the first anniversary of the accord between these two previously warring groups.

Mr Zulu, Mr Sibisi and John Mkhize, the self-appointed mediator in the district, said afterwards there was tangible proof that the valley of death, barely a year ago the scene of probably the most brutal conflict in the region, was "healthy" again.

Mr Mkhize, a popular local shopkeeper and regarded as being non-partisan, said the community was largely apolitical before Inkatha began recruiting in the early '80s.

Then, after a devastating drought came the 1986 floods. This tragedy led to a volatile political situation, resulting in the first Inkatha-UDF clashes. The area was divided into two hostile camps.

"Carnage and destruction were everywhere," said Mr Mkhize, "and it was a major task to rebuild the community. But peace is now written

in our hearts, and that is why it is holding. There were no documents or signatures; the people here just want it to work."

The peace is largely thanks to the remarkable work of the police and particularly to the dedication of Major Ray Harrald, who was stationed in the area on detachment duty last year.

Now stationed in Pretoria, Major Harrald said: "I believe this is what positive policing is all about, where we managed to get the trust of the community who didn't even trust each other."

He said the police were first approached in August last year after a woman was thrown off a bus and killed.

"I called a meeting on August 13, which was almost a disaster. Inkatha supporters arrived heavily armed, and first I had to persuade them to leave their weapons outside the hall. They agreed, but less than an hour later they claimed they were being insulted, and rushed outside to arm themselves again.

Nodding

"By then Inkatha were ranting for a fight, but Victor (Sibisi) managed to persuade his people to lay down their arms and come into the hall again.

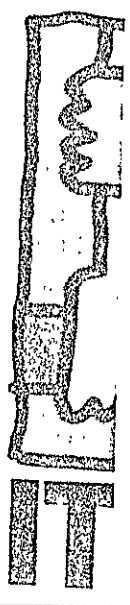
"I said that unless everyone had God's peace in their hearts, they wouldn't find peace in this valley. I think that's what did it. Suddenly I saw everyone nodding."

He later spoke to the two leaders and arranged a peace meeting for August 27.

"We expected about 100 people. Instead there were at least 700, and I knew we had won." Major Harrald said.



SACOB SABEK



Beauty helps out . . . Miss So year's Ithuba Day on October six centres around the countr where celebrities will help rais

10/10/90 (113)

Peace talks in danger of falling apart - Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatsumba,
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that high-level peace talks between the ANC and the IFP were "in danger of falling apart" if the ANC did not take steps to control inflammatory utterances by its members about himself.

Responding to "various attacks" on himself allegedly made by Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa president Zanemvula Nonkonyana in Cape Town at the weekend, Chief Buthelezi said it had been agreed between IFP and ANC leaders in the organisations' two meetings last month that "killing talk" by ANC spokesmen had to cease.

Chief Buthelezi said he had "very real hopes" that black South Africans would resolve their political differences, which had cost so many lives, in the ANC-IFP discussion. The continuation of the public ven-

detta against himself and the IFP by the ANC, and its supporters had placed the talks "in very real jeopardy".

The KwaZulu leader said an attack on himself was made in the presence of ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani. If the ANC sincerely wanted peace and reconciliation it would have to "do something about this ongoing ghastly rhetoric, and do it now".

Saying he was "desperately seeking ways and means to ensure a lasting peace", Chief Buthelezi called on the ANC to instruct its officials and supporters to immediately desist from "virulently attacking Inkatha" on public platforms.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not comment on Chief Buthelezi's call until she had had a chance to read his full statement.

● The annual conference of the Inkatha Women's Brigade will be held in Ulundi at the weekend, it was announced yesterday.

Chief warns on ANC 'vendetta'

Chief Tcip 10/10/80

Political Staff

IF the ANC carried on with its vendetta against the Inkatha Freedom Party, the prospects for peace could be shattered and the situation could easily get out of hand again, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

He also called on the ANC to instruct its officials and supporters "to desist, forthwith, from virulently attacking Inkatha and its leadership on public platforms".

Chief Buthelezi issued a statement yesterday in reaction to the speech made by Mr Zanemvula Nonkonyana, the president of Contralesa, the ANC-linked body of chiefs, at a meeting at the weekend in Nyanga.

The meeting was also addressed by the head of the ANC's military wing and a member of its national executive committee, Mr Chris Hani.

Chief Buthelezi said: "Mr Nonkonyana indulged in various attacks on me personally and perpetuated the kind of killing talk which has been responsible, to date, for exacerbating tensions.

"This kind of puerile rhetoric ultimately results in violence and tragic loss of lives. This must stop.

"I loathe the violence. Inkatha seeks peace. I urge that talk which could cost lives must stop," he said.

'Killer cop' too hot for Kwa

Zulu

By S'BU MNGADI

116
14/10/90

NOTORIOUS alleged KwaZulu killer cop Const Siphwe Mvuyane appeared in Umlazi court three times this week, but officials were too scared to try him. The case has now been transferred to the Durban Magistrate's Court for hearing.

Mvuyane, a member of the Umlazi murder and robbery squad who has allegedly been involved in 21 killings in the past seven months, appeared before magistrate MA Hlophle three times on Friday.

The policeman faces four charges of assault, two of indecent assault or alternatively impairing or injuring dignity, one of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and two of extortion or bribery.

Officials fear for lives after accused arrests magistrate

Officials fear for

lives after accused

arrests magistrate

Prosecutor MHE Sithole said Natal Attorney-General Mike Imber had issued strict instructions or cases pending against Mvuyane to be transferred to the Pretoria-controlled Durban Magistrate's Court.

The cases were postponed to October 29 when Mvuyane will be given trial dates. Sithole later told City Press the Attorney General's decision followed several representations made to him by Umlazi court officials who feared for their lives should they prosecute or preside over Mvuyane.

According to the court records, Mvuyane had made an application to senior magistrate BJ Buthelezi to recuse himself (Buthelezi) because, the policeman alleged, he had arrested Buthelezi and convicted him and sentenced him to long prison terms. Buthelezi turned down the application but later accused himself after he had been arrested by

Mvuyane on apparently trumped-up charges. The court officials said Mvuyane escaped from an Umlazi court on July 13 after drawing his service pistol, leaving behind an embarrassed KwaZulu police court orderly. On July 12 this year, Sithole authorised a warrant for Mvuyane's arrest when the policeman failed to appear in court. When Mvuyane eventually appeared before senior magistrate Buthelezi on July 13, he said he had been unable to come to court the previous day because he was sick. Buthelezi postponed the inquiry, held in his office, to July 16, to allow Mvuyane to produce a medical certificate and remanded him in custody. A court orderly then

headed Mvuyane out of Buthelezi's office on the way to the cells, followed by an interpreter and a prosecutor. Mvuyane did not reach the cells. Instead he pulled out his service pistol and defiantly walked away from the court orderly to his car, which was parked in the court yard. On August 10 Mvuyane and two heavily armed KwaZulu policemen arrested Buthelezi at the court in an apparent act of vengeance. Buthelezi was charged with assaulting a colleague at the Umlazi police station. Four hours later he was released pending further investigations into the alleged assault.

Mandela, Buthelezi friendship tested by struggle

Visions apart

Sowetan 15/10/90

(116)

NELSON Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are old friends who find themselves in a power struggle, propelled by violence, that could delay the opportunity for blacks to govern South Africa.

The nation's two most powerful black leaders have known each other since the 1940s. Both want black majority rule, but they have different visions of the future and neither appears ready for concessions that might stop the bloodshed between their supporters.

"If the violence becomes endemic, this country could be worse off after liberation than before," a newspaper said recently.

Fighting

Mandela, leading the African National Congress, and Chief Buthelezi, conservative head of Inkatha Freedom Party, blame each other for the fighting.

"People are actually dying because the ANC will not talk with Inkatha and Mandela will not talk with me," Buthelezi said.

But Buthelezi, who also leads the KwaZulu homeland, has rejected an invitation to join other homeland leaders in talking with Mandela.

Buthelezi insists on a meeting between the two of them.

Mandela, who is even willing to meet rightwing whites, has refused.



ANC leaders say the Inkatha leader has orchestrated the factional fighting to bring about such a meeting and enhance his stature.

The quick-tempered Buthelezi bristles at the suggestion and accuses the ANC of trying to crush its black rivals.

Violence between followers of the ANC and Inkatha in black townships around Johannesburg has claimed about 800 lives since early August, but has eased somewhat in the past weeks.

In Natal, the ANC-Inkatha conflict has left about 5 000 dead since 1986.

President F W de Klerk says he wants to negotiate the end of the apartheid policy that denies political power to blacks, but that no progress is possible until the factional fighting is under control.

Mandela also wants to negotiate. But his militant young supporters in the black townships demand arms and want results.

The Inkatha leader, at 62, a decade younger than Mandela, insists his organisation be represented at black-white peace talks.

He claims the ANC wants to exclude him.

His supporters often are blamed for initiating attacks.

There are strong suspicions, though unproven, that some Inkatha supporters have acted with at least tacit approval from some sectors of the police.

The ANC, the largest black opposition group, is socialist-oriented and has fought the Government with boycotts, protests, calls for sanctions and a guerrilla campaign that was suspended in August.

Inkatha rejects those tactics and favours capitalism.

Power, more than ideology, is the focus of their conflict.

Followers

Thousands of young men beyond the leadership's control are waging what amounts to gang warfare.

In many neighbourhoods, a road becomes the dividing line between ANC and Inkatha followers.

Young men fight in the name of "Mandela" or "Buthelezi," but know little about the groups the men lead.

Buthelezi's well-tailored suits, capitalist economics and opposition to violence against the Government make him appear less threatening to whites than other black leaders.

The Government has hinted at seeking an alliance with him.

When clad in his leopard skins at Zulu ceremonies, Buthelezi also is the politician who appeals most

strongly to tribal loyalties and the Zulu warrior tradition.

He sees tribalism as a fact that must be addressed in any political settlement.

Zulus, although divided politically, are the country's largest tribe, numbering about 7 million.

Inkatha claims 1.8 million members, virtually all Zulus. While the organisation is strong among the rural poor, the ANC gets much of its support from urban, educated, middle-class blacks.

The ANC plays down ethnic differences and has national support that cuts across tribal lines. Most observers believe it would get the most votes if the country's 30 million blacks were allowed to cast ballots.

Mandela and Buthelezi both joined the ANC in the 1940s, and exchanged warm letters during Mandela's 27 years in prison.

"I remain indebted to him because of our friendship and the support that he has given to me," Mandela has said.

Exiled ANC leaders gave their blessing to Inkatha's formation in 1975, but were against Buthelezi becoming leader of the KwaZulu homeland. The ANC sees the 10 black homelands as part of the apartheid system, while Buthelezi considers them a step toward majority rule. - Sapa-AP

Hostel fears mount after cash demand

Sowetan
15/10/90
110

TENSION is mounting at Soweto's Diepkloof Hostel where Inkatha members last week distributed letters to dwellers instructing each to contribute R5 to a fund before the end of this month.

The fund was established after an Inkatha Freedom Party meeting at the hostel a few weeks ago.

It will provide, among other things, arrested

By SY MAKARINGE

members of the party with legal assistance.

The letter, written in Zulu, said everyone living at the hostel should pay the money before the end of the month, irrespective of whether they were Zulus or not.

Members

Concerned non-Inkatha members at the hostel expressed fears yesterday that people who

failed to comply with the request may be "identified and dealt with accordingly".

"We do not know what will happen to people who do not pay. We're in a Catch-22 situation because if we don't pay, we might be seen to be against Inkatha.

"If we do, we would be seen to be endorsing its policies and the deeds of its members.

"It is very clear that they want to control all the hostels. We may even be made to join the party against our will," said a dweller who refused to be identified.

Another dweller said a friend, who lives at Dube Hostel and is not a member of Inkatha, had vacated his room after Inkatha had allegedly requested everyone at the hostel to donate R100 towards a fund.

Women call for a just society

(113)

Soweto 16/10/90

THE women's brigade of the Inkatha Freedom Party on Sunday called for a return to the non-violent struggle.

The call was contained in a statement released by the women's brigade following the close of its conference at Ulundi, Natal.

The brigade also called on all black political leaders to normalise relationships between political parties "and to deal with each other now as they will have to deal with each other once a fair, just and democratic

society has been established".

Pride was expressed in Inkatha Freedom Party's own role in "doing more than any other group to end the homeland policy and to oppose apartheid wherever it was expressed".

The women exhorted all members of the Inkatha Freedom Party and all black South Africans to use non-violent struggle to bring about an end to apartheid and the establishment of a just society as the basis for future strategy thinking. - Sapa

NEWS

**'CP is talking
to black leaders'**

17/10/96
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The Conservative Party is holding talks with black leaders and will announce details soon, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

And he accepted President de Klerk's invitation for talks as long as they were held in public debate so that Mr de Klerk could clarify certain policy statements in the open.

Opening the CP national congress in the Durban City Hall, attended by about 1 400 people, he said certain black leaders and organisations — such as President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Inkatha and the independent churches — were the "natural allies" of whites who opposed the "tyranny and oppression" of the African National Congress and SA Communist Party.

ANC, Inkatha to tour areas of violence

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DURBAN. — ANC and Inkatha leaders will jointly visit Natal's trouble spots to do "on the spot reviews" in an effort to restore peace.

This was the outcome of a meeting between members of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and the Inkatha Central Committee in Durban on Monday.

The watershed agreement means that for the first time leaders from the two organisations will jointly monitor the violence.

The ANC delegation was led by NEC member, Mr John Nkadimeng, and the Inkatha delegation was led by chairperson, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Well-placed sources confirmed that ANC and Inkatha leaders would first visit Ndwedwe, followed by KwaMakhutha, Empangeni and Mpumalanga as part of the agreement.

NATAL

FIM 19/10/90

11B

GOOD SENSE

While some supporters of the ANC and Inkatha continue their deadly political fight — contained by “Operation Ironfist” and other security measures — and leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi still refuse to meet, at least the organisations are talking at senior committee level. High-ranking delegations met for the third time in Durban on Monday in what seems to have been the most sincere round of discussions to date.

Nobody expects the violence to disappear overnight but, following the considerable success of two local “peace accords” in Natal — which still seem to be holding — the ANC and Inkatha have agreed to visit flashpoints to review the situation on the ground.

Though not spelt out after Monday's meeting between the two delegations — led by the ANC's John Nkadameng and Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose — it seems clear the purpose of the joint visits is to try to



Buthelezi ... a question of dignity

emulate the accords in Empangeni and Ndwedwe, which have established relative peace.

Both organisations also appealed to followers to stop using violence to settle differences and even to avoid “using foul language” and show respect for each other — an important symbolic gesture aimed at Buthelezi. The most heated reactions from the Inkatha leader are provoked by what he calls the “vilification campaign” some members of the ANC are mounting against him.

The committee meetings — the next is set for November 8 — also represent a change in strategy to try to end the violence. It is now widely acknowledged that Mandela misjudged badly on his first visit to Natal soon after his release, when he called on the warring factions to throw their weapons into the sea.

The only response was an immediate in-

FIM 19/10/90

11B

crease in the level of violence and the ANC leader lost support from both the radical youth (who saw his peace call as evidence of going soft) and more moderate people (who were dismayed at how ineffectual was the call for peace).

It now seems that the ANC and Inkatha are adopting a bottom-up approach towards tackling the violence, trying to get conditions on the ground peaceful before the leaders meet.

This makes good sense — at last. Despite the present stand-off, Mandela and Buthelezi are going to have to meet. Both must be acutely aware of the importance of timing — if they do get together and call for peace and nothing happens, what could they do next? Better to have the groundwork done.

Increased security measures from government are only a temporary solution. The ace would be visible peace between Mandela and Buthelezi and nobody wants to waste that card.

When the great meeting finally takes place, the peace will simply have to stick. ■

21/10/90
115

Buthelezi defends 'killer cop'

By SBU MMSADI

KWAZULU chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed as "bombers" allegations linking alleged KwaZulu killer cop Siphrwe Mvuyane to the slaying of 21 people in the past seven months.

Buthelezi is backing Mvuyane to the hilt and has commended him as an ace sharpshooter.

In an interview at the opening of the Imhlabi SAP station, the Inkatha leader said: "In most cases the KwaZulu police were attacked and he [Mvuyane] happened to be present and he hit back."

In an interview with Radio Zulu this week, Buthelezi, who is also the home-land's Minister of Police, said police commissioner Brigadier Jac Buchner's office had informed him that before most of the alleged killings, the "criminals" had in fact opened fire on Mvuyane before he returned fire.

Mvuyane a murderer?

Nonsense!

He's just good with a gun,

says chief

Meanwhile, Mvuyane has been linked to a KwaZulu Police (KZP) squad which fired a hail of bullets at a private home in Umhlabi's D section last Saturday when a vigil was in progress, according to the Democratic Party (DP).

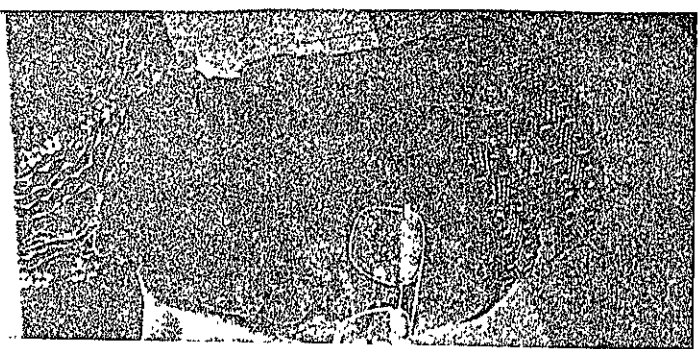
Roy Ainslie, director of the DP in Durban, said Sibusiso Gumbi died from gunshot wounds during the attack on the vigil of Maki Mbooyisa, 15, who was killed on October 2 together with two local youths by KZP detectives. Mvuyane was allegedly a member of this police squad.

Lulu Gumede, wounded in the stomach and hand during the vigil attack, is recuperating in a Durban hospital. Braving public outrage in the greater Durban region and surrounding areas regarding Mvuyane's activities, Buthelezi said: "He happens to be a good shot from what I am told."

He said he had not personally met the policeman. "In the police force, one can use force commensurate with the force which is used by the other person - the law allows for that," Buthelezi added.

Buthelezi's commendation of Mvuyane is bound to shock many eye-witnesses and survivors of attacks who have completed a dossier of affidavits and statements detailing the policeman's alleged seven-month reign of terror.

One of his alleged victims, a Durban businessman on whom Mvuyane "had de-



Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who says KwaZulu police were attacked and Mvuyane hit back

clared war", recently described him as a ruthless policeman who does not hesitate to kill at any given opportunity.

The businessman has supplied his name but wishes to remain anonymous. Mvuyane, a member of the Umhlabi murder and robbery squad, also has three cases pending against him at the Umhlabi Magistrate's Court.

The policeman faces four charges of assault, two of indecent assault or alternatively impairing or injuring dignity, one of intent to do grievous bodily harm and two of extortion or bribery.

Natal Attorney-General Mike Imber last Friday issued strict instructions to officials of the Umhlabi Magistrate's Court to transfer cases pending against Mvuyane to the Pretoria-controlled Durban Magistrate's Court because Umhlabi court officials were too scared to try him.

And Mvuyane has agreed with Buthelezi that he is a good with a gun. Testifying in a case concerning the alleged abduction of his cousin Thulani Mkhize by three Umhlabi youths, the policeman told the court he often used a small firearm and "does not miss".

Mvuyane was speaking during cross-examination by advocate Vinay Gajoo, counsel for Thulani Makhize - the accused - who was shot while in custody under Mvuyane's supervision. Brigadier Buchner this week told

City Press he hoped police would have concluded investigations of the alleged killings by October 24. He declined to disclose the number of killings being investigated, except to say there were not 18 victims as alleged in some press reports.

Colonel WAF van Zyl, assistant police commissioner of the KZP, has in the meantime requested Ainslie to make available to KZP headquarters in Umhlabi copies of affidavits concerning Mvuyane's activities.

He said the documents could lead to further investigations or could be included in matters presently under investigation.

Ainslie put his foot down, however, and this week refused the request, saying he would only hand the documents over to an impartial investigating team.

Ainslie also said he had not yet been contacted by the SAP after Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok told him in a letter on September 3 that the Minister had instructed the SAP Commissioner of Police - who would contact Ainslie "in due course" - to investigate allegations against Mvuyane.

'Hit squad' panic in Lebowa

By SOPHIE TEMA (Pretoria) 21/10/90
YOUTH activists and members of the Oakley Civic Association in Lebowa have scattered after brutal attacks by alleged hit squads.

After a month on the run, scores of youths are in hiding after repeated attacks on the homeland's Oakley villagers, which also left several houses burnt to ground.

One of the victims, Steyn Mashabane, a member of the Oakley Civic Association, is in hiding after being viciously beaten and his home vandalised by a "hit squad".

Acting chief of the village Alton Mokoena and several members of his family are to appear in court on November 12 on charges that they attacked Mashabane with slamboks and hanked him with pangas.

Mashabane's mother, Betty, said her home was also attacked about four months ago by a "hit-squad" at about 3.30am.

The house was riddled with bullet holes which are still clearly visible on walls and windows.

Phillip Maluka, also a member of the civic association, was attacked and frogmarched in the night through the village three weeks ago. He said: "My family and I were taken by footsteps at about 3am."

"Before I could get out of bed, there was heavy knocking on the doors followed by the shattering of windows."

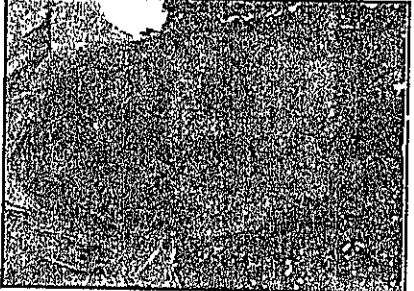
"They caught me just as I was trying to run away and attacked me. One of them was shouting: 'Catch him! Kill him!'"

"I then managed to run away but they caught me as I was about to jump over a fence."

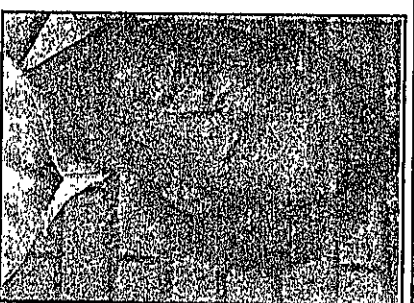
"I felt a sharp sting on my left leg and realised I had been injured. I tried to get up and run but they caught me, tied my hands and frogmarched me back to my house."

"When we got back to the house, they pushed me through the broken window, calling me derogatory names."

"Inside the house my children and my two wives - Ida and Lizzy - were hysterical. "Because I was stark naked, Ida tried to give me some clothing to put on but they turned on her and beat her up."



Dan Mbulu... 'I'm being hunted by a group of men who want to kill me'



Phillip Maluka... one of the squad shouted: 'Catch him! Kill him!'

Lebowa royalty in gunshot wrangle

By SOPHIE TEMA
THE ANC is investigating an incident in which matric pupil Linkie Manzini was allegedly shot in a thigh by a member of the Mokoena family, who are part of Oakley village's royal kraal in Lebowa.

It is also alleged that Manzini's mother was offered a R1 000 bribe in a bid to avoid police intervention.

Manzini told City Press she was "accidentally" shot by a younger brother of the acting chief of the village. He was identified to City Press as Party Mokoena.

Linkie Manzini, who was shot in the leg

"As they were beating Ida, I recognised four of the men as members of the Lebowa police and other supporters of the royal kraal."

"I was then ordered to walk to a van parked outside my yard. I was driven around the village until the men decided to take me to the police station."

"No charges were laid against me, instead they

drove me to the Missana Hospital and dumped me at the gates. "I was discharged from hospital after three days but I still receive treatment as an outpatient."

Makaba said he had not reported the matter to the Press because he was being hunted by a group of men who wanted to kill him.

He said: "On October 10, a group of men were looking for me. They were spotted by members of my family and others driving in a vehicle with a Durban registration number."

She said: "I know my mother had some discussion with the Mokoena family but I do not know what the discussion was all about because I was lying in hospital."

Oakley Civic Association chairman Theofina Ndlovu a member said Party Mokoena had reported the incident to him and had told him the Mokoena family were to meet Manzini's mother to settle the matter "their way."

Ndlovu said his association later got information that Manzini's mother had accepted R1 000 from the Mokoena family after she agreed not to report the matter to the police.

"They looked for me all over the village but could not find me. I have reported the matter to the ANC."

Local ANC Women's League chairlady Nonobuso Ndlovu said: "The existence of hit squads and attacks on activists and their homes have been reported to the ANC and are being investigated."



Xhosa workers and their families gather their furniture and belongings for the trek back home. In Pic: JOSEPH OESTERZAKA

BY SIBU MNGADI

I WAS FORCED TO ATTACK THE XHOSAS!

Hotheads start rampage after alleged taunts

The raiders who had assembled in the yard outside, armed to the teeth. They then ran amok and moved from hostel to hostel looking for Xhosa. Colleagues were forced to identify Xhosas and their rooms.

All this, he claimed, took place in full view of the mine security who did not bother to intervene.

The head of Hloboane security, Chris van Zyl, refused to comment when City Press asked why.

During the rampage the worker came across many Xhosa colleagues who looked at him, hoping he would spare their lives. Some recognised him and cried: "You are also killing us."

He did not attack those he knew but pretended to attack, so as to scare them away, while his fellow Zulu attackers unleashed their assortment of weapons with fury, and killed right before his eyes.

He avoided the dying eyes of people if possible, "farting" themselves with multi.

The mineworker reluctantly joined the

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER MATRIC EXAMS

Exam papers and scripts safe

Strictly under lock and key.

Meticulous security measures have been made to ensure the safe transportation of the examination papers. Papers will be transported to the various examination centres on a daily basis.

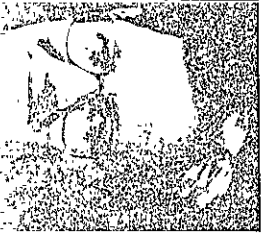
All question papers for the October-November examinations have been set by qualified senior examiners and experienced moderators.

How and where scripts will be marked

Same dates and times throughout

All candidates in the Republic of South Africa, the Self-governing Territories and in Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei write the question papers for all subjects on exactly the same day and at precisely the same time.

Scripts will be collected from schools daily, and the department again, gave the assurance that all possible precautions have been taken to ensure that the scripts are delivered safely for marking.



set alight. However, he discovered his name, Elijah Senzela 25, was dead and burning by the time he got to him.

Pali also said the attack took place in full view of mine security.

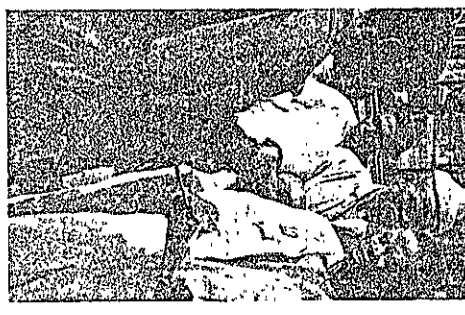
He is convinced many of his Zulu colleagues had not known of the impending attack, but had nevertheless joined the aggressors in fear for their lives.

"At the Vryheid hospital, I had come across two Zulus who claimed they had been attacked by fellow Zulus because they had resisted joining them," he said.

Jerry Majathidi of Ntun said these attacks by Inkatha supporters came after mineworkers organised by Ntun had successful strikes at Iscor mines for higher wages and decent working conditions.

South Africa, Transkei, Ciskei, and KwaZulu set up a mediation committee on Friday which will "proceed without delay" to Hloboane and Duncraig for talks with workers and management.

Thereafter they will travel to Transkei and Ciskei to interview workers who fled. The committee must report in two weeks, reports Sapa



No work back home, but... "we dare not stay at the colliery," these workers said before leaving.

I DID not attack those I knew, but pretended to attack so as to scare them away, while my fellow Zulu attackers killed right before my eyes. I avoided the dying eyes of people I knew - by simply turning my head away.

The source of the conflict in Natal

Sowetan 23/10/90

113

The *Sunday Tribune* has released a seminal 50-page special section as part of an initiative - in association with associates - to find answers to the problem bedeviling the peaceful and prosperous future of the Natal and Kwa-Zulu region.

The editor of *Tribune*, Jonathan Hobday conceived and arranged for this section. It has valuable insights to understanding violence caused by South Africa's history which exploded with such tragedy and drama in Natal, and later in other parts of the country. As Natal-KwaZulu was the source of this phenomenon, the special section has useful lessons for all of us. Today's focus piece is taken from the section by Doug Hindson, Deputy Director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (Durban-Westville University) and Mike Morris, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Social and Development Studies (University of Natal, Durban).



People in Natal fleeing the conflict between Inkatha and the UDF.

EFFORTS to explain the violence in Natal have polarised along political lines.



Researchers linked to Inkatha have stressed the role of the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in urban areas and have singled out black youth as the major perpetrators of the violence.

Writers associated with the ANC/UDF Cosatu alliance have emphasised political rivalry and blamed Inkatha-allied vigilantes and warlords.

Whatever the merits of the ideological battle between political organisations, such polarised approaches have inhibited understanding of the causes of violence and have consequently been a poor guide to resolving the conflict.

Political rivalry has unquestionably played a major part in the conflict. But the ideological and political determinants of violence are rooted in underlying social and material conditions in the black residential areas.

We need to deal with the immediate problem of political conflict to end the violence. But long-

term solutions will not be found unless social and material conditions which sustain it are also addressed.

The conflict has three main dimensions, each of which needs attention. These are political rivalry, antagonisms between youth and warlord structures and Social divisions in the black residential areas.

Rivalry

Why does the rivalry between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC/Cosatu alliance take the form of violent confrontation?

In South Africa the use of violence to impose the policies of apartheid has been ingrained in the practices of the state over decades, especially through the agency of township administration and the police.

Black peoples's exclusion from national democratic processes and their experience of state repression has legitimised violence as a means to ef-

fect social change.

In Natal, Inkatha has become the object of attack because it is associated with township administration, the Kwa-Zulu Police and the South African police.

These agencies are extensions of the central state and are thus perceived to be part and parcel of the apartheid regime.

The rivalry also stems from competition. In the late 1970s Inkatha refused to fall into line with ANC policy and sought to build up a political organisation in Natal, which rivalled that of the ANC.

Inkatha's role in township and homeland administration gave it access to considerable resources for political recruitment. But these advantages have now become its greatest political liabilities.

Much of the opposition to Inkatha is focussed on its involvement in a discredited administration and collusion with feared and hated repressive forces.

It must be acknowledged that the violence also stems from political calculation. In the mid-1980s tendencies

within the ANC believed state power could be taken by force. The state believed it could use its armed might to reimpose its own order. In Natal, some within the ANC believed that Inkatha's power could be broken by arming the youth.

As its political support in the urban areas of Natal and the Transvaal dwindled, Inkatha, too, increasingly resorted to brute force to maintain its political control.

In practice the development of violent means to bring about change - or resist it - has brought none of the protagonists closer to political hegemony.

Peace

Nevertheless the costs to all parties in the conflict, to all South Africans, are immeasurable.

Growing realisation of the political futility of violence and its immense socialism cost underlies the present tentative moves towards peace nationally and in parts of Natal.

Increasingly there is acceptance that political differences can and should be settled in open democratic forums, not

through armed combat.

The roots of the violence and the factors which sustain it go far deeper than political affiliation and the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance.

The weakening of state control in the aftermath of the township uprisings of the mid-1980s led to the formation of competing local centres of power within the black residential areas: the youth structures allied mostly to the ANC, and the warlords allied, for the most part, to Inkatha.

Inkatha increasingly turned to the shack dwellers for recruitment as it lost ground within the formal townships of Natal.

Since shack dwellers have no *de jure* rights to the land, *de facto* control is established through their own capacity to defend a piece of ground.

In these circumstances shack dwellers turn readily to local squatter leaders and warlords with whom they trade obedience and levies, tribute and other payments for residential security.

Continued tomorrow.

faceks / Aug 23/10/90

Mandela, Buthelezi talks get ANC nod

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The ANC's highest decision-making body, the national executive committee (NEC), has finally given its blessing to a meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC announced that the NEC and Inkatha's central committee would meet in the near future.

The meeting would be held to strengthen efforts to end the protracted violence in the country.

Declined

Mr Mandela, apparently under pressure from within the ANC, has up to now declined several invitations to meet Chief Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mr Mandela, currently on an international tour, was "fully aware" of the decision.

Chief Buthelezi said late last night that the meeting had not been officially brought to the attention of Inkatha, but he confirmed that the proposal was consistent with recommendations he had made.

ANC agrees to talks on violence

Buthelezi and Mandela set to meet soon

THE long-awaited meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is almost certain to take place within weeks.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday its national executive committee (NEC) had decided at the weekend to meet the central committee of Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party "within the near future".

The statement also signalled the ANC's intention to press ahead with plans to hold its national conference in December, despite recent concern that it would be postponed due to the delayed implementation of mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and the return of ANC exiles.

The planned summit would be aimed at strengthening efforts to end violence, the ANC said.

In reaction, Buthelezi said last night the proposed meeting was consistent with recommendations which Inkatha leaders had made for some time.

He said the Inkatha central committee would consider the ANC proposal once this had been formally received, as well as the question of a mutually acceptable time and venue.

It is understood the meeting was facilitated by discussions between Inkatha and ANC representatives on a joint committee on the Natal violence.

Sources said yesterday it was possible the meeting would be the first in a series of encounters at top leadership level.

PETER DELMAR

It was unlikely, however, that the full NEC and Inkatha central committee would be represented as this would involve more than 100 people, the sources said.

Although the discussions would probably include various topics other than violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, Inkatha sources said the movement would almost certainly resist any attempt to reach a joint strategy on constitutional negotiations.

Efforts to bring the two leaders together, particularly after factional violence spread to the Transvaal this year, have failed repeatedly.

Earlier this month Buthelezi declined an ANC invitation to meet Mandela with other non-independent homeland leaders.

It is believed that Buthelezi's refusal to attend was mostly related to the fact that he was invited as a homeland Chief Minister and not as Inkatha leader.

The ANC is understood to have resisted a one-on-one meeting between the two because it believed such an encounter would give Buthelezi greater recognition than it believed he deserved.

The proposed summit will be the first face-to-face encounter between Mandela and Buthelezi since the ANC leader was released from prison in February.

Yesterday's ANC statement said the two-day "regular" NEC meeting had also discussed efforts by the "democratic

□ To Page 2

Summit

movement" as a whole to end violence. It commended efforts in this regard undertaken by the ANC and Cosatu, and welcomed the initiatives of the joint ANC-Inkatha committee, which has met regularly on the Natal violence.

The statement said the ANC had received a report on preparations for the organisation's national congress, scheduled for December and the first in three decades to be held inside SA.

It indicated the conference would go ahead, adding the NEC had decided that preparations should be speeded up.

Discussion documents for the conference would be distributed to all ANC branches and the committee preparing for the conference would maintain close contact with ANC regional committees.

The meeting welcomed a report on progress being made by the ANC/government joint working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement said.

□ From Page 1

Mandela and Buthelezi set to meet

(118)

Sowetan
24/10/90

THE ANC leadership has agreed that its executive, including Mr Nelson Mandela, meet with the Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party including Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee and the International Leadership Core in Johannesburg over the weekend.

In an announcement by the ANC's Department of Information no date or venue has yet been set for the meeting, but it will be

part of an on-going process to bring about peace to the violence-riddled Natal which has claimed over 4 000 lives in the unrest.

The spokesman said that the meeting welcomed the steps being taken jointly by the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"It further agreed that a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and the Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party be held in the near future, with the participation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela, to

strengthen the efforts aimed at ending the violence," said the spokesman.

He added that the meeting also discussed the efforts that the Democratic Movement as a whole was doing to end the violence in the country.

"It commended the work being carried out jointly by the ANC and Cosatu in this regard and agreed that, where necessary, new initiatives be taken to reinforce progress towards a situation of peace throughout the country," said the spokesman. - *Own correspondent*

Inkatha, ANC leaders in township 'peace tour'

Star 26/10/90

DURBAN — Top Inkatha and African National Congress leaders toured the violence-torn Mapumalanga township yesterday in a demonstration to residents that the two rival organisations are committed to peace.

"We think we should be able to solve our problems, if any ... by discussion, not by killing and murdering," John Nkademeng, a senior member of the ANC national executive committee, said to the group of journalists accompanying the tour.

"We are at one that we should stop insulting each other and we should get on our feet and start building ourself as a community," said Frank T. Mdlalose, the national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Fighting

Dr Mdlalose and Mr Nkademeng referred to each other as "my brother".

Mapumalanga has been the scene of fierce fighting between supporters of the UDF and of Inkatha.

Violence has decreased since the SADF was sent into the township — two patrols of armed soldiers were seen walking through the township yesterday.

The ANC and Inkatha leaders spent most of their hour-long tour

viewing scores of burnt-out houses in the township.

The motorcade — five Mercedes Benz cars containing the politicians and 10 less luxurious cars with reporters and photographers — left residents agog.

Those present when the leaders made their one stop to meet the local people appeared delighted to meet the dignitaries.

Accompanying photographers were equally pleased when the delegation obliged to the request for photo opportunities and inspected the burnt shell of a house once occupied by Noel Ntsele, who now chairs the Mapumalanga ANC branch.

The visiting dignitaries included Mr Nkademeng and Dr Mdlalose; Ngobizwe Nkehli, Mapumalanga's MP in the KwaZulu legislature; Velpi Ndlovu, also a KwaZulu MP; Thabo Mbeki, the ANC spokesman on international affairs; Steven Sithabe, the KwaZulu interior minister; Jacob Zuma, the intelligence chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and an ANC national executive member; ANC security chief Joe Nhlanhla; Joe Jele, a senior ANC national executive member; Patrick Lekota, the ANC convenor for southern Natal; Joel Netshithenzhe, an ANC national executive member; and Musa Zondi, head of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

City shoppers run for cover during march

118
Sowetan
29/10/90

INKATHA Freedom Party defied restriction orders on Saturday when more than 30 000 armed supporters marched through central Johannesburg in protest against alleged police bias over the arrest of fellow members in the recent violence.

The chief magistrate of Johannesburg had granted permission for the march on condition that the number of marchers was restricted to 1 000. He had allowed only traditional weapons to be carried.

Saturday shoppers scattered for cover as the men, demonstrating traditional war movements, marched through the city centre to present a petition at John Vorster Square police headquarters.

Organiser of the march, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, Inkatha West and general secretary, said the violence broke out between Inkatha and the African National Congress (ANC), but only Inkatha members were

being arrested in the hostels and townships.

Although Ndlovu could not give statistics of Inkatha members arrested to date, he insisted that only his organisation's members were being harassed and arrested.

Marchers started gathering at 9am at George Goch stadium - bordering one of the biggest hostels - with Inkatha members chanting war cries and carrying posters with slogans that read: "We do not support sanctions, we want jobs", "What is good in the townships is also good in the hostels", "We need security not one side police."

Petition

The petition was handed to the station commander of John Vorster Square, Col TD Keyter, who said he would immediately forward it to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

It demanded, among other things, an end to police harassment on Inkatha members in hostels and townships.

Panic-stricken passers-by sought refuge in shops until the procession had passed.

One terrified woman, when asked why she was running away, answered: "I am scared of Inkatha. They can do anything, they are armed these people".

Mr Themba Khoza, Inkatha youth leader in the Transvaal, said the march

had achieved its purpose to preach peace and demonstrate that the organisation was a major force in South African politics - Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.



Thousands of Inkatha supporters caused panic when they marched through central Johannesburg on Saturday.

PAC faces dilemma replacing Lion of Azania

Sowetan 29/10/90

118

By SY MAKARINGE

THE death last week of Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Zeph Mothopeng has presented the organisation with a king-size headache - the arduous task of finding his successor.

Mothopeng (78), respected for his unwavering and relentless fight against Pretoria's apartheid policies, died at Johannesburg's General Hospital last Tuesday afternoon after a four-year battle against chest and lung cancer.

His death came at a time when the PAC was busy preparing for its national congress at which it was to take a clear position on negotiations and discuss the possibility of relieving him some of his rigorous duties by making him an honorary president.

Mothopeng, affectionately known as the "Lion of Azania" among the diehard PAC supporters and "Uncle Zeph" to the younger generation, was seen as a unifying force in the movement, whose replacement would be difficult to find.

The task of finding a suitable successor is being made more difficult by the fact that the PAC is still maintaining its ex-

ternal mission as it believes the situation does not yet warrant the external leadership to return to South Africa.

If the PAC wants to continue making an impact in the unfolding political situation, it will have to look for candidates who are already inside the country.

The most likely candidate to take over the leadership is vice-president Clarence Makwetu who earlier this year was elected president of the Pan Africanist Movement before the PAC was unbanned on February 2.

The movement was disbanded when the PAC was unbanned.

Vacuum

In line with the organisation's constitution, Makwetu, as vice-president, will temporarily fill the vacuum until a final decision is made.

Another candidate is Mr Barney Desai, executive member of the PAC in the Western Cape, who returned to the country after spending several years in exile.

Eloquent and un-

wavering, Desai is one of the most outspoken senior members of the PAC. His diligence saw him re-organising all PAC structures in the Western Cape into one strong and cohesive unit.

If it comes to a push, however, the organisation

may have to look at its external mission to take over from where Mothopeng left off.

The name that immediately comes to mind is that of chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo.

Mlambo is one of the PAC exiles who have

been keeping the spirit of Pan Africanism alive in the most trying of times.

Mothopeng's death also came at a time when a faction calling itself the Sobukwe Forum was disputing his leadership.

The group alleged that Mothopeng's election as president while in prison in 1986 was unconstitutional.

Berlin Gays protest

BERLIN - Some 7 000 homosexuals and sympathisers marched through central Berlin on Saturday to protest against a law banning relationships with males under 18 years of age.

Demonstrators chanted "Out of our beds, state," and "Abolish it", a reference to Paragraph 175 of the Basic Law.

Police reported no incidents. Homosexuals were assaulted by rightists in Berlin last summer. Sapa-Reuter

HAVEL

Serenity at Kolobe Lodge

VISITING the Kolobe Lodge situated in the Transvaal Waterberg was an enriching awareness of nature conservation.

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The Lodge, an addition to the Lapalala bush camps, is set amid spectacular mountainous views over an unspoilt bushveld.

For the children it is a combination of education, recreation and a thrilling getaway from the bright lights and the pollution of the concrete jungle.

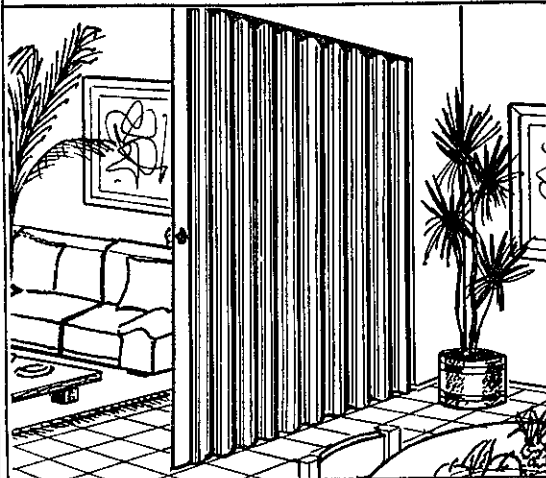
For those who prefer to spend the night out, the Lodge boasts four separate, fully-equipped rondavels with en suite bathrooms. Each rondavel can accommodate 16 people.

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10-29-90 (11)

Tutu not impartial, says Inkatha

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has refused to attend a meeting of black leaders proposed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, saying the cleric was biased in favour of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party said in a statement at the weekend that support for the policies of Mr Mandela's African National Congress expressed recently by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town had brought his impartiality

into question.

Archbishop Tutu has asked leaders of all black political organisations to meet at his official residence at the earliest opportunity to discuss boosting anti-apartheid unity and ending violence.

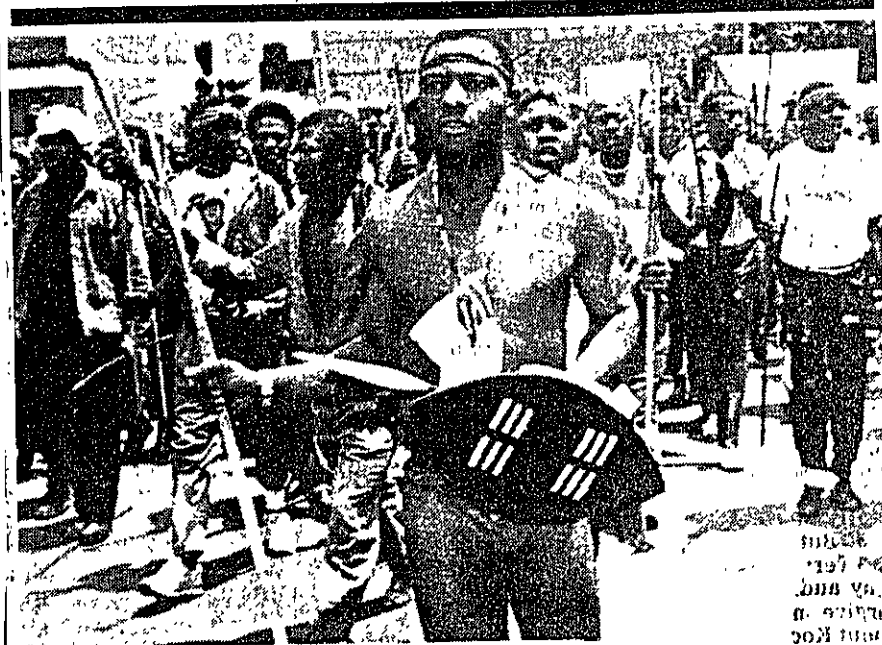
The Inkatha statement did not affect Chief Buthelezi's acceptance of an ANC invitation to attend top-level talks on ending the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

A date and venue for those talks have yet to be agreed to. — Reuter.

CMA 7.445

29/10/90

11B



ZULU "IMPI" . . . Inkatha supporters march through central Johannesburg on Saturday.

Picture: REUTERS

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party staged a thinly disguised anti-ANC demonstration here on Saturday attended by about 5 000.

Many of those at the rally were armed and marched through central Johannesburg.

The Inkatha marchers emphasised Zulu unity, even though the event had been billed as an effort to promote inter-tribal peace and also as a protest against alleged

Inkatha in anti-ANC protest

police heavy-handedness after recent bloody fighting with the ANC in townships around Johannesburg.

Hundreds of the marchers carried pan-

gas and tribal fighting sticks, chanted anti-ANC slogans and jogged in military-style ranks. "We are Zulu and proud. The ANC is a mixture," one placard read.

Dozens of Xhosa pedestrians scuttled into shops and office buildings in temporary panic.

The Inkatha protesters confronted black journalists accusing them of biased reporting of the party's activities. — UPI and Sapa

11

Stok 30/10/90

118

Naledi wounded tell of night of death

By Thabo Leshilo

Victims of Sunday night's shooting in Naledi, where 16 people were killed and at least 33 injured when alleged Inkatha hitmen fired indiscriminately at residents, yesterday described their experience from their hospital beds.

The victims claim the attack was to avenge an Inkatha member killed at Naledi Station en route to the organisation's protest march in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Vincent Adams (25) of Protea North said he was at a "stokvel" (party) in Naledi when the attackers pounced.

"We were enjoying ourselves when we heard the sound of gunfire.

"The house was immediately surrounded by strange men who

opened fire, stabbed and hacked patrons without saying a word."

Mr Adams was first shot in the thigh, then in the back while he was lying on the ground.

Rethabile Lekhanya (17), a Std 7 pupil at Thomas-Mofolo Secondary School, said he was returning from buying more beers with a man known only as "Mjita", at whose home the party was being held, when they were both shot.

Firecrackers

He said that as they approached the house a car flicked its lights at them.

"We saw four men approach our car. I then heard 'pha, pha, pha' (the sound of gunfire). I felt a bullet tear my stomach. Another bullet hit me in the upper arm."

They drove to the Jabulani Fire Station where an ambulance took them to hospital. "Mjita" died on the way.

A mother of two, Pinki Mahlangu (34) from KwaThema, Springs, said she had accompanied friends from a "stokvel" in KwaThema to Naledi.

While waiting at the minibus after dropping off a friend at his home she heard what she thought were firecrackers.

She said that she saw a yellow Ford Sierra, which was parked behind their minibus, leave the scene with its lights off.

The occupants, allegedly white men wearing balaclavas, then shot at them, killing four and injuring eight.

She said the exposed arm of one man showed that he was white.

Sat 30/10/90



Murder sparks wave of killings

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

Sixteen people were shot dead and at least 33 seriously injured in what appears to have been a spate of revenge attacks following the murder of an Inkatha supporter in Soweto at the weekend.

In one of the worst attacks, six men died in a hail of bullets on Sunday night when unidentified gunmen fired at them as they walked through a section of Naledi, Soweto, which borders the Merafe Hostel area.

Naledi residents said the attack came after Inkatha members from the hostel had threatened to kill 100 residents for each Inkatha member killed by Soweto residents.

Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade Transvaal chairman Themba Khoza yesterday appealed to Inkatha members not to carry out revenge attacks.

The Naledi attack and a series of separate shooting incidents follow the death of an Inkatha supporter who was

chopped and stabbed to death at Merafe Station just before 9 am on Saturday while waiting for a train to take him to an Inkatha rally in Johannesburg.

An ANC rally was held at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto on the same day.

In an attack at Orlando Station, a man narrowly escaped death when a crew aboard a police helicopter spotted him being set upon.

The man's attackers fled when police circled the area.

In another incident a short while later, a patrolling police unit saw a man being attacked near Nancefield. They went to his assistance and the attackers fled. He sustained serious stab wounds, police said.

In several other incidents in Naledi, five more people were killed, another five were declared dead on arrival at Baragwanath Hospital and at least 33 suffered bullet wounds when they were shot at by unknown assailants.

Soweto police said the attackers seemed to have shot at anything that moved. A minibus driver was driving in the area when he heard shots. He looked at his passengers and

found one shot dead and the other injured.

Major-General Johan Swart, Regional Commissioner of the Soweto police, said the SAP had launched an immediate plan of action to bring the attackers to justice.

"We sympathise with the relatives of the deceased and injured, and appeal to all residents of Soweto not to take the law into their own hands. Give the police a chance to solve this case," the general said.

He asked anyone with any information about the killings to telephone Soweto's murder and robbery squad on (011) 980-8104.

● Sapa reports that police have arrested a 20-year-old man, alleged to be a member of the ANC Youth League, in connection with the death of the Inkatha supporter at Merafe Station.

A spokesman for the newly launched ANC Youth League, Parks Mankhahlana, said it was ridiculous to claim that the arrested youth was a member of the league because it had not registered any members, except "a few people" who would be responsible for the league's registration campaign.

50 wlfen 30/12/90

Inkatha sees armed conflict as an 'illusion'

(11B)

LONDON - Inkatha's London representative Mr Ben Skosana has criticised as "an illusion" suggestions that the South African apartheid system could be overturned by armed struggle.

Skosana released the text of a speech he delivered to a conference which the Conservative Collegiate Forum held in London at the weekend.

"From its inception in 1975 Inkatha supported non-violent political action as against the armed struggle, dialogue as against diplomatic isolation and economic growth as against economic sanctions," he said.

"It regarded these positive steps as the most

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

effective political means open to black South Africans in their quest to dismantle apartheid."

Referring to the armed struggle policies of the ANC and PAC, Skosana said: "For more than a decade now Inkatha has argued that the situation did not require a military genius to tell that the armed struggle tactic remained ever an illusion in its original objective, namely to seize political power in South Africa through force of arms.

"As a matter of fact the so-called armed struggle has degenerated into a euphemism for black on black conflict.

Service for Zeph

Shell silent on Buthelezi talks ¹¹⁸

SHELL South Africa has refused to comment on a meeting between their senior representatives and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, or reveal the text of his remarks made at the talks.

Public affairs spokesman Mr Roy Derrick said the meeting was a private one and, therefore, Shell would not comment directly on the proceedings or that of the memorandum on the issue released by Buthelezi this weekend. *Sowetan 31/10/90*

He said Shell did not and would not support partisan political activity.



18⁰⁰



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NOVEMBER

1990

Peace call as Inkatha man killed

Lombela 11/11/90

11B

INKATHA leader Arnold Lolo Lombo was gunned down in the Pietermaritzburg city centre yesterday afternoon, prompting another Inkatha leader to call on political leaders to do all they can to end violence.

An Inkatha Freedom Party leader in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area, David Ntombela, made an urgent appeal to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela

to meet and call on people to end the violence.

Mr Ntombela said too many lives had already been wasted, and it was time the two leaders met.

Ntombela said it was appropriate the leaders should meet in Pietermaritzburg because that was where the violence had begun.

Meanwhile, four men arrested in connection with Mr Lombo's death have not yet been charged and are expected to appear in court on Thursday, SABC reported. Sapa

32 Inkatha men held after attacking village

W/Mail 26/10 - 1/11/90

By MARK GEVISSER: Durban

AFTER the first large-scale violence in Natal following the repeal of the State of Emergency here last week, 32 Inkatha supporters have been detained.

Armed with guns, cane knives, knobkerries and assegais, they were arrested hours after an attack on the settlement of kwaZini that left homes razed to the ground and resulted in the death of a school principal, TK Khosa.

The attack took place just three days before the second round of African National Congress-Inkatha talks. The talks are scheduled for today, and both sides say they will proceed as planned.

Inkatha, however, faces much embarrassment over the arrests. The party has made no public pronouncement and kwaZulu MP for the region, Phineas Mfayela, met the detainees at the Durban Central police station.

At the first peace talks in mid-September both sides agreed "on the urgent need to effect and come to peace in the Ndwedwe area", but the agreement seems to have failed. The arrest of the 32 lends weight to claims that Inkatha is either acting in bad faith or has little control over its followers.

A spokesman for the South African Police in Durban has confirmed that a large cache of weapons was confiscated with the arrests and that some of the 32 will be charged. A special CID team is investigating charges, and residents of the destroyed homes claim they were able to identify the 32 men at Durban police station.

An ANC organiser in the area says that "for the first time, we have seen that the security forces can be effective if they wish to". Both the Riot Unit and the CID rushed up from Durban after a call from the ANC's Southern Natal office.

Residents claim that there were as many as 100 assailants, who burnt the homes after pillaging them. The attackers also stole cattle and destroyed much of kwaZini's cane crop. The residents fled but Khosa, who was on crutches due to an accident, was unable to escape and was hacked to death. He had been accused by Inkatha people of harbouring ANC refugees.

Residents also claim that kwaZulu Police were dropped at the scene to assist the assailants. "But when the SAP arrived, the ZPs ran away," said a kwaZini resident. "And then the police found these 32 and arrested them. But these ones aren't the really bad ones. They are just people from another area who did not know how to hide quickly enough. The real warlords are still at large."

After the arrest of the 32, the remainder of the impi continued its rampage, burning down a further five homes.

Relations with ANC are looking up, says Inkatha

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE: Durban (11/16)
AN Inkatha publication has claimed that the restoration of good relations between itself and the African National Congress has never been as promising as it is at present.

The Durban-based Inkatha Institute said in an article published in the *South African Update*, the realisation that peace on the ground would remain elusive unless there was reconciliation at the top, as well as the criticisms directed at ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for not wanting to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had contributed towards this position.

The article said there appeared to be acknowledgement by the ANC's "less hawkish" leadership that there was little point in pursuing the policy towards Inkatha that it had to date.

"Attempts to weaken Inkatha by direct attacks, or by the broader process of trying to marginalise it, lead to nothing less than violence."

It said there was a growing awareness among ANC moderates that they could not forever be held to ransom by grass-roots militants.

The article ended by saying that "there are signs that both sides are re-evaluating the causes of their long hostility, but it is unclear whether there is yet sufficient impetus to fully transcend these." W/M 26/10 - 11/11/90

A spokesman for the ANC said the possibility of a lasting peace existed.

"Our talks of peace have always centred on the position that we must allow differences and, as such, we will always try to solve differences through talking, rather than violence," he said.

Inkatha swamps city

By ELIAS MALULEKE

113 c/mess 28/11/40
THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday staged one of the biggest marches Johannesburg has ever seen when more than 50 000 people protested against alleged police harassment.

The march was led by Inkatha central committee member JJ Jiyani, West Rand regional secretary Humprey Ndlovu and controversial Inkatha youth leader Themba Khoza.

Many bystanders said it was the city's

biggest march ever.

The marchers handed a memorandum to police at John Vorster Square.

The memorandum accused police of trying to appease certain political organisations at the expense of Inkatha, which it claimed had been harassed and disarmed.

In presenting the memorandum to police, Ndlovu said: "Inkatha is a major force in the Transvaal - and our voice must be heard."

Buthelezi condemns slaying of party leaders

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has condemned what he terms "a systematic and calculated campaign orchestrated to assassinate Inkatha leaders" following the death last week of the chairman of the Mvundlweni Inkatha branch, Mr Arnold Lombo.

Buthelezi said more than 100 Inkatha officials had been killed in the past few weeks.

"As we continue to bury our dead, I am appalled at the viciousness with which Inkatha Freedom Party supporters are being targeted and eliminated," he said.

Desire

"The kind of attacks being planned and mounted against Inkatha's leadership are based on the desire of some totally to wipe out political opposition.

"Political intolerance of this nature is a dangerous tactic which I unreservedly condemn.

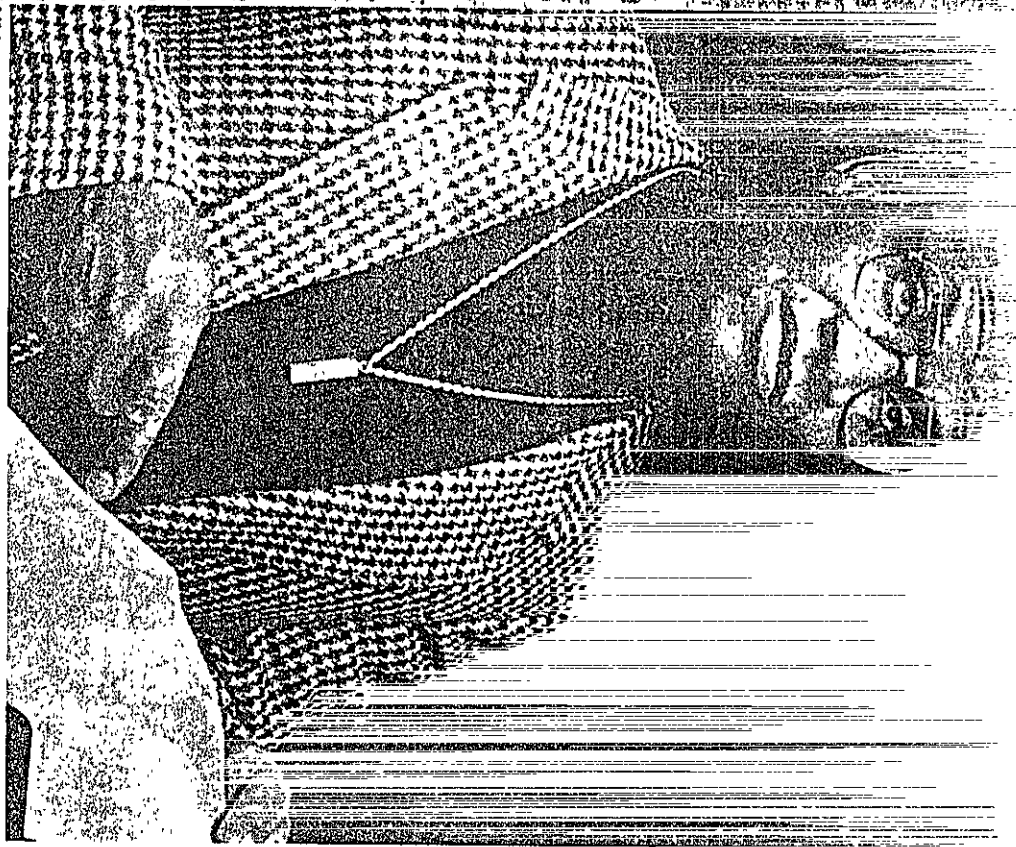
"I call on the leaders of all political organisations to join me immediately in also expressing their outright condemnation of these consistent, murderous, attacks on Inkatha's leadership.

"I also seek public support on this issue from church leaders.

Sowetan Correspondent

'SECRET SOCIETY'

Cathy Press 25/11/90 (118)



Lifting the veil of secrecy... the ANC's Aubrey Mokoena, who says the cabal is a secret clique which makes use of several strategies like isolation, slander, manipulation and infiltration.

THAT mysterious UDF cabal definitely exists, "despite the fact that the ANC denies it - but those of us who have been here for years have suffered under the cabal", says ANC ex-chairman of the now-defunct Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) Aubrey Mokoena.

Peter Mokoaba of the ANC Youth League and several more ANC and UDF members in the Transvaal and Natal also insist it exists.

Mokoena is the first ANC member to speak out on the cabal issue after speculation during the past six years that such a group exists in the ranks of the UDF.

This week he told of his personal experiences regarding the cabal's political "manipulation".

He said: "In 1984 I was chairman of the RMC and we decided to launch the organisation nationally. We discussed the plan with all regions and everybody agreed. But in Natal there was strong resistance to the idea.

"The resistance came from a small group of people. Afterwards I watched them closely. It eventually became clear that a fixed group existed who always agreed with one another at meetings - and always opposed certain people."

"I was later informed about the existence of the group. In 1986 there was an effort to start UDF offices overseas. The issue was never discussed at UDF meetings or with members, but suddenly people flew overseas to discuss the issue with governments abroad.

"These were cabal plans and they were carried out without the knowledge of the struggle which could not be developed 'except' within the struggle itself through issuing of political demands and pamphlets without proper consultation."

"Consequently, this resulted in the use of coercion and threats, especially by the youth to force the people into political campaigns. This succeeded in alienating and providing fertile grounds for the enemies and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour."

It noted the UDF leadership was lacking in "African, especially local African leadership" which had watered down the full potential of the struggle against apartheid.

In offering solutions to the problems of Natal, the document called

After six years of silence, an ANC member decides to spill the beans

The ANC strongly denies there is a cabal in its midst. ANC information chief Pallo Jordan says: "As far as we know, there is no cabal and the organisation has not launched an investigation."

Asked why several people in the UDF and ANC accept the existence of the cabal, Jordan said: "These people may interpret the actions of certain people as manipulation. The documents they use to justify the existence of the cabal appear to be false."

Mokoena confirmed the activities of the cabal were brought to the attention of the ANC's executive committee at a meeting in Lusaka in 1987.

He said: "I was given a mandate by the RMC to bring the trouble-making cabal issue to the attention of ANC leadership. We explained the danger of such a group."

In August it was reported that the ANC launched an investigation into the cabal under the leadership of Govan Mbeki. Reports said a secret document

for the creation of local leadership that was fully accountable to the people.

"The involvement of the working class is of importance and should be the source of the ANC's strength and be reflected even in leadership positions."

It also warned that the ANC in Natal should not become the "UDF in another form" and insisted that the new structures should be mass-based, democratic and take into account the interests of the working class and the rural masses.

It warned ANC supporters not to see all Inkatha people as "sellouts", adding that the best guarantee of peace was tolerance and the creation of truly mass-based organisations in the region.

In the September issue of the International Freedom Foundation's *Freedom Bulletin*, the names of several alleged cabal members were mentioned. ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus and senior UDF member Mohammed Valli Moosa have described the report as an effort to sow division and distrust. Moosa was mentioned in the report as a cabal member.

Another UDF member mentioned in the *Freedom Bulletin*, Azhar Cachalia, said the UDF decided at a meeting last Sunday to say nothing to the Press, except that the issue was being investigated.

He added he had "never been part of the cabal. I don't feel isolated - I have always been part of the UDF and I am a member of the ANC".

But according to several activists, most of the names mentioned in the *Freedom Bulletin* have never been members of the cabal.

Mokoena said the cabal was identified in 1984 due to its "undemocratic practices and efforts to distort the agenda of the UDF".

He added: "The first time I heard of the cabal was in jail where members of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) told me about it."

Mokoena said members of the TIC and NIC told him how the cabal persuaded them to stay in the British Consulate in Durban for longer than they intended.

According to UDF activists, Mokoaba and Mokoena were singled out for isolation.

In a document which allegedly set out the cabal's position on negotiations, it was said Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Mokoaba had to be isolated as soon as possible.

According to several sources in the ANC and UDF, the cabal consists of a group of young professional people - lawyers, doctors and businessmen.

Mokoena told the ANC in June this year: "The cabal is a secret clique of activists who do things which look like good work on the surface, but they have a hidden agenda. The cabal makes use of several strategies like isolation, slander, manipulation and infiltration."

Former Border region UDF chairman Steve Tshwele said: "After an in-depth discussion, it was decided to appoint a commission of inquiry which included Simangaliso Mkhamsava, Boyers Naude and Chris Dlamini as members. The tragedy was that it never got off the ground."

Mokoaba said the cabal could influence the UDF because it had "money and other resources" at its disposal.

"They use what is known as CM (control and manipulation) strategy. Because the cabal has resources at its disposal which people in townships do not have, it is easy for them to use these advantages to control organisations."

A Natal ANC source told how the powerful cabal had "paralysed" the UDF.

He said: "The cabal completely destroyed the potential of the UDF's affiliated organisations. Take for example the decision to accept the Freedom Charter. The cabal did not discuss it with UDF affiliates at all. This does not mean people opposed it, they were simply not consulted."

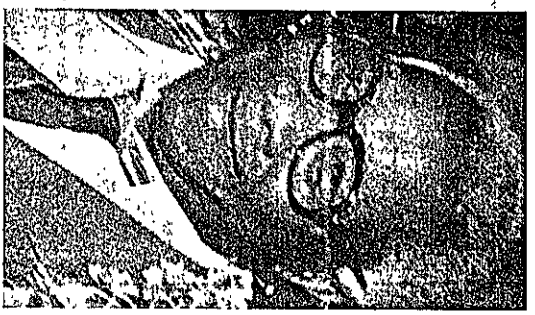
"In any case, such a decision had to come from the affiliates, not the leadership. When the UDF was restructured in 1988, the organisation was already paralysed. Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok acted against an empty balloon."

"At the time the UDF did not exist anymore, besides a few individuals who issued Press releases from their hiding places."

"Some of the things the cabal did were so bad it cannot be mentioned in the Press."

He said the cabal was now defunct in Natal, where it originally started, but it may re-emerge in another region.

"We must be vigilant!" - Vre Weesood



Govan Mbeki, who allegedly led a full investigation into the cabal.

Island prisoners speak out

Radebe said it was shaming the proud record of people in the province who had courageously fought during the wars of resistance, that Inkatha was allegedly using so-called Zulu warriors to "fight and kill our freedom-loving people."

Radebe said the current in-fighting hid the political reality: that the apartheid regime, in collusion with imperialist allies and Inkatha, was bent on establishing a Umtata leader (Jonas) Savimbi-type enclave in Natal.

The document paid tribute to the UDF and the Natal Indian Congress for staunchly upholding and courageously defending the ideals of the ANC in recent years while the organisation was in exile.

It noted the UDF leadership was lacking in "African, especially local African leadership" which had watered down the full potential of the struggle against apartheid.

In offering solutions to the problems of Natal, the document called

for the creation of local leadership that was fully accountable to the people.

"The involvement of the working class is of importance and should be the source of the ANC's strength and be reflected even in leadership positions."

It also warned that the ANC in Natal should not become the "UDF in another form" and insisted that the new structures should be mass-based, democratic and take into account the interests of the working class and the rural masses.

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By S BU MNGADI

THE ANC (UDF) and the MIDM this week came under scathing criticism in a no-holds-barred document smuggled from Robben Island.

The nine-page summary of a 300-page document, read by recently-released Robben Island inmate Jeff Radebe at the ANC's southern Natal congress, was smuggled out of the prison earlier this year.

Radebe said the document, on political developments and the violence in Natal, had been compiled jointly late last year by about 70 Natal ANC members on the island.

It blamed the violence in Natal on "state terrorism and Inkatha complicity" which was the result of "superior motives to prevent the creation of a unitary democracy in post-apartheid South Africa."

It noted the UDF leadership was lacking in "African, especially local African leadership" which had watered down the full potential of the struggle against apartheid.

In offering solutions to the problems of Natal, the document called

Alfred

SOWETAN

Building the Nation

MONDAY NOVEMBER 19 1990

LATE FINAL

All are



Some of the 20 000 Inkatha Freedom Party members who turned out for the rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday.

Sowetan 19/11/90

(11B)

FW, Inkatha agree to hasten pace of talks

Sowetan 2/11/90

(11B)

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said yesterday that talks between him and an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had focused on the urgent need for negotiations to get underway.

He and Buthelezi were jointly briefing journalists at the Union Buildings after a two-hour meeting.

De Klerk said a decision was taken for two joint committees to continue with their work.

One joint committee, between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would be reactivated and would focus on the negotiations process.

A second, between the National Party, led by Natal leader Mr George Bartlett, and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would

continue with its functions.

Buthelezi warned there were people in South Africa who did not believe in negotiating peacefully and on the danger of the negotiation process being sabotaged.

He added that Inkatha had not received a formal invitation yet to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive, proposed by the ANC's national executive.

Buthelezi said according to the ANC decision, both he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would participate in this meeting.

He assumed he would receive an invitation once Mandela returned from his foreign visit.

In the meantime, there were regular meetings between a seven-member Inkatha committee and an ANC national executive committee.



Let's shake on it: FW de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi agree on talks.

Inkatha to hold peace rally

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has announced that it will be holding a peace rally at the S J Smith Hostel on Sunday, exactly a week after the ANC launched a branch at the same hostel. *Sowetan 9/11/90*

A statement released this week said: "The IFP and its people wish to express their serious commitment to peace and negotiation."

The rally will be addressed by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly members Mr David Ntombela from Pietermaritzburg and Mr D P Mfayela from Ndwedwe. -

115

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Let's shake on it: FW de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi agree on talks.

Panga horror relieved



GRATEFUL: "I still thank the police who came, swiftly rescued me and saved my life," Frank Mhlanga said from his hospital bed after the attack. He apparently took most of the panga blows on his arms, elbows, hands, shoulder and on his legs.

FLASHBACK: This is the picture readers of The Star saw earlier this week. A compassionate policeman fans the injured Mr Mhlanga.

● Photographs: JACOB RYKLIFF.

"I WISH I'd known when that mob stopped my car that evil was busy in their minds. Even their stern looks did not reflect their readiness to kill.

"I'm not a member of any organisation. I've never attended a single political meeting. I was a victim of the circumstances.

"But I still thank the police who came, swiftly rescued me, and saved my life."

Frank Mhlanga (20) said the words from his bed at the Leratong Hospital in Krugersdorp earlier this week. He was one of the many people injured at Bekkersdal, Westonaria, when violence erupted there this week.

On Tuesday The Star published a picture of a policeman fanning Mr Mhlanga, who was bleeding profusely and lying helplessly on the ground. He had been attacked by a mob wielding pangas, assegais and knives.

It all started when Mr Mhlanga, a motor mechanic, was travelling with two friends in his car. They were on their way to buy a spare part. Shortly after driving off a curve in the road, he was stopped by a crowd he

ABBEY MAKOE

estimated at 200.

Suffering great pain and speaking with difficulty, he told Saturday Star his car was smashed while he and his friends were trapped inside but they still managed to run away. His friends ran in one direction. The mob left them and turned on him.

He said he tried to plead for mercy, but to no avail. As he was on the ground, the first blow he suffered was on a shoulder from a panga.

'Chopped me'

"They wanted to chop my head. I covered it with hands. I squeezed my knees close to my chest. I felt I was dying. No one was on my side, everybody was against me. They chopped me all over the body. For a second, I thought about my funeral."

Mr Mhlanga said while he was lying in agony, he heard one of the attackers saying in Zulu: "Mqede, comrade, mqedelele — amaphoyisa ayeza." (Finish him, comrade, finish him off — the police are coming.)

"I heard teargas fired in the

air. I knew it was the police. I wished they could see and come to help me. Within a short time, I saw them next to me."

A nursing sister at the Leratong Hospital said several of Mr Mhlanga's fingers were almost cut off and his left hand nearly severed at the wrist.

In the hospital, he received numerous stitches in his head, shoulders, biceps and chest.

The Star's photographer, Jacob Rykkliff, witnessed the incident. He said he was about 100 m from the scene and saw about 15 young men attack Mr Mhlanga with an assortment of weapons.

"I tried to take a picture showing the faces of his attackers, but my camera lens was too short. I was frightened to move nearer. When the police arrived and teargas was shot, people ran in all directions.

"Still baffled, I moved closer and took a picture of Mr Mhlanga, who was then surrounded by police. I also watched his car going up in flames after a petrol bomb was hurled at it.

"He was alive when he was put into the ambulance but I never thought that he would survive the vicious panga assault."



BRIEFING

Nov 29/11/90

Feelings that simmer like a subterranean fire

THE attack on mineworkers returning from a union meeting in Welkom on Sunday was just another incident of mine-related violence which has been sporadically flaring up since May.

According to National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) spokesman Jerry Majatladi, the growing trend of violent confrontation on mines had its roots in the changing political face of South Africa.

Tensions normally kept under control in other situations emerged too easily in the political and racial melting pot at the rock face.

He believed violence on mines could be divided into three categories.

- Group violence between In-katha and organisations like Co-

type of violence could be linked mainly to the weakening force of apartheid.

White workers were feeling threatened as their traditional privileges were undermined, resulting in increasing tensions.

But, at the same time, racial discrimination continued in the form of the "piccaninny" system where black workers were forced to carry the tools and clothing of white workers, in segregated facilities like canteens and change rooms (these were open to certain grades of workers of which the great majority were white); and in the hoisting system whereby blacks

Labour Reporter BRENDAN TEMPLETON looks at the causes of violence in the mining industry this year.

were forced to queue when going down a shaft while white workers could simply step into the cage.

- Vigilante violence which took the form of outside right-wing groups assaulting workers. This was especially characteristic of mining towns like Welkom where the whole economic infrastructure revolved around the local mines. Outside right-wing groups also felt threatened by the changing political cli-

killed during a clash between black miners and mine security personnel at the President Steyn No 1 Shaft.

An uneasy calm had only started to settle when Steve Buitendag (42), a personnel manager of the Harmony Gold Mine, near Virginia, was killed outside a mine hostel.

Tensions flared up again in August when three black workers were killed in a clash with mine security personnel at President Steyn.

The body of Nicholas Jordaan (42) was later found at the bottom of a shaft.

Following the tension in the

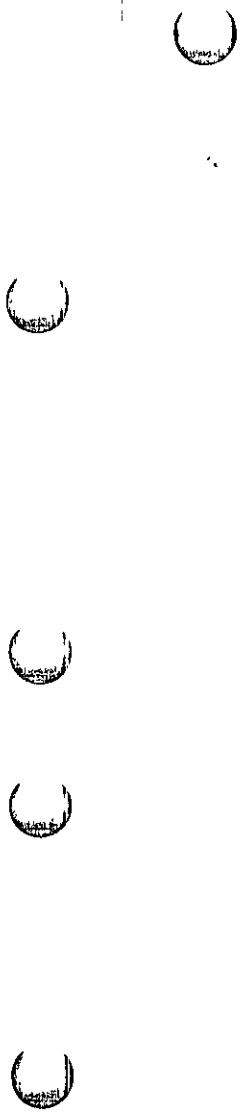
Free State and a meeting between Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok, the Chamber of Mines, right-wing groups, the white Council of Mining Unions (CWMU) and the NUM, it was agreed to conduct regular meetings to discuss ways of preventing racial flare-ups.

The meetings had proved to be successful, leading to a greater understanding of different points of view, Mr Majatladi said.

Now, rumours were circulating in Witbank and Welkom that Inkatha Impis could be brought in from other areas to disrupt the union's organisation.

In an attempt to combat the possibility of such violence flaring up again, the NUM and the Chamber of Mines recently drew up a joint document banning the possession of weapons in the workplace. They also agreed to the establishment of a joint monitoring group to keep an eye on violence on the mines, that stringent disciplinary action be taken against perpetrators of violence; and that existing channels be used to enable employees to effectively inform management of any impending violence.

But, the NUM still had not identified a way of combating vigilante violence, said Mr Majatladi. It would be up to Mr Vlok to ensure that right-wing elements did not get out of hand. □





DOWNING STREET MEETING: Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher after their meeting at No 10 Downing Street, London yesterday.

Maggie anxious over the ANC, says Buthelezi

Argus 16/11/90 (116) (116) (116)
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher for an hour here in what could be one of her last meetings as Prime Minister.

She broke from the fight to retain her leadership to probe the Inkatha leader on developments in South Africa.

He said she had expressed anxiety on the prospects of negotiations being delayed because, as he put it, "the ANC still has to put its house in order".

Chief Buthelezi said she thought South Africa's prospects seemed much better than a year ago.

PRAISED VISION

However, the pack of British pressmen outside 10 Downing Street were more interested in Mrs Thatcher's morale as she faces Mr Michael Heseltine's leadership challenge. "A lesser person would be wilting, but she just said: 'In politics one must expect this type of thing and not be dismayed,'" Chief Buthelezi said.

A Downing Street spokesman said Mrs Thatcher had expressed the hope that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela would get together soon and "praised Chief Buthelezi's vision of a multiparty democratic society".

The chief said he hoped to see Mr Mandela soon after returning to South Africa "some time this weekend".

Iron ready to talk if US drops demand



Ethnicity is mainspring of resistance to Mangope

CAP- Tca 20/11/80
By Dr ALAN A COOPER IIB

Former resident of Bophuthatswana
and former lecturer at its university

THE arrests of alleged conspirators in Bophuthatswana reveal once again the fragility of the 13-year-old "independent" republic's political structure.

It has been claimed in official statements that those arrested wanted to assassinate President Lucas Mangope and, presumably, set up an alternative government. The African National Congress was said to be behind the plot. This was swiftly denied by the ANC as "absurd".

Bafokeng resistance

The intensive police search for more alleged conspirators — 44 have been held so far — is aided by the country's emergency regulations. Bophuthatswana is still under a state of emergency.

The causes of the continuing unrest date back to before independence. The Bafokeng tribe, living in the east, had objected before 1977 to Bophuthatswana becoming an "independent" state. They claimed they were not consulted and refused to recognise Mr Mangope, a tribal chief from Lehurutse, as the new head of state.

This ethnic rivalry was one of the causes behind the abortive coup on February 10 1988, led by men from the Bafokeng area.

In the ensuing purge about 450 were arrested and, after a two-year trial, 142 members of the now disbanded National Security Unit and eight opposition MPs representing the Bafokeng were jailed for treason. The chief of the Bafokeng, Mr Edward Molotlegi, fled to Botswana.

Since the hectic days of early 1988 there has been no opposition party in the country's national assembly. The ruling Democratic Party, headed by Mr Mangope, controls it.

Fear of ANC

Civic committees in the east staged mass demonstrations in the middle of last year to protest against high rents, electricity charges and Mr Mangope's continuing rule. To these was added the demand that Bophuthatswana should abandon its independence and return to a united South Africa, a demand fostered by the ANC.

In reply to this demand, Mr Mangope has stated often that the 1977 general election, in which his Democratic Party had a landslide victory, was in fact a referendum on Bophuthatswana taking its independence.

This ethnic division is now accentuated by the emergence of the ANC in Bophuthatswana. Though it is not banned, its members are harassed and detained.



LUCAS MANGOPE

Tswanas in the capital, Mmabatho, regard the ANC leadership as consisting of Xhosas and express fears that, with the incorporation of Bophuthatswana into a new South Africa, they would be ruled by this foreign tribe.

Share of royalties

There is yet another reason for this dissent. The Bafokeng have since early this century enjoyed royalties from the vast platinum deposits under their land. They have insisted — and still do — that since 1977, on Bophuthatswana's independence, they have not received their fair share of royalties from Mr Mangope, who became the legal trustee of the tribe.

Bophuthatswana is the world's fourth largest producer of platinum and the West's largest supplier. While the country's economy is thus soundly based on precious metals, its political structure is weak. The authoritarian style of government is only able to deal with dissent by force, which in turn breeds further dissent as exemplified by the recent uncovering of an alleged conspiracy.

THERE is a string of words breathed like magic in the Natal peace process, words that gather like welcome thunderclouds whenever talks break down or accords are broken: the Lower Umfolozi Regional Peace Accord.

On the first of September, after days of negotiation, the three sides in war-torn Empangeni — the security forces, the African National Congress and Inkatha — dressed up in their Sunday best to sign an accord that is touted, across the province, as "the peace that works".

The peace doesn't work. Not yet. But that it has gone so far is astonishing — particularly since it was brokered not by some soft and well-meaning "institute of good intention" or by some strong-armed "agent of the law", but by big business: the Zululand Chamber of Industry and, more specifically, the managing director of the region's largest employer — Alusaf's Ronald Barbour.

After the October 15 meeting of ANC and Inkatha leadership in Durban, Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said this accord should be used as a model for other trouble spots. The ANC leaders nodded in agreement. A breath-taking piece of public relations that smacks of corporate word-processing and negotiating skills, the accord ends with the plea, "Peace lies in your hands ... Grasp it!". It even sports a dove carrying an olive branch on its masthead.

Computer graphics aside, the accord is a substantive blueprint for peace: it affirms the rights of all citizens to freedom of political association, to all forms of legitimate political activity, and to freedom of religious activity, and to the rights of workers "to choose whether or not to support stayaways (and) boycotts"; it forbids intimidation, either verbal or physical, it binds the security apparatus (which, in Northern Natal, has a particularly repressive reputation) to "the impartial protection of all citizens and their property" and, signed one week before the government clarified its position on cultural weapons, it states that "dangerous weapons should not be carried in public".

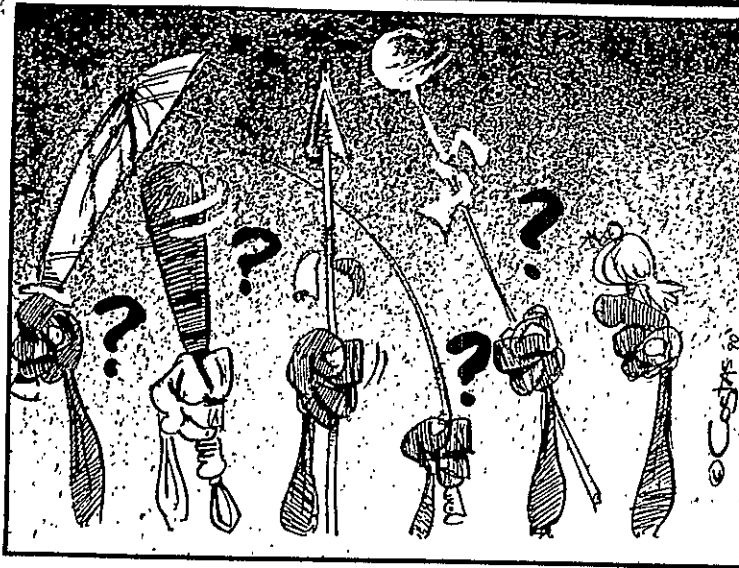
The accord was signed by kwaZulu Minister of the Interior Steven Sithebe and the ANC's Jacob Zuma, as well as representatives from the Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Police and the kwaZulu Police, and the mayors of the three townships around Empangeni.

Says Michael Mbuyakhulu, the regional chairman of Cosatu in Northern Natal, "the accord has started to produce the kind of desired goals at a leadership level". He says "there was a dramatic drop immediately following the accord" and, despite isolated incidents, "there is less political violence because the police are starting to play their neutral role".

He offers an example from last month: "When it was reported that a young ANC supporter had been abducted and threatened, we called the police and they responded immediately, saving the comrade and arresting three Inkatha people, who they are now charging."

In the lobby of Alusaf's Richards' Bay headquarters, an employee ambles past the receptionist and the two share a joke about "Mandela en die kaffirs" while black employees within earshot polish the aluminium fixtures.

Upstairs, in the chief executive's panelled boardroom, Ronald Barbour explains his role as Zululand's Mr Peace: "The war up here was threatening the whole infrastructure of the region. And as the biggest employers of the region, of course we were affected. On one level, my motivations for getting involved were simple: if there is peace outside the shop floor, then my workers will sleep well at night, and their levels of anxiety and physical fitness will improve. This, of course, will impact positively on their productivity."



Tenuous peace in a tiny corner of Natal. Will the magic last?

A peace accord, brokered by business, may be working in one area of Natal. **MARK GEVISSER** looks at the successes — and failings — of the Lower Umfolozi Regional Peace Accord

There is no doubt that Barbour has credibility in the region: his brokering could not have succeeded otherwise. After a successful strike to obtain Fosatu recognition in 1982, Alusaf has had a comparatively good labour relations record. Barbour, as long-time president of the Zululand Chamber of Industry, was instrumental in facilitating the peaceful resolution of a bus boycott in 1986. "We don't always agree with him," says Mbuyakhulu, who asked the Alusaf MD to become involved, "but we can trust him to facilitate impartially, and he does have the ability to bring all the parties together."

Barbour was approached by National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and by the mayor of Esikhwani township following the burning of 15 homes in mid-July. He agreed to set up peace talks on three conditions: "I would act as a facilitator, and not a judge; I would not get involved in internecine black politics; and we would keep shop-floor issues and industrial relations out of the talks."

Since the accord was signed, this last condition has proven to be something of a problem: "The unions have threatened," says Barbour, "that if we don't accept certain demands it could impact adversely on the accord. It is definitely being used as a bargaining tool."

Mbuyakhulu counters that "if there is a shop-floor dispute that could lead to violence because of scabbing, then of course it's an obstacle to peace. You can't have peace outside the factory if you don't have it inside. And by getting involved in the first place, Barbour has acknowl-

edged that you cannot separate issues on the shop-floor and in the community."

During the talks, however, all parties did agree to Barbour's three conditions. They brought four points to the table and, over 22 hours, an agenda was hammered out.

"There has always been a certain magic in this part of Natal," says Barbour, explaining why he thinks the peace accord worked. "We've got mature leaders with a willingness to work things out."

There is, however, a realpolitik more ominous than magic behind this willingness. Because the ANC is weak and disorganised in the region, it had nothing to lose from an accord: if its members were going to be expelled by Inkatha, there would be no second wave to replace them. And because Inkatha won the battles of June and July, some warlords saw no reason to continue fighting. "Making peace in Empangeni was an easy concession for Inkatha," explains Roy Ainslie, of the Democratic Party's Unrest Monitoring Group. "Better to make peace there, and gain all the kudos for it, and free the troops to do battle in more tenuous regions."

There are other reasons for the peace's relative success: the fighting is only months old which means, says Steven Collins of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, "that the leaders are still relatively in control. There aren't these vigilante groups who are acting on their own initiatives in the name of one side or the other, as we have in Durban."

If one single factor has afforded this peace ini-

tiative its qualified success it is that the security forces have been involved from the start — not as arbiters but as an implicated party that has been persuaded to sign the agreement along with all other implicated parties.

The security forces are bound to do their job. Barbour claims that he does not use his power to force them into action every time it is necessitated but he does acknowledge that "I do have a certain clout. If one or other party complains to me, I'll tell them to contact the police themselves. Then, if that doesn't yield results, they can come back to me, and, in my role of peace facilitator, I'll get involved".

Since the beginning of the war in Natal and on the Reef, the unions have castigated industry for fuelling the conflict by remaining aloof from it. The relative success of this accord lends substance to the argument that industry has the means to bring about peace.

"The peace accord itself is excellent," says Mandla Mhethwa, ANC representative for the Northern Natal region, "but the problem has been in its application. Principles alone can't bring peace — they have to be taken to the people and accepted".

Barbour says "a crucial turning point in the negotiations was when the ANC/Cosatu people agreed to accept the mayors of the townships as neutral arbiters, even though they are members of Inkatha".

It appears that the ANC agreed to this because it was negotiating from a position of weakness. But the problem now seems to be that while the mayors of the townships of Enseleni, Ngwelenzane and Esikhwani are supposed to play a neutral and peacemaking role, they are indisputably Inkatha functionaries.

On one hand, they do not have the credibility with ANC/Cosatu grassroots membership to act as neutral arbiters and, on the other, they are regarded by the more warmongering elements of Inkatha as sellouts who were acting without a mandate from the people. When, for example, the mayor of Enseleni took the accord to his constituency, it was rejected. He was forced to say that he signed it in his capacity of mayor, and not as representative of Inkatha.

If the pivotal mayors are acting in a neutral capacity, it means there are no local signatories to the accord who are expressly representing the interests of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"One of our major mistakes," says Barbour, "is that we did not involve the local chiefs and members of the kwaZulu legislature."

Local branches of the Inkatha Youth Brigade are also apparently angry about the accord. The next step is to expand the accord to these people but this is proving to be difficult. One meeting has been cancelled because the chiefs did not arrive: even though some warlords are willing to make peace because they don't see the point of fighting a battle already won, others wonder why peace should be made at all.

Another flaw of the accord is that, while listing 15 solid and worthy principles, it does not set in stone the mechanisms to ensure adherence to them. There is no monitoring group to assure police impartiality and justice once those charged reach the courts and there is no schedule to bind the signatories to regular meetings. "I am worried," says Barbour, "that the peace we have at the moment will give a false sense of security, and everyone will lose interest. We might not have a flaming conflagration but we'll have a running sore."

The peace is the first of its kind in Natal, and the fact that Inkatha, the ANC and the security forces spent 22 hours in a room and came to an agreement makes it unique. But the principles it espouses are a long way from being realised: the ANC, for example, has not established one branch north of the Tugela River. There is no freedom of association in Zululand yet.

Star 19/11/90

Man shot dead on way to Inkatha rally in Soweto

By Stan Hlophe

A man was shot dead by gunmen in Soweto yesterday while on his way to an Inkatha rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Witnesses said he was in his early 30s and was shot by men wearing ANC T-shirts.

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Themba Khoza confirmed the death.

It was the only incident at the otherwise peaceful rally attended by 40 000 Inkatha supporters.

The rally was supposed to be a report-back by Sofasonke, the ruling Soweto City Council party.

Instead, the rally, to which all Soweto residents were invited, was dominated by Inkatha

members who carried various "traditional" weapons.

Soweto residents were conspicuous by their absence and the few Sofasonke diehards were overshadowed by the thousands of Inkatha supporters.

However, Soweto deputy mayor Alfred Nyathi and housing chairman Simon Mkhize were adamant that it was a Sofasonke rally.

Red, green and white Inkatha flags were hoisted all over the arena, while only about three Sofasonke flags were seen.

Mr Khoza said he would not be intimidated by other organisations in the quest for freedom and peace.

Train massacre accused seek bail

By Adam Gordon

The defence attorney for five men who allegedly killed 21 people in two train massacres in September, yesterday said the fact that Inkatha and ANC were fighting, and that further train massacres were possible, should not prevent his clients getting bail.

Ian Small-Smith was submitting final argument for bail on behalf of Martin Ngcobu (47), Basi Nkosingondle (27), Solomon Khumalo (33), Mmengela Magabane (54) and Mabinela Majozi (23).

The men are alleged to have been part of a group who killed six people in an attack on Jeppe station on September 6 and 15 people on a moving train near Benrose on September 13.

They are facing 21 charges of murder and 49 charges of attempted murder.

Mr Small-Smith argued that his clients

could not be held personally responsible for South Africa's volatile situation and should not be refused bail because of it.

Disappear

State advocate David Gordon had argued the men should remain in custody for reasons of public safety. There was also a strong chance the men would disappear into the mountains of KwaZulu, and be impossible to find if released, he said.

Mr Small-Smith said the men would have no reason to jump bail as they had an excellent chance of being acquitted in a Supreme Court trial.

There were discrepancies between the confessions the men had allegedly made and the undisputed facts of the massacres, he said.

Magistrate C J van Heerden will issue judgment today.

Star 21/11/90

Inkatha to blame - CID chief

By Thabo Leshilo

118

A police colonel said yesterday at the inquest into the deaths of 42 people at the Sebokeng hostel, that he was convinced Inkatha had been responsible for the murders at the hostel on September 4 this year.

Colonel Wessels van Niekerk, head of the CID in the Vaal, told the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court that when he arrived at the hostel, he had found about 150 heavily armed Inkatha members trapped there while a large, aggressive crowd wanted to attack the men.

He said members of the SAP were trying to keep the crowd from the Inkatha people. Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza, among those trapped, wanted to fight.

"He said he was prepared to die and was not prepared to leave the hostel," Colonel van Niekerk said.

After talking to him, Mr Khoza

agreed to leave the hostel.

The crowd became more aggressive and continued hurling stones at the Inkatha supporters.

Colonel van Niekerk said the army then shot at the people with R-4 machineguns. This was not necessary, the colonel told the court.

He said a Colonel Fourie, in charge of the police at the time, had given an order not to shoot. No shot was fired before the army shot at the crowd, he said.

Counsel for the State, Anton Ackerman, said the only bullet linked to an R-4 rifle was a 5.56-calibre bullet. This, according to a witness, Wilson Tafeni, was the one which had killed his brother, David, before the army arrived.

In a statement, Mr Tafeni said he and his brother were patrolling the hostel at 4 am when a group of unknown men, some of whom were white, had fired at them.

37 Inkatha men appear in court

By SONTI MASEKO

112

FRANSVAAL Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Mr Themba Khoza and 36 supporters appeared before a Vanderbijlpark magistrate's yesterday in a sequel to the unrest in Sebokeng in September during which scores of people were killed.

Soweto 11/1/90

The state yesterday withdrew charges against another 16 men, and dropped all charges of murder and public violence pending the outcome of an inquest into the deaths of people during clashes between hostel inmates and residents. The inquest begins on November 14.

In September the state withdrew charges against 100 men who were arrested with the 37.

The others will appear on January 31 next year and they will face lesser charges including the theft of weapons, possession of firearms and ammunition and malicious damage to property. No charges were put the men.



Inkatha Youth Brigade leaders Themba Khoza ... at the Vanderbijlpark magistrates' court with jubilant supporters, some of whom were discharged yesterday, and Inkatha central committee member, Mr Vlitusi Mvelase. Pic by GEORGE MASHININI.

Inkatha leader shot dead ^{CAT}

MARITZBURG — The shooting of Inkatha leader Mr Arnold Lolo Lombo in the city centre on Tuesday afternoon has prompted another Inkatha leader to call on political leaders to do all they can to end violence. ^{Trip} 1/11/80

Mr David Ntombela, a regional Inkatha leader, urged Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela to meet and call on their supporters to end the violence. (11B)

Too many lives had already been wasted, and it was time the leaders came together, he said.

Four men arrested in connection with Mr Lombo's death are expected to appear in court on Thursday.

● The homes of two Nampak employees were petrol-bombed at Northdale causing minimal damage. Police believe the incident is related to an illegal strike at Nampak.

Buthelezi warns of 'sabotage'

COPY TO 2/11/70
11B

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — There was an urgent need for progress to be made in the negotiation process, President F W de Klerk said yesterday after a meeting with an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Following the two-hour meeting at the Union Buildings, Mr De Klerk told a joint press conference there was a sense of urgency that progress needed to be made.

Chief Buthelezi said there was a danger of the negotiating process being sabotaged as there were people in South Africa who did not believe in peaceful negotiation.

The two parties decided to continue with the work of a joint committee between the NP, led by Natal leader Mr George Bartlett and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another committee focusing on the negotiation process, between government and the Inkatha

To page 2

From page 1

Freedom Party, would be reactivated, he said.

This committee would focus on the definition of bills and principles, he said.

He added that Inkatha had not yet received a formal invitation to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive, proposed by the ANC's national executive. Chief Buthelezi said according to the ANC decision, both he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would participate in this meeting.

He assumed he would receive an invitation once Mr Mandela returned from his foreign visit.

In the meantime, there were regular meetings between a seven-member Inkatha committee and an ANC national executive committee led by Mr John Nkadimeng.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha had contributed towards Mr De Klerk's decision to unban organisations and free political prisoners, because Inkatha had said it would not negotiate until these steps had been taken.

Chief Buthelezi said a remaining obstacle to negotiations was the question of violence.

The KwaZulu leader is to meet with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht for talks in Durban later today.

According to Dr Treurnicht, Chief Buthelezi approached the CP to discuss the possibility of the two parties meeting although it is understood that Dr Treurnicht put the plan in motion and organised the meeting.

"There is no set agenda for the talks; it is just an opportunity for members of both the CP and Inkatha to meet each other and get to know one another," Dr Treurnicht said yesterday.

He said a joint statement would be issued after the meeting.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday said the two parties would probably discuss negotiations and where each party stood.

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Buthelezi: CP represents many

Own Correspondent

DURBAN.—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the Conservative Party represents a large constituency and cannot be wished away.

Speaking at a press conference here yesterday after a two-hour meeting between top-level delegations of the IFP and the CP, Chief Buthelezi said political differences in South Africa would not be resolved if parties tried to hold one another at arm's length.

Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a joint communique approved by both parties that both leaders subscribed to Christian principles and rejected domination, terrorism and communism.

Dr Treurnicht said there were differences between the IFP and the CP as to political models to accommodate the political claims of various groups but the two parties maintained an open-door policy on future talks in the interests of peaceful and good relations.

Buthelezi to dine with UK business tycoons

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will dine with two super-rich British businessmen during his visit to London next week — and no doubt hopes to secure their financial backing.

Yesterday Mr Ben Skosana, Inkatha's London representative, confirmed that Chief Buthelezi was meeting retired business tycoon Sir James Goldsmith and former casino owner Mr John Aspinall. And yesterday a Downing Street spokesman all but confirmed that the chief will meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher during his mid-week visit.

Asked if such a meeting was planned, the spokesman said nothing had been confirmed yet, but advised that he be contacted early next week on the issue. Chief Buthelezi is already scheduled to address a press conference at the Savoy Hotel on Wednesday, hosted by the centre-right International Freedom Foundation.

According to a report on his meeting with Mr Aspinall and Sir James in yesterday's Evening Standard, there is growing concern over Chief Buthelezi's choice of companions.

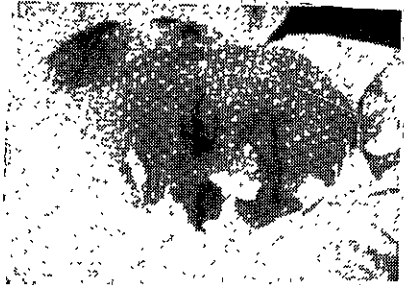
In its "Londoner's Diary", a "prominent commentator on African affairs" is quoted: "Both Aspinall and Goldsmith share the view that Buthelezi is a

tribal hero. For them he has the Zulu's Nietzschean glamour — real warrior mystique. "The whole thing has atavistic right-wing undertones that I find distasteful."

However, Magdalen College, Oxford's R W Johnson, a regular columnist on South Africa who has met Chief Buthelezi, said he believed there was another attraction. "What Aspinall and Goldsmith like is that Buthelezi's speeches are pro-capitalism and anti-sanctions — it's music to their ears."

"Buthelezi likes to consort with the rich and powerful and gets into right-wing company. Buthelezi sees Mandela tripping around the world picking up cheques and probably thinks: 'Why shouldn't I?'"

Sir James Goldsmith



OUTRAGE OVER KWAZULU'S TWO DET SCHOOLS

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UB

A LEGAL battle is looming over KwaZulu's control of two South African Department of Education and Training (DET) schools.

Durban's Clermont and KwaDabeka schools have been run by the homeland's Department of Education and Culture (DEC) for 18 years.

DET director-general Dr JBZ Louw has conceded that, by law, the institutions belong to South Africa and therefore fall under his department.

The Legal Resources Centre (LRC), which took the matter up, said residents of both areas were extremely perturbed by the unlawful control.

Residents have threatened legal action against the DEC, the DET and the Department of Development Aid should their demands be ignored.

Although the DET has agreed to take these schools back on April 1, 1991, a new law - to be introduced over the same period - authorises the department to sub-contract administration of education in areas under its jurisdiction to any government of an independent or self-governing territory.

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Visiting British MP joins Inkatha

JOVIAL RANTAO

A BRITISH MP, who was part of a 10-man British Foreign Affairs Committee which toured southern Africa for two weeks, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr William Powell told Saturday Star he joined the party while visiting Natal because he agreed with the Inkatha's policies. The other reason was that he wanted to pave the way for South Africans to join a party of their choice and not a party that was either black or white.

Membership

"I inquired and was told that membership cost only R8. So I paid my membership fees and have been told that my membership card will be posted to London," Mr Powell said, shortly before rushing off to catch his London-bound plane.

He explained that he will not be able to carry out activities of Inkatha because he lives in London, but "if I was in South Africa I would".

Mr Powell said he was convinced that nothing would work out in South Africa without democracy and free enterprise.

Sta. 26/11/90 (118)

Tribute to gallant Inkatha man

By Stan Hlophe

A member of the Inkatha Central Committee and treasurer of the Southern Black Taxi Association (Sabta), Pat Mbatha, was described yesterday as a gallant soldier who died while pursuing the upliftment of fellow blacks.

Speakers from Inkatha and Sabta at Mr Mbatha's funeral in Soweto yesterday praised him for his tireless efforts.

Thousands of people, predominately Inkatha supporters, attended the

ceremony at the Jabulani Stadium.

Police monitored the proceedings and escorted the procession to the Avalon cemetery where the Inkatha West Rand regional chairman was laid to rest.

Jeffrey Mthethwa, an Inkatha Central Committee member, read condolences from Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Mr Mthethwa said Mr Mbatha's death was a loss to the struggle.

He urged Inkatha members not to be de-

terrred by Mr Mbatha's death and said they should continue where he left off.

Messages of condolences were also sent from Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza appealed for an end to violence.

Sabta's president, James Ngcoya, appealed to the bereaved for peace and calm and said that was what his treasurer had stood for.

He said Mr Mbatha's killer or killers would not have peace.

Inkatha leader had 'weapons arsenal'

THABO LESHILO

THE driver of a car in which police allegedly found an arsenal of weapons at Sebokeng Hostel, where 42 people died after clashes involving Inkatha hostel residents and the army, was Themba Khoza, Inkatha's Transvaal youth leader.

Captain Jacobus van der Westhuizen, commander of the Lekoa Municipal Police, yesterday told the inquest into the deaths of 42 people at the hostel that he had arrived at the hostel complex at 6.30 am after receiving a report at 4 am that there was trouble at the hostel.

On arrival at Hostel 3, he had found five cars burning and another overturned, a man lay dead in Room 27 and three other bodies lay at the main entrance to the hostel. People were running away.

Captain van der Westhuizen said he also found a group of 100 to 200 frightened Inkatha members standing in the middle of the hostel. The men wore red headbands and

were armed with fighting sticks, pangas, spears and shields.

Before he could ask the men what was wrong, a blue Sentra came on the scene and the driver identified himself as Themba Khoza.

Mr Khoza then told Captain van der Westhuizen that the Inkatha men had come to fetch their belongings from the hostel. Mr Khoza was the leader of the Inkatha men, said the Captain.

Meanwhile another group, about 150 strong, armed with fighting sticks, sharp weapons and petrol bombs, stood at the entrance. This group was very aggressive and wanted to kill the Inkatha members.

The group, which grew bigger, demanded that the police leave the scene so that they could kill the Inkatha members whom they

accused of having killed their friends.

None of the Inkatha men carried any luggage. They carried weapons only, Captain van der Westhuizen said.

Warrant Officer Anthony Shinger said this week that police had found an AK-47 rifle and magazine, three AKM weapons and four magazines, a R-4 rifle and two magazines as well as a home-made and a .38 pistol and a magazine in the car.

Colonel Petrus Fourie, the SAP's District Commissioner for Vereeniging, said earlier that Mr Khoza had told him that the car was his and had asked him to ensure that the car would leave the scene safely.

Captain van der Westhuizen said he was not on the scene when the weapons were found in Mr Khoza's car.

Mr Khoza and the vehicle were subsequently taken, together with 136 other Inkatha members, to the Sebokeng police station.

Star 26/11/90

Gunfire after big Inkatha meeting panics residents

Own Correspondent

Residents of Tokoza on the East Rand scattered in panic when Inkatha Freedom Party supporters fired shots into the air minutes after a peace rally ended yesterday.

Gunfire was heard as more than 3 000 armed supporters made their way from the Tokoza stadium to local hostels. No one was injured.

Leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Inkatha Youth

Brigade called on the Tokoza Civic Association (TCA) to disband. Inkatha Youth Brigade secretary Themba Msomi said the "ANC-aligned" TCA was not representative of all community organisations.

Calling for "unity of the oppressed against the common enemy", Inkatha official Fakazi Mduba said it would be "useless for Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to shake hands" while people continued killing one another.

SPAS 1/11/90

Education boycotts criticised



By Julienne du Toit

Organisations which discouraged children from attending school had worsened South Africa's illiterate youth problem, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

He was speaking after a banquet he hosted in Sandton on behalf of the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation.

The function was intended to highlight the development needs of South Africa and specifically Natal/KwaZulu.

Chairman of the newly formed Independent Development Trust, Jan Steyn, agreed with Dr Buthelezi, but said the private business sector should take the initiative to remedy the situation as it was in business's self interest to fight the lack of skills. A housing programme could give the economy its "initial kick-start".

Leading Belgian businessman Filip Verbeke said southern Africa was set to take over from South-East Asia as a low-cost industry possibility. Foreign investors were looking to invest in South Africa more than in Eastern Europe, where there was little or no infrastructure, and no will to work, Mr Verbeke said.

East Rand squatter clashes leave 5 dead

By Montshiwa Moroke
and Anna Louw

the other had attacked
first.

Five people were killed and one injured early yesterday during clashes between residents of Zonkezizwe squatter camp, near Katlehong, on the East Rand.

East Rand police liaison officer Captain Ida van Zweek said police found the bodies of five men, two of whom had been shot dead and three slain with pangas and sharp objects.

A sixth man was shot in the chin and was admitted to the Natalspruit Hospital.

Residents left the area yesterday for fear of more violence as armed Inkatha supporters, with red headbands and arm-bands, chanted war songs. Many residents fled their homes on Sunday and slept in the veld.

Yesterday there were accusations and counter-accusations from the factions, each claiming

Inkatha supporters gathered on one side of the squatter settlement sharpening their spears and singing. Women, who had taken the men food and water, gathered nearby and ululated.

In another part of the township another group, comprising mainly migrant workers from Transkei and Ciskei, gathered near the railway line after they were disarmed by the police.

Residents said trouble started on Sunday after the groups held separate meetings to discuss civic matters. Residents had held joint meetings before differences emerged.

Captain van Zweek said representatives of the Zulus, Xhosas and South African Police met yesterday afternoon to discuss the issue.

She said it appeared the problem had been resolved.

8/21 6/11/90 (118)

Massacre victims were busy praying

By Adam Gordon

The 15 people massacred on a moving train between Jeppe and Benrose in September had been part of a church group and were kneeling down praying when they were slaughtered, a Johannesburg Regional Court heard yesterday.

Police investigating officer Detective Deon Wessels told the court how church services were held in one particular carriage on the train every day.

The Zulus had learnt that the "congregation" swore at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king every day, and this was apparently the immediate motive for the revenge attack.

Mr Wessels was testifying in the bail application of five men allegedly involved in two separate massacres, in which 21 people died, on September 6 and 13.

The men are Martin Ngcobu (47), Basl Nkosingondle (27), Solomon Khumalo (33), Mingen-gela Magabane (54) and Mabin-ela Majozi (23), all of the Jeppe hostel in Wolhuter Street, Johannesburg.

Impis

Only Mr Ngcobu and Mr Nkosingondle have said they are Inkatha members.

Mr Wessels said the leader of the local Inkatha branch had called a meeting at Jeppe hostel on September 13.

After this meeting, a man named Jericho Manyane had called another meeting to round up impis, who then boarded the train and attacked the church group.

Mr Manyane and two other men known only as "Stelt" and "Mataks" were still being sought by the police, Mr Wessels said.

It was believed they were hiding somewhere in the mountains of KwaZulu. Five police raids had failed to net them.

Mr Wessels said this was a major reason for opposing bail. If the men in custody were given bail they could also disappear.

Mr Wessels said Mr Khumalo had acted as "a quartermaster" who had distributed guns beforehand and collected them afterwards.

State advocate David Gordon presented signed statements in which four of the men admitted participation in the massacre and said "Stelt" had forced them to take part.

Jeppie massacre witnesses 'frightened of reprisals'

LINDEN BIRNS

HALF the people who witnessed the recent Jeppie station massacre had refused to attend an identification parade for fear of reprisals, a Johannesburg magistrate was told yesterday.

Of the who did attend, 75% had failed to identify the men, Det W/O Deon Wessels told Magistrate C J van Heerden during a bail application for the five Zulu accused. *B1024 8/11/90*

At least 15 people died when armed men went on the rampage on a commuter train travelling between Jeppie and Benrose stations in September.

Counsel for the accused Ian Small-Smith said it was odd that the police had set up an identification parade this week, seven weeks after the incident.

Opposing the application, Wessels said he believed the accused would probably go to ground and be difficult to track down and re-arrest.

Small-Smith asked Wessels whether he or the police had been placed under any political pressure to solve the case quickly.

Wessels said: "The only pressure I'm aware of originated with ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela who said he believed whites and police were involved in the train murders. I'm sure it's not whites policemen and we'll go to great lengths to identify trace all the guilty parties."

The accused are Martin Ngobo, Basi Nkosingondle, Magubane, Solomon Khumalo and Mabin- Mandla Majozi, all from the Jeppie Men's Hostel in Johannesburg.

ANC warns life insurers

DURBAN — Life insurers have been warned not to resist the ANC's initiatives in requesting that "a fraction of pension and provident funds be directed to socially responsible projects". *B1024 8/11/90*

Don Mkhwanazi, convener of the ANC Task Force for Economic Policy for Natal, told the Economic Development Conference for the Durban functional region a future government would be forced to intervene if current levels of deprivation among the black population were not addressed. *B1024 8/11/90*

He called for "socially responsible behaviour" on the part of financial institutions and big business, and asked why the voice of big business — which was often a major shareholder in financial institutions — had not been heard on the issue of raising funds.

"Big business should be insisting that pension fund managers invest a fraction of

their funds in projects which assist disadvantaged communities," Mkhwanazi said. "Sacrifices must be made by all in the interests of the long-term peace and stability of the country".

It was time for the private sector to meet its social obligations.

"There are still an endless number of companies which do not even have a housing policy.

"They believe that by donating funds to the Urban Foundation, they are fulfilling their obligations. But they must remember that charity begins at home," he said.

"If corporate SA does not begin at this late hour to invest in management and skills training, it will face the consequences of its actions further down the line," he said.

He also called for management approaches and philosophies to be changed. — Sapa.

Chants as Buthelezi fields hostile questions

LONDON — Anti-apartheid activists chanted slogans and waved placards outside the Savoy Hotel in London yesterday as Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi fielded aggressive and hostile questions from journalists who packed a news conference he held to present his views on SA issues. *B1024 8/11/90*

On his first visit to Europe since the

Transvaal township violence which led to nearly 800 deaths, he said the media was being caught up in the propaganda over who was to blame for the killings. *B1024 8/11/90*

"The Inkatha Freedom Party is very aware that, as an absolute priority, violence as a political method will have to cease," he said. — Sapa.

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President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi answer questions after their talks at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

Treurnicht and Buthelezi to hold exploratory talks today

CP leader Andries Treurnicht will meet Inkatha leader, Mangosutho Buthelezi for talks in Durban later today.

Treurnicht said the Inkatha leader approached the CP and discussed the possibility of the two parties meeting, although it is understood that Treurnicht put the plan in motion and organised the meeting.

"There is no set agenda for the talks, it is just an opportunity for members of both the CP and Inkatha to meet each other and get to know one another," Treurnicht said yesterday.

He said a joint statement would be issued after the meeting.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday the two parties would probably discuss negotiations and where each party stood and where they "were coming from".

"I'm sure both sides will table their views on current developments in the coun-

try," she said.

Vos said Inkatha believed in reconciliation before meaningful negotiation could take place, as only through respect for freedom of political choice could a new open and race-free SA be created.

She described yesterday's meeting between Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk as "very positive".

Danger

EDYTH BULBRING reports from Pretoria that after his two-hour meeting with Buthelezi and an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation, De Klerk told a joint Press conference there was an urgent need for progress to be made in the negotiation process.

Buthelezi told the conference, held at Union Buildings, there was a danger of the negotiating process being sabotaged as there

were people in SA who did not believe in peaceful negotiations.

The two parties decided to continue with the work of a joint committee between the NP, led by Natal leader George Bartlett, and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another committee focusing on the negotiation process between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party would be reactivated, Buthelezi said.

This committee would focus on the definition of principles.

He also expected to receive a formal invitation to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was expected to be present after his return from abroad.

Buthelezi said a remaining obstacle to negotiations was the question of violence.

11/2
@ 10am 2/11/90

Bloodshed threatens

c/press 4/11/90

115

peace talks

by S'BU MNGADI

RENEWED violence in strife-torn Natal townships and villages is threatening to scuttle crucial peace talks between the national leadership of the ANC and Inkatha.

Peace efforts in Natal which saw ANC and Inkatha senior officials tour the embattled Hammarsdale township of Mpumalanga last week have not yet filtered through to feuding supporters on the ground.

Local leaders and senior activists on both sides have this week been targets of vicious attacks, with some killed and property destroyed.

There were fears that this weekend may be marred by a renewal of full-scale violence.

Talks between delegations led by the ANC's John Nkadimeng and Inkatha's Mr Frank Mdlalose have paved the way for the much-awaited meeting of their respective leaders.

This meeting, the date of which has not been set, will see ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela come face to face with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the first time.

David Ntombela, KwaZulu MP and member of Inkatha's central committee in Maritzburg, said he was convinced peace lay with the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting.

"They need to share a platform in Maritzburg and tell people that enough is enough," he said.

ANC Natal Midlands chairman Larry Gwala said branches in the region last Saturday expected the Nkadimeng-led ANC sub-committee for a briefing on current talks with Inkatha. Due to short notice, the sub-committee was unable to attend the meeting.

He stressed the region was not opposed to the peace initiative, but since the violence was continuing unabated at the height of talks, The ANC Midlands

But Mandela, Buthelezi are set to meet at last

branch wanted to consult with the Nkadimeng-led sub-committee.

This week Gwala said ANC leader Walter Sisulu had telephoned him to request that the meeting be postponed until Mandela had returned from his overseas trip.

Empangeni in northern Natal, where the two organisations signed the historic lower Umfolozi peace accord in September, has been the scene of bloody skirmishes with the killing of at least six people in the Enseleni, Ntuze and Nhlanganyuke areas.

However, the process of reconciliation in northern Natal remains firmly on course.

Elsewhere in the province, unrest monitors, human-rights lawyers and activists have blamed the current spate of violence on "warmongers" on both sides.

Observers believe the authority of many warlords - who benefit financially from the war as shacklords or by charging protection fees - is now being threatened by the prospect of peace and stability.

Members of the KwaZulu police (KZP) in KwaMakhutha this week allegedly assaulted 12 residents in defiance of a Durban Supreme Court order which forbids the KZP from assaulting or threatening residents, according to affidavits at the Legal Resources Centre in Durban.



Youths rejoice at Imbali truce

PROSPECTS of peace between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC at Imbali near Maritzburg have moved a step closer after a peace pact was reached by the youths of the two organisations in the area.

Youths from both parties informally agreed to lay down arms and stop the fighting.

KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works and leader of Inkatha in the area, Velaphi Ndlovu, expressed his appreciation of the move by the youths.

He appealed to parents to co-operate.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mandla Borgat Ndlovu, also expressed appreciation of the action.

The area has been plagued by violence since 1985.

Hundreds of people have been killed and hundreds more injured and left homeless in clashes between opposing factions.

This weekend, celebrations are transforming the formerly strife-torn streets, at the very places that have been "no-go areas" for opposing factions.

Soccer matches have been planned for today as part of the celebrations.

Meanwhile a meeting of all the area's residents is planned to endorse the initiatives. — Sapa.

Natal talks threatened after attack

CP Reporter *C/hers 11/11/90* (118)

PEACE talks between ANC and Inkatha in Natal are in danger of collapse in the wake of an attack by gunmen on a convoy carrying top ANC national leaders on Wednesday.

ANC leaders in the convoy included Jacob Zuma, John Nkadimeng and three other members of the national executive committee, say ANC officials.

In the wake of the attack and an upsurge in violence that has claimed at least 40 lives in the past fortnight in Natal, the fragile peace has been shattered.

The ANC is debating whether to continue its current talks and a meeting with Inkatha on Friday was postponed.

Wednesday's attack took place in Wembezi outside Estcourt.

Seven people in the area died last week and six have died since the attack.

Fighting has now spread to Bruntville, where running battles on Friday claimed the lives of 18 people and saw local migrant-worker hostels burned to the ground.

Fighting has also been reported near Greytown and in Hlalakahle.

Although Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has claimed from London that the entire peace process has been scrapped, ANC sources say they have just postponed further meetings.

Deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela, back home on Friday after a three-week tour of Asia, told journalists the process remained "on track".

Only meetings between Inkatha and the ANC NEC sub-committee had been suspended, he said.

The Wembezi attack took place as mourners were gathering for the funeral of seven-year-old Zama Dladla, murdered last week.

In addition to Zuma and Nkadimeng, the convoy included NEC members Gertrude Shope, Joe Nhlanhla and Josiah Jele, Natal leader Harry Gwala and Joel Netshitenzhe, editor of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*.

Eye-witnesses say as the nine-vehicle convoy drew up at the Dladla house an armoured security force Hippo vehicle drove by.

Minutes later, a group of vigilantes moved towards the house.

Approached by suspicious ANC supporters, a well-known local authority leader opened fire, hitting Gwala's driver.

Sunday Times Reporters

A TOP Cosatu trade unionist has sparked a fierce debate within the movement with a call for a reversal of the organisation's policy of isolating its arch-rival Inkatha.

A position paper by Jay Naidoo — an official of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union — is now circulating among union and ANC formations in Natal. It proposes that:

- ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet in an effort to make peace;
- Cosatu ceases calling for the dismantling of the KwaZulu homeland and the KwaZulu police;
- A multi-party peace agreement be reached between the government, Inkatha and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance;

Cosatu split over call for ties with Inkatha

Mr Naidoo reported new thinking most interesting. SACF alliance to play a constructive role in diffusing political tensions and, in tandem, accept the reality of the need for multi-party negotiations, would be most encouraging and welcomed by us," he said.

Meanwhile, the ANC has rejected speculation that it cancelled a high-level meeting with Inkatha in Natal because hardline members wanted to discontinue peace talks. Siphso Gcabashe, ANC secretary for the Natal Midlands, said the meeting postponed this week could still be held before Christmas.

The meeting had been delayed, he said, to give ANC officials time to go back to their branches for more clarity on certain proposals.

for peace that have to be worked out," he said.

But the proposals have run into strong opposition from some union and political quarters opposed to any recognition of Inkatha.

A spokesman at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg confirmed that the position paper had been sent to formations in Natal.

One ANC source indicated that some proposals had already been incorporated into ANC strategy — the October 23 decision by the ANC national executive committee to push for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi was an example.

Dr F T Mlalele, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he

ing responsibility for the actions of the police and army.

"Have we forgotten that a fundamental task of a capitalist police force is to protect capital?" it asks.

The November issue of the authoritative South African Labour Bulletin reported that the proposal had generated critical union reaction — particularly the suggestion that a joint monitoring group be formed.

The union publication Vokani Rasebenzi attacks the proposal as implying collaboration with the state in tak-

Cosatu split over call for ties with Inkatha

cern over the escalating violence and tensions between the rival groups.

This violence, he said, created opportunities for the security forces and right-wingers to take political advantage.

Mr Naidoo yesterday told the Sunday Times that previous calls to isolate Chief Buthelezi and for the disbanding of the KwaZulu police force was a reaction to Inkatha's unwillingness to agree to peace accords.

"This position paper was written to stimulate debate and discussion — which is what it has done," he said.

"It was drawn up to look specifically at a change in strategy in relation to Inkatha — there are still other aspects

UNION PRESS REPORTERS

Pretoria meeting today

CAP (1975) 30/11/75 (18)
PRETORIA. — The fifth meeting of South Africa's homeland leaders is to take place here today.

The meeting, under the chairmanship of President F W de Klerk, will be attended by cabinet ministers, members of the Ministers' Councils and political leaders in the governments of the self-governing territories.

The meeting will give attention to future regional and local government structures and the abolition of the Land Acts, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday. — Sapa

Whites fear future one-party state — Buthelezi

Political Staff

THE politics of negotiation had to be turned into a process of reconciliation, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday in Cape Town at the Euromoney conference on the economic and financial prospects of South Africa.

He said this could not be achieved unless white fears of a future one-party state with no democratic checks and balances were faced because this was the most difficult hurdle for whites.

He wanted a situation in which it was going to be possible for parties to rise and fall and governments to come and go through normalised electoral procedures typical of Western multi-party democracies.

"If we could guarantee such a political situation to white, Indian, coloured and black South Africans, we would be able to put a democracy in place even within a matter of months." Speaking at the same conference, political consultant and former editor Mr Harald Parkendorf said that the teaming up of the ANC and the National Party after an election based on universal franchise was not an impossible scenario.

"Opinion polls and private soundings amongst leading political figures from the main political groupings leave little doubt that the ANC will be the biggest party following an election based on universal franchise — but it will not get 50% of the vote."

● More conference reports — Page 12

Inkatha blamed for violence

TANIA LEVY

INKATHA was responsible for violence at the Sebokeng hostel in early September, a police colonel told a Veereniging Supreme Court inquest yesterday.

Col Frederik van Niekerk was testifying before the inquest into 42 deaths during unrest-related incidents involving Inkatha supporters, township residents and Defence Force soldiers at the hostel on September 4. *Blom 16/11/90*

A police video shown to the court yesterday showed troops firing live ammunition to disperse about 2 000 Sebokeng residents who had been prevented from entering the hostel compound by police.

Inside, 137 Inkatha supporters were questioned by police before being arrested.

The barrage continued for about 10 seconds as the crowd fled. Some had been sitting in the road when SADF soldiers

approached. The videos showed people left lying dead or injured afterward.

A dead man lay face down in a pool of blood after being shot in the back of the head. Another man, with a bloody face wound, repeatedly fell over as he tried to sit up.

A group of the wounded was attended to by residents and SA Police members on the side of the road, which was littered with stones, sticks and a petrol bomb.

Earlier the video, taken by Const Marius van Huysteen, showed police discovering the bodies of two men believed to have been killed in fights between hostel dwellers and township residents that day.

The crowd refused to let police remove

To Page 2

Inkatha *Blom 16/11/90*

the bodies, Van Huysteen told the court.

Van Niekerk said 35 bodies were found after the faction fighting and army shooting had occurred.

In a video taken by W/O Piet Nienaber, police were shown discovering a number of weapons and a false number plate on the back seat of a blue car which was inside the hostel and apparently belonged to the Inkatha supporters.

Inkatha Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza, who was in court yesterday, was seen opening the blue Nissan Sentra for police who also found a

From Page 1

bomb made of commercial explosives in the boot. Arms found on the back seat included AK-47 assault rifles, an R-1 machine gun and a .38 revolver.

Videos taken at the Sebokeng police station showed a number of men, described by Nienaber as Inkatha members, who had been arrested at the hostel with firearms in their possession.

Three M26 hand grenades were discovered in plastic bags hidden in the tarpaulin of army vehicles used to transport the arrested men to the police station.

The inquest resumes today.

Guarantee rights or face backlash

OWN Correspondent 8/11/70 (116)

LONDON. — Failure to provide minority group rights in the new South African constitution would invite a white backlash far worse than that inflicted by Unita and Renamo on Angola and Mozambique respectively.

This warning was sounded at an international press conference here yesterday by Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi also said he had not ruled out participating in a peace conference being planned by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, despite the fact that Inkatha's Central Committee had warned him against participating because of the archbishop's alleged ANC bias.

Demonstrators chanted and waved placards outside as journalists confronted Chief Buthelezi with a barrage of questions.

Among journalists covering the meeting were Ms Jani Allan, a former Sunday Times correspondent. She and a friend, Ms Gillian Faulkner, applauded regularly during his speech.

The chief said whites had to be wooed into a non-racial democracy or there would be "none at all".

Strong words

LONDON. — Aggressive press questions including accusations of "collaboration" yesterday prompted Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to respond strongly with words like "balderdash", "poppycock" and in one angry outburst: "That's bull—." — Sapa

TRAPPED IN SEBOKENG

By SOPHIE TEMA

A MEMBER of the SAP told an inquest at the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court this week how he, his colleagues and Inkatha supporters were trapped inside the Sebokeng hostel after bloody fighting had erupted.

Captain Jacobus Lodewickus van der Westhuizen told the inquest that reinforcements had to be brought in to free him, other members of the SAP and Inkatha from a huge crowd of angry Xhosas.

Van der Westhuizen said this incident occurred the morning after several people were found dead at the hostel.

Van der Westhuizen said in a statement submitted to the inquest into the deaths of 42 people killed in Sebokeng on September 4 this year that this was also where he met the leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza.

Van der Westhuizen said that on September 4 at about 4am he received a telephone call at his home from Lekoa town clerk Nic Louw, who informed him there were problems at the hostel in Sebokeng.

He said he contacted a sergeant MM Kolokoto by radio who confirmed there had been gunshots and blasts at the hostel from 3am that morning.

He said Kolokoto also told him residents were fleeing from the hostel and seeking refuge in the township.

Van der Westhuizen said: "We drove towards the group to enquire what the situation was like when a blue Nissan Sentra sedan drove up to us and stopped.

"A black man got out of the car and introduced himself as Themba Khoza, representative of Inkatha in the Transvaal."

Van der Westhuizen said he later got information that Khoza had been arrested and that police had recovered an arsenal of weapons from his car.

"Khoza told me the

SAP, Inkatha huddle in hostel as Xhosas erupt

men with the red headbands had come to remove their belongings from the hostel as the safest time to do this was at night.

"The group outside the hostel was increasing gradually and they too were armed with sticks, pangas, sharp weapons, petrol bombs and were very aggressive.

"I succeeded in getting three men from each of the two groups and spoke to them in a bid to restore peace.

"Although representatives of both groups agreed that violence was not the solution to their problems, the Xhosa representative could not convince his people not to resort to violence as they were increasing in great numbers.

"This group was aggressive and demanded that the police pull out of the area so they could avenge the deaths of their

friends.

"I refused to accede to their demands and with the assistance of the SAP we kept the two groups at bay.

"Stones and petrol bombs were later hurled at the Zulu group and the police and I then tried to bring the Xhosa group under control - but with- out success.

"A certain Vilakazi, who also later introduced himself to me as the representative of the ANC and the Xhosa group, could not bring them under control.

"The Xhosa group was gradually increasing and demanded that they be allowed to enter the hostel and kill the Zulus.

"Other officers and SAP members arrived and tried their best to negotiate with the group. But they also got trapped and this resulted in the need to bring in other SAP reinforcements."

and gnb after all the DRC had done — had earlier said it was difficult, some- cannot, when someone says 'Forgive me', say 'I do not'.

Setback as ANC/Inkatha talks are postponed

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban
TALKS between senior African National Congress and Inkatha officials appear to have run into trouble — discussions scheduled for yesterday did not take place and the ANC's John Nkadimeng confirmed they have been postponed indefinitely.

The postponement of the talks followed speculation that the ANC officials involved in the discussions had

w/m on 9/11/90 - 15/11/90
been criticised by other elements in the organisation for pushing ahead with negotiations without a "proper mandate" from people in the region.

Nkadimeng, however, would not comment on the reason for calling off yesterday's talks. (11B)

On Wednesday he and a group of ANC national executive members visited several Natal inland areas hard-hit by the violence.

During their visit they also had a meeting with members of affected communities in Pietermaritzburg held "in accordance with our determination only to act in accordance with the mandate of the people", Nkadimeng said.

The joint ANC/Inkatha talks had been making progress, and it is not yet known how the latest setback will affect the operation of the joint working group.

Inkatha in Somerset 19/11/90 peace call

ABOUT 1 500 people gathered in Vosloorus yesterday to hear an Inkatha leader call for peace.

Local Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mr Isaac Dlamini told the crowd of mainly hostel dwellers it was time to build new relationships with other political parties.

"Let us stop killing one another from today," he said. - Sapa.

Inkatha rejects claims

INKATHA Youth Brigade chairman Mr Musa Zondi has refused claims by the ANC's Mr Steve Tshwete that the National Party was helping Inkatha to undermine the ANC.

Zondi said yesterday that Tshwete's claims had strengthened the perception that Inkatha had no right to exist.

He said this was borne out by recent developments in which ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had stated his organisation was "going to have talks with the NP to determine which political parties will qualify to sit at the negotiation table". - Sapa.

D ID you know that Koos van der Merwe, the fiery orator of the Conservative Party, is articulate in African languages and is comfortable in the presence of PAC, ANC, BC and black leaders?

Not only that, but Van der Merwe enjoys sharing a drink with the very people he would not like to see in a "white" parliament. He readily addresses elderly black people as "ntate" and "mme", showing a sign of respect. When he shakes your hand, it is like greeting a long-lost friend.

Yes, it is the same Van der Merwe who early this year walked out of a meeting hosted by ABC-TV anchorman Ted Koppel at Wits University, shouting that he did not want to share the same platform as the ANC.

It is the same Van der Merwe who refused to answer a question from the ANC's Terror Lekota during a panel discussion at the Rand Afrikaans University in August, because "we do not speak to the ANC".

But "strange things happen when the lights go down . . ." — particularly in Pretoria's eastern suburbs.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya address 11/11/90

Talk . . . even if in private



At a dinner hosted this week by the British ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, it was a different Van der Merwe I saw at the table with advocate Digkang Mosenke of the PAC, Dr Ntshato Morlana of the Soweto Civic Association and Popo Molefe of the UDF and ANC.

Does the CP encourage its senior members to wine, dine and share facilities with black people? Surely this is not what the South African public is made to believe.

But Van der Merwe was a different person from the one we hear in public fighting against integration and the scrapping by government of apartheid laws.

He and his party are uncompromising on power-sharing and negotiations with the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

As CP information head, he is involved in propagating that the ANC is a terrorist organisation only interested in violence and murder, but not power-sharing. The conversation was warm and cordial. Whether they agreed on certain issues was not the point.

What was important was that they were talking to each other. This is something that has not yet filtered down to the rank and file of the masses and to certain

political affiliations or whether they agree or disagree with each other on many aspects — do in fact meet.

If not in public, certainly in private. Our people should be educated about this in order for them to understand the meaning of political tolerance.

They should know that their leaders may differ in many ways, but they might not be enemies. In the words of Sir Renwick when asked how he was able to bring such a group together: "I try very hard to get people together."

"It is the only way they will understand each other." Do we really have to wait for somebody like Sir Renwick to come all the way from England to bring us together?

Certainly not. But the CP and those who try to play hard politics must realise that time is no longer on their side.

The majority of people in this country are no longer interested in splitting hairs about apartheid laws. Their aspirations are to see black representation in a parliament of their choice.

And politicians must take note of this.

Stop brutal acts - Inkatha

Sowetan 29/11/90
THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for the disbanding of "people's courts", street and area committees and "uncontrolled structures" in the townships.

In a statement yesterday, the IFP's Transvaal youth chairman, Mr Themba Khoza, said the call was motivated by "some inhuman and undemocratic" acts by the

Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal.

Khoza said Cast was part of the ANC/SACP alliance and did not represent all township residents.

"This call is not just made to interfere with Cast's activities, it is to safeguard the democratic rights of all residents," the statement said.

Khoza said the street

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committees and the "people's courts" were harassing township residents. He added that street committees planned "brutal and criminal" acts against opposing organisations.

Cast should state whether it was their intention to destroy opposition as the IFP wanted to see democracy in the townships. - *Sapa*.

FIM 9/11/90 (11B)

Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders, it appears that orders to use violence may at times come from higher up.

Two weeks ago, some Inkatha members believe, they were themselves victims of their own movement. A number of shacks were burnt down in a rural township at Ndwedwe, north of Durban. The *FM* spoke to one of the victims (who asked not to be named) and was told that the arson spree was aimed at residents who refused to join an Inkatha "killing party."

Though a card-carrying Inkatha member, the man said that when he refused to join a night-time raid on a neighbouring part of the township in response to the death of an Inkatha member, he in turn was threatened with death. Taking the threat seriously, he moved his family out of the house. Two days later, it was burnt down, along with other houses belonging to people who had not joined the Inkatha war party. The *FM* source said many of the other victims were also Inkatha members.



Buthelezi

On October 19, in a murder case in the Maritzburg Supreme Court, Justice Andrew Wilson asked, in his judgment, that the KwaZulu government investigate claims that orders had come from Ulundi to force

people to join Inkatha. One of the accused, Derrick Xulu, claimed that the chief of Mpumuza had said orders came from Ulundi to make every resident of the area a member of Inkatha, because Mpumuza fell under KwaZulu.

Sentencing four men — all Inkatha members — to a total of 40 years in prison for a murder committed in 1988, Judge Wilson said there was no reason to disbelieve Xulu's evidence and that it was incumbent on the KwaZulu government to investigate whether the chief had given these instructions and if he was acting on orders from Ulundi.

The chief, Mzikayise Zondi, has since denied that he received any instructions from Ulundi or that he issued orders for forced recruitment, saying it was his duty as a chief to be above politics.

However, no word has yet come from the KwaZulu government in response to the matter of the judge's request. Buthelezi's department in Ulundi has been asked by the *FM* if an investigation has been set up, but at the time of going to press we had not yet received an answer, despite repeated telephone calls.

Buthelezi has made clear his position on violence and as recently as last week, he issued a statement calling on all leaders of political organisations to join him in condemning two recent attacks on Inkatha officials.

It would surely be in his interests to accede to the request of a Supreme Court judge and show that his own house is in order. □

VIOLENCE FIM 7/11/90

GLASS HOUSES?

Attempts to work out who might be responsible for particular acts of politically inspired violence are often futile, as police investigating the clashes between ANC-aligned groups and the Inkatha Freedom Party have found out.

There are so many accusations and counter-accusations that some blame must attach to both sides. Inkatha, largely through statements made by its president, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, often claims — with considerable success — the moral high ground.

Undoubtedly some ANC elements have long been campaigning against Inkatha and Buthelezi; statements made by ANC leaders like Harry Gwala do not even try to disguise the hostility felt for the KwaZulu leader.

But is Inkatha, with its official policy of non-violence, really always the victim?

Obviously, local leaders, whether for reasons of defence or anger at the campaign aimed at the movement, may sometimes decide to take the law into their own hands. However, despite persistent denials from

Inkatha and ANC in vital peace talks

Sowetan 8/11/90
URGENT and crucial talks between the African National Congress sub-committee responsible for liaising with the Inkatha Freedom Party on peace initiatives and three Natal ANC regions were held in Durban yesterday.

This meeting was the result of a decision taken by ANC Natal regions stipulating that "no further consultations with Inkatha should take place without prior consultation with them".

Tensions within the ANC appear to be developing between its national leadership and members.

There is a strong feeling among the rank and file that the ongoing peace talks between Inkatha and the ANC are taking place without any consultation with grassroots members.

It was not clear whether the ANC would make any announcements after yesterday's meeting and whether the meeting placed peace talks scheduled for tomorrow between the two organisations in jeopardy.

Urgent

The three ANC regions at yesterday's meeting had earlier urged that the meeting be treated with the utmost urgency "in order to restore the co-ordination of all steps relating to peace in our province".

The ANC's midlands, northern and southern Natal regions held consultations on the present peace initiative in Natal and agreed that "a number of very serious oversights were noted". - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Buthelezi warns against one-party rule

South Africa

20/11/80

SOUTH Africa should avoid winner-take-all politics and the "political abyss" of a constituent assembly prior to negotiations should be avoided at all costs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a series of talks overseas, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader said trials of strength should be left until it was assured there would never be a dictatorship in South Africa.

Referring to the African National Congress-authored Harare Declaration, which calls for a constituent assembly, Buthelezi said this would have disastrous effects.

"Nothing could be more designed to produce a violent white right wing backlash than the prospects of a South African Government handing over power to a constituent assembly we know not what, to produce a constitution we know not what."

The IFP envisaged that negotiations would be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances would demand that the Government legislate the negotiated agreements into position as they were reached.

"This avoids winner-take-all politics and avoids forcing South Africans to agree to leap into some kind of constitutional and political abyss."

Common cause

11/5

Apartment is so doomed and there is so much that South Africans could discover in common cause, that the politics of negotiation should provide them with the opportunity of doing just this," he said.

Buthelezi said unless there was racial reconciliation now there would be no democracy.

"Many white South Africans are afraid of the future. You cannot just ignore it. If we do so, we will be invit-

ing a white backlash which will make the worst that Unita could do to the MPLA government in Angola and the worst that Renamo could do to the Frelimo government in Mozambique look like child's play."

The majority of South Africans wanted a modern, Western-style multi-party democracy. Inkatha rejected the politics of coercion, the need for the continued isolation of South Africa and the continued application of economic sanctions.

Buthelezi said the ANC, like the National Party, had sought to become the sole arbiter of what South Africa would be like and where it would go.

Like the NP, the ANC was having to adjust to the fact that it was not a monolithic power.

The ANC had also made an error in committing itself to a socialist future. "Clearly, like the NP, it will have to abandon its previously held ideological positions." - *Sapa*.

DEC

1990

Inkatha Freedom Party wants negotiations to begin

Edwelan 5/12/90

11B

THE central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party has called on black political organisations to urge the Government to formalise the beginning of the real negotiations.

In a resolution passed in Ulundi on Sunday, the central committee said it was confident negotiations would get off the ground early next year.

Proclaiming the IFP's readiness to begin negoti-

ations, the central committee resolved:

"To call on all black political groupings and (State President) Mr De Klerk to make a beginning with the formalities so we can begin to negotiate".

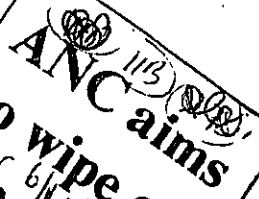
The resolution said political groupings should refrain from tactics

which, it claimed, destabilised the communities and urged the ANC to abandon mass protest action.

Meanwhile reports are that the IFP's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has condemned the ANC's claim that the SA Police had been col-

laborating with Inkatha in attacks on other black people.

In a statement on Monday, Buthelezi said the ANC's video which was shown to the media to support its claims, was "nothing but cheap propaganda that would not work". - Sapa



ANC aims to wipe out opponents

Inkatha

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Themba Khoza, Transvaal leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC, accusing it of engaging in a "war of extermination" against its opponents.

Mr Khoza said in Johannesburg that various ANC-supported mass campaigns, such as protest marches and the "Black Christmas" sure recipes for violence, were that on Sunday, Xhosa impersonating Zulus, had attacked Zulus in Tokoza on the East Rand.

He said two whites armed with rifles were seen operating with these people, and these whites had died in the ensuing confrontation.

The "Black Christmas" call, he said, would inevitably heighten tensions in the townships and result in the wholesale harassment of those failing to heed the call.

Extermination

"The results of the ANC/SACP programme of so-called 'mass action' can be predicted: more violence, more intimidation and more resistance from those who are sick to death of ANC/SACP bully-boy tactics."

Mr Khoza accused the ANC/SACP alliance of being involved in "a war of extermination against the IFP and our brothers, organisations, Azapo and the PAC."

Asked what relationship there was between the IFP and the two organisations mentioned, Mr Khoza said they were all black organisations and practised political tolerance.

The ANC, yesterday, said Mr Khoza's allegations were not "worthy of serious response".

These "spurious tales of people impersonating Zulus" were surfacing now that the actions of vigilante groups were beginning to "impact negatively" on the IFP.

812 21/2/90

Inkatha law 'levy' stirs fear in hostel

By Stan Hlophe

Inkatha members in Jeppe Hostel, Johannesburg have been accused of intimidating non-members who refused to pay a R100 "donation" each for the legal fees of hostel residents facing murder and public violence charges in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court.

A Jeppe Hostel resident, whose name is known to The Star but who wants to remain anonymous for fear of victimisation, said non-Inkatha members had been forced to donate to the legal costs.

Those who refused were labelled ANC supporters and threatened with eviction from the hostel.

The man said Xhosa-speaking people had been evicted and now Shangaans and Sotho- and Tswana-speaking people had been told to pay or face the same consequences.

Firearms

He said Inkatha members held weekly meetings at the hostel and displayed high calibre firearms to show their strength.

He said non-Inkatha members had reported the matter to the hostel authorities but no action had been taken.

Inkatha's Youth Brigade chairman, Themba Khoza, denied the allegation. He said if it were true, it had not been sanctioned by Inkatha.

However, he said it was normal practice in the township for families or communities to help those in distress and he saw nothing wrong with the move.

Mr Khoza said Jeppe Hostel had escaped the factional fightings in the past three months and saw the allegations as an ANC smear campaign.

"Those who have been victims of such requests and threats should come to our offices at the Sandlam Building in Johannesburg and we will investigate."

THIS weekend will see the official launch of the Inkatha Freedom Party at Ulundi.

A spokesman for the party said in a statement earlier this week that this was a move towards transforming the Inkatha movement into a fully-fledged political party, broadening its support for democracy and free enterprise at a national level.

Inkatha Party goes national tomorrow

Southern 7/12/90

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Its current, registered membership figure stood at 1.9 million, but the fig-

ure was bound to rise with its ranks now open to members of all race and cultural groupings, the spokesman claimed in the statement.

"The IFP has centred on a dynamic political agenda that hopes to lay the foundation for a free, non-racial, equal-opportunity society with democratic safeguards for all.

"It believes in the fair distribution of wealth for the benefit of the people, creating real opportunities for economic growth and development.

Crucial

"Attempts at stabilising the economy will attract future investment, both internally and externally. This will allow the party to address crucial issues such as poverty, scarcity of resources and unemployment - the very factors perpetuating the ongoing spiral of violence evident in our townships today."

He said that as a political party standing for peace and harmony, the IFP clearly rejected all at-

tempts at destabilisation, mass mobilisation, militant uprisings, intimidation or economic pressure in the form of mass stay-aways and boycotts.

Destabilisation of the South African society had "grievous repercussions for those amongst the op-

pressed and suffering" with the effects of mass dismissals and disinvestment.

"The only sensible route to change is through peaceful and meaningful negotiations with the powers that be - the present Government and big business sector.

"Co-operation and commitment is what is needed to find a peaceful solution for a future, democratic South Africa and it is on the strength of this conviction that the IFP will form part of the political leadership of this country," the spokesman said. *Sapa*



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Inkatha Party ^(11B) wants observer status at UN ^(11/10)

LONDON - The Inkatha Freedom Party has appealed in London to the British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, to use his government's influence at the United Nations to get KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's organisation observer status at the United Nations.

This would be on a similar basis to that held by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. *Sowetan 7/12/90*

In a letter this week to Hurd, Inkatha's London representative Mr Ben Skosana said the impending all-party constitutional negotiations in South Africa made it necessary for the IFP to be recognised and accorded relevant status on the permanent international marketplace.

Skosana specified the UN, but also referred to the Commonwealth, and the Organisation of African Unity, "where South African affairs are often discussed".

'Dangerous'

"At this point, there is virtually no permanent international medium of discussion where the IFP is invited to sit continually so as to present its views on the future of South Africa.

"The appearance of the IFP on this international forum will not only dispel the simplistic and dangerous notion that the problems facing South Africa can and will be resolved between the ANC and the SA Government.

"It will also help reconcile the different viewpoints held by Inkatha, the ANC and the PAC . . .

"It is for this reason that the IFP entreats the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office to use its good offices and position in the UN to explore the possibility of inviting the IFP to take its place among the other South African contingents at the UN." - *Sapa*



Buthelezi slams 'political monopolies'

By GUY ROGERS

KWAZULU leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says political monopolies must be avoided in the new South Africa — at all costs.

Yesterday he told a special conference of about 6 000 Inkatha Freedom Party delegates near Ulundi, the Zulu capital: "We have had nearly half a century of monopolistic National Party power.

"All unchecked power corrupts."

The IFP president called

for a devolution of political power.

"We do not want any future head of state to have the kind of power Saddam Hussein has in his land," he said.

"That power makes monsters out of leaders."

Mr Buthelezi said the IFP had to woo South Africans back to the political centre-stage, away from the threat held by extremism.

Presenting the IFP's new constitution to dele-

gates for approval, he said it was the search for monopolistic power which was costing the country so dearly.

(118)
"No political party based under (the IFP's) constitution could possibly end up perpetrating the political horror killings going on in SA today," he said.

"Those killings are the heritage of the groups which planted bombs in discos, on street corners and in supermarkets —

killing whoever they decided it was necessary to kill and playing power-mongering games for party political gain."

"Multiparty democracy" was a phrase stressed again and again at the conference.

The delegates, from the party's 3 000 branches across the country, will today present motions and take resolutions on the details of the multiparty policy.

The IFP leader reiterated that, even if a new constitution for SA was set up tomorrow, people would still be looking for freedom from poverty, ignorance and disease.

Euphoria, he said, was a thin political diet on which to live.

"Like icing on a cake, it is sweet but it is not substantial."

"Like the icing, it melts — and sometimes may do so before you even taste it."

Inkatha slates 'mass action'

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — As long as the African National Congress persisted with its so-called mass action — based on intimidation — the country had not yet seen the worst of the violence, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday when he opened a special general conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party here.

He was reappointed leader of the party at the conference.

Chief Buthelezi told about 20 000 supporters and observers that the ANC's mass action campaign was hurting the South African body politic and damaging the negotiation cause.

The ANC should stop "spoiling for a fight" politics which set black against black and party against party. "The mass action programme of the ANC amounts to political bluster to cover up its inability to move back into a South Africa committed to democratic co-operation and striving to normalise South Africa," he said.

The conference called for a grand peace pact between all political parties in South Africa to get to grips with reducing the levels of political violence in the country. A resolution said that the present levels of violence were preventing negotiations really getting off the ground and it called on all political parties, as well as the government, to make the reduction of vio-

lence a top priority.

In another resolution, the IFP said it was "appalled" at the continued call for sanctions against South Africa. These did not work in the first place and most certainly could make no contribution to the country now.

It called on the United Nations and the European Economic Community to normalise economic relations with South Africa and adopt a rigorous timetable to phase out sanctions as quickly as possible.

The European Economic Community should "hear the voice of the masses of South Africa who cry out for economic development".

(116)
Cape Times 10/12/90

Inkatha Urges 'Grand Peace Pact'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called for a "Grand Peace Pact" between all political parties in South Africa and has urged President de Klerk to begin negotiating early in 1991 with all those organisations which have committed themselves to such talks.

The call was made during the party's three-day weekend congress in Ulundi. Delegates said the "people

are impatient for negotiations to get off the ground".

A resolution stated: "Our perception is that the people want negotiations to begin early in 1991. They are anticipating major announcements in the President's opening address to Parliament."

Inkatha also called on the ANC to issue its own call for an early start to negotiations, and on the Pan Africanist Congress to "join their black brothers and sisters in other parties and organisations, which have now made it certain that the politics of negotiation will supersede the politics of violence".

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The Inkatha congress also urged the United Nations and the European Community to normalise economic relations with South Africa and adopt a rigorous timetable to phase out sanctions as quickly as possible. The Organisation of African Unity should also reassess what it needed to do to maximise the growth of democracy in South Africa, the resolutions said.

Inkatha called on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to declare 1991 a year of peace for negotiations. One resolution slammed the rent, electricity and rates boy-

11B

cotts "which have brought unhealthy living conditions and near-bankruptcy to many black townships".

It called on all groups which wanted to pay rents and services needed for life and health "to have the courage to do what has to be done".

South Africans must beware of the emergence of a Saddam Hussein-type of leader with power over everything that lived and breathed, said Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He warned ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and the ANC national executive com-

mittee that Inkatha would not tolerate a one-party state run by the ANC or any other party claiming monopolistic power.

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa had already endured nearly 50 years of the "hideous power structure" of a monopolistic National Party.

The South African Government would now work with all democrats to introduce kinds of checks and balances.

It was more important for Inkatha to have a multiparty democracy in a future South Africa than it was for them to strive to become a government.

"This is where I must say categorically to Nelson Mandela and his national executive that we, the people of South Africa, will not tolerate a one-party state. We will not tolerate the ANC or any other party succeeding in claiming monopolistic power over all of us."

"I shake my head sometimes at how this great martyr of South Africa, so lionised and so held up with the hopes of millions, could be so hamstringed by his own political colleagues in the ANC.

"They are stifling the martyr of South Africa," he said.

Buthelezi's movement transforms into political party

By Patrick Laurence

ULUNDI — Inkatha yesterday transformed itself from a "liberation movement" into a fully fledged political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, by adopting a new constitution at a special conference.

The party claims to have more than 1.8 million members. Hundreds of delegates at the

conference made themselves available to leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to — in the words of a resolution — "pick up or put down, direct and command".

Judging from the buoyant mood of the conference, Inkatha was rejuvenated as well as metamorphosed by its transition into a political party.

The Inkatha Freedom Party baptised itself with a pledge to

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establish a free and racially open society and to defend "multiparty democracy" with all the means at its disposal.

The party called on its rivals, the ANC and the PAC, to join it in declaring 1991 to be a "year of peace for negotiation".

The formation of the party marked the third major change in Inkatha's history. It was originally formed in

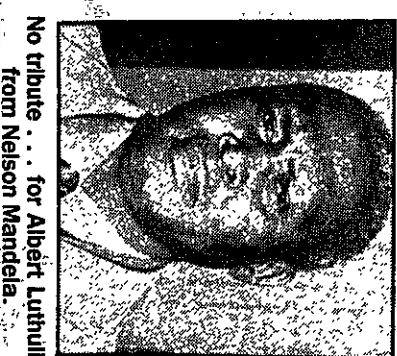
the late 1920s as a vehicle devoted to the preservation of Zulu customs. It became moribund but was revived by Chief Buthelezi in 1975.

Yesterday saw Inkatha formally enter its third phase: as a political party open to all races.

Guest speaker Dr Siphiso Mzimela, who has been in exile for almost 30 years, was sharply critical of ANC leader Nelson

Mandela 11B

To cheer from the delegates Dr Mzimela, recalling that Mr Mandela had told Americans that the ANC was talking to white conservatives in South Africa, asked: "If he can sit down and speak with white conservatives, why can he not sit down and speak with his own brother who did everything to get him out of jail?"



No tribute... for Albert Lutulu from Nelson Mandela.

Inkatha calls for a 'grand peace pact'

Sowetan 11/12/90

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THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for a "grand peace pact" between all political parties in South Africa.

The IFP also called on President F W de Klerk to begin negotiating early next year with all those organisations who have committed themselves to such talks.

The calls were made during the party's three-day weekend congress in Ulundi.

Resolutions passed at the congress indicated that most South Africans were anxious for negotiations to get off the ground.

"They are anticipating major announcements in the State President's address to Parliament at its

opening early next year."

The congress also called on the United Nations and the European Community to normalise economic relations with South Africa and adopt a rigorous timetable to phase out sanctions as quickly as possible.

The EC should "hear the voice of the masses of South Africa who cry out for economic development and cry out for the investment and the incoming technology and management skills that investment brings".

The Organisation of African Unity should also re-assess what it needed to do to maximise the growth of democracy in South Africa, the resolutions said.

Regarding the "grand peace pact", the Inkatha resolutions said they wanted to make the reduction of violence in the country a top priority and called on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to declare 1991 a year of peace for negotiations.

One resolution slammed the rent, electricity and rates boycotts "which have brought unhealthy living conditions and near-bankruptcy to many black townships".

They called on all groups which wanted to pay rents and services needed for life and health "to have the courage to do what has to be done".
- Sowetan Correspondent.

PAC and ANC to hold talks on united front

Sowetan 11/12/90

LEADERS of the PAC and ANC are to meet to discuss the establishment of a united front to consist of organisations representing "oppressed people" in South Africa.

This was disclosed at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday by the PAC's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim.

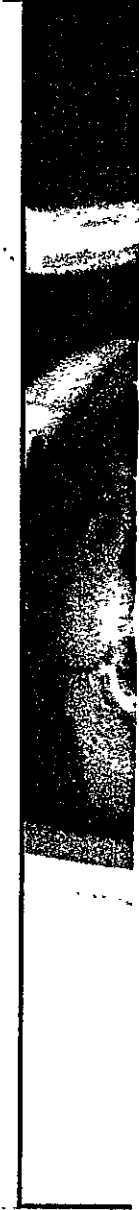
He said a decision on the matter was taken at a meeting in Kampala, Uganda, in September between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC vice-president Mr Johnson Mlambo and Organisation of

African Unity president Mr Yoweri Moseveni.

A date for the meeting had not yet been set, he said.

The PAC's second national congress in 31 years, held at Shareworld outside Johannesburg at the weekend, had endorsed the decision, Ebrahim said.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies and that the PAC would "influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front". - Sapa.



Page 3



ULUNDI is to Inkatha what Salt Lake City is to the Mormons.

Here there is one movement, one leader, one opinion.

It is a hot Friday afternoon when I arrive at the entrance to the town.

A small group of South African policemen keep a lazy watch on the people rolling in to pay homage. Further down the road, at a bridge over the White Umfolozi River, a contingent of KwaZulu police man a busy roadblock.

The heat slices open the colours of the rolling green hills, throwing everything into focus that is unbearably sharp.

At the Emalandeni-Maleng Camp, large marquee tents await the party faithful. A public relations assistant predicts an optimistic figure for the crowd.

When the steaming tents fill up there are about 3 000 people. One Natal newspaper quotes a figure of 20 000.

Tradition

On the fringes of the regular crowd, groups of young men wearing the distinctive red headbands — in- promptu Inkatha fighting regalia sometimes — sit in the shade of a clump of trees.

As the sun climbs high into the sky above Ulundi — the scene of the last Zulu war in 1979 — Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi starts delivering his speech.

True to South African tradition he holds no truck with brevity on these occasions. As the 17 pages are delivered in English and Zulu the marquee tents become saunas and we fan ourselves with copies of the speech.

Buthelezi covers a range of issues: Violence, negotiations, economic prosperity and environmental concerns. His audience weave noises of approval into the delivery.

The only fly in the ointment of Inkatha's pursuits of peace, it seems, is the African National Congress. Nowhere is Buthelezi more emotional than when he is attacking the ANC. The anger of the crowd rises and falls in harmony with his colourful cadences. At the end he poses a routing round of questions, asking

One leader, one line



The Inkatha Freedom Party last weekend held its first congress in Ulundi — a place where Mangosuthu Buthelezi, above, is "God incarnate", according to one of his aides. A Replica of a Mormon gathering in Salt Lake City, the Kwazulu Spirit Comforters explode into a capella gospel singing which shakes the canvases as Buthelezi, wearing sea-green braces and a Che Guevarra-style cap, sits down, writes SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN.

whether the ANC is "spoiling for a fight" or whether the movement wants peace. The crowd roars the appropriate responses and the stage is set.

As Buthelezi — wearing sea-green braces and a Che Guevarra-style cap — sits down, the KwaZulu Spirit Comforters explode into a capella gospel singing which shakes the canvases.

Bandanas

Except for the reggae and the red bandanas on the fringes, the atmosphere is reminiscent of a revival meeting. These people have come to hear the Word and they will go away, carrying it into the villages, townships and homes.

People are proud of the discipline of the proceedings. Only once does a spon-

taneous song rise up from the crowd. They sing of the day of freedom when Buthelezi will be their chosen leader.

A young Inkatha journalist tells me in all seriousness that for him "Chief Buthelezi is God incarnate".

The proceedings are dominated by Buthelezi's presence. Inkatha is a personality movement and the pull of the personality is formidable.

There are no interjections or vigorous debates. Journalists have open access to all the proceedings.

On Saturday a draft constitution is given to small groups to discuss. On Sunday morning — after the church service and the singing of "Onward Christian Soldiers" — a

middle-aged white member of Inkatha does a report back on the previous day's discussions.

It would appear that everybody is in perfect agreement about everything. There are several white delegates.

Appreciate

One Maurice Mackenzie, a rich forestry farmer from Eskow, says he has been on the Central Committee since July this year.

He says many rich whites give secret donations to Inkatha. They fear industrial unrest at their businesses if they were to make their political sympathies too obvious.

I ask Mackenzie what he gains by being a member of Inkatha and he goes

back to his family's origins in the province. It is somehow a typical Natal story. When he was born his mother was ill and their Zulu domestic worker suckled him. He learnt to speak her language before his own and about 30 years ago he started lecturing whites on "how to appreciate Zulu people".

His relationship with Buthelezi — whom he calls by his clan patronym, Shenge — is more personal than political.

Mackenzie, a product of a prestigious Natal private school, tells me some whites are joining Inkatha because it is politically expedient for them.

He talks about the former Conservative Party (CP) supporters Inkatha is drawing and about the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) faction who has talked to Buthelezi about an alliance.

When he welcomes his guests at the weekend congress, Buthelezi shakes the hand of a CP representative who comes bearing greetings from Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Over lunch a businessman tells me how good it feels to be conservative and yet feel welcome in black circles.

He once had to visit the ANC offices in Johannesburg, he says, and he felt very tense. Under Buthelezi's protective wing the tension is replaced with the glow of acceptance.

Mumbles

Mackenzie says the National Party is doomed while the CP people in Galesa's ranks are hitching a ride on a "major political wagon".

Later at the hotel a drunk Inkatha supporter mumbles about how he was a Communist and a member of the ANC. The Buthelezi fold is filling out with hitch-hikers, opportunists and people disillusioned, for one reason or another, with former political affiliations.

However, at the base of Inkatha is a hard core of Zulu nationalists for whom it is important that Buthelezi is descended from Kings and conquerors.

The common denominator, judging by the weekend rhetoric, is an abiding hatred of the ANC, a fear that the Congress is using its size to ride roughshod over its opponents and a strong anti-Communist stance.

There are enough people in this catch-all to make sure that the fledgling Inkatha Freedom Party will be heard ... loudly.

Public Relations
 Southern 13/12/90 (118)

Inkatha ready for challenge

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has "gladly accepted" a challenge by the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) to a public debate on the issue of civic associations.

In a statement, the party's Youth chairman, Themba Khoza said: "Inkatha gladly accepts the challenge to publicly discuss their undemocratic dictates and demands imposed on township residents.

"We believe that the issue of the civic association is much broader than Cast and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Cast's in-

ability to ensure broad, democratic and non-partisan consultation affects residents of all townships," Mr Khoza said.

Debate

He added that the debate on the issue should involve "all organisations that exist in the townships including Azapo, PAC, Sofasonke, Ucasa, Casa, Umsa, the IFP etc"

"Black people have lived for too long under the National Party's prescriptive system to now have a new master dictating to them," Khoza said. - Sapa.

ANC-aligned chiefs 'on hit list'

By S'BU MNGADI

CP 102 16/12/90

VIGILANTE hit squads are planning to assassinate Zulu chiefs not loyal to Inkatha over the festive season, it has been claimed.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South

Africa (Contralesa) - comprising chiefs who support the ANC - said in Durban on Friday it had "reliable information" that highly-trained vigilante squads planned to attack chiefs in Bergville, Nguthu, Camperdown and Nongoma over Christmas.

tion attended a meeting - chaired by two alleged warlords - in Denver Hostel near Thokoza on the East Rand, where the attacks were planned.

Contralesa has deployed monitors and legal advisers in the target areas until "the threat has passed".

As a result Contralesa postponed their National Consultative Conference due to have started on Friday.

We call on (KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president) Mangosuthu Buthelezi to control the bandit elements within his movement," Mlaba said.

A rally at Blood River was also cancelled after information that Inkatha-supporting vigilantes planned an attack with automatic weapons.

He stressed that Contralesa was not opposed to Inkatha, but "only certain elements within it".

Contralesa publicity secretary M Mlaba said an agent of his organisa-

tion could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday applauded the European Community's decision to lift immediately its investment ban on South Africa.

In a statement from Ulundi, Buthelezi said he was overjoyed that there was now a glimmer of hope of new jobs being created and that the flagging South African economy was being given the boost it so desperately needed.

"One only has to pick up a paper or listen to a news broadcast in South Africa to gauge the extent to which sanctions have cruelly affected all black communities in South Africa today.

"The ripple effects of the suffering they have caused are now spilling over into white communities. The upsurge of

Buthelezi Sowetan 17/12/90 11B praises lifting of sanctions

violence, the robberies, the battering to death of old men and women is happening because there is unemployment, hunger and despair."

Pushed

Sanctions and apartheid, he added, had pushed many people beyond human endurance.

"They have dehumanised children of God with legislature that, each in its

own way here and abroad, has had evil repercussions. Two wrongs have not made anything right.

"I point an accusing finger at the architects of both hideous policies for the harm they have done.

"The EEC has made a realistic assessment of the positive and irreversible political changes taking place in this country and it has quite correctly rewarded the State President, Mr FW de Klerk,

for his bold initiatives.

"This move away from punitive sanctions will, I think, constructively facilitate the forthcoming negotiation process because we haven't got a hope in hell of negotiating a new and decent future for this country while jobs are dwindling and unemployed bandits terrorise our neighbourhoods," the KwaZulu leader said. - Sapa.

Inkatha is alarmed at ANC units

118
19/12/90

THE ANC's stated plans to form self-defence committees in the townships were slammed by the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday as "no more than a thin disguise for Umkhonto we Sizwe to rebuild its underground terror structures".

The IFP regional leader for the Vulindlela area, Mr David Ntombela, said in a statement that moreover, the African National Congress' self-defence plans for the townships had already been urged by the ANC's Natal-Midlands leaders

three months ago.

Ntombela said this weekend's announcement by the ANC was met by the IFP's Natal members "with considerable alarm".

He claimed that the ANC-Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala and the Cosatu branches had first mentioned setting up self-defence units in the Pietermaritzburg area in October. Gwala had allegedly issued a concerted call for ANC supporters in the Midlands area to pay special attention to this task. Sapa

Inkatha must be party to talks — Nafcoc

THEO RAWANA

THE future of social stability was at risk if the wish of Inkatha and other parties to be included in the negotiation process was ignored, a top official of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) said yesterday.

Deputy president of the ANC-inclined organisation Archie Nkonyeni said the non-involvement of other key players in the political scene, such as the PAC, could detract from the credibility of a process of negotiation limited to only two players.

"The wishes of the parties that are demanding to be included in the process, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, and others, can be ignored only at the risk of future social instability," he said.

Nkonyeni was delivering a Christmas

message in which he appealed to the business community to play a part in "toning down the expectations of the masses" to avoid disappointment and all that went with it.

Nkonyeni said: "History abounds with evidence of social revolutions that have been hailed as quantum leaps, but have ended in gruesome bloodshed as formerly oppressed people turn against one another in the realities of the aftermath of the revolution."

There was a need for a sense of balance and expectations should be tempered with reason.

20/12/90
116

National unity ^{CM} focus of talks ^{21/12/90}

ULUNDI. — National unity and the escalation of violence were yesterday discussed at a meeting between the Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum, a group of PAC dissidents.

In a statement from here, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said agreement was reached on the direction for a new South Africa.

The meeting also agreed that it was time to end "the traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism".

The statement said this would benefit the whole African continent.

The leader of the Sobukwe Forum, Professor Makhaola Bolofo, said the forum was not a separate organisation but was instead a pressure group within the PAC.

Prof Bolofo called on the PAC to allow the national executive committee, elected in April 1959, to resume its functions.

Inkatha and the Forum agreed that there should be "frequent consultations" between the two groups. — Sapa

Buthelezi calls on whites to back FW

WILSON ZWANE

11B
INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged white South Africans to support President F W de Klerk to ensure the success of the negotiation process. ~~3/27/90~~

In a year-end message to whites, Buthelezi said it was the strength of the whites' commitment to negotiations that would prescribe "the speed with which we can begin notching up successes in practical applications of that which is negotiated at local, regional and national levels." ~~10/21/12/90~~

"And the more powerfully they back De Klerk, the more powerfully blacks will seek alliances with them to establish a SA in which we are glad to be with each other as blacks and whites."

He added that he and "many other black leaders" would be working next year to eliminate political violence.

They would be working towards a stabilised and normalised SA in which whites could make their mark as a "party to the salvation" of the country.

PAC message: it is time for education

TIM COHEN

THE misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

Education was in state of crisis, he said. "We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open." ~~10/21/12/90~~

He said 1990 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles.

Violence had been escalating in alarming proportions. While the PAC could not specify a solution, if liberation movements worked together, he was confident an answer would be found.

The PAC had called for a united front. "We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination, irrespective of political persuasion, to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end."

The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.

Buthelezi in plea to Afrikaner democrats

8 Feb 21/12/90

116

DURBAN — THE whole world was poised to rally behind every decent, democratic act of the Afrikaners, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, said yesterday.

In a Christmas message extending a particular hand of friendship to Afrikaners, Dr Buthelezi said blacks were becoming proud of a State President who had risen out of the Afrikaner folk to lead South Africa into a democratic future.

"We are proud of the support that whites are giving him. We are at last witnessing the emer-

OWN CORRESPONDENT

gence of white decency in politics, which so many of us always knew was there.

"Let us enter 1991 with a new spirit of adventure for democracy. Let us have a new 20th century-style trek into the moral high ground of politics," Dr Buthelezi said.

Afrikaners "live under searching international spotlights which will shine upon every decent deed".

"Let them move with certainty and let them dispel the doubts that exist among some blacks

"Above all, let the Afrikaners show the world that they can assist in putting a democracy together, in which democratic victories can be turned into victories from which Afrikaners and whites generally can go forth with blacks to do battle against what really is the common enemy: poverty, ignorance and

disease."

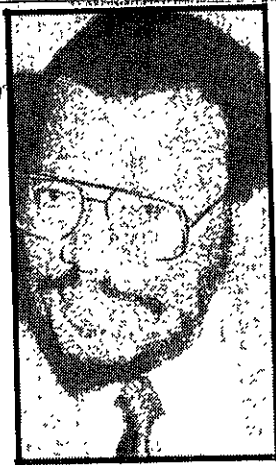
In a message to black South Africans, Dr Buthelezi said they should enter 1991 with a proud awareness that they had taken control of the destiny of their country.

Apartheid was doomed and the great and hallowed values of the black struggle for liberation could now be implanted in South Africa's constitution.

The only thing black people needed to fear was their own inability to create a new South Africa by being unable to normalise political relationships between the various black groupings.

● The Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum of the Pan Africanist Congress have held talks in Ulundi on national unity and violence.

They agreed it was time to end traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism.



DR BUTHELEZI: Praised "decent" whites.

My man of vision

— by Sir Laurens

SI 11/2/90

118

BY EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN
SIR Laurens van der Post says he now believes South Africa does have "a man of vision" to lead the country into its "new age".

And his parting shot at the end of a two-month visit to his homeland is likely to be as controversial as his earlier attack on ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

His "man of vision" is KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Sir Laurens compares him to Nobel peace prize winner and ANC founder Albert Lutulu.

Sir Laurens, an internationally renowned philosopher and mentor of Prince Charles, said Chief Buthelezi had the ability, the knowledge, the respect and spirit necessary to lead South Africa to peace and prosperity.

Sir Laurens left Cape Town on Friday for his London home.

Courage

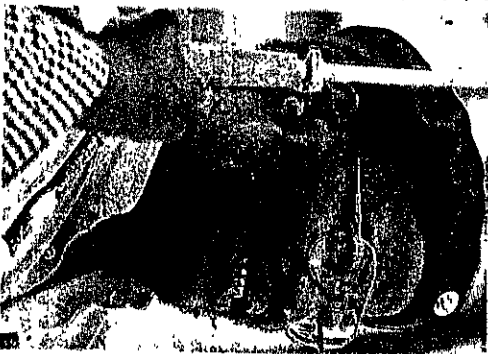
He had been invited to address students at the University of Stellenbosch in October, but stayed on to celebrate his 84th birthday in South Africa and undergo a hip operation.

In an interview on the eve of his departure, he said President F.W. de Klerk had demonstrated that he, too, was a "great leader" who had the courage and the vision demanded by the "new world".

He called on all "decent people" to support Mr. De Klerk.

It was essential, he said, to have leaders who were prepared to take risks.

Unperturbed by the controversy he stirred in his Mandela speech early this



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI... compares him to Nobel peace prize winner Albert Lutulu. Picture: TERRY SHEAN

TIME TO TRIUMPH... Sir Laurens van der Post. Every decent person needs to support the state president.

BUTHELEZI IS THE MAN TO LEAD SOUTH AFRICA INTO A NEW AGE

more important than politics."

Referring to those leaders in SA who were promoting communism, he said: "It has been depressing for me to find an arid and rejected 'isnt' at work among political radicals here."

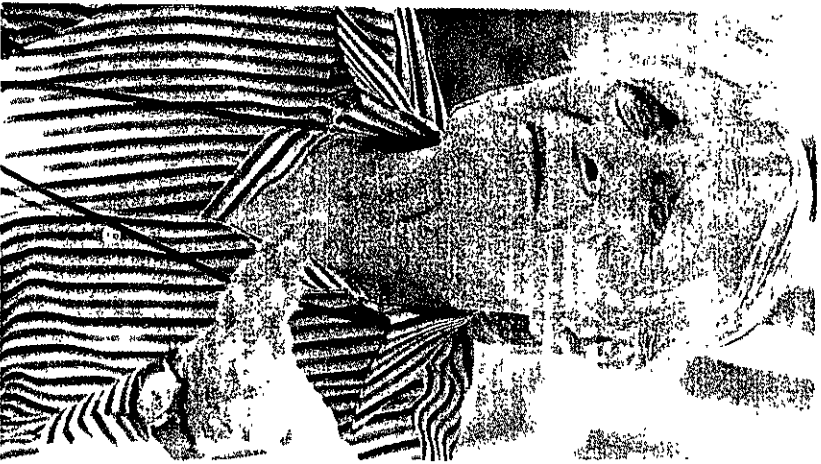
"It's something so out-moded, so disproved and at

the root of so much blood and disorder in the world.

"It was an ideology which murdered not for food or for survival, but to stamp out ideas.

"We have come to the end of the age of rationalisation," he said. "The time has come for the triumph of the human spirit."

In South Africa, he said,



equality of opportunity allow everyone the freedom to pursue a great self. "Every decent person needs to support the state president, to add to what he has done and make it worthwhile."

But Sir Laurens cautioned against change that was too rapid. "That is the great danger," he said, referring to the conflict which cost millions of lives when the British left India. "People throughout the world now want less political leaders. What they want are leaders who can express their yearning for renewal," he said.

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In an interview on the eve of his departure, he said President F W de Klerk had demonstrated that he, too, was a "great leader" who had the courage and the vision demanded by the "new world".

He called on all "decent people" to support Mr De Klerk.

It was essential, he said, to have leaders who were prepared to take risks.

Unperturbed by the controversy he stirred in his Mandela speech early this month, Sir Laurens repeated his criticism of the ANC deputy president.

Mr Mandela, he said, had made a "dreary little political speech" when he was released early this year, and had since done nothing to indicate he had anything more than tired rhetoric to offer.

Spirit

"A few days after Mandela spoke from the steps of Cape Town city hall when he was released from 27 years in prison, Dr Buthelezi showed his greatness when he said we must begin by forgiving one another — not superficially, but absolutely.

"It's only by an act of absolute forgiveness that we can begin to build the South Africa we need."

Chief Buthelezi, said Sir Laurens, possessed the spirit embodied by Albert Luthuli.

"Dr Buthelezi is better prepared than any leader in South Africa that I know to lead the way ahead."

He said that while some political leaders had not formulated their strategy for the future, others were involved in "Corsican feuds" of retaliation against retaliation.

Passion

"It is impossible to say what they are for. They seem to think it is enough to overthrow."

Chief Buthelezi, he said, had "done his homework", established an indaba to plan the future and put down his ideas in a book.

He had consistently demonstrated his passionate belief in South Africa, his profound religious depth and his total rejection of violence.

It was understandable that he was under attack, Sir Laurens said, because he represented traditions and values which were known targets of communist-inspired agitators.

Sir Laurens said Chief Buthelezi and Mr De Klerk were among the few leaders who had spoken of the need to "redeem our past and how it should be done". He said his views on them had to be seen against the background of the world's tendency to reject extremism.

"This is not a plea for Dr Buthelezi," he said. "What

and rejected 'ism' at work among political radicals here.

"It's something so un-noded, so disproved and at

end of the age of rationalisation," he said. "The time has come for the triumph of the human spirit."

In South Africa, he said,

acknowledge what has been done and make it clear that it will never happen again.

"We can also create the

he has done and make it worthwhile."

But Sir Laurens cautioned against change that was too rapid.

"That is the greatest danger," he said, referring to the conflict which cost millions of lives when the British left India.

"People throughout the world now want less of political leaders. What they want are leaders who can express their search for renewal," he said.

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1991

JANUARY — JUNE

ZONDI DENIES SCHOOL NO-GO

INKATHA has denied allegations that youths are being prevented from attending KwaZulu schools because they are ANC supporters.

Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade chairman Musa Zondi said this week in a statement it was in fact ANC activists who had made a number of schools no-go areas for Inkatha supporters.

Reacting apparently to an allegation by ANC leaders at Mpangeni, Zondi said these included schools in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, KwaMakhutha, part of Umlazi, Mpumalanga, Ndengezi, part of the south coast, Howick and parts of Maritzburg.

The trouble allegedly stemmed from the ANC-initiated campaign encouraging its members to disregard the authority of school committees and school principles.

"The ANC youth have in fact undergone training on techniques to undermine educational authorities," claimed Zondi.

"Some members of the school committees in Kwa-Zulu have been killed while attempting to prevent disruption of education by ANC youth," he said. - Sapa

CIPRN 6/1171 (S) 118

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Mandela, Buthelezi could meet soon

DURBAN — The ANC is hoping a delegation lead by its deputy president, Nelson Mandela, will meet an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation headed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this month, Sapa reports. (112)

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said this at a banquet honouring ANC president Oliver Tambo in Durban on Saturday night.

PATRICK BULGER reports Inkatha Institute executive director Gavin Woods said in an interview yesterday a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi was in the offing.

He said he understood the ANC wanted to sort out certain problems with

its middle-ranking Natal leadership before a meeting could go ahead.

At the banquet, Mbeki said the country's crises — one of which was the "culture of violence" — had to be solved by common consensus.

Referring to intolerance within his own organisation, he said: "You cannot say you are a liberation organisation and still use force against people just because they disagree with you."

All parties had to be involved in negotiations for a constituent assembly. Noting the latest violence in Natal's Umgababa area and in Sebokeng, Mbeki said: "We have got to turn this thing around. For this to be a good year we need a new constitution."

SAPA 12/1191

Buthelezi wants to meet with ANC

Copy Trip 15/1/79

Own Correspondent

115

10/1

DURBAN. — The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has challenged the ANC to set a date and time for a meeting between the leadership structures of the two organisations.

He was reacting to a statement by a senior ANC official, Mr Thabo Mbeki, at the weekend, that a meeting between the two organisations depended on Inkatha's acceptance of the proposal.

Chief Buthelezi said he had received "no formal indication" that the ANC was prepared to meet Inkatha.

He accused Mr Mbeki of a "deliberate attempt to obfuscate the facts".

Chief Buthelezi said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had telephoned him last week.

The Inkatha president alleged that Mr Mandela told him the ANC "had yet to resolve the issue" of sanctioning a meeting with Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi stressed that his organisation was prepared to meet the ANC-SACP alliance at any time.

• Chief Buthelezi also condemned the weekend massacre at Sebokeng in which 35 ANC supporters were killed.



Black 'summit' faces setback

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter *HB*

A renewed war of words has erupted between the ANC and Inkatha over the proposed meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Prospects of an early meeting between the two leaders remain remote.

Chief Buthelezi claimed yesterday the ANC deputy president had told him to "be patient".

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said he felt

compelled to reveal this information in view of ANC foreign affairs head Thabo Mbeki's statement on television on Sunday that such a meeting depended on Chief Buthelezi's acceptance of a date and venue.

Chief Buthelezi said he had not received any formal indication from the ANC's national executive that it desired such contact. *Jan 15/1991*

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus refused to say whether the ANC had proposed specific dates and venues for the meeting.

ALL SET FOR THE HISTORIC TALKS

By S'BU MNGADI *(Photo 20/1/91)*

THE attention of millions in South Africa and abroad will be focused on Durban when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet on January 29 in an effort to end the political violence.

The meeting comes after concerted behind-the-scenes efforts by several people.

Jacob Zuma, chief of the ANC's intelligence department and chairman of the ANC in southern Natal, worked hard to arrange the talks.

It is also known that former Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, did his utmost to bring the two parties together.

Mandela will come face to face with Buthelezi for the first time since Mandela went to jail in



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

1962.

They have known each other since the 1940s when they were both in the ANC Youth League.

The two exchanged letters during Mandela's 27 years in prison. Although they chose different paths in pursuit of their political objectives, they always remained in contact.

But they have not renewed personal contact since Mandela was released in February last year, allegedly because of point-scoring by their organisations.

Official details of the meeting have not yet been released, but sources told *City Press* it would probably be held at Durban's Royal Hotel.

Although the meeting is currently scheduled to last one day, it is believed Buthelezi will propose another meeting on a person-to-person basis with Mandela. At the January 29 meeting the two leaders will be joined by senior officials from both sides.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that spokesmen for both the ANC and Inkatha have cautioned against unrealistic expectations of the meeting.

"It's one thing for leaders to meet and shake hands, another to transfer the reconciliation down to

grassroots level," ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma told a local radio station. "Without grassroots support, it would be impossible to stop the violence."

Inkatha's Themba Khoza welcomed the meeting, but said: "That does not mean to say that the meeting will stop the violence or that it will bring a completely clean page, but it will be a contribution toward the lessening of violence."

Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the anti-apartheid Institute for Multiparty Democracy, said supporters of the two groups needed to perceive firm agreement between the leaders before the violence would stop.

Both Mandela and Buthelezi have called for an end to the violence, but the chronic fighting among black factions has continued.



Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

ANC, Inkatha mum on talks

South 24/11 - 30/11/91

BOTH Inkatha and the ANC are mum on the burning question of keeping what will be discussed between the two organisations' leaders when they meet in Durban on Tuesday.

Although hopes are high that the long-awaited face-to-face meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will signal a breakthrough in the bloody conflict between the two organisations, indications are that it might not succeed.

Although Tuesday's meeting is his-

toric—it is the first personal contact between Mandela and Buthelezi since Mandela was jailed in 1962 - previous discussions between the two parties have not succeeded in dampening the conflict.

Peace accords between the ANC and Inkatha, drafted by top-level officials of both parties have been broken weeks after they were signed and it has not been possible to enforce them.

Tuesday will see the first top-level

meeting between the two organisations since October 1979 when the executive committees of the organisations met in London.

The points of dispute between Inkatha and the ANC/JDF throughout the 1980s have been Buthelezi's acceptance of the homeland system, his opposition to the armed struggle and his opposition to international sanctions against South Africa.

Inkatha also opposes nationalisation

and a socialist economy.

Although the agenda for the meeting was not available at the time of writing, it is expected that the two organisations will focus on how to bury the pangas.

The two delegations will have to decide how to stop the killings and the hatred—not how they failed to do so in the past. Inkatha chairperson Mr Frank Mdlalose last week hinted at a possibility of "joint activities" between the two groups, but would not elaborate.



He and the ANC's Natal leader, Mr Jacob Zuma, will help draw up the agenda. This will be endorsed by the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

It is expected that Mandela will be accompanied by Zuma, NEC member Mr John Nkandimeng, International Affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC Women League's chief, Mrs Gertrude Shope and ANC Natal Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala

Large teams of top officials for ANC-Inkatha talks

LARGE and high-powered delegations, led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet in Durban next week, the organisations said yesterday.

The ANC will be represented by a 20-man delegation and Inkatha by a 70-man delegation at Tuesday's long-awaited talks — the first meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi since Mandela's release.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the size and status of the

610cm 25/1/91
TIM COHEN
delegation was an indication of how seriously the ANC regarded the meeting.

The delegation includes the ANC's Natal Midlands convenor Harry Gwala, SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The Inkatha delegation includes chairman of the party's National Council Frank Mdlalose and chairman of the party's youth league Musa Zondi.

Other ANC leaders at the talks will include Internal leader Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, women's section head Getrude Shope, and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

Other members of the delegation are Thomas Nkobi, Josiah Jele, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadi-meng, Ruth Mompoti, Aziz Pahad, Reg September, Willis Mchunu, Jackie Selebi, Steve Tshwete and Joel Netshitenzhe.

The agenda and venue have not been disclosed.

their cards close to the chest as they remain cloistered in meetings.

Deep grudges

However, it is known that over the past seven months or so, since violence erupted on the Reef and demands for a meeting intensified, each side has been involved in intensive intelligence-gathering about the other.

Each has tried to extend its influence into areas dominated by the other — often a risky operation — and this is why the ANC has still not opened a branch in northern Natal.

Both sides have a reasonable store of knowledge about "enemy" strongholds, whether in remote Natal villages, Transvaal urban townships or hostels around Johannesburg. They also know a fair amount about arms stores and military training, arms routes into the country and to townships. Some of this information has also found its way to government.

Jacob Zuma, chairman of the ANC's southern Natal region, and also chief negotiator with government and Inkatha, tells the *FM*: "The meeting is significant because of what relations between us and Inkatha were in the past, and now. Also because of the violent situation, particularly in Natal where relations between the two organisations have been a major factor.

"This meeting must be the beginning of a movement towards ending violence."

Inkatha West Rand secretary Humphrey Ndlovu says: "We are very happy that such a meeting should take place. We have been wanting this for a very long time." However, he says he does not envisage an early end to conflict. "It will take time, people have very deep grudges towards each other. They have been fighting for too long. If Mandela and Buthelezi go shoulder-to-shoulder to meetings in the major centres where there has been violence, that could help."

The ANC would also no doubt be pleased if Inkatha was prepared to join forces with it and other anti-apartheid groups at the March 21 conference designed to form a "patriotic front." This front would consist of black and nonracial political groupings, including homeland leaders, aiming to strengthen their negotiating hand against government.

However, government has a similar strategy. At this stage it is not likely that Inkatha will throw in its lot with the NP or ANC. It may decide it has enough support to enable it to remain a major independent player.

The real challenge for those who meet in Durban on January 29, however, is not the resolution of party differences. The challenge is to rein in thousands of young people who have lost out on schooling, accept violence as normal, and have lost family members and often their homes. They are not naturally inclined to be peaceful, restrained and patient.

Negotiations and peace will highlight the fact that these are the unemployed and unemployable; they will have no status once conflict ends, and they sense it. Violence has

given power and authority, through fear and intimidation. Looting has given many of them cars and well-equipped homes. The law of the firearm is the only law in many areas of Natal.

January 29 could be an early barometer of how well the country will withstand the shocks of transition. It is not only President F W de Klerk who has to live up to expectations in the next fortnight. ■

DURBAN SUMMIT

THE BIG THAW

Inkatha and the ANC are holding their breath as both sides wait for the January 29 meeting in Durban.

If it comes off (one side could still find a reason to pull out) it will be the first meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi since the late Fifties. Violence in Natal and on the Reef has often involved forces that have claimed to be supporters of the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party.

More than 8 000 lives have been lost in politically related violence in the past few years. Strange as it has seemed in recent years, the two men go back a long way.

Buthelezi, formerly an ANC stalwart and a former ANC Youth League member under Mandela, approached the ANC in the early Seventies; government had approached him to head the KwaZulu homeland and lead it to independence.

The ANC, after some deliberation, decided that it could do with a supporter within Pretoria's bantustan system.

Buthelezi also suggested the formation of a cultural movement, Inkatha, which would broadly advance the aims of the ANC. It would also use the ANC colours of black, green and gold; and emulate some of its structures, such as a youth brigade and a women's league.

After some consideration the ANC agreed but it was not long before bickering started. Cracks developed and became gulfs.

It has been evident for some time that Mandela has been prepared to meet Buthelezi. Mandela has not forgotten the risks that Buthelezi took in publicly supporting him when he was in jail and in refusing to take the baubles of "independence." But senior ANC men apparently deemed a meeting to be inappropriate and politically dangerous, such was the bitterness between the two groupings.

Even today, Zulu chiefs in some of the most remote areas of Natal can quote days and dates when the ANC allegedly perpetrated some insult against Buthelezi. When the *FM* visited Reef hostels after the horrific violence last year, and asked what lay behind the killings, it emerged that feuds can go back years.

Resentment also runs deep because the Inkatha membership includes many working-class people who are angry with ANC-inspired stayaways and school boycotts (*FM* January 4).

The area around Durban has long been an ANC stronghold. There is bitterness among ANC supporters because Inkatha allegedly forces people to become members of the Zulu organisation if they want their children admitted to schools, want to get on employment lists at labour bureaus or need a licence to open a shop within KwaZulu.

Neither side is willing to speculate on the meeting at this stage. Both teams are playing

Mandela hold key to peace

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE talks next week between a 20-member African National Congress delegation and a high-powered Inkatha team will bring Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi face to face for the first time since Mr Mandela was released from prison nearly a year ago.

The fate of township folk, and perhaps of the whole of South Africa, depends on the outcome of the talks and on whether Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi are publicly seen to acclaim one another as leaders in the fight for a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

If the talks fail, the internecine strife between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha sympathisers will, in all probability, intensify. It has already reached the proportions of a civil war.

According to Africa Watch, 4 000 people have been killed in Natal since mid-1987 and about 1 000 in townships around Johannesburg since last August.

An accord between the two organisations, and a public commitment to peace by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, may not guarantee peace. But there will be no peace without an accommodation.

Rivalry between the two organisations has been so fierce that many people have forgotten that they once enjoyed cordial relations, as evidenced by the talks between ANC and Inkatha delegations in London in 1979.

Fraternity

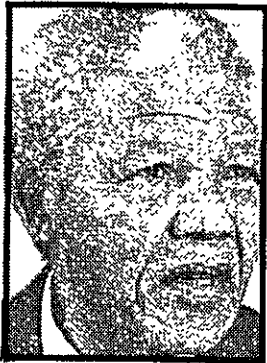
The question facing leaders of the two organisations when they meet in Durban on Tuesday is whether they can bury their festering enmity and restore the fraternity which once characterised their relationship.

A hopeful factor has been the rise to political eminence in Natal of Jacob Zuma, the ANC's chief of intelligence and one of the few Zulus in its uppermost echelons.

Mr Zuma, a softly-spoken and self-effacing man, has worked hard to end the fighting and played a key role in the signing of the Lower Umfolozi Accord last September.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Admires Nelson Mandela.



NELSON MANDELA: Prime mover in talks.

He and Chief Buthelezi are reported to have met secretly several times before the public announcement of Tuesday's meeting.

Another positive sign is the high regard which Chief Buthelezi has for Mr Mandela and Mr Mandela's critical role in facilitating the pending meeting. Mr Mandela is said to have personally phoned Chief Buthelezi to fix the date for the talks.

A third factor encouraging optimism is the common history of the two organisations: both trace their roots back to the ANC before it was banned and launched armed struggle.

While the ANC and Inkatha diverge on impor-

tant policy issues — the ANC leans towards socialism and Inkatha towards capitalism — there is common ideological ground: both stand for universal adult suffrage and the abolition of race discrimination.

They agree, too, on the need for a redistribution of wealth. Inkatha, however, shies away from talk of nationalisation.

It is not opposed, however, to alternative mechanisms for a fairer distribution of wealth: higher taxation of the rich, affirmative action to give blacks opportunities denied to them in the past, and greater social spending on deprived black communities.

The climate, too, is more favourable for an accord than six months ago. The ANC is moving towards the creation of a "patriot front" of all progressive forces.

Its rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, has set the pace with its slogan "Peace among the Africans", and its invitation to Inkatha leaders to attend the funeral last November of its leader, Zeph Mothopeng, and its annual conference in December.

Watching events closely is the National Party leadership. Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha figure prominently in its ambition to lead a grand alliance to victory against the ANC in the first post-apartheid election.

SA's fate hangs on talks

Buthelezi,
8 Dec 21/11/91
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Buthelezi, Mandela make peace vow

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed yesterday to seek peace with each other.

At rallies in the Transvaal and Natal, the two leaders told their supporters peace between black organisations was a priority for a future South Africa.

In one of his strongest appeals to date, Mr Mandela told refugees

By MARK STANSFIELD
and JAPHTA MPHHLANI

who earlier this month fled their homes in Bophuthatswana:

"We go to our meeting with Chief Buthelezi on Tuesday with the intention that there will be no winners or losers . . .

"We are not going there to hurl accusations against Inkatha. We

are not going to lay blame. We are going with an appeal to forget the past and to concentrate on the future."

Mr Buthelezi told a youth rally at Umzumbe on the Natal South Coast he hoped the meeting would lead to peace between the two organisations.

He warned that unless there was reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC there would

be no reconciliation for South Africa.

Mr Buthelezi said he was leading Inkatha's delegation "in the hope of holding Dr Mandela's hand and saying, 'Brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africans.'"

He said he was "determined and committed" to producing a normalised relationship between his party and the ANC.

Mr Mandela said: "We will never agree on the past, so those who want peace will close the door on past conflicts and concentrate on the future."

Addressing thousands of ANC supporters in a stadium at Ikhagaleng, near Zeerust, Mr Mandela said: "The writing is on the wall for those who do not want to settle their differences in a peaceful manner."

Fighting

He also told the people of Braklaagte that he and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope had spoken to each other on the phone several times in recent weeks and had reached agreement that the refugees could go home with dignity and without humiliation.

However, he appealed to them to do so in a disciplined manner.

"I am in constant contact with your leader and he has asked me to give you the explicit instruction: Don't talk of settling this issue in terms of violence."

"We do not want fighting between brothers. Blacks should not spill black blood. It is a reflection on all black leaders."

Crucial ANC peace talks are under way

B/Dan 28/1/91

TIM COHEN

THE ANC embarks on crucial peace talks with two of its major opponents this week.

Talks with Bophuthatswana government officials continue today, after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela agreed at the weekend to a request by the homeland's President Lucas Mangope not to visit the strife-torn Braklaagte area.

Sapa reports that Mandela announced he and Mangope had reached an agreement on ways to end violence in Bophuthatswana. He did not elaborate.

Mandela made this announcement while addressing refugees at Zeerust who had fled the Braklaagte fighting. He said the

more than 300 refugees could now return.

And a group of 20 senior ANC officials will meet 70 Inkatha leaders in Durban, in the long-awaited face-to-face meeting between Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi told a youth rally at Umzumbe on the Natal South Coast at the weekend he hoped the forthcoming meeting would lead to peace between the two organisations.

Mandela echoed these sentiments in

Zeerust, saying that he expected no winner or loser to emerge from the deliberations, but rather hoped lasting peace would be brought to Natal.

Former Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday many people would be disappointed if the meeting did not find a formula to stop the killing, which resulted in more deaths last year than in any previous year.

He said the meeting's major task would be to devise a strategy to translate the common ground between senior officials of the organisations to the grassroots.

C

ANC outnumbered at talks with Inkatha

Star 29/11/91
By Patrick Laurence

DURBAN — ANC delegates will be outnumbered more than three to one by Inkatha representatives when the two organisations meet in Durban today in a bid to end their violent enmity.

The 20-member ANC delegation, headed by deputy president Nelson Mandela, will face a 67-member team from Inkatha, led by Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Buthelezi.

It will be the first face-to-face encounter between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi since Mr Mandela's release from jail nearly a year ago, a year which has seen a marked escalation in the bloody conflict between the two organisations.

The discrepancy in numbers is, in part, a consequence of the formula for the peace talks.

The ANC's national executive committee has about 40 members. Inkatha's central committee has 120 members. Thus each side is represented by about half of its executive members.

The ANC delegation includes the chairmen of its three Natal regions, Jacob Zuma, who is considered to be a "dove", Harry Gwala, who is viewed as a "hawk", and Willus Mchunu. All three

men have an intimate knowledge of the violence which has claimed at least 4 000 lives since mid-1987.

The Inkatha team includes several chiefs who, like the ANC's regional chairmen in Natal, have seen the violence at ground level all too often.

One of the reasons for the large Inkatha delegation is to ensure that whatever agreement emerges from the meeting seeps down to grassroots level as quickly as possible. In the rural areas of Kwa-Zulu, tribal chiefs are in the best position to convey it to the people.

The meeting will, it is understood, be co-chaired by Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, and Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

No formal agenda has been released but the talks will focus on the violence and ways of ending it. If they go well, the need for black unity or a "patriotic front" may figure prominently.

The success or failure of the talks will, however, be measured by the extent to which Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi are publicly seen to jointly exhort their followers to abandon violence.

ANC, Inkatha

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He said whatever the concrete outcome of the meeting, contact between the organisations should continue "to nurture the areas of agreement and seek lasting solutions to areas of conflict".

In his speech, Buthelezi said ANC national executive member John Nkademeng should "quietly tell the world that he was wrong in calling me a snake that must be hit on the head."

"That is killing talk. Killing talk must cease. This I believe is the very crux of what we as leaders of the two organisations are gathered here for," Buthelezi said.

He criticised the ANC's armed struggle strategy, saying it had not and would not win the day.

Buthelezi also criticised the ANC for pursuing objectives which he said could not be achieved. He cited the ANC's de-

mand for a constituent assembly as falling into this category.

Buthelezi also criticised the ANC's mass action campaign, which he said was taking constitution-making "to the street corners" and was "locating the process of constitutional development in the politics of violent confrontation".

He said he did not know how ANC leaders were going to deal with their Natal Midlands regional leadership and members, whom he said had slammed ANC and Inkatha peace moves.

□ Sapa reports from Pretoria that 25 homes were set on fire and two people wounded in violence in Natal yesterday.

The police unrest report said two groups clashed at Nxamalala. Two people were wounded when one group opened fire on the other and 25 homes were set alight.

18 ID 30/11/91



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands at the start of yesterday's meeting in Durban aimed at ending factional violence.

Picture: REUTERS

More top-level meetings to be held

Inkatha and ANC agree to stop fighting

DURBAN — Inkatha and the ANC last night agreed to cease all hostilities with immediate effect and agreed to work together to eradicate apartheid.

The agreement followed a historic meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — their first in 28 years.

Delegations from the two parties held talks lasting more than eight hours in Durban's Royal Hotel.

A joint declaration issued afterwards called on ANC and Inkatha supporters to desist from vilification of the organisations or their leaders.

The declaration also called on members and supporters not to "coerce or intimidate anyone in the pursuit of their strategies and programmes".

The parties also agreed to use the existing joint mechanisms to monitor all violations of the agreement.

Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to go on a joint tour of all the areas that have been hit by violence which has claimed more than 4 000 lives in five years.

"Further top-level meetings will be held from time to time as the need arises to address, among other issues, joint activities to eradicate the system of apartheid within the shortest possible time."

TIM COHEN

Mandela and Buthelezi embraced each other warmly when they met in the hotel yesterday morning.

After introductory speeches by the two leaders, a 20-man ANC delegation joined the 67-man Inkatha team for the talks behind closed doors.

Placard-bearing Inkatha supporters gathered outside to shout slogans under the watchful eye of soldiers and police. During the first tea break at 11am Buthelezi left the hotel to greet the crowd, bringing traffic in Durban's Smith Street to a halt.

The crowd then dispersed peacefully.

A large part of Buthelezi's opening address was devoted to answering derogatory remarks made about himself and Inkatha by ANC members in the past. The speech was also peppered with criticism of ANC policy.

Mandela made a markedly more conciliatory speech. He thanked Buthelezi and the Inkatha leadership for helping to secure his release from prison.

Mandela said many thousands had died in inter-communal violence, the blame for which could be laid at the door of the "apartheid regime".

□ To Page 5

P.T.O.

Contrasts at

Sowetan 30/1/91

peace talks

More about the talks - P6



ANC vice-president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands before their meeting in Durban yesterday.

ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi delivered contrasting speeches to the nearly 70 delegates at yesterday's historic peace talks.

Mandela's address was short and conciliatory. Buthelezi's longer statement warned of the dangers of "killing talk" and cited examples where ANC leaders had indulged in "killing talk" against him.

Mandela, fulfilling the role of the elder statesman of the black community, struck a constructive note at the outset.

"We have not come here to apportion blame."

Contrasts at peace indaba

From Page 1

imprisoned ANC leaders.

He ended with a ringing call for peace: "We cannot afford to fail. Violence must end. Let peace prevail."

Buthelezi called for an end to the "vilification" which, he said, ANC leaders had directed against Inkatha and himself, declaring that peace would be impossible if it did not stop.

He cited several exam-

Sowetan Correspondent

he said. "If we are to fulfil the true purpose of our gathering, there must be no victors or losers as between the ANC and Inkatha."

He noted that the majority of black people, particularly those in war-torn townships, yearned for peace, while the defenders of white minority rule, "the angels of death and destruction", wanted the strife to continue.

"We must satisfy and disappoint in equal measure," he exhorted the delegates. "We must deliver."

He thanked Buthelezi and Inkatha for his representations, made over the years, for the release of

To Page 2

pies of "killing talk" and a "complementary relationship" which would support each other criticism, mentioning where their policies converged and agree to disagree whether policies diverged.

Although Inkatha had once flown the ANC's colours and identified with the ANC, the possibility of Inkatha and the ANC fusing into a single force was gone, Buthelezi said.

But, he added, it was not too late for Inkatha and the ANC to enter into today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence."



'Let peace prevail'

Sowetan 30/1/91

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VIOLENCE must end and peace prevail, Nelson Mandela said when he addressed delegates to the Durban peace talks with Inkatha yesterday.

In his opening remarks he stressed the need for an atmosphere of free political activity in which "all people can freely canvass their positions within the rest of society".

"The efforts of our people have brought about a situation in which apartheid can be eradicated by peaceful means."

It was ironic that a meeting between "organisations of the oppressed" should require such an effort to accomplish.

The ANC did not believe it would benefit the cause of peace if it spent its time at the meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the carnage which had left many thousands dead.

"If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors and no losers between ANC and Inkatha."

The meeting started late.

Mandela thanked Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for their contribution in helping to secure his release and that of other leaders of the ANC.

Comfort

Messages of support and comfort in their long years of incarceration did not go unnoticed.

"For us this meeting represents the culmination of our persistent efforts to bring an end to the confrontation which has plagued our two organisations and our people," Mandela said.

"Our ultimate praise is reserved for the masses in the province of Natal and other parts of the country whose yearnings for peace is the driving force of our deliberations today."

"The eyes of the world are on us. The majority of the people in this ravaged province and other parts of the country certainly wish us success.

"The angel of death and destruction, the defenders of white minority rule, will (want) the opposite."

Whatever the outcome of the meeting, Mandela asked that "contact among us must continue to nurture agreement and seek

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, addressed assembled delegates shortly after the 10am start of talks at the Royal Hotel in Durban yesterday.



NELSON MANDELA

lasting solutions to areas of conflict".

Every South African, including the security forces, should help build a nation all could be proud of.

"The attempts to divide our people along ethnic lines, to turn their rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts, must be made to fail."

The grim and infamous era of apartheid was coming to an end.

"In the final analysis we are justified to lay the blame (for inter-communal violence) at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of squalor and degradation among our people.

"We are certainly right to assert that the removal of this system is a basic precondition to an end to violence in our country," he said.

Mandela referred only briefly to the ANC's call for an all-party conference. He said the movement's view was that the new South Africa was the business of all South Africans.

"Our proposal for an all-party congress derives from this belief.

"So do our calls for an impartial supervisory mechanism as well as an elected body to draft a new constitution.

"Otherwise the final product and the process itself will lack popular support.

"Violence must end. Let peace prevail," he said. - Sapa

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi has issued a strong call for peace and an end to political intimidation, but has warned against "impossible objectives" from the ANC.

These included the demand for a constituent assembly and the ANC's programme of mass action.

Buthelezi said he hoped that yesterday's meeting would lead to "strong, sustained action against violence in every form".

"Let the people be free in their sovereignty to decide the who's who of South Africa's political leadership ... The separate existence of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party is a product of the people's will.

"We each exist legitimately.

"We each have a right to exist.

Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out at each other as we move forward.

Violence

"I repeat, violence must cease and when Dr Nelson Mandela called on the people to throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea, I endorsed his call. I endorse it again today."

However, referring to mass action and the demand for a constituent assembly, Buthelezi said: "The more the ANC pursues objectives which just cannot be achieved, and the more it then turns to blame Inkatha and others for its inability to achieve them, the more bedevilled the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC will become".

The Inkatha president said a constituent assembly followed by an interim government was not achievable because this was simply "a commitment to fight South African realities and it can only lead to disaster for us all".

To demand a constituent assembly now was to push South Africa "out on to a great ocean which is charterless and filled with unknowns.

"We must know what kind of



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

constitution we are heading towards before we even begin moving in its direction."

Of the ANC's mass action campaign, he said: "The ANC's attempt to claim political goals and then to mobilise mass action to support them, is using anarchistic approaches because the threat is being made that all South Africa must bow to the demands or else."

Referring to another aspect which he considered had hampered and would continue to hamper peace, the fiery Inkatha leader detailed a series of aggressive ANC statements since the fateful October 1979 meeting.

"Mr John Nkadameng is present here today.

"I ask that he quietly tells the world that he was wrong... In an ANC broadcast on the 21 November 1986 on Radio Freedom from Addis Ababa, Mr John Nkadameng, speaking for the ANC said: 'The onus is on the people of South Africa to neutralise Gatsha, the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head'."

Noting his opposition to such statements, Buthelezi returned in summary to what it was so widely hoped the two delegations had come to Durban to agree on:

"However we define our difficulties and however we define our positions, we must end up today saying violence must stop.

"We must end up today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence. We must end up today banishing forever the politics of intimidation which leads to violence."

Although the prospects of the IFP and the ANC of ever coming together had been destroyed, possibly forever, the two organisations were now morally bound to undo this damage. - Sapa

Can Mandela and Buthelezi sell their accord?

DELEGATES at Tuesday's historic meeting between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela repeatedly warned against "magic wand" solutions to Natal's now endemic violence, but even so the omens do not look good.

Glant strides were made at the talks: Buthelezi and Mandela met face to face for the first time in 28 years, the parties jointly agreed to cease hostilities, they agreed to stop calling each other names, they agreed to cease coercion and intimidation, and they even agreed they would work together on certain political campaigns. The organisations also recognised each other's right to exist — and to differ.

The tone of the speech astounded the large Press contingent and sparked questions during the Press conference. Both leaders responded tactfully, saying their differences needed to be raised and the talks were not, in fact, acrimonious.

But perhaps the most remarkable thing about Buthelezi's speech was the very few references to the Natal violence. The "intra-communal" violence (Mandela's characterisation) was mentioned in only a few paragraphs of the 16-page speech, which focused on relations between the two organisations.

The assumption was that if relations between the two organisations could be normalised, a reduction in violence would follow. However, most commentators agree the Natal violence is a much more complex issue, involving at least three other important aspects: socio-economic

factoring ANC members for remarks they had made about him and Inkatha.

The groups called for development programmes in deprived areas, for an effective and impartial peace-keeping force, a joint tour of affected areas, and they agreed that persons with authority over public facilities should allow themselves to be used by all people irrespective of their political affiliation.

But they failed to produce a complete formula for eliminating violence — for example, clearly defining the role of members of joint committees bringing in third parties to help, and setting out a timetable for achieving specific goals.

This failure renders more difficult communication of the agreement to grassroots level. For Buthelezi and Mandela to embrace each other in an exclusive hotel in Durban is an

achievement, but it is not a solution. To achieve peace, thousands of people who have seen their relatives die gruesome deaths and their houses burnt in remote areas of Natal will have to be convinced that it is in their own best interests to lay down their arms.

Mandela's first call on followers to throw guns, knives and pangas into the sea fell on deaf ears. To avoid a recurrence will require perseverance and dedication, neither of which have been evident so far.

Inkatha members claim their well-developed pyramid structure will make it easier for them to spread the word to do so (although this raises the question as to why it failed to discourage violence before now).

Buthelezi, in his opening speech, questioned the ANC's ability to do so: "I do not know how the ANC is going to deal with their Midlands region leadership and membership which slammed the ANC/IFP (Inkatha

Freedom Party) peace moves and the joint tour into stricken areas. I do not know how Dr Mandela is going to deal with the youth."

The first comment refers to the fiery ANC Midlands branch head Harry Gwala and some of his associates, who may join the Inkatha/ANC peace committee.

Inkatha members also privately fear that because some senior ANC committee members have little first-hand experience of these areas, they will have difficulty selling the ceasefire to their members. However, Inkatha members say they are happy to be working with someone of the stature of Jacob Zuma, who heads the ANC delegation on the peace committee.

For their part, senior ANC members are happy with the outcome of the meeting. Commenting on Buthelezi's combative opening speech, one ANC member said: "All's well that ends well." The problem is that in many ways the process has only just begun.

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LETTERS

Political observers say there is bound to be disagreement between Inkatha and ANC over the interpretation of the agreement signed — just as there is fierce disagreement between the ANC and the government in the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute, reports Farouk Chotia *South 31/1-6/2/91*

Now the hard work begins

THE ANC and Inkatha reached an historic peace indaba in Durban on Tuesday. (S) (IB)

But the meeting is not expected to bring an end to the five-year-old violence which has claimed more than 5 000 lives because the third player in the conflict, the state, was not part of the meeting.

This was the view of the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) political scientist, Mr Siphon Shezi, in an analysis on the peace indaba.

He said the state security forces — the SAP, SADF, International Intelligence Service and the state death squad — were central players in the violence.

In this context Shezi said it would have been "more productive" if state president FW de Klerk had been part of the Tuesday talks and a "tripartite agreement" between himself, Mandela and Buthelezi had been reached

Euphoria

As the euphoria over Tuesday's talks settle down, there are doubts as to how successfully the agreement reached will be implemented.

Political observers say there is bound to be disagreement between Inkatha and ANC over the interpretation of the agreement signed — just as there is fierce disagreement between the ANC and government in the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute.

The two parties agreed "to cease attacks against each another with immediate effect" and to draw up a code of conduct which would be binding on both parties.

This code of conduct is expected to stress the need for freedom of political association, expression and tolerance.

Political observers ask: "Will this mean that Inkatha will accept the ANC's right, for example, to launch mass action in protest against the bantustan system — which is the power base of Inkatha? Or will Inkatha see the action as political intolerance on the part of the ANC, aimed at denying Inkatha the opportunity to participate in the country's politics as it wishes to do?"



ALL SMILES: A positive mood reflected on the faces of Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi who this week met for the first time in 28 years

The ANC and Inkatha also committed themselves "to use the existing joint mechanism to monitor all violations of the agreement and recommend appropriate action."

Political observers doubt this will bear much results as joint monitoring of the

violence to date has had little success.

The ANC and government also agreed in the Pretoria Minute to jointly monitor the violence.

This strategy proved to be a failure with no reduction in the level of violence. Nor has it led to impartial and

effective policing. (S) (IB)

In peace talks between the Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha, the two parties agreed to set up a conciliation board under an independent judge to monitor the violation of peace agreements by the respective members.

This conciliation board, however, collapsed after Inkatha refused to take disciplinary action against all of its members whom the conciliatory board found to be responsible for violence.

The ANC and Inkatha agreed on the need for the government to ensure that security forces acted without political bias, received professional and appropriate training and acted with respect towards the community. However the agreement made no reference to KwaZulu police, which the ANC sees as the "private army" of Inkatha.

The ANC and Inkatha also committed themselves to development and reconstruction of violence-torn areas. In this regard they would establish crisis committees, non partisan reconstruction programmes and the pooling of all available resources — including a jointly-administered trust fund.

The underlining reason behind this position seems to be the realisation that a peace pact on paper, without providing homes for refugees of the violence and uplifting socio-economic conditions, will be meaningless. Despite the obstacles that might lay ahead, the talks were a starting point to end carnage and violence.

As a beaming Mr Nelson Mandela told the international press conference after the meeting at the Royal Hotel: "We've reached a breakthrough. All views were expressed and several issues were thrashed out. Naturally, you cannot expect that you can reach immediate agreement on the issues that has kept us divided. But the important point to bear in mind is that in the course of this discussion we have reached a breakthrough."



LET PEACE PREVAIL! Inkatha and ANC members line the street in front of the Durban hotel where Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi met in a bid to stop bloodshed in Natal and Transvaal

FIM 1/2/91

(11B)

— though the shift has been overshadowed by the outbreak of war in the Gulf.

When the two men entered the discussion room at Durban's Royal Hotel, Buthelezi perfunctorily greeted the smaller ANC team. Mandela, however, warmly clasped hands and chatted animatedly with the Inkatha delegates.

Buthelezi had a lot to get off his chest. In his opening address, he referred bitterly to insults that had been levelled at him by senior ANC members. One example: he called on ANC NEC member John Nkadi-meng, who leads the ANC Natal sub-committee, to "quietly tell the world that he was wrong in calling me a snake that must be hit on the head."

Said Buthelezi: "I and Inkatha have criticised ANC policies, tactics and strategies constructively. I have not bred hatred for the ANC into Inkatha's rank and file."

He quoted at length from his 1979 meeting in London with ANC president Oliver Tambo — four years after the founding of Inkatha — that caused the 12-year split between the ANC and Inkatha. Buthelezi said that, had his statements in London been favourably received, "many, many thousands of black South Africans who have died in black-on-black violence would today have been alive."

Buthelezi said the ANC had to recognise the right of the Inkatha Freedom Party to survive and to differ from the ANC. He alleged that the ANC's mass action programme "is taking constitution-making to street corners," locating constitutional development in "the politics of violent confrontation."

Mandela's tone was more conciliatory. He said his delegation had not come to "apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation. Nor do we think that it would benefit the cause of peace if we spent our time pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the terrible carnage which has left so many thousands of our people dead and wounded. There must be no victors or losers between the ANC and Inkatha.

"The only losers should be those whose racist policies are served by carnage among blacks."

Mandela thanked Buthelezi and Inkatha for their role in securing his release. He also made it clear that the ANC did not demand conformity: "We must let the culture of debate flower."

A senior ANC member told the *FM* that, as late as Monday night, there had been severe pressure from senior Natal ANC members to cancel Tuesday's meeting.

FIM 1/2/91
DURBAN SUMMIT

(11B)

CRUMBS OF COMFORT

Will the meeting last Tuesday between Inkatha and the ANC make any difference?

Early signs were not encouraging but then tension was only to be expected. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi had, for various reasons, spent the year since Mandela's release not talking to each other. The fact that the meeting took place at all is highly significant. It means some progress has been made

FIM 1/2/91

(11B) (11B)

He said the ANC was firm that violence should be the only issue of the talks and other issues, such as constitutional debate and negotiations with government, would not form part of the Durban talks. He criticised the "intolerance of Inkatha" and the continuous violence despite the talks.

Simon Nthirakulu, a close friend of Buthelezi and a founder member of Inkatha, doubted that Tuesday's meeting would stop violence. He hoped that Buthelezi and Mandela would jointly address peace rallies.

A good sign is that both Inkatha and the ANC are in favour of a new working group to promote the peace process.

Committee to implement peace accord

W/maul 1/2-7/2/91

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

THE "engine" of the agreement between Inkatha and the African National Congress is a joint committee which already exists but which has not yet met.

The national executive committee/Inkatha Freedom Party sub committee on violence consists of 12 delegates from each side, including some Cosatu representatives on the ANC team.

One of the members of the committee, southern Natal ANC executive member Jeff Radebe, said it would be responsible for seeing the agreement's various provisions were implemented.

Headed by the ANC's John Nkadi-meng and Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha, the joint committee was originally a smaller body. However, concern was expressed in some ANC circles that it was not representative enough. With the agreement of both sides the number of delegates was increased but preparations for this week's ANC/IFP summit intervened and the committee has not yet met in its new form. (11/3)

Radebe said the joint committee would have ultimate responsibility for getting across the message about the required change in political behaviour.

It will have to decide on how to draw up a code of conduct as agreed by the two sides on Tuesday. Once the code is finalised and approved by both sides it will also be the task of the joint committee to ensure it is widely publicised, discussed and acted on. (11/3)

The agreement released after the talks also provides for joint monitoring of all violations of the agreement.

Musa Zondi, who serves on the Inkatha team, said it would not be difficult for the two sides to work together as most members had already been involved in joint discussions.

"This week's meeting has, however, revived the commitment of the joint committee and enhanced our capacity to do our work," he said. "We hope the people on the ground will support us and give us a chance to succeed."

The date of the first meeting will be set after liaison between Nkadi-meng and Mdlalose but Zondi said it was important that the group meet soon, "to capture the mood of the talks" — possibly in the next fortnight.

Its most difficult responsibility will be re-education. Supporters of both sides must be encouraged to unlearn bitter feelings previously encouraged by their organisations.

Two giants put status on trial

After 2/2/91

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WHEN Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi put their signatures to the historic peace pact between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, they put their reputations on the line.

If the pact, signed in Durban on January 29 after 10 hours of intense discussion, fails to end the bloodshed, their political enemies will conclude that their writ does not run into the townships and villages.

The initial omens were not auspicious. Within 24 hours of the accord, fierce fighting broke out in Umgababa less than an hour's drive away from the plush Royal Hotel where the delegations hammered out their agreement. At least eight people were killed.

'Magic'

But, as Chief Buthelezi remarked during the discussions, violence had become endemic to the region and it would be unrealistic to expect it to cease immediately. Neither he nor Mr Mandela had "magic wands" which they could wave to create instant peace, he said.

The ANC and Inkatha recognised that the agreement was the start of a peace process and that its success depended on conscientious fulfilment of its clauses. The essence of the agreement was contained in a five-point joint declaration, in which the signatories solemnly pledged to:

- Call on their members to stop attacking one another.
- Desist from vilifying one another or indulging



FORWARD TOGETHER: ANC's Nelson Mandela and IFP's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

'Peace pipe' failure will dent reputations

PATRICK LAURENCE

in what Chief Buthelezi called "killing talk".

- Renounce the use of coercion or intimidation to force people to join their organisations or accept their strategies.

- Use an existing "joint mechanism" — a reference to a complaints adjudication board set up in September 1988 — to monitor violations of the agreement and recommend "appropriate action".

- Organise a joint tour of affected areas by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, to enable them to personally call for peace at grassroots level.

The envisaged joint tour will put the reputations on Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi on the line. If people fail to heed their pleas for peace, their reputations as leaders will suffer.

But, of course, the peace process is bigger than two men, no matter how important they may be.

To a large extent the success of the accord will depend on the ability and willingness of the signatories to revive the all but defunct adjudication board and ensure that it works efficiently.

It failed for several reasons in the past. For it to work efficiently, the reasons for its earlier failure must be addressed.

The 1988 agreement under which it was established was between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha. The United Democratic Front (UDF), a major party to the dispute between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha, was not a signatory to the agreement.

That deficiency is now eliminated. The five-point declaration commits the ANC and its allies — Cosatu, the UDF and the SA Communist Party — to the agreement.

A second reason for the past failure of the adjudication board was, according to Cosatu, the refusal of Inkatha "warlords"

and their followers to appear before it on the grounds that it might prejudice their case in pending criminal actions against them.

Chief Buthelezi has now, however, given a solemn assurance to uphold the new agreement and that means ensuring that Inkatha strongmen appear before the board if summoned.

In the past the internecine war between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists was, in large measure, fuelled by fraternal bitterness.

The ANC saw Chief Buthelezi as a renegade, as a former ANC man who launched Inkatha in 1975 with the blessing of the ANC to advance its cause but who then developed an agenda and ambitions of his own.

Power base

As the ANC president Oliver Tambo put it in a report to the ANC's national executive committee in 1985: "Gatsha Buthelezi ... built Inkatha into a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised."

He accused him of "dressing Inkatha in ANC colours" in order to exploit the loyalty of the masses to the ANC.

In his address to the peace conference delegates in Durban, Chief Buthelezi, who has previously accused the ANC of trying to hijack Inkatha, said: "We ... identified with the ANC because we came forth out of the ANC."

The peace accord appears to do just that and thus to create an opportunity to restore — in Mr Mandela's words — "the cordial relations" which existed between the ANC and Inkatha in the years 1975-79.

10 die in baptism of fire for peace bid

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE peace agreement reached between Inkatha and the ANC this week had a baptism of fire.

A day after the meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha and Nelson Mandela of the ANC, serious fighting flared again in the troubled Umgababa area of the South Coast, leaving at least 10 dead.

In an important departure from previous practice, however, senior leaders of the two sides refused to point fingers but said in the spirit of Tuesday's agreement they were working together to establish the causes of the fighting and how to end it.

They were also adamant the incident did not mean the peace talks were a failure, saying word had not yet reached all combatants and communities and that bringing peace to the region so long wracked by violence would be a gradual process.

"From the start, we stressed the meeting was not a miracle cure."

Both sides stand to make significant gains from the meeting and from peace.

The handling of the Umgababa conflict appears to indicate they are determined to curb whoever is behind the attacks.

The talks were an about-

face for both sides, but they were widely hailed, enhancing the reputations of the two leaders, who are being portrayed as men of peace.

Inkatha's major gain is public recognition by the ANC that it is a force to be reckoned with in Natal and beyond.

At the same time, the significant political differences between Inkatha and the ANC were acknowledged by both sides at the talks.

This frees Inkatha to seek alliances with either the ANC or the National Party, depending on the issue being negotiated, rather than being fixed in a role as junior partner of either.

Chiefs

The joint agreement contains important provisions which will be used by the ANC to challenge the political discrimination it claims to be suffering at the hands of local Inkatha officials and chiefs.

The talks will also improve the ANC's "anti-Zulu" image and this, together with an easing in violence, will enable the ANC to step up political organisation and recruitment in the region.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela

First silence, then the mudslinging

THIS week's historic ANC-Inkatha peace summit in Durban was not the cordial affair it may have appeared from the outside.

In the Royal Hotel's Prince Alfred Room about 45 men and women sat opposite each other. They stared at their political rivals without saying a word. Instead, they talked among members of their own delegations.

Two chairs, on opposite sides of the table, were reserved for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The Inkatha side was backed by three rows of other delegates and observers, outnumbering the ANC delegates three-to-one.

The entry of about 50 local and foreign journalists provided delegates with a much-needed ice-breaker, as they were laughing at TV cameramen and photographers who jostled for better positions.

The tension between delegates prompted Inkatha delegate VV Mvelase to compare it to the excitement which used to characterise soccer matches of local rivals the African Wanderers and Durban Bush Bucks in the 1950s and '60s.

Even Saki Macozoma and Suzanne Vos, media officers for the ANC and Inkatha respectively - who were supposed to work as a team - barely tolerated each other.

Security personnel consisting of the Kwa-Zulu police, the SAP Security Branch and the ANC's Security Department - sworn enemies

just a matter of hours before - found themselves in unaccustomed, complementary roles. Even so, there was an element of guarded caution. An ANC security officer remarked: "We suspect some of them have killed our people, but we have to co-operate. The security people have a job to do."

Back in the summit room, the tension was eased by the entry of Mandela and Buthelezi through the side door. Everyone stood up. The leaders stopped in front of the cameras for a "grip and grin" session.

Buthelezi shook hands with the ANC delegation, but the media followed Mandela, who stopped to chat to Inkatha delegates he recognised from the old days.

After the initial photo session, the Press was strictly excluded from the corridors outside the Prince Alfred Room and there was intense but futile lobbying to get an insight into the goings-on inside the room.

Co-chairman of the summit, the Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, asked the media to leave. When his requests were not heeded, security personnel declared a "mini-armed struggle" on some journalists. They pushed them aggressively, throwing some on the floor, to raucous laughter from some delegates.

We were given copies of the introductory speeches of both leaders at about noon.

The essence of Mandela's four-page speech was: "Let bygones be bygones."

Buthelezi took more than an hour, carefully

The doors and walls of Durban's Royal Hotel this week kept the Press out of deliberations between Inkatha and the ANC, and kept the infighting out of the public eye. But *City Press* man-on-the-spot S'BU MNGADI got some insight into what went on at the peace summit - which was not what the public might have been led to believe ...



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listing a litany of incidents in which every ANC leader, from president Oliver Tambo and Mandela to the most junior official had slammed, maligned, sworn at and humiliated him since their last watershed meeting in London in 1979. *City Press* 3/2/79

Buthelezi's speech provided journalists with the first indication of what was going on behind the closed doors.

The delegates' impressions of and reflections on the meeting were strikingly similar.

In his opening remarks, Mdlalose highlighted the significance of the meeting in the light of the more than 8 000 people the bloody conflict had claimed in the past eight years.

He then called upon Mandela to deliver his opening address.

Inkatha delegates confessed they had been expecting a showdown. But much to their surprise they found themselves punctuating the

ANC leader's address with thunderous applause.

Mandela concluded his four-page speech by saying: "Let the culture of debate flower to full bloom." The speech had a soothing effect on all delegates who came just short of giving him a standing ovation as he returned to his seat.

It was now Buthelezi's turn to take the stage. He excitedly leapt from his chair with a wad of papers in his hands.

He then dug through the past about ANC verbal attacks on his integrity by almost everyone in the ANC delegation present, starting in the early '80s.

Justifying this, he said: "Papering over past difficulties will not lead to reconciled normality in our political relationships."

Gesticulating with both hands, the chief reached a crescendo in emphasising differences in the policies, strategies and tactics of his organisation and the ANC. "The constitution Assembly: I say no, no, a thousand times to that!"

His speech received little applause, even from his own delegation. And by the time he concluded, there was much tension in the room.

Mandela appealed to his delegation not to respond to Buthelezi's attacks on them. "People are dying out there," he warned, and "the world is eagerly awaiting the outcome of this meeting."

During the lunchbreak, Buthelezi, surrounded by an army of his security men, took a walk-

about to greet a small crowd of Inkatha supporters who had gathered outside the hotel, on Smith Street.

But Buthelezi's security personnel blundered by leading him to the wrong side of the crowd - the onlookers.

They only realised this when Buthelezi's cry of "Amandla" was only returned by about 50 people, about 40 metres away.

He quickly dashed back to the hotel, stopping in the foyer to tell journalists the talks were "going very well".

Only five ANC delegates participated in the meeting. The rest were quiet and passed notes to one another.

Those who spoke appealed for an end to mudslinging and wanted to shift the focus of discussions from differences to issues they agreed on - such as the cessation of hostilities between their members and supporters. But the mudslinging continued.

At about 5pm Mandela realised the meeting was under threat of being bogged down and tabled a motion calling for the cessation of hostilities.

A team of four people - Thabo Mbeki and Joel Neshitendze from the ANC and Dr Dennis Madhe and B Felgate from Inkatha - were appointed to draft the resolutions.

At this point the meeting became informal as delegates shared jokes and reminisced about the past.

Mandela's motion was incorporated into the joint declaration.

There is another vexing problem. How committed to peace is Buthelezi? The tone of his speech in which he singled out several leading members of the ANC like Chris Hani, John Nkandimeng, Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo and Harry Gwala for what he termed vilification and not criticism of himself, was just not on.

I do not believe Tuesday's peace summit was the right place for Buthelezi to have aired such views. It is a matter to be resolved between the two parties. For Mandela to tell the Press after the meeting that Buthelezi's speech helped the ANC understand Inkatha better was a sign of the diplomacy the ANC deputy president is well known for.

Buthelezi's speech must have been viewed unkindly by some hardline ANC delegates, and it cast doubt on his intentions for the peace process, as it could easily have precipitated a situation where some ANC members may have felt tempted to walk out of the meeting.

He accused the ANC of having engaged in "war talk". But can his utterances be construed as "peace talk?"

While Mandela's speech was short and more conciliatory, Buthelezi emphasised the differences between the two organisations such as his rejection of a constituent assembly, an interim government and the ANC's position on mass action.

Given this scenario, it is difficult to envisage a harmonious working relationship between the two parties.

At the end of the day, the meeting loaded another burden on Mandela. The fruits or lack of them could have a profound bearing on the coming ANC congress in June. If the Mandela strategy in meeting Buthelezi greatly minimises the bloodletting, his allies will be in a strong position.

If on the other hand he fails to achieve discernible results, the hardliners will gloat and say "we told you so". Then Mandela's allies will have to fight for political survival at the congress.

But Mandela's own position remains unchallenged. Tambo will step down gracefully due to health reasons and Mandela will step into his shoes.

The Durban peace talks were a good start. But it would be folly to expect too much too soon. The differences between the two organisations are rooted too deep to be eliminated overnight.

Now to

see if

peace

stays on

course

By SEKOLA SELLO

AFTER a seemingly amicable meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week the main task now facing the two parties is to translate words into deeds.

The mainstream Press, which relied only on short briefings and later a joint statement from the two leaders, can well be excused for believing all went well save for minor differences. Indeed, this was the essence of the joint statement made by the two leaders.

But whispers along the corridors at the Royal Hotel where the meeting took place indicate it was not sweet reason all the way.

There were serious differences. Reading the faces of the delegates during the lunch break gave the impression the mood was sombre.

But one must concede the fact these two parties met against the backdrop of so much bloodletting between their followers is a sign of victory for both sides.

The coming months will indicate whether the peace accord will stand the test of time.

And the greatest challenge faces Mandela and the ANC leadership.

Everything in Inkatha pivots around Buthelezi. What he says, his followers follow to the letter - including the Central Committee of the organisation.

The same cannot be said about Mandela. His word is not final to some ANC members, particularly the youth. The NEC also does not display the same unanimity which exists in the Inkatha Central Committee.

It may be argued that this shows how democratic the ANC is.

But it may just as well be another way of trying to downplay serious differences within the movement.

Massacre: Inkatha bail plea

By SOPHIE TEMA

INKATHA Freedom Party members this week testified in support of a bail application by eleven people charged with the mass murder of 37 men, women and children at the Sebokeng funeral vigil last month.

Originally 12 people - 11 men and one woman - were arrested after mourners were gunned down at a Sebokeng vigil for the murdered ANC activist, Christopher Nangalembe, on January 12.

The 12 appeared before magistrate G Reynders in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court, where charges against one of the accused, Bhekumuzi Ngema, were withdrawn.

Beullah Kubheka told the court she was a member of the Inkatha

Freedom Party and office-bearer of the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) and requested the court to release the 11 accused into the care of the Kwa-Madala Hostel in Vanderbijlpark.

Kubheka, wearing a Uwusa T-shirt, said her home and those of the accused were burnt down by people who accused them of being Zulus and Inkatha supporters.

Her house was burnt down before the January 12 incident, while those of the accused were destroyed after it.

Kubheka said five of the accused were her relatives and there was silence in the courtroom when she said Thomas Lushozi - one of the accused - was her cousin's son.

She said Lushozi's mother was killed and set alight after allega-

tions that Inkatha people were responsible for the vigil massacre.

Kubheka said the homes of the accused were set alight by angry mobs in revenge for the deaths of the people who had died at Nangalembe's vigil.

She assured the court that if the accused were released on bail and confined to KwaMadala, there need not be any fear of their lives being endangered because of the tight security in the area.

Vanana Zulu, a supervisor at Iscor, told the court he was chairman of the hostel committee and a member of Inkatha, and was giving evidence in support of the request by Kubheka on behalf of the accused.

The application proceeds tomorrow.

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Big step - Buthelezi

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk had facilitated progress towards getting negotiations off the ground, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Friday. *Sowetan 4/2/91*

The scrapping of apartheid legislation and moves towards the establishment of a single education system were a significant step forward, he said.

"There can be no turning back now by the Government."

Buthelezi endorsed De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly, saying negotiating parties must accept their role would be to negotiate a new constitution which would be legislated into existence once it had been tested.

Buthelezi welcomed moves to look at the "atrocious divides" between white and other local authorities, but said these should develop from the negotiating process and not simply from consultation. - *Sapa*

ANC, PAC in unity talks

By Al-Ameen Kafaar

Delegations from the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress met last night for the first time in 30 years.

After the two-hour meeting at a Johannesburg hotel, a joint announcement was made that a joint liaison committee would be established to determine a suitable date for the Patriotic Conference.

The ANC delegation, led by deputy-president Nelson Mandela, comprised national executive committee members Joe Slovo, Alfred Nzo and Pallo Jordan.

PAC-president Clarence Makwetu's delegation included general secretary Benny Alexander, vice-president Dikgang Moseneke and the secretary of legal affairs Willie Serete.

A national agenda, the possibility of an all-party congress, a constitutional assembly and interim government, unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles, were some of the issues discussed.

Mr Mandela said at the press conference after the meeting that their objectives were not "to gang blacks up against whites" but to work towards closer co-operation.

11/16

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Star



Bid to change Zulu law about carrying weapons

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A Supreme Court action has been launched against the State President in an attempt to have declared invalid the Amended Natal Code of Zulu Law relating to the carrying of weapons.

Freelance journalist Mr Solomon Tsenoli has filed an application and has given the president until February 15 to respond.

Mr Tsenoli is supported by the Legal Resources Centre, which has been at the centre of the row over the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Assegais, axes

On August 30, 1990 Mr De Klerk amended the Natal Code by deleting section 115 which made it an offence for "any person" to carry assegais, axes, knobkerries or other dangerous weapons to feasts, dances or gatherings, unless the persons were policemen or had special permission.

Section 115 was replaced by sections 117(3)(a) and (b) which

allowed for seven exceptions including being able to prove that one had a bona fide intention to carry the dangerous weapon in accordance with "traditional Zulu usages, customs or religions".

Mr Tsenoli, who is Sotho, says in his affidavit that: "In recent years members of Inkatha have adopted a practice of attending political and other gatherings such as prayer meetings carrying sticks, knobkerries, assegais, spears, axes, iron bars, pangas, knives, hammers, sharpened sticks and metal pipes, whips, clubs with screwed on bolts, nail-studded poles, etc, which are brandished overtly and aggressively."

He adds: "The government persistently portrays Inkatha as Zulu and the ANC and other groups as non-Zulu. The special dispensation to those who adhere to Zulu usages, customs and religions is and will be perceived to be a form of political favouritism which will only exacerbate the existing violence and widen cleavages in our deeply divided society."

"There is no ground on which the Respondent (Mr De Klerk) could honestly believe that with respect to the carrying of weapons, Zulus are more responsible and restrained in their conduct than any other tribe."

Justification

Mr Tsenoli claims the apparent purpose of the amendment was to provide a "legal justification for the practice of the police in refusing to disarm members of Inkatha who assemble and attend gatherings carrying weapons."

He submits that the amendment does not in any way accord with the aim of the Act (Black Administration Act) which is to "provide for the better control and management of Black affairs".

He further submits that the exemption runs counter to a main purpose of the Natal Code on Zulu Law, contained within the Act, which sought to limit and reduce the level of fighting in Natal.

Mr Tsenoli goes on to state that the terms of the exemp-

tion are so worded that it is impossible for the police or anyone else to know whether a particular person or group of persons carrying weapons are Zulus and whether they are carrying dangerous weapons in accordance with the exemption.

In a supporting affidavit, Mrs Mary de Haas, a lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Natal, Durban, says there is very little evidence of traditional use of weapons as a general rule throughout Natal prior to 1891.

Widespread abuse

The period thereafter is dominated by the prohibition on the possessing of dangerous weapons by successive versions of the Natal Code.

Legal Resources Centre attorney Mr Howard Varney states in his affidavit that a detailed memorandum was handed to the Commissioner of Police in June last year in which the LRC outlined the widespread abuse of weapons in Natal.

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Ciskei talks on a changing SA

THE Ciskei military government is to host a two-day conference on "South Africa in Transition", at which politicians are to speak, at Fish River on February 21 and 22.

The speakers include KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Labour Party's Mr Allan Hendrickse and Solidarity's Mr J N Reddy.

Both sides win as Inkatha and ANC set hostility aside

W/Mail 1/2 - 7/2/91

In his opening address to this week's watershed talks with Inkatha, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela said neither organisation should be victor or loser. "Only our people must be the victors."

Whether there will be an end to the fighting which will benefit all South African people, only time will tell. But it is already clear that both Inkatha under its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the ANC, have won important advantages from the meeting.

Although they were an about-face for both sides, the talks enhanced the personal reputation of the two leaders. They have been portrayed as men of peace, and all delaying tactics which prevented the talks happening before have been glossed over.

Warnings by hawks in the ranks of Inkatha and the ANC that their respective leaders would be demeaned by talking with the about-to-be-defeated enemy were proved wrong, and public response to the meeting has proved overwhelmingly positive.

Inkatha has benefitted by the ANC's public recognition that it is a force to be reckoned with.

The ANC strategy of "isolating" Buthelezi and kwaZulu has proved a failure, and Inkatha's right to an independent seat at the negotiating table as a party with real support is now guaranteed by both Mandela and de Klerk. At the same time the continuing and significant political differences between Inkatha and the ANC were acknowledged by both sides at the talks.

This frees Inkatha to seek alliances with either the ANC or the National Party, depending on the issue being negotiated, rather than being fixed in a role as junior partner of either.

Buthelezi sought this freedom to manoeuvre, as he spelt out in his opening address to the peace talks: "I will seek common cause with F W de Klerk ... and the government, wherever that common cause is justified. I will seek common cause with the ANC wherever that common cause is justified. Inkatha has a political mind of its own and it will choose allies on the basis of the issues being fought."

Both sides in this week's watershed talks on political violence in Natal came away with some kudos, writes
CARMEL RICKARD

Inkatha probably also hopes to pick up new members following the talks and the projection of its image as a party committed to peace.

The ANC has also won advantages from the talks.

Crucial clauses in the joint agreement will be used by the ANC to challenge the political discrimination it claims to be suffering at the hands of local Inkatha officials and chiefs.

One of the most significant is the provision that "all persons with authority over public facilities" will allow them to be used by members of the public regardless of political affiliation. For the ANC this means chiefs and Inkatha town councils may not refuse permission to use public venues.

Along with the easing in violence which it expects to begin soon, this will enable the ANC to step up political organisation and recruitment in the region, even in the Zulu heartland which has so far been closed to it.

"Clearing the decks" with Inkatha is also a necessary step towards changing the ANC's image as "anti-Zulu" and "Xhosa-dominated", an image which ANC officials privately admit has caused some concern.

The ANC probably also hopes that the public process of healing the rift will make it easier for Inkatha members to "cross the floor".

The understanding reached between the two organisations could significantly change the political relationship between them, permitting co-operation and impacting on national politics in a way which was impossible before. Already there is a commitment to joint tours of the worst-hit areas by Buthelezi and Mandela, and some ANC officials have hinted at the possibility of other joint strategies.

So far Buthelezi has turned down the ANC's idea of an all-party conference, but following Tuesday's wide-



Reunited ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela meet for the first time in 28 years

Photo: RAFA MAYET, Afrapix

ranging discussions new options are possible — it was noticeable that in his opening address Buthelezi spoke forcefully against a constituent assembly and an interim government, saying they were not achievable. Asked about the same issues at the news conference after the talks he was far less dogmatic and said in effect that he was open to persuasion.

The whole region will also benefit from the meeting if it leads to peace.

Although funds have been set aside for socio-economic improvements, Pretoria vowed "not one cent" would be given until the violence stopped.

This money could soon be made available, along with other international funding on hold until there were clear signs the conflict was waning.

Once the violence subsides, badly-hit commerce and industry will begin to recover and business leaders hope the talks will attract investors to the area who have been frightened off.

With all the benefits in the offing, both parties want the agreement to stick. It will be extremely difficult, and there is a real possibility of failure, but both sides have said they will lose no time in establishing the mechanics for its implementation.

FIM 8/2/91
NATAL ACCORD
A FRAGILE PEACE

Nelson Mandela of the ANC and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party are expected to begin their Natal peace tour on Monday.

Neither side would confirm or deny the date after it was given to the *FM* by reliable sources.

It is expected that the tour will begin in northern Natal with a visit to King Goodwill Zwelithini, king of the Zulus. Northern Natal is also where the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord was signed on September 1. This was important in paving the way for last week's meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela.

ANC and Inkatha leaders are also trying to set up peace forums with businessmen in Natal. They want help in working for peace and in restructuring the battered Natal economy. The Inkatha Central Committee at the weekend hailed the meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela, saying it could lead to peace in Natal.

Both sides acknowledge that ending violence will be a complex process because of the extent of bitterness fostered over four years of factional warfare. "Quite intensive hatred has been engendered against Inkatha because of atrocities committed here and bitterness has been such that hostility is difficult to stop," says Sibusiso Ndebele, secretary of the ANC's southern Natal region.

Themba Khoza, Transvaal head of the Inkatha Youth League, agrees: "Violence has been going on for too long for it to end in the twinkling of an eye. It will take time and a lot of physical effort. We still have to address rallies to inculcate in members an acceptance of other organisations."

Ndebele believes "there are people who have a vested interest in continued violence, the most obvious element is the criminal element and warlords who profit by violence."

"That is why the agreement talks about reconstruction and development. The basis of violence is apartheid and the scarcity of resources it has caused. The homelands can't

Continue
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FIM 8/2/91 (11B)
provide enough housing, hospitals, schools. But if there is striving to attain these goals, it will bring communities closer together.

"We are not going to get people to shake hands at local level when one is in a house, and the home of the other has been razed. There have been 8 000 deaths, and around 60 000 people in the Maritzburg area alone have been displaced. We will need help from business and donors to rebuild." Ndebele also says government must urgently provide more land for housing.

Khoza believes the Inkatha task is less difficult than the challenge faced by the ANC, because Inkatha members respond more readily to discipline — "not that ANC members are not disciplined."

The most notable change since the talks last week is the very careful formulation of statements by both sides. Each is pointing out the other side's role in past violence, but taking care not to use provocative language. For instance, according to Khoza, there is an agreement not to publicise attacks, and to work together to find solutions and discipline culprits or hand them over to police.

Jacob Zuma, ANC NEC member and chairman of its southern Natal region, says government and police will have to play a different, more impartial role to back up peace measures. Both Inkatha and the ANC have been very critical about the role of the police in conflict. "Peace will take some time," says Zuma, "the complexity of vio-

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FIM 8/2/91 (11B)

lence results from how the apartheid State nurtured violence."

Willies Mchunu, ANC northern Natal regional chairman, says work must be done to break down "a suspicion among people who perceive they have no freedom of association. The agreement will work if all adhere to it, and tolerate political activity by the other side."

Mchunu says a major problem in his area is large-scale arms smuggling from Maputo; people carry and display weapons. "What that means is that open law and order has collapsed, and that endangers people's lives." He says there are people who have committed crimes in the names of both organisations, but it is hoped that co-operation between Inkatha and ANC will put a stop to this.

There are still areas where an escalation of violence could occur, says Mchunu, "particularly where there are no proper organisational structures. It is very difficult to bring people together in such areas."

Charlene Smith

I have key role to play

- Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday declared himself a major player in South African politics, and said he had a key role to play in the resolution of its problems.

Speaking at a press briefing at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Italy, Chief Buthelezi said he was one of the important men in South African politics today, adding that both President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had publicly acknowledged this.

"Are you really serious? I am a major player in this country, whether you like me or not," Chief Buthelezi said in response to a journalist's question.

He had been asked whether the progress made in President de Klerk's meeting with Mr Mandela in Cape Town had made him fear he might be sidelined in the negotiation process.

Chief Buthelezi said he had held positive discussions with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, whom he commended for the European Community's decision to relax sanctions on South Africa.

He had told Mr Andreotti, the president of the EC, that Mr de Klerk had moved to bring about fundamental political change in the country and that investment would be necessary.

"I said investment was absolutely essential because revolutions are known to have been caused by poverty," he added.

Jeppie killings accused cannot raise their bail

By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

FIVE Inkatha members facing 21 counts of murder and 47 of attempted murder are in a further dilemma - they cannot raise the R100 000 bail and their party won't pay for them.

The five are charged with the Jeppie train massacre in which 21 people were killed and 47 were injured when a gang attacked commuters between Jeppie and Ellis Park stations in September.

Some of the passengers were hacked, some shot and others thrown off the moving train.

Inkatha Freedom Party youth leader Themba Khoza told *City Press* this week that his organisation was aware of the R100 000 bail but did not plan to pay for the men.

Asked whether the party had financial problems, Khoza said it was "not a question of money, but that IFP has no plans on the question of bail".

He blamed the Press for making "unnecessary noises" when funds

17/2/91
were collected at the Jeppie Hostel for the bail.

The men were refused bail from the time of their arrest in September to January, when they were each granted bail of R20 000 but were unable to pay it.

The five are Martin Nqobobo, 49; Basi Nkosinongdole, 27; Manyebo Magubane, 55; Solomon Khumalo, 33; and Mandla Majozi, 23, all of Jeppie Men's Hostel in Johannesburg.

Inkatha, NP group back FW on Manifesto

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk's Manifesto for a new South Africa was given the thumbs up by a National Party/Inkatha Freedom Party working group which met here at the weekend.

In a joint statement after the meeting, both parties described their meeting as "fruitful" and added that the working group or "think tank" will continue to meet on a regular basis.

The NP/IFP group, which has met five times since last year, agreed that the meetings have had an effect on national policy and the reform process.

A wide range of subjects were dealt with, including political events in Natal, the socio-economic needs of the region, the violence in Natal's and the general political issues in the wider South African context.

At the meeting held here on Saturday, the working group gave its unanimous support to the Manifesto for a New South Africa as enunciated by Mr De Klerk earlier this month.

The statement said: "The working group will continue to meet on a regular basis and will continue to refer matters, on which agreement is reached, but which require ratification by the respective policymaking structures of each party."

The IFP delegation was headed by the party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, and the NP delegation was led by Transport and Public Works Minister Mr George Bartlett.

Talks bring fall in Natal violence

Political Staff

UNREST incidents in Natal have dropped sharply since the meeting last month between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Police figures show that in the 18 days after January 27 there were 39 incidents of unrest in Natal — 20 fewer than the 18 days preceding it.

The leaders met on January 29, and the figures seem to illustrate that the sentiments of reconciliation expressed in their peace agreement have begun to filter down to their supporters.

However, police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellett said that the figures for deaths in the province would almost certainly be higher in the period following the meeting.

That was because of two incidents in particular — the fierce fighting in Umgababa the day after the meeting when seven people died and last weekend's "bus massacre" near Maritzburg, in which 17 people were killed.

The agreement effectively outlawed violence, intimidation and political intolerance among their followers.

However, the violence that has ravaged Natal for several years is deep-rooted and government officials had not anticipated any improvement in the situation for some time yet.

The incidents at Umgababa and Maritzburg were taken as clear signals that the message had yet to get through to Inkatha and ANC supporters.

● A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg, Miss Jill Marcus, said the question of the peace process is very important.

She said, however, that the peace efforts could not be achieved in one go, adding that peace should come from all sides.

The Inkatha Freedom Party could not be reached for comment.

Mass meeting washed out

PRETORIA. — A mass meeting, scheduled for yesterday to discuss the rent crisis in Mamelodi, was washed out by a downpour.

Residents in Mamelodi, near here, have been boycotting rent and other service charges since the early '80s.

Mr Pasty Malefo, of the Mamelodi Civic Associa-

TV TODAY

TV1

5.15: Larry King/Gulf war update
6.00: Good Morning South Africa
8.25: Showbiz
1.00: Headline News
1.30: Business Day
2.00: Telesama
2.30: Teleschool. A career in Music — discovering string instruments
3.00: Opleiding en Ontwikkeling
3.20: On the Move
3.30: Hattytown Tales. Simon and the Grand Hattytown Fete.
3.45: Pumpkin Patch
4.00: Bible Story
4.05: Santa Barbara

A US newspaper makes amends, writes Ramsay Milne from New York

High praise for Buthelezi

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8W 21/2/91

If the American media has treated Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi unfairly — as the Inkatha leader has angrily and frequently claimed — the New York Times has made handsome amends with one of the most lavish displays yet accorded a foreign political figure.

In an eight-page spread, extravagantly illustrated with colour pictures and a huge, full-face close-up of him in his tribal finery adorning its front-page, the Times magazine has devoted almost an entire issue to a portrayal of the man, who, when not ignored altogether, has been portrayed to Americans as a "puppet of Pretoria", but who now, according to the Times, is "staking a claim in the new South Africa".

It is a remarkable reversal, coming at a time when the American press, after years of almost

unquestioning support for the ANC and what Chief Buthelezi has described as vilification of himself, appears now to be looking more critically at the African National Congress.

The article, appearing in what is almost required weekend reading among the influential lawmakers and financiers in New York and Washington, will almost certainly bring Chief Buthelezi heightened prestige.

Written by the Times correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren, the article describes the 20 ANC leaders present when Chief Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela met in Durban last month listening in "stunned silence" as Chief Buthelezi reminded them of their "complicity over the years, when I was slammed, maligned, sworn at, humiliated and when attempts

were made to castrate me politically".

"There are very few members of this national executive committee of the ANC who have not at one time or another engaged in my vilification," he is quoted as telling them.

The article gives a detailed enumeration of these attacks, in which Chief Buthelezi directly names Mr Mandela, as well as Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerrilla wing, who called him "a government lackey and running dog", Joe Slovo, who had described the Zulu leader's political programme as "tribalism in disguise", and John Nkadimeng, "calling me a snake that must be hit on the head" as among his worst critics.

Wren then develops a flattering outline of Chief Buthelezi's personal and political stature, de-

scribing him as wearing "the impetuousness of the Zulu royalty into which he was born", and stating: "His friends, among them conservatives in the United States, Britain and West Germany, applaud Buthelezi for denouncing the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and find his endorsement of free-market economics more palatable than the ANC's talk about nationalisation and redistribution of wealth."

"They like Buthelezi's opposition to economic sanctions and to the guerrilla struggle that the ANC finally suspended last August."

"They like Buthelezi, in short, for the very reason his enemies, at home and overseas, hate him: his ideology sounds neither revolutionary nor romantic, but pragmatically middle-of-the-road." — Star Bureau. □

Chief regrets 'ANC links to Israel's foes'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lamented the "very unfortunate coincidence of interest" between enemies of Israel and South African revolutionaries.

He said the circumstantial links which ANC leaders had developed with Israel's foes were reflected in ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's embrace of Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat and Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi last year.

Yet "neither Arafat nor Gaddafi has lifted one little finger to assist the true democratic struggle in this country", said Chief Buthelezi.

He was speaking in Ulundi yesterday when his Cabinet met delegations from the SA Jewish Board of Deputies and SA Zionist Federation.

Two rallies, side by side — worlds apart

Ivor Powell and Nomavenda Mathiane

THERE was a tale of two rallies in Soweto yesterday — held at the same time and physically only about 500 metres apart. But they could hardly have been more different. *Star 24/2/91*

At Jabulani Amphitheatre somewhere around 35 000 Inkatha supporters jammed into the stands and about 15 000 more milled around outside, drinking, stickfighting, cheering.

Many were armed with the "cultural weapons" which the supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party are allowed to carry — shields, sticks, sharpened poles, lead pipes, spears and even hammers.

But there were also pangas, switchblades, handguns.

The stadium echoed with long, staccato bursts of gunfire in either celebration or warning, and the air was thick with cordite.

Less than 500 metres away — but with the formidable barrier of Jabulani Police Station in between — the other rally was taking place at Jabulani Technical College.

Part protest against what is widely perceived as an apartheid assassination, part funeral, the ANC burial of activist Bheki Mlangeni could hardly be more different. He was killed last week by a booby-trapped walkman.

There was fighting talk to be sure. SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo dubbed Defence Minister Magnus Malan the "godfather of the CCB" and he railed against "professional killers in the pay of the government". He spoke of the "rage and anger" provoked by the death of Mr Mlangeni.

He hinted that there will be reprisals taken by a future government against the assassins and the criminals of apartheid.

But the revenge he spoke of — as did all of the nearly 20 speakers who took the podium — was a soft one. The hell which Mr Slovo envisaged — of feeling cheers — for the figures lurking in the shadows of racist powermongering was that of a democratic and free society.

So too all the other speakers, from ANC National Executive Committee representative Walter Sisulu to Women's League speaker Ruth Mompoti to neighbours and friends, were less preoccupied with retribution than they are with the humanity embodied in the short life of Mr Mlangeni.

There were repeated calls for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

From as early as seven in the morning Zulu warriors with red bands were making their way to the Inkatha rally. Hostels were lying almost empty. By 11 am there was no sitting space in the 35 000 capacity Jabulani Amphitheatre. Yet the impis kept pouring in until they had to be stopped.

If the IFP rally was about a show of strength and support, members spared nothing to display their loyalty.

Draped in colourful gowns, mayors and councillors from various townships were saluted by IFP chairman Dr D Madide, calling them brave sons and daughters who . . . had braved the struggle.

Speaking after 20 minutes of praise by an "imbongi" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC constituent assembly proposal, asking the crowds "Which government do you want? Do you want a real government or an interim government?"

He condemned the planned ANC mass action and toyi-toyed in derision.

Youths 'raped and murdered'

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE

A TALE of horror in which a gang of youths allegedly went on a wild orgy of rape, robbery and murder in typical "jackroller" style unfolded in the Rand Supreme Court this week.

The five youths face six counts of rape, 16 of robbery with aggravating circumstances, one of murder and two of attempted murder.

A 16-year-old rape victim broke down and wept hysterically when prosecutor DF Dorfling asked her to identify her attackers in the trial in which Eric Xolane Dube, 19, Nhlambhla Mincube, 21, Thami Newana, 20, and two minors aged 15 and 16 are facing 25 counts raging from rape to murder.

Charges against them include that of holding up a taxi driver in Moroka North on August 12, 1989. The youths are alleged to have confronted Azaria Moleko at gunpoint, ordering all his passengers to get off the vehicle. They later drove away with the minibus, leaving Moleko and his passengers stranded at a street corner.

Later, in Zone 9 Meadowlands, they allegedly went to a shebeen, impersonating the police, abducted a woman and took her to a nearby school where they raped her.

Before that, it is alleged, they attempted to murder Leon Rodney Osmond by assaulting him before robbing him of R60 and slashing his car tyres.

They are also alleged to have assaulted Dan Phetoe and robbed him of two rings valued at R400 each, a crocodile leather wallet, a watch worth R900 and R180 cash.

Still in Meadowlands, they allegedly assaulted Moses Mandela at Bop funeral

NELSON Mandela will go to Bophuthatswana for the first time today when he attends the funeral of ANC Youth League executive member Bachana Mokoena who died in a car accident in Midrand last Sunday.

Mokoena and his brother, Alfred, who was also killed in the accident, will be buried at the Ga-Rankuwa cemetery.

Accompanying Mandela will be his wife Winnie and Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani.

Inkatha lashes ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO

Clips 24/2/91 11/6

THOUSANDS of heavily armed Inkatha members marched through the streets of Soweto yesterday on their way to hear KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi call on his followers and the ANC to lay down their weapons.

Addressing about 35 000 supporters at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, he also rejected the Harare Declaration, calls for a constituent assembly, the establishment of an interim government and lashed the ANC for its mass action calls.

Buthelezi said a one-man-one-vote system was not the only kind of democracy fit for mankind.

The bomb exploded last week when Mlangeni fitted the earphones to his head. Mlangeni received the parcel containing the bomb after Coetzee failed to fetch the parcel, addressed to him, from the post office in Lusaka.

"In the past, he (the officer concerned) also prepared mechanisms for me and I used two of the bombs in Swaziland," Coetzee alleges.

"I blew up an ANC transit house with the one and a wooden house with

■ To Page 2

Mandela, De Klerk differ on new SA

By SANDILE MEMELA

Clips 24/2/91

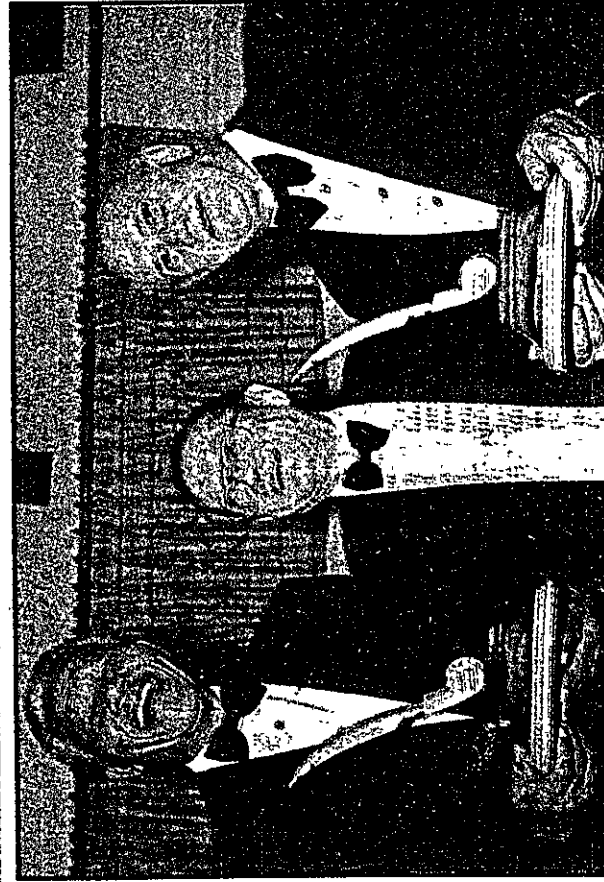
ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk differed sharply on the question of a new South Africa when they jointly received the Newsmaker of the Year award on Friday.

The two men received the prestigious award at a function hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club.

Mandela said the current government under De Klerk had no moral right to govern, and called for the creation of an interim government.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, the longer we shall be condemned to endure the steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the danger that entails," he said.

De Klerk dismissed the idea of an interim government, saying he could not accept a government which was "cooked up in talks in dark rooms".



Newsmakers ... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk receive awards from Press Club chairman Hans Lombard.

Failure to act in a way that would tolerate corruption. (327)

Buthelezi: Harare (118) document a blunder

KWAZULU'S Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday rejected the Harare Declaration, saying it will prove to be a blunder if allowed to proceed.

Buthelezi was speaking at a rally attended by more than 35 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, many heavily armed with an assortment of traditional weapons.

Speaking at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, he said the Harare Declaration will not offer the kind of democracy that everybody in the country will accept.

He also rejected calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

"There is nothing that justifies the thought that a one man one vote system of government in a unitary State employing winner takes all politics is the only democracy fit for mankind," said Buthelezi. *Sowetan 25/2/91.*

The proceedings of the rally were brought to a standstill when the councillors were introduced. Jubilant Inkatha supporters welcomed councillors with gunshot salutes.

Even Buthelezi was temporarily startled when the gunfire erupted and Inkatha supporters cheered the councillors. He was heard asking an aide: "What are they doing now? What is going on?"

EX-Rivals promote democracy

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

27/1/91

FORMER Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo and former president of Azapo Dr Saths Cooper yesterday launched the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Cape Town.

A non-partisan organisation, the MPD's self-defined mission is "to promote the establishment and maintenance of multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa."

Explaining the role of

the MPD, Dhlomo said that the institute sought to make South Africa "safe for democracy through the development of a deeply rooted democratic culture."

Objective

Dhlomo said that the primary objective was to educate the people of South Africa at grassroots level.

"There is no evidence

that democracy has ever been widely practised in South Africa.

"Instead of experience in democracy, history has bequeathed to us a legacy of political intolerance and authoritarian behaviour.

"The majority of South Africans of all races have had no experience of multi-party democracy and the values it embodies.

"At best we regard multi-party democracy as a 'good idea'. At worst we haven't a clue what it is all about," Dhlomo said.

Support

He said the MPD consulted parties across the political spectrum and everyone "from the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Hand-elsinstituit to the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the ANC were encouraging and supportive."

He said there would be

a home for anyone in the MPD, which will remain non-aligned.

"We are not a political party and we do not want to behave like one," Dhlomo said.

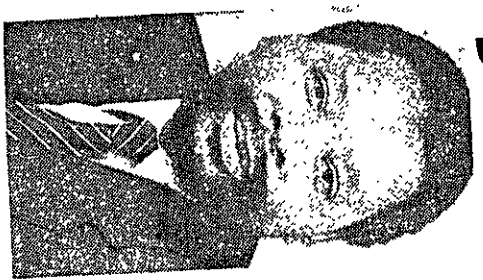
Cooper, quizzed about his party ties, said that he was no longer affiliated with Azapo.

He said he had also resigned his lecturing post at the University of the Western Cape and would from the beginning of March work full-time as the national director for the MPD.

The MPD has a board of trustees made up of leading business people, academics and intellectuals.

Trustees

Among them are: Mr Fikile Bam, Mrs Deborah Mabitsela, Ms Nomavenda Mathiane, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, Mr Don Mkhwanazi, Professor Ory Nxumalo, Mr Don Neube, Professor Herbert Vilakazi, Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Dr Richard van der Ross.



DHLOMO

Harare declaration blunder — Buthelezi

INKATHA leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has rejected the Harare declaration, saying it will prove to be a blunder if allowed to proceed.

South 28/2-6/3/91
Buthelezi was speaking at a rally attended by more than 30 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters bearing traditional weapons as well as guns.

Speaking at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, Buthelezi said the Harare declaration would not offer the kind of democracy that everybody in the country would accept.

(113)
He also rejected calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The rally was also attended by 30 black councillors from townships around the Reef and Pretoria who had been ostracised by their communities.

Some have had their houses petrol-bombed or their businesses boycotted.

The proceedings of the rally were temporarily halted when the councillors were introduced and jubilant Inkatha supporters welcomed them with gunshot salutes.

Buthelezi assured the councillors of Inkatha Freedom Party support.

Beseiged councillors find ally in Inkatha

113
2/11
Soweto 28/2/91
By DON SEOKANE

DEFIANT township councillors who have resisted calls by the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal to resign have finally found their ally in the Inkatha Freedom Party.

At a rally attended by more than 35 000 Inkatha supporters at Jabulani Amphitheatre on Saturday, councillors and mayors received a standing ovation and a mock 21-gun-salute.

Introduced as guests of honour, Kwa-Zulu chief minister Chief Gatsha Buthelezi joined them for photograph sessions.

Buthelezi assured them of IFP support - something they have been yearning for for sometime.

The councillors have been ostracised.

Some have had their houses petrol-bombed. Others have had their businesses boycotted.

Last year Cast embarked on a concerted campaign to end the councillors' jobs.

While some resigned, others remained defiant, especially those in Soweto. Even mass action campaigns could not change their minds.

Those that resigned criticised the Transvaal Provincial Administration for "legitimising" Cast by overlooking them, particularly during negotiations

over power cuts.

Buthelezi strongly lashed out at the campaign to oust councillors.

"It is shameful that campaigns against local authorities have cost us so many lives and such heavy losses through the destruction of so many homes," he said.

"We respect the right of people to offer themselves for these council positions and we respect the right of people who want to vote for them to do so."

"We respect you for the positions that you hold," Buthelezi told the councillors.

The councillors have accused Cast of being undemocratic, pointing out that its leaders are not elected.

They have urged Cast and any other organisation that opposes them to contest their legitimacy through the ballot.

They argued that the reason for the low turnout in their elections is that people have been intimidated and told not to vote.

In a message of hope to councillors besieged by rent boycotts and power cuts, Buthelezi said that he expected that people would no longer be intimidated after his meeting with the ANC.

Inkatha cuddles up to new allies on the Reef



St Alban's matric pupil Anthony Mhlanga, left, is jetting off to Europe. With him is Hennie Viljoen of the soft drink firm sponsoring his holiday.

Editor slams parents on education

ISSUES affecting black education had been left to politicians even though educationists were better qualified to deal with these problems, *City Press* editor Khulu Sibiya said this week.

He was addressing guests at a function at which National Beverages awarded bursaries amounting to R300 000 to 23 private schools in Johannesburg.

Sibiya said it was time people stopped pointing fingers at each other without providing solutions.

He lashed out at parents for not taking an active interest in their children's education, saying: "It seems we have abdicated responsibility and do not care any more."

Sibiya urged students to go back to school and learn.

"What good will more schools do if pupils stay away from them or use them for means other than learning?"

"What good will the provision of more books be if they end up in flames when pupils demonstrate their anger at the education system?"

... and takes a step further away from links with the ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO *C/Prem 3/3/91*

THE presence of several Reef township mayors and councillors at Inkatha Freedom Party's rally in Soweto last weekend raised eyebrows.

To compound the issue Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi confirmed that any lingering hopes for a possible rapprochement between his party and the ANC were fading fast.

While councillors have in the past attended Inkatha's rallies in Soweto, it was the first time they had come in such big numbers and been lauded so profusely.

At the rally they were referred to as "heroes" who had withstood "intimidation, harassment, murder, the burning down of their homes" and countless other atrocities.

What political mileage does Buthelezi hope to gain?

He must be aware how unpopular councillors are and of the potential liability of such an alliance.

It also appears that Buthelezi will never merge with or play a junior role to the ANC, and sees Inkatha as an "election winning political party".

He told the crowd of 35 000 that Mandela could take his own policy decisions and he would take his.

"Then we must go to the people to decide the who's who of South African leadership."

This is the first time Buthelezi has openly challenged Mandela in the political leadership stakes.

Until recently there was hope that the two organisations might resolve their differences and that Inkatha might team up with the ANC.

But this no longer seems the case.

By aligning with councillors on the Reef Inkatha may collect a few more votes.

Buthelezi could even get support from followers of Ephraim Tshabalala's Sofasonke Party, some of which were at the rally.

But even with this, Buthelezi will not get a strong support base on the Reef.

Councillors are a discredited lot and Sofasonke is not a serious factor in black politics.

Is Inkatha hoping for an alliance with such discredited people? If so, what does he hope to achieve?

Inkatha reports membership surge

INKATHA has gained more than 200 000 members since becoming a fully fledged political party last June, says information officer Suzanne Vos.

She said Inkatha membership had grown steadily since its inception in 1975.

By June last year membership stood at 1.9-million.

Since opening its ranks to all and becoming the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), it had experienced further dramatic growth.

"A significant number of white members, for instance, have joined existing branches, and all-race branches are being continually launched throughout Transvaal, the Cape, Natal and the Free State.

"There has been considerable interest shown by the Indian community in Natal and strong response (from whites) in Durban, northern Natal, the Natal midlands, parts of the Free State, central Johannesburg

and its northern suburbs, Pretoria and in Cape Town," Vos said.

Many individual applications had been received from as far afield as Tzaneen, Middleburg and many small towns throughout the Transvaal, Cape and eastern Cape.

Influx

"These members have often mentioned — in letters applying for membership — that they admire IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Christian principles as espoused in television interviews, his commitment to negotiations and a free enterprise economic system, and his consistent denunciation of the armed struggle, sanctions and so on..." said Vos.

The Johannesburg suburb of Hillbrow had seen an influx of Inkatha members in the past year and other

residents in the area had joined since.

There were strong and growing branches of workers belonging to the Inkatha Women's Brigade throughout many Johannesburg suburbs.

"The Sandton office has also been inundated with inquiries and requests for membership, as have our offices in Durban and Ulundi.

"Our office in Welkom reports a steady increase in members there," Vos said.

There had also been strong interest in the IFP in Bophuthatswana and various branches had opened there and in Ciskei.

"From October 1990 to date our Johannesburg office alone has received about 1 500 written inquiries from whites regarding membership. Nearly all have returned application forms posted to them."

Vos said this was in addition to the regular signing up of members handled by the Inkatha office in Johannesburg.

THEO RAWANA

B/029 4/3/91

(110)

New wind of change in Africa

Spur 7/3/91.



THE report of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons on Southern Africa, published this week, is phrased in the politest of language, but one can feel the muscles rippling under the surface.

Second, Africa must compete more energetically now with the Eastern bloc, the Pacific rim and the European Community for investment funds.

Third, the Gulf is making huge new demands on money, time and energies.

As for apartheid, it will soon be yesterday's agenda, and this will change completely South Africa's political relationships with its neighbours. It will no longer be possible for Southern African regimes to run for international cover because of the threat from the south.

"A new 'wind of change' is blowing through Southern Africa," says the report. "The first led to the rapid decolonisation and transformation of colonial territories into independent nation states. This second wind of change is blowing through the political and economic structures of those states."

The primary needs of southern African countries in the new era now beginning will be economic, but if these countries want to receive economic help they will have to heed the warnings sound-

ed in the committee's report, namely:

● The argument "still put forward by presidents Kaunda and Mugabe, among others" that tribal and regional divisions rule out multiparty democracy is not valid.

● There is no single model of democracy — southern African countries may all have their own traditions and conditions "and Western models may be worse than useless" — but certain principles are essential: "Multiparty democracy; free elections, a free press, the rule of law, an independent judiciary, an efficient and uncorrupt government and civil service, and separation between state and party."

The committee says: "It should be brought home to the countries of southern Africa that these principles are not options, but essential for economic development. If they are permanently to emerge from poverty, they will need to create wealth for all of their people, not only a section of them, and they will need to do so with the consent and co-operation of their people."

Like the voice of the turtle, the cry of "good governance" will be heard in southern Africa now, and it will be directed as much at Pretoria as at Lusaka, as much at Harare as at Lilongwe.

If there are governments that think the committee is being one-sided, they should note its comment on the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programmes.

"The heavily centralised State-controlled economic 'models' adopted by a number of states are now discredited," the committee says. "The alternative, rather simplistic adoption of IMF principles has also... created social and political strains which make lasting economic improvement difficult and dubious."

The report notes that "the World Bank has agreed that in the 1990s the way in which structural adjustment programmes are supported will need to change."

The interesting side to the report is that it is signed not only by the Conservative majority of its members, but also by the Labour minority, except on the sanctions issue, and in the case of Dennis

Canavan, a left-wing Labour MP, additionally on the wording of a couple of other recommendations.

Former Labour Minister Ted Rowlands and Mr Canavan accept it is now only a matter of when not whether sanctions are lifted, but they want Britain to wait for a collective lifting, and not to go it alone.

The sanctions issue is, however, a fading one. Britain will push for the earliest possible lifting of sanctions, and on minor sanctions it may act unilaterally, but it is not going to get into a major argument again with the Commonwealth over sanctions. Those days are just about over.

In any case, the new order the committee has in mind will require the Commonwealth to re-define its role in southern Africa and become less political and more "functional" — fostering economic, technical and development co-operation.

The committee has no authority to impose its views on the British government or on anyone else, but it is clearly reflecting mainstream thinking when it offers a vision of South Africa restored to

Commonwealth membership and the Commonwealth becoming a key player in southern Africa.

The vision not only gives Britain an "influential role" within the above framework, but also later sees it forming "a crucial link between southern Africa and the developed world through the Commonwealth and perhaps also through the link between the EC

countries of the Lome Convention".

The committee's underlying assumption is that even if there are still obstacles ahead, South Africa appears to be on the road to overcoming them, and its future lies in locking itself more closely into the Southern African region.

Some smaller neighbours might fear their economies will be harmed by South Africa in the

new era, "but overall we discovered considerable enthusiasm for the prospect of a dynamic regional economy driven by South Africa's advanced industry and financial institutions."

That's the vision. Now it's up to the De Klerk-Mandela initiative to make its fulfilment possible. □

SAP: assistance to Inkatha

*2. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:† *Hansard S13/91*

- (1) Whether during the past eight years any section of the South African Police has directly or indirectly rendered financial or organisational assistance to Inkatha or a certain trade union, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what section, (b) to what extent and (c) what is the name of the trade union concerned;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *(S)* *(118)*

B49E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2) I refer the hon member to the answer of the hon the State President to Question 1 which I consider to be sufficient

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Star 6/3/91
FW ducks

questions about aid by NIS ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

By Peter Fabricius
Political
Correspondent ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

President de Klerk and his security ministers yesterday ducked questions in Parliament as to whether National Intelligence Service or other security agencies were giving financial and organisational support to Inkatha and other political organisations.

Umhlanga Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan put a series of questions to Mr de Klerk, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Both Mr Vlok and General Malan refused to reply and referred to Mr de Klerk's answer.

Mr Jordaan asked whether over the past 10 years any section of NIS had "directly given financial or organisational support to certain organisations, whose names have been furnished to the State President's Office".

"If so, which section of the Service, to which of these organisations and to what extent?"

No comment

Mr de Klerk said: "I am not prepared to comment in any way on whether or not there exists any specific relations between the National Intelligence Service and any persons or institutions. This will defeat the purpose of lawful actions and also the rightful, legal protection of security information as contemplated, among other things, in the Act on the Protection of Information, 1982, and other relevant laws."

If he denied these questions and later had to withhold comment on other queries for security reasons, the refusal to comment would be taken as an admission.

The same principle applied to questions directed to other members of the Cabinet.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, replying to similar questions, referred to Mr de Klerk's reply.

Mr Jordaan asked Mr Vlok whether during the past eight years the SAP had "directly or indirectly rendered financial or organisational assistance to Inkatha or a certain trade union, whose name has been furnished to the police".

I'm sorry about violence, sobs Buthelez

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, broke down in tears yesterday when he apologised to the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, for "any hurt" he might have caused him.

Speaking in Durban at the 18th annual prayer breakfast to herald the start of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that at no time had the leadership of the IFP made any deci-

sion to use violence for political purposes.

Still visibly upset, the KwaZulu political leader said that, in spite of the IFP's constant vigil to keep violence out of its party politics, he knew that members and supporters of the IFP had been drawn into violence.

He said he was sorry to South Africa for this because, as leader of the IFP, he knew that the buck stopped with him.

"I believe that the ANC's national executive must apologise to South Africa

purposefully, simply and specifically, for the planting of bombs on street corners, in discos, in supermarkets and other public places," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said it did not matter what the motivation was at the time for the act which, in hindsight, could be seen as wrong.

"Wrong is wrong. Apologies must be forthcoming."

The IFP president called for a period of silence from the 250 guests present as an expression of "sorrow that SA politics had caused so many thousands of deaths".

Asked if the ANC would also apologise, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "The ANC is in the process of peace and reconciliation. It will go a long way to assisting the peace process and it is up to all of us to see to it that there are no further incidents of violence."

The Natal leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Worrall, said: "It was an extraordinary move for any politician to say sorry and admit mistakes is not easy. Chief Buthelezi did it very statelike."

Buthelezi says sorry

Can trip 8/3/9 116

DURBAN. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday apologised to all South Africans for any violence that might have been perpetrated by members of his party.

And he broke down in tears when apologising to Mr Nelson Mandela for "any hurt" he might have caused him.

However, he said the ANC should also apologise for planting bombs in public places.

Speaking at a prayer breakfast to herald the start of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that at no time had the Inkatha leadership made any decision to use violence.

But he acknowledged that Inkatha members had sometimes been drawn into violent acts, for which he, as its leader, held himself responsible.

"I believe that the ANC's national executive must apologise to South Africa purposefully, simply and specifically, for the planting of bombs on street corners, in discos, in supermarkets and other public places," Chief Buthelezi said.

"It does not matter whether ANC activists were specifically directed to place a particular bomb in a particular place or not."

He said it did not matter what the motivation was at the time for the act which, in hindsight, could be seen as wrong.

"Wrong is wrong. Apologies must be forthcoming."

He said that at no time in the country's history had it been more possible for all to say: "Let us cease the strife; let us lay down arms; let us still all fighting; let us quieten all quarrels."

"We need these sorries to be expressed by every leader concerned in South African politics."

He included the Dutch Reformed Church, the National Party, Afrikanerdom and white South Africa. However, this did not mean that the black side need not apologise until others apologised.

The Inkatha leader called for a period of silence as an expression of "sorrow that South African politics had caused so many thousands of deaths".

• Asked if the ANC would also apologise, ANC spokesman Mr Gill Marcus said last night: "The ANC is part of the peace and reconciliation process. It is up to all of us to see to it that there are no further incidents of violence." — Own Correspondent and Sapa

● Natal priest slain — Page 2

Sorry - tearful Buthelezi

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has apologised to all South Africans for violence perpetrated by members of his party. *Sowetan 8/2/91*.

Addressing hundreds of people at the annual KwaZulu prayer breakfast in Durban yesterday morning, Buthelezi wept when he publicly apologised for any hurt he had personally caused to deputy president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said the move towards public

repentance in South Africa was not yet comprehensive or deep enough.

He had lived and would die hating violence, but acknowledged that members of the Inkatha Freedom Party had sometimes been drawn into violent acts for which he, as its leader, held himself responsible.

Buthelezi stressed that heart-felt mutual repentance was a prerequisite for the creation of a wholesome, new South Africa. - *Sapa*.

CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY

Hope is said to be a commodity in short supply in this troubled land. Fear there is in abundance. This message is there to give the lie to the pessimists. In Durban on March 7 KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, Dr M G Buthelezi, wept openly in front of an august audience attending KwaZulu's Eighteenth Prayer Breakfast. He wept for his country. And he - the one man that has the least reason to confess wrongs against others - apologized to South Africa. His statesmanship and humility have shown yet again that in Mangosuthu Buthelezi the Zulu people have produced a noble leader that has not become vengeful and embittered, despite the massive wrongs done to his people. The following abridged version of his remarks is eloquent testimony to the stuff of which real leaders is made.

"They were afraid because they were so few. And such fear could not be cast out, but by love . . . I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating."

113 Sowetan 12/3/91

Alan Paton

When one is being hurt, somebody is at fault and when one is hurting, you are so frequently at fault yourself because you respond in the wrong way. I say that I am very sorry for any hurt that I have caused Dr. Mandela, wittingly or unwittingly and I sincerely hope that the apology from him that I carry in my heart will be as simply and publicly made by him as I have now myself done. I know that because we are human beings, and therefore sinners, that we will still hurt each other even tomorrow. I nevertheless apologise for the past hurts.

On no occasion has Inkatha Freedom Party's leadership ever made any decision anywhere at any time to use violence for political purposes. I have always abhorred violence; I abhor violence now and I will die abhorring violence. I personally have never made any decision to employ violence anywhere for any purposes whatsoever. Nothing but violence can come out of violence. Nothing but the destruction of peace and the destruction of the prospects of peace can come out of violence.

My own deep convictions that violence is evil and must not be used for political purposes despite Inkatha Freedom Party's constant vigil to keep violence out of Inkatha Freedom Party politics, I know that Inkatha Freedom Party members and supporters have been drawn into violence. I say I am sorry to South Africa for this because, although I have not orchestrated one single act of violence against one single victim of the political violence that has cost us many lives, as the Leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, I know that the buck stops right in front of me.

We need these sorries to be expressed by every leader concerned in South African politics. The fact that it is terribly urgent that the Dutch Reformed Church apologise for past sins against society and its individuals and the fact that it is terribly urgent for the National Party to apologise on behalf of itself, Afrikanerdom and White South Africa for the racism in past government policy, does not mean that we on the Black side, we on the oppressed side, need not apologise until others apologise. There is a feeling amongst some Blacks that first there must be the apology of apartheid's bosses and then there can be whatever apology is needed from Black South Africa.

I say No, the time-scaling of apologies is quite contrary to the historic demand for reconciliation. God's Will is that we confess our sins to each other for acts we have committed against each other. God's Word does not tell us that there is some kind of priority listing about who must apologise first in what circumstances. No, it is a very simple direct command that we must repent and the New Testament message is very simple and direct that we must repent before forgiveness can come.

I believe that the ANC's National Executive must apologise to South Africa purposefully, simply and specifically for the planting of bombs on street corners, in discos, in supermarkets and other public places. It does not matter whether ANC activists were specifically directed to place a particular bomb in a particular place or not.

Wrong is wrong. Apologies must be forthcoming.

I say that the debate about repentance and the need for apology in South African public life is as yet not deep enough and not all-embracing enough for really meaningful acts of apology to take place. I can say to my Afrikaner brothers that I really am very sorry that one of my ancestors, King Dingane, killed Piet Retief and his followers but there is now not the national context within which that apology could be sufficiently symbolic and sufficiently matched by counter apologies for the rape of African land, and what really amounted to genocidal wars.

Blacks could have done a lot better in the struggle for liberation than they did do. There could have been a much purer set of political motives which enabled Black to join with Black to assist Black in the combatting of racism.

Repentance and calls for apology in atmospheres of holier-than-thou thinking is just not good enough. We have I believe only really begun to think about the whole question of the need for apologies to produce a really wholesome South African society.

It is remarkable that neither Dr. Nelson Mandela nor myself bear any hatred for Mr. F.W. de Klerk and his Government. Together we hate the evil that apartheid has done but together we say to Mr. de Klerk that we accept him as a man of integrity with whom we can work to put right that which is wrong.

In thinking about this Prayer Breakfast and the urgency of reconciliation for South Africa, I thought that I just had to lay the apology issue on the South African table. In doing so, I thought I must also raise the question of the apologies that are needed from South Africa's churches generally, but more particularly the question of the need for apologies from some of South Africa's more political clergy who just did not have the faith that the armed struggle was not necessary and did not have the faith in love and non-violent opposition to apartheid to back it to the hilt against all violent programmes.

In retrospect I think we can now see that

QUOTE I thought for a while that I would not say these things about reconciliation and apologies precisely because the debate had not gone deep enough and because what I am saying would therefore be inadequately reported. My prayer is that what I have said is perhaps sufficient to call forth responses in love and in concern for the emergence of a wholesome South Africa free of the kind of national guilt that cripples whole generations at a time.

the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism and the various measures it adopted to support revolutionary organisations now needs to repent because quite clearly the violence which they said was inevitably necessary because there was nothing else to do is now being proved unnecessary.

It would be a hideous distortion of political reality to say that South Africans had to die on street corners from bombs planted there because if that did not happen, there would not be the prospects of political victories being won now that there are. That would be hideously untrue.

The whole Kairos document thinking which really sought to give Christian backing to revolutionary tactics and strategies both inside violence and around violence in action in lieu of violence is now in beautiful hindsight really badly mistaken.

It was not all love and earnestness which created the faulty thinking which is now so patently clearly wrong . . .

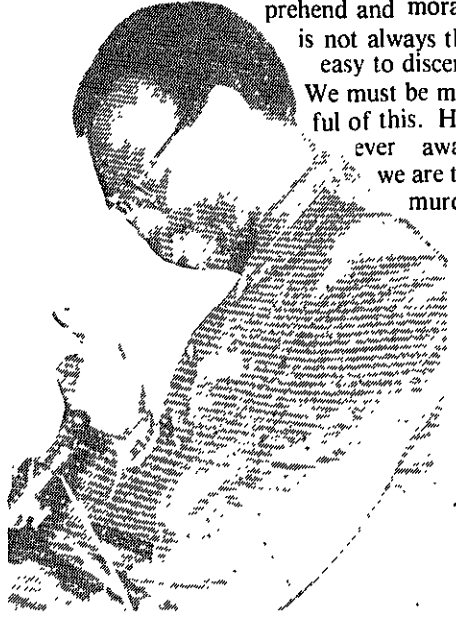
There were some who were compelled by inner desires for prominence and a love for acclaim and limelight who went too far out front to invent new theologies and new Christian moralities which were — as can now be seen — just not needed.

There is a South African nation which must cry out to God for forgiveness. Pointing to one sector of the population by another sector of the population is contrary to the spirit of reconciliation.

I thought for a while that I would not say these things about reconciliation and apologies precisely because the debate had not gone deep enough and because what I am saying would therefore be inadequately reported.

My prayer is that what I have said is perhaps sufficient to call forth responses in love and in concern for the emergence of a wholesome South Africa free of the kind of national guilt that cripples whole generations at a time.

We have a very difficult society to comprehend and morality is not always that easy to discern. We must be mindful of this. However aware we are that murder



is murder and that wrong is wrong, we tend to contextualise murder and wrong to make it more wrong in some cases and less wrong in other cases. You will remember that there was an earnest appeal made by some very leading churchmen for mercy for the murderers of Mr. Sam Kinikini, a Councillor of Uitenhage, on the grounds that those who killed him did so because they regarded him as a sell-out. That he and his son deserved being so brutally killed through the then famous 'necklace', as was implied in the rationale of those whose calling was in fact to uphold the Lord's Commandment of "Thou Shall Not Kill!"

Calls for clemency and calls for forgiveness and calls for absolving people from the consequences of action, are very confusing to ordinary folk when blame is apportioned or denied.

Let calls for clemency be made because clemency is good. Let us call for forgiveness because forgiveness is good. Let us call for clemency and forgiveness in the knowledge that we cannot earn clemency and forgiveness.

My friends, let us pray for all South Africa's leaders. Let us pray for the leadership of the ANC. Let us pray for the leadership of the South African Communist Party. Let us pray for the leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress. Let us pray for the leadership of the National Party. Let us pray for the leadership of the Conservative Party. Let us pray for the leadership of Inkatha Freedom Party and for the leadership of COSATU, AZAPO, AZASM, and a host of others in civic and other organisations large and small.

Let us uphold all these leaders in our prayers and in doing so, let us remember — and really remember — that Christ is at work on every side of every political conflict in this country. Let us pray for the leaders where Christ walks. Let us pray for the leaders Christ would influence. Let us ask for God's mercy that collectively we have just not done enough to correct the errors individual leaders make.

I am thankful to God for uncountable and unmerited mercies bestowed on me, and not least for the encouragement received over many years from godly men in the fellowship who have encouraged me in bleak and difficult times.

It has also been a strange experience then to find myself denigrated by ecclesiastical patrons of radical political movements who have not scrupled to preside over what appeared to me to be thuggery of the worst kind

But in the context of this Prayer Breakfast I want to affirm in the strongest terms possible that one of the glories of being a Christian is precisely that as members in the Body of Christ we may know God's entire pardon for our many transgressions against His law of Love. I know also that when I point the forefinger of judgement at my brothers, I always find three fingers and a thumb pointing back at myself.

THE STUFF OF LEADERSHIP

Silence on aid to Inkatha question

Sowetan 12/3/91

POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

GOVERNMENT has refused to say whether it had in the past or still was providing Inkatha with financial or organisation assistance.

In questions put first to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, and then to Defence Minister Magnus Malan, and finally to President FW de Klerk, the reply was basically said to be on a need-to-know basis and nobody needed to know.

De Klerk said that it was not in the interest of the public and suggested it could jeopardise the security of the country.

"I am not prepared to comment in any way whether or not there exists any specific relations between National Intelligence Service and any persons or institutions.

"This will defeat the purpose of lawful actions and also the rightful, legal protection of security information as contemplated amongst other things, in the Act on the Protection of Information and other relevant laws.

"Denials in related instances may lead thereto that later refusals to supply information in other instances because it will not be in public interest, can be construed as admissions," De Klerk said.

'Every redband not an Inkatha member'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Star 15/3/91

(113)

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday denied people who wore red headbands in the townships and sometimes threatened journalists were members of the party.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, after a meeting of the Joint Peace Committee of the ANC and the IFP to discuss ways of ending violence between the two organisations, IFP leaders Dr Frank Mdlalose and Dr Denis Madide said their party could not take responsibility for the actions of people who wore red headbands and claimed to be IFP members.

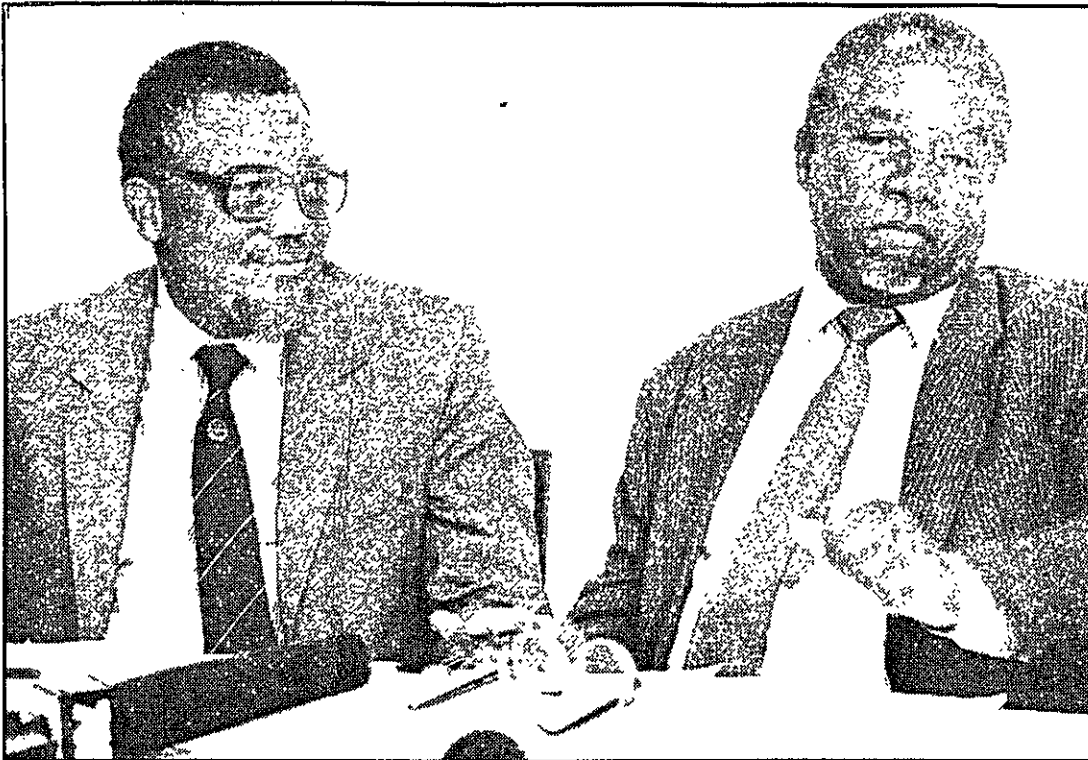
ANC leaders John Nkademeng and Jacob Zuma also said not all people who donned ANC colours were indeed members.

Yesterday's meeting came in the wake of the latest wave of violence which has claimed more than 60 lives on the Reef.

At a press conference after the meeting, a joint statement read by Dr Mdlalose said the two organisations "deeply regret and deplore the loss of life among the oppressed".

The joint statement said the meeting also gave attention to violence at Umgababa, Ndwedwe, Port Shepstone, Empangeni and the Natal Midlands.

● ANC, IFP meet — Page 6



Going all-out to end violence . . . IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose (right) and ANC national executive committee member John Nkadmeng, part of the delegation who conferred for three hours in Parktown, Johannesburg, yesterday. Picture: Alf Kumalo

ANC, IFP meet over violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Joint Peace Committee of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss ways of ending violence between the two organisations.

The meeting came in the wake of the latest wave of violence which has claimed more than 60 lives on the Reef.

Leading the two 12-aside delegations were IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose

and ANC national executive committee member John Nkadmeng.

At a press conference after the meeting, a joint statement read by Dr Mdlalose said the two organisations "deeply regret and deplore the loss of life among the oppressed people".

The committee decided to establish a Transvaal Implementation Committee within the next few days and immediately to establish another peace implementation committee in Alexandra.

Asked whether their organisations had control over their members, Mr Nkadmeng said he hoped they would follow their leadership's example.

Members of both delegations said there were people who, in the name of their organisations, committed atrocities.

The joint statement said the meeting also gave attention to violence at Umgababa, Ndwedwe, Port Shepstone, Empangeni and the Natal Midlands.

Inkatha disowns 'rooidoeke'

INKATHA yesterday disowned the notorious "rooidoek" vigilantes usually associated with the Zulu-based organisation. Inkatha vowed to help the ANC bring them to justice.

ANC and Inkatha leaders yesterday reached an agreement to identify and isolate rooidoeke who have been waging a terror campaign in Reef townships. The roving bands of hostel residents wear red headbands and commonly identify themselves as Zulus or Inkatha members.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday denied that the rooidoeke were Inkatha members.

"The red headband is not the uniform of Inkatha," Mdlalose said after senior Inkatha and ANC officials met to discuss recent violence in Reef townships.

The rooidoeke were prominent in the

PATRICK BULGER

weekend's violence at Alexandra township and are involved in virtually every large-scale township conflict.

ANC intelligence head Jacob Zuma said people hiding behind the cloak of Inkatha and ANC colours for their own benefit were going to be identified.

"We are in a better position to do joint investigations. We are aware that a criminal element has come into the violence. Our discussions are moving in a direction where we can start exposing such people."

The two delegations met under the chairmanship of Mdlalose and ANC national executive committee member John Nkadameng.

Nkadameng said the ANC would deal

□ To Page 2

'Rooidoeke'

with people who were hiding behind its colours and fomenting violence.

In a joint statement, the two sides said the meeting reviewed and received reports on the implementation of their January 29 peace accord.

The latest Reef violence was discussed.

"The peace committee decided to establish a Transvaal peace implementation committee within the next few days and a

From Page 1

peace implementation committee for Alexandra township immediately."

The two sides called for an end to "war talk" and the use of inflammatory terms like "vigilantes". They appealed for the media to co-operate by responsible reporting and promoting a climate of peace.

Tolerance and mutual respect were vital if peace was to be long-standing, the two sides said.

● Picture: Page 3

ULUNDI'S WARNING TO FW ON ANC

By S'BU MNGADI

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi delivered a stern warning to State President FW de Klerk this week, saying Inkatha would tear down piece by piece any future the NP and ANC tried to author together in some kind of private deal.

This war talk came after De Klerk opened the third session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA).

De Klerk, who was accompanied by his wife Marike and government officials, earlier told the assembly that "the Zulu people and their leaders, the KLA and Inkatha, have played a major, constructive and decisive role over many years in the process of normalising South African political life".

While delivering a "vote of thanks", Buthelezi took the head of state to task for certain comments in his biography, *FW de Klerk: The Man in his Time*, written by his brother, Professor Willem de Klerk.

In the book Willem makes a distinction between "system politics" and "struggle politics" - under which he grouped the UDF, Cosatu and a host of ANC-aligned community organisations.

Buthelezi found this deeply insulting.

"To say Inkatha was not involved in "struggle politics" is a hideous distortion of all reality," he said, adding Inkatha counted thousands of their dead and hundreds of their slain leaders as the price they paid for doing what Willem de Klerk denied they did.

Inkatha, the chief minister said, had struggled in "struggle politics" to keep democratic principles alive.

Willem also wrote that

one of the consequences of the President's address to Parliament on February 2 last year "was the public acknowledgement of the ANC's prominence in South African politics.

"The ANC and its leaders were unbanned because it holds the key to reconciliation; in fact, the ANC is essential to the National Party's programme of renewal. Emnity, one might say, has sired a kind of partnership."

The President's brother said a consequence of the "partnership" with the ANC was that the "alliance" between the Government and "system politics" had, at a stroke, lost all its prominence.

"FW's breakthrough with Buthelezi - there had been cool relations between Buthelezi and PW Botha, whereas FW and the Inkatha leader

had struck a cordial relationship - is important but no longer primary.

"Inkatha is a political force, but through the opening address, the ANC had become the main actor."

Buthelezi told the KLA that, according to Willem De Klerk, February 2 last year was a resounding triumph for the ANC because the "apartheid regime" had recognised and accommodated its claim to being the major opposition group in the country.

"Dr Willem de Klerk grandly says: '(ANC deputy president Nelson) Mandela and De Klerk now carry the keys to the future'," he quoted from the book.

The Inkatha leader warned De Klerk that South Africa could not afford "unnecessary misunderstandings" between the President and himself and their parties.

11B

17/3/91



FW de Klerk ... rapped over the knuckles by the Inkatha leader.

You, Mr President, now need to proclaim to the world that you do not intend bringing about multi-party democracy in collaboration with the ANC. If you attempt to negotiate with the ANC alone you will be bartering away your political birthright.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Buthelezi ... the NP and ANC must not try to go it alone on talks.

No secret 'deal', or we will crush you both - Buthelezi

"South Africa most certainly cannot afford soft, woolly talk amounting almost to subterfuge about critical national issues," he said, adding Willem said in the book that he had gone through the speech "paragraph by paragraph" with his

brother, which implied the book was a fair reflection of what the President thought.

Buthelezi warned: "Any future which the NP and the ANC attempted to author privately together in some kind of 'deal' behind the

the South African Government's commitment to a multi-party democracy and the ANC's call for all parties to be represented at negotiations, will be torn down piece by piece and trampled on.

"You, Mr President, now need to proclaim to the world that you do not intend bringing about multi-party democracy ... not solely in collaboration with the ANC.

"If the ANC is what Dr Willem de Klerk makes it out to be, and if you attempted only to negotiate with it alone, or to negotiate together with others in such a way that

really you are negotiating with the ANC alone, you would be bartering away your political birthright."

The KwaZulu leader said he wanted to place on record that KwaZulu would be at the negotiating table in its own right as KwaZulu.

"The people of KwaZulu are not going to stand back and say nought and do nought while others write the future of South Africa in which Zulu realities are not taken into account."

Buthelezi said the ANC and the NP would be "crushed out of contention" if they attempted to "go it alone".

113

4/press 17/3/91

**1 Inkatha
branch
larger than
all ANC'**

17/11
116
Ch. Times 21/3/91
DURBAN. — The membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party in one branch in Maritzburg alone was larger — at 286 000 — than the entire paid-up membership of the African National Congress in the country as a whole.

This claim was made here yesterday by Mr Walter Felgate, a member of Inkatha's central committee, when he spoke at the launch of

Inkatha claims 286 000 members in Maritzburg

ARCUS 22/3/91

115

The Argus Correspondent DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has 286 000 signed-up members in the Maritzburg area alone.

This was disclosed when journalists and Inkatha officials met this week.

And the party had a total of 1,8 million members at their last count in July 1990, according to Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Inkatha officials' hackles rose at the launch of the Action Group for Democracy — an organisation created to develop

favourable relations with the media — when journalists began to ask pressing questions about a breakdown in membership figures between rural and urban areas, and also membership figures in general.

White member

"We are all humans... many people live in both rural and urban areas," Dr Mdlalose said.

The first white member of the IFP, Mr Walter Felgate, said: "I don't think any other political party would disclose those kinds of figures."

However, he later revealed

that 73 000 new recruits had joined Inkatha last year, and claimed the party had 286 000 signed-up members in the Maritzburg area alone.

He said Inkatha saw an unprecedented rise in membership figures each time there was an upsurge in violence.

Underprivileged

Another white member of Inkatha, Eshowe farmer Mr Maurice Mackenzie, told the gathering why he, as a white man, had joined the party.

"In their policy statements on the economy there is no threat to our existing status other than that we open doors and increase privileges to include the underprivileged.

"Nationalisation is a frightening word when you are a capitalist."

He said Inkatha realised it had to use existing economic structures in any future political dispensation.

"The IFP is attracting more and more white people simply because its policies have got no radical activism in them."

Narinda 'finds God' as NTA mentions Pan 1111



ANC and Inkatha united on 'white man's Budget'

8/Day 22/3/91
GOVERNMENT had presented an "uncaring" Budget which favoured the rich, the ANC said yesterday, while KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described it as a "white man's Budget".

An ANC statement yesterday accused Finance Minister Barend du Plessis of paying lip service to the necessity of addressing inequality and poverty, and said his Budget speech lacked vision.

Du Plessis used sanctions as the "scapegoat for low growth in the economy and attacked the working class for low productivity".

This "superficial analysis" did not explain why there was low growth in the economy long before the onset of a comprehensive sanctions campaign, the ANC said.

Real social expenditure per capita had fallen, despite a 6% increase in nominal expenditure, because inflation stood at 14% while the population was growing at a rate of 2% a year.

Spending on housing, special aid programmes and pensions was hopelessly inadequate, the ANC added.

On the revenue side, the rate at which VAT had been introduced was far higher than all reasonable ex-

pectations and would cause extreme hardship for the poor.

Cutting the top marginal income tax rate was inappropriate. By not doing so, government could have had an extra R925m to spend on welfare.

In the ANC's view, the Budget did not indicate any serious intent on government's part to move away from apartheid priorities.

Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly the Budget represented "the best possible management of white vested interests".

"There has, of course, been no consultation with blacks about whether the Budget amounts to managing the vested interests of whites for the development of SA.

"I believe that whites will have to be prepared to do more than this. Budget expects them to do if we as a country are going to avoid mass spreading poverty becoming the mortal enemy of democracy."

Buthelezi welcomed the intention to direct resources to increase blacks' ability to enter the market economy, and increased expenditure on education.

TIM COHEN

Thumbs-down for Assembly

~~FOCUS~~
Sowetan
22/3/91
~~FOCUS~~ 118

WHILE most political parties in South Africa agree that the time is ripe to begin negotiations for a new dispensation, there are differing views on the way to achieve this.

On the one hand, there is a call for a constituent assembly made initially by the Pan Africanist Congress, Cosatu, the South African Communist Party and the Azanian People's Organisation.

On the other, there are those who call for a multi-party conference.

One of the most vociferous in their rejection of the constituent assembly is the Inkatha Freedom Party which put forward four main arguments against it.

It is feared that there could be a "winner-takes-all" situation if a particular party dominates the constituent assembly numerically.

Such a party would be in a position to dominate the writing of a new constitution, minimising the scope for compromise and consensus.

Those calling for a constituent assembly also seem to miss a very important factor - the present balance of power within South African politics.

While it is true that the State is in no position to continue minority rule, the majority are also in no position to seize power.

Statements such as the one by ANC official Barbara Hogan, who said in February that the Government was in disarray and was vulnerable to a takeover, seem to be made mainly for the benefit of the ANC's militant constituency.

It seems unlikely that the pragmatic section of the organisation's leadership believes in such rhetoric.

The "Constituent Assembly

FOCUS

YESTERDAY saw the launch of the ANC's Constituent Assembly Campaign. Not all political parties, however, are in favour of the constituent assembly. In this article, PETER AUFDER HEYDE, of the Inkatha Institute, reflects Inkatha's viewpoint.

Day" protests on February 1, which coincided with President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament, attracted less mass support than the Defiance Campaign of 1989 and the rallies to welcome ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Cape Town march, which was led by ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, only attracted some 20 000 people.

The power struggle in South Africa cannot be resolved by force. There is also no automatic situation whereby opponents negotiate a settlement on the basis of numbers alone.

Numbers alone cannot be the basis of the parties agreeing on new rules of the game.

Instead, the conflicting parties should accord each other equal status and negotiate on those terms.

This is also the case in South Africa where the existence of several parties further complicates the negotiations process.

As the first post-apartheid Government will in all probability

consist of the party emerging the strongest from the constituent assembly, elections for such an assembly will be characterised by heightened political tension, and as a result, the negotiations process could shift away from reconciliation towards conflict.

This country has already seen such an escalation of violence between political opponents that an actual constituent assembly election could be catastrophically premature.

The stakes are simply so high that elections free from violence and intimidation are virtually impossible.

With current levels of euphoria, hatred and distrust, the result must be an explosive contest of power that threatens both negotiations and stability.

One of the arguments put forward by those calling for a constituent assembly is that it is "supremely democratic" in that it allows "people's participation" in the drawing up of a new constitution.

This argument, however, ignores the fact that "the people" would then have to vote for someone who might not be able to deliver what he or she promised during the elections. Leaders do not merely follow instructions from below, they lead.

Thus, it does not automatically follow that a constitution drawn up during the negotiation process by a constituent assembly will be accepted.

Political analyst Herbert Adam points out that "if a politicised constituency ultimately disagrees with negotiated compromises or worse, rejects its previously acclaimed leaders as undemocratic, the negotiated solutions are not worth the paper they are written on."

The IFP therefore calls for a multi-party conference at which all parties with recognisable constituencies will have a chance to participate in the drawing up of a new constitution, which could be ratified and legitimised by a referendum once it has been formulated.

This model, used during the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba, showed that 95 percent of the ideologically diverse participants were after nine months able to agree on a detailed constitutional model, acceptable to at least 80 percent of the adult population.

Should this Indaba format be followed in the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa, it would be to the benefit of all.

It will be particularly important to keep the people regularly and fully informed of the progress made, orientating and even educating them as the real issues are being debated and addressed.

This will help to replace euphoria-driven expectations with a more considered appreciation of what should or should not be done.

In this way, the vote of the people in a post-negotiations referendum will thus be more realistically based that it would otherwise be.

Finally, this would clear the way for the subsequent general election, contested on the basis of the political manifestos.

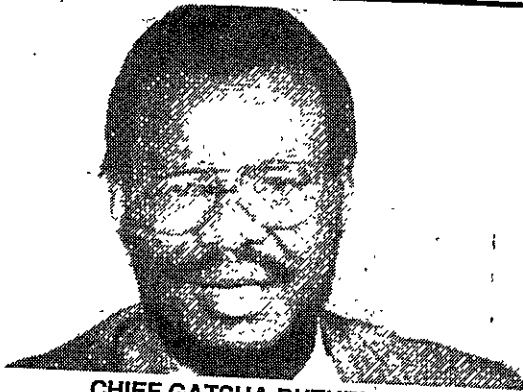
Most importantly, this political contest only takes place once inter-party reconciliation has taken place and once a minimal level of political understanding has been achieved by the electorate in a normalised rather than liberatory political environment.

The constituent assembly approach is likely to achieve the exact opposite.

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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CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI

BLACK leaders could not even begin to mobilise people behind the negotiation process while political violence remained endemic, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was told in Ulundi yesterday.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said during his policy speech that casualty figures in the political conflict were very high.

"Only wars produce these kind of statistics," he said.

South Africa was nowhere near the time when black leaders of different political opinions were free to seek support from the electorate in both black and white communities and to receive mandates giving them the right to speak on behalf of people at the ne-

Leaders of blacks not yet ready ^{Sowetan 22/3/91} (1/3) - Buthelezi

gotiating table.

Although pleased with the January 29 Durban accord with the ANC, Buthelezi said the violence in various parts of the country was a "sombre reminder that the January meeting produced no magic formula for success".

Though the accord said violence had to be

dealt with and "war talk" cease, it did not mean that violence could not be discussed.

Buthelezi said the ANC was grappling with the problem of violence because its lower rung leadership and grassroots members were "not yet brought under control and cannot yet be directed to act for peace". - Sapa.

Thousands of TVI Whites join Inkatha

Star 23/3/91

11B

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has recruited 47 000 white members in the Transvaal since it opened its ranks to all races last July, says IFP central committee member Musa Myeni. "They are all paid-up members," he says.

Branch

The PWV has been a fruitful catchment area for Inkatha and the IFP will launch a branch in Sandton next month and open an office there soon, Mr Myeni said.

The PWV, however, is not the only area where the IFP has attracted white members: the western Cape and Natal have proved to be fruitful areas for the IFP drive to boost its membership and prepare itself for the electoral battle to come.

Mr Myeni, a university graduate who was detained for nine months in the 1970s when Jimmy Kruger was Minister of Police, stresses that not all its recruits since last July are white. The IFP's membership has risen

PATRICK LAURENCE

from 1,8 million to 2,2 million since Inkatha transformed itself from a movement into a political party, Mr Myeni says. "We have experienced tremendous growth, mainly in the Transvaal and the Cape and particularly among non-Zulu blacks and whites," he adds. Mr Myeni gives three central reasons for the IFP's growth:

- People are now exposed to views of the IFP's main rivals in the black community and thus able to compare the IFP's platform to those of its opponents.
- People reject the violence which characterises South Africa today. They see the IFP as an organisation capable of defending communities against "intimidation, harassment and violence".
- The IFP has been able to engage its main rivals in debate on television and to speak out clearly on critical issues.

Mr Myeni adds two more reasons: the IFP's "concerted efforts to mobilise on the ground" and its alliance with political formations which he is

"not at liberty to expose".

One formation may be the beleaguered township councillors, who have recently proclaimed that "an injury to one councillor is an injury to all" and hinted that they have "power behind them".

The IFP, responds Mr Myeni, condemns apartheid and local government structures associated with it which have not been given sufficient funds to function as full municipalities.

Right

But, he adds, the IFP accepts individual councillors who join it and defends the right of people to participate in township councils if they wish to do so.

Mr Myeni accuses the African National Congress and its ally, the South African Communist Party, of trying to coerce councillors into resigning.

Their motive, he says, is to make the townships ungovernable, to take over in the ensuing chaos and to convert them into "no-go" areas for political opponents. He criticises the ANC-aligned Civic

Associations of Southern Transvaal or CAST for mounting a campaign of intimidation against councillors, charging that it is the tool of the SACP.

He contends that CAST and its communist mentors are illogical: if they really want to destroy apartheid structures, they should destroy the townships themselves because they are the product of apartheid.

"There can be no township councils without townships," he says.

The same inconsistency is manifest in their hostility to the homeland system: Kwazulu and Bophuthatwana are singled out for attack while Transkei is accepted as a fraternal ally.

Realpolitik and not principle underlie the campaign against "apartheid structures," Mr Myeni says. Those structures which the ANC-alliance cannot control must be made ungovernable but those which fall within its sphere of influence are acceptable, he argues.

● The home of an Inkatha councillor in Munsieville, Catherine Kgononge, was this week set on fire and destroyed.

23/3/91

4 Weekend Argus, March

NEWS

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**Inkatha
claims
47 000
Vaalies**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party had recruited 47 000 paid-up white members in the Transvaal since it opened its ranks last July, according to IFP central committee member Mr Musa Myeni.

The PWV area had been a fruitful catchment area and the IFP would launch a branch in Sandton next month and open an office there soon.

The PWV, however, was not the only area where the party had attracted white members; the Western Cape and Natal had proved fruitful for the IFP drive to boost its membership and prepare for the electoral battle to come.

Mr Myeni emphasised that not all its recruits since last July were white.

The IFP's membership had risen from 1,8 million to 2,2 million since Inkatha transformed itself from a movement into a political party.

"We have experienced tremendous growth, mainly in the Transvaal and the Cape, and particularly among non-Zulu blacks and whites," he added.

Mr Myeni said the IFP condemned apartheid and local government structures associated with it which had not been given enough funds to function as full municipalities.

However, the IFP accepted individual councillors who joined and defended the right of people to take part in township councils if they wanted.

Realpolitik and not principle underlay the campaign against "apartheid structures," said Mr Myeni.

Those structures which the ANC-alliance could not control must be made ungovernable, but those which fell within its sphere of influence were acceptable, he claimed.

Inkatha Party claims 1,8-m members

INKATHA Freedom Party has 286 000 signed-up members in the Maritzburg area alone, journalists at a weekend get-together with Inkatha officials were told. (112)

And the party had a total of 1,8 million members at their last count in July 1990, according to Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Inkatha officials' hackles rose at the launch of the Action Group for Democracy - an organisation created to develop favourable relations with the media - in Durban, when journalists began to ask pressing questions about a breakdown in membership figures between rural and urban areas, and also membership figures in general.

"We are all humans...many people live in both rural and urban areas," Mdlalose said.

The first white member of the IFP, Mr Walter Felgate, said: "I don't think any other political party would disclose those kinds of figures".

However, he later revealed that 73 000 new recruits had joined Inkatha last year, and claimed that the party had 286 000 signed-up members in the Maritzburg area alone. *Sowetan*

Violence

2-5/3/91

He said Inkatha saw an unprecedented rise in membership figures each time there was an upsurge in violence.

Another white member of Inkatha, Eshowe farmer Mr Maurice MacKenzie, told the gathering why he, as a white man, had joined the party.

"In their policy statements on the economy...there is no threat to our existing status other than that we open doors and increase privileges to include the underprivileged," he said.

"Nationalisation is a frightening word when you are a capitalist."

He said Inkatha realised that they had to use existing economic structures in any future political dispensation.

"The IFP is attracting more and more white people simply because its policies have got no radical activism in them," he said.

Chairman of the Action Group for Democracy, Mr Johnny Mhlungu, said the AGD's immediate priority was to develop favourable relations with the Press.

He said they would also function to serve the broader cause of democracy in a free enterprise, market-driven society, with their main responsibility to Inkatha.

Sowetan Correspondent

ANC stalling over peace - Buthelezi

Soweto 27/3/91

113



THE Inkatha Freedom Party has been waiting since March 15 for the ANC to submit names for a proposed peace committee to foster peace between the two organisations in the Transvaal.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Monday following another violent weekend.

Peace talks

The ANC and the IFP agreed to establish a peace committee for the Transvaal during peace talks on March 14. The committee was to be made up of nine members from each organisation.

The IFP had named its team, Buthelezi said.

Commenting on violence over the weekend, in which 12 people were killed at Daveyton and an estimated 28 deaths elsewhere in the country, Buthelezi said this was a matter of great sadness.

'All Transvaal councillors now members of Inkatha'

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and WALLY MBEHELE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has scored an important organisational breakthrough by signing up all black councillors in the Transvaal, says Alexandra mayor Prince Mokoena. This places all functioning town councils in the hands of the IFP — a crucial power base.

Among the forces now loyal to the IFP are the Soweto council, including the Sefisoanke Party of Ephraim Tshabalala.

However, according to Mokoena — who gave a rare interview to *The Weekly Mail* this week — councillors belonging to the Urban Councils Association of South Africa first wrote to all the major black political parties asking to join.

The Azanian People's Organisation never responded, the Pan Africanist Congress said they must first resign from apartheid structures, while the African National Congress — the first choice of most councillors — took three months to respond.

Mokoena — who claimed his father was a founder member of the ANC in Alexandra — said he had been turned against the ANC when deputy president Nelson Mandela called for mass mobilisation against councillors and Mokoena charged, supported the dumping of refuse outside councillor's houses.

"I grew up under the ANC flag until the civic changed my mind by bombarding my house."

Inkatha, he said, responded promptly and was more than willing to take them in and all joined

en masse at a rally at Jabulani on February 23.

However, Mokoena has not yet seen an Inkatha constitution — though he is expecting a pile from Umtsozi soon, which he will be distributing among the councillors.

Mokoena blamed yesterday's massacre in Alexandra on a "third force" which he said could have links to extremist white groups. He also claimed that there could be an alliance between the "third force" and the ANC.

On the violence of the past weeks, he denied that he had addressed hostel dwellers to whip up Zulu ethnic feelings and sentiment against the Alexandra Accord. He said the violence of the past weeks resulted from the "third force" taking advantage of a clash between a Xhosa man and a Zulu man over the same woman. The Zulu man was killed.

"The 'third force' got in there because whatever wrongs they were doing Inkatha would be blamed or the ANC was going to be blamed."

He said ANC regional leader Popo Mofe used the issue as a political weapon to force him to resign. "In a way he was sentencing me to death because if I resigned from the council today to support their demand, the relatives of the people who were killed will come to me and say 'Here's a man responsible for all the death'."

Of the Alexandra Accord — which Mokoena has been accused of fomenting violence and opposition to — he was remarkably happy: "It is the best thing that has ever happened in my career as a councillor."



Prince Mokoena ... 'If I resigned the relatives of the dead would kill me...'

Photograph: JUSTIN SHOLK

Inkatha attractive to Sandtonians

Story and picture:
SUE OLSWANG



AT LEAST 250 white South Africans, many of them business and professional people, have joined the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) since it opened a branch in the affluent Sandton area.

Included in the list of new members is a well-known film maker, who joined the IFP after a domestic worker introduced him to the political party led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Comfortable

The branch committee — made up of new members and long-time members who have moved to the Sandton area — includes an advocate, a lawyer, a real estate agent, a financier, a university lecturer, a journalist, a construction industry businessman and a man who has been ac-

Suzanne Vos ... of Inkatha's Sandton branch.

tive in Sandton's community affairs.

What makes the IFP appeal to these people?

Branch co-ordinator Suzanne Vos, who is also the IFP's national press and media relations officer, said people feel comfortable with the IFP and Chief Buthelezi.

"Everyone knows about Chief Buthelezi. What he and Inkatha have said over the years has remained consistent.

They are and have always been committed to democracy and civilised values.

"Chief Buthelezi is anti-apartheid, anti-sanctions and anti-communism. He espouses non-violence and a multi-strategy approach to politics. He has always taken a pro free-enterprise approach and has called for investment and job creation. Other parties have done the opposite."

Ms Vos is a former journalist with 22 years experience in black politics.

Questioned about the IFP's attraction for South Africans from all population groups, despite its historical background as a Zulu cultural organisation, Ms Vos said: "It was never a Zulu movement, per se.

"Former Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger said Inkatha couldn't move further than kwaZulu. This was overcome

by opening kwaZulu citizenship to all.

"Historically Inkatha was predominantly Zulu, but that is no longer the case. The national youth leader of the IFP is a Sotho person. The IFP is now a hard-ball political party and not a Zulu organisation. It is racist to call the IFP a Zulu group — we take great exception to that."

116 Invited

Ms Vos said the Sandton IFP branch now about 500 members.

"At the moment we're working from the homes of committee members, but will move soon into provincial IFP offices in the Johannesburg CBD.

"We also attend house meetings where we've been invited to talk."

She said the Sandton branch will be inaugurated by Chief Buthelezi some time in May or June.

Govt, ANC, Inkatha deny moves to form exclusive alliance

Star 3/4/91



By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government, the ANC and Inkatha have denied that they have officially discussed the formation of a "troika" alliance among themselves that would exclude other political parties.

But some Government leaders are believed to have informally discussed the idea of a National Party/ANC/Inkatha interim coalition which they believe could command 90 percent of the country's support.

Violence

The three parties responded to mounting speculation since the weekend, after a reported call by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a troika leadership — comprising himself, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — to "guide" the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have described the suggestion as reasonable.

The exchange happened when the two leaders met in Durban to discuss the continuing violence between their supporters.

But yesterday leading spokesmen of all three parties hastened to give the reassurance that no secret deal had been struck or even discussed.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said informal discussions were taking place concerning a multi-party conference.

Senior ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said any interim government would have to be "inclusive not exclusive".

He said the ANC believed one of the possibilities of an all-party conference was that it

could be transformed into an interim government.

There would have to be many bilateral discussions about who should attend the all-party conference. The Government was holding such discussions and so was the ANC. However, Mr Pahad was not aware of any discussions between the ANC and Inkatha on this point.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, denied that his party was holding discussions about an alliance with the ANC and the NP "to the exclusion of anyone else".

But the IFP was prepared to speak to everyone, including the ANC and the NP.

Government sources have also played down the meeting of parliamentary leaders which President de Klerk has called in his office for next Monday.

They said the meeting should be seen as an attempt to create a parliamentary forum rather than a "united front", as had been speculated.

Support

The sources said Mr de Klerk has already established two forums of parties within the system — a forum of ministers' councils in the three Houses of Parliament which had been meeting three or four times a year, and a forum of regional leaders (the self-governing territories and the provincial administrations) which had met a few times.

Monday's gathering would be the start of a third forum, they said.

Weekend press speculation gives the meeting a much larger importance, presenting it as an effort to counter plans by the ANC and others to unite support for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

'Three wise men' to meet

2000 110

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*

IFP slams call for arms ban

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has dismissed the ANC's call for a ban on "traditional weapons" as a "cheap anti-Inkatha exercise".

In a statement released in Durban yesterday, a spokesman said Inkatha deplored the ANC's attempts to once again involve it in talks between the ANC and the Government.

The statement said: "The IFP and the ANC have created channels through which issues such as this one should be addressed. It is unfortunate that the ANC chose not to use these but rather raise the issue with the Government.

"We note with alarm the fact that no mention is made of the sophisticated modern weaponry with which the ANC has waged its armed struggle.

"It is a known fact that the majority of people killed during the fighting that has plagued this country over the past months have been killed by such weapons.

"Just this week, a number of limpet mines were placed outside a hostel in Soweto, obviously aimed at

the inmates living in the hostel, the majority of whom are Inkatha members.

"Numerous ANC spokesmen have in the past made repeated calls for the setting up of armed self-defence units. These statements seem to be a contradiction to their latest calls. *Sowetan 5/4/91*

"The ANC also seems to be unaware that there is a major difference between traditional weapons and weapons used during the violence such as pangas and knives."

The spokesman said the ANC's call ignored Zulu traditions.

"Traditionally every Zulu male carries his traditional weapon with him and the call to put an end to this is tantamount to calling for an end to the traditional values held in high regard by the Zulu nation.

"The IFP therefore views the ANC's call as yet another attempt to enforce its beliefs on a large proportion of South Africans. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

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Buthelezi defends use of cultural weapons

118

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."

Inkatha won't give up weapons 11B

By Brian Sokutu
and Abel Mushi

8/4/91

Inkatha supporters will not abandon the carrying of "traditional weapons", the organisation's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said yesterday. Addressing a crowd of about 3 000 people at Katlehong's Huntersfield Stadium, Dr Mdlalose said it was Zulu tradition for men to carry sticks.

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

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

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

Speakers, including Dr Mdlalose, repeatedly urged the crowd to stay calm and listen

to speeches. However, they sang songs of "war" against the Xhosas and the ANC.

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

'Surprised'

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

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

Responding to Dr Mdlalose's statement, the ANC last night said it wished to make it clear that it had not cancelled or

postponed the proposed April 11 ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party meeting, but was merely looking for a date suitable to both parties. The ANC said the meeting was of great importance.

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

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

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

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

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

ANC stance disappoints Buthelezi

KWAZULU chief minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed" with the statement released by the ANC on Friday.

However, he said he would respond further in a major statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly today.

In an open letter, the ANC served an ultimatum on State President FW de Klerk concerning the ongoing violence in the townships and called for the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The ANC also charged the violence was perpetrated to "inflate the image of the IFP from

that of a minor to the rank of that of the third major player in the political arena".

In response, Chief Buthelezi said ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had told him he had cancelled his trip to West Africa because the issue of violence was serious.

Future

"There was no indication from him that the NEC (National Executive Committee) meeting would produce the kind of

outcome it did - which does not augur well for future constructive dealings between our organisations.

"In light of the actions and utterances of the ANC/SACP alliance, I am consulting with leaders of the Zulu nation and the IFP about how I can deal with them," Buthelezi said.

"I had hoped we could now work quickly and with common purpose for peace and engendering political tolerance," he said. - Sapa.

Sowe Jan
8/4/91

11B



No return for ANC, says IFP

Sowetan 9/4/91

ULUNDI - The driving forces in the ANC's military wing have pushed the organisation into a no-return position which has temporarily scuttled negotiations and set the stage for the movement's attempt to seize power.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday in response to Friday's ANC "open letter" to President FW de Klerk.

The newly established accord between the ANC and IFP had been destroyed.

"The South African Government cannot speak

on behalf of the IFP and anything it says about the negotiation process still being on track is political poppycock," he said.

Friday's letter attacked the IFP, saying township violence was orchestrated by the State to inflate the image of the IFP to the rank of a "third major player in the political arena".

Demands

The ANC had made impossible demands on the Government and knew they could not be met, Buthelezi said.

"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."

The ultimatum had come at a time when there was a "quantum leap" away from the politics of the past 14 months.

Sapa.

Mandela, Buthelezi discuss ANC ultimatum

Star 11/4/91
● From Page 1

lives in the Union Buildings.

"Black life is cheap in this country ... My attempts (at rectifying this perception) have been fruitless ... We thought we could persuade the Government out of this, but we have failed."

It was not Mr de Klerk's supporters who were dying, Mr Mandela is reported to have said.

Believing that all avenues had been exhausted in trying to prompt the Government to react decisively, the ANC had de-

cidied "the time has come to say 'this far and no further'."

It was not an ultimatum which sought to buy time or threaten negotiations, he said. "We have been making all these demands ever since I left prison ... (We have been compelled) to take action to end the violence, to ensure peace, and that the process remains on course ..."

"If the Government addresses the demands seriously, the ANC will not be found wanting."

Mr Mandela reported-

ly dismissed out of hand suggestions that he had been pressured by ANC "hawks" into supporting the hard-line stand on the violence. He had considered this course of action as early as September last year, he said, and the national executive committee was now in full agreement on the issue.

"When we were convinced that all possibilities had been tried, we said, okay, our aim (still) remains to create conditions conducive to peace, and we appeal to you to

support us."

Mr Mandela conceded there was a "factional" element to the violence, and that ANC members were not blameless. But this had to be seen in the context of three other related factors: a "third force", "unacceptable methods of crowd control", and the "connivance of the Government" with other organisations.

"If there is still violence being committed by our supporters," he is reported to have said,

"we are trying to stop it. (Ministers

Adriaan and Magnus) Vlok and Malan must clean up their own departments.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said in Johannesburg the organisation was not adamant that its ultimatum had to be met in full by its May 9 deadline.

A "response" by the Government before the deadline would result in the ANC considering whether to go ahead with its threat.

● Getting down to grassroots — Page 16

Mandela, Buthelezi discuss ultimatum

Star 11/4/91
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In an effort to patch up strained relations with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANC's open letter to the Government — in which Inkatha was labelled a "minor" political player and which demanded drastic State action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr Mandela had initiated the telephone conversation with Chief Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had been directed at Government "inaction" and not at the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The ANC's department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as lengthy and cordial.

11B
"Both leaders agreed to end their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments."

Chief Buthelezi last night issued a statement in which he said he told Mr Mandela that only the IFP central committee and the ANC national executive could take any step towards rectifying the "very difficult position into which the ANC's letter thrust IFP/ANC relationships."

"The IFP's central committee was scheduled to meet on Sunday and the matter would be laid before the central committee."

On Monday, Chief Buthelezi responded heatedly to the ANC's letter and the accusation that perpetrators of the protracted violence aimed to "inflate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena".

Chief Buthelezi warned that negotiations between the Government and the IFP would now proceed without the ANC.

From Cape Town, The Star special writer Shaun Johnson says the ANC is making a strong diplomatic comeback after the avalanche of criticism following Friday's "ultimatum".

Diplomats and political observers are revising their earlier assessment that the ANC was being disingenuous in threatening the negotiations process because of the Government's failure to halt township violence.

After extraordinary briefings to senior diplomats, community representatives and some journalists in Cape Town on Tuesday by Mr Mandela, a variety of sources said they had found the ANC's explanation of its reasons for issuing the ultimatum "convincing".

"I think they have a point

when they say no one realises the seriousness with which they regard the violence in which some 6 000 people have died," said one source. "I have no doubt there are internal tensions (within the ANC) but this ultimatum is primarily a genuine attempt to solve the problem of violence."

According to the sources, Mr Mandela railed against the media, in particular, for interpreting the letter as a stalling tactic and an ultimatum which sought to derail the negotiations process. He argued that the peace process would collapse if the Government was not prompted into dramatic action.

Mr Mandela is reported to have said in closed-door briefings: "We want to create an ideal climate conducive to negotiations. But the violence is a priority issue. I live in the townships, where people are dying. De Klerk

● To Page 3

Mandela

□ From Page 1

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

ANC spokesman Saki Macozona said no agreement to meet was made but neither was there any agreement that the two leaders should not meet.

It is believed the two could address a joint peace rally.

A date had not been finalised but this was only a matter of finding a date suitable to both parties, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that diplomats who attended Mandela's briefing of diplomats on Tuesday agreed the ANC should be assisted to help break the deadlock.

Diplomats saw a role for themselves in encouraging a meeting between Mandela and President F. W. de Klerk, preferably once the dust had been allowed to settle.

Mandela in phone call to Buthelezi

TIM COHEN

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to open the way for discussions on the sharp exchanges which had taken place between them recently, the ANC said yesterday.

An ANC statement described the telephone conversation as "lengthy" and "cordial". It was initiated by Mandela, the statement said.

The conversation follows critical comments made by the ANC about the status of the Inkatha Freedom Party in its ultimatum to government in which it referred to Inkatha as a "minor" political player.

An appendix to the ultimatum 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. Buthelezi was outraged by the comments, and warned that civil war could follow the ANC's ultimatum.

The ANC's statement said Mandela explained the purpose of the ANC's open letter, pointing out that it was directed at government inaction and not at Inkatha.

□ To Page 2

Inkatha denies 'war Cabinet' claim

Political Staff

Star 12/4/91

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has denied allegations that it has a Transvaal "war Cabinet" that is planning attacks against the ANC in five Vaal townships.

The allegations were made yesterday in a lengthy interview with Sapa by Siza Bennett Rani, chairman of the ANC in Sharpeville. He said ANC intelligence

had uncovered the existence of an IFP Transvaal "war Cabinet", which planned attacks on ANC members for Wednesday, yesterday or today.

However, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos today denied these allegations, dismissing them as "more pathetic ANC propaganda".

Mr Rani said the ANC had set up "defence units" on Wednesday night in Boipa-

(1.5)
tong, Bophelong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton

He said he had spent most of Wednesday night patrolling Sharpeville and the nearby Sebokeng Hostel after having moved his family to "a safe house".

In her response, Mrs Vos said the allegations were part of the ANC's on-going propaganda campaign in an attempt to portray the IFP as the aggressor.

Letter scuttled talks with Inkatha, claims Buthelezi

11/2

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 Umdlali 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 than 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/ man 12/4-18/4/91.

IB

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 work-

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

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK spoke to the Inkatha Freedom Party executive member



Musa Myeni ... civil war warning

er's hostel through acts of intimidation."

The ANC letter claimed that they use red headbands for common identification and "supported by others of like purpose, 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.

ANC Youth spurn Inkatha meeting

By EDYTH BULBRING

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

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

He did not think a meeting would serve any purpose.

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

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

The ANC Youth League had suggested that both 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.

IFP supporters gather in The Wilds to form branch

By Julienne du Toit

11B

People walking in The Wilds yesterday stopped and stared as about 85 Inkatha members gathered under the shade of a tree. Star 15/4/91

The Inkatha Freedom Party held a meeting there to see whether there were more than 30 supporters — enough to open a branch in Killarney.

Before joining the meeting, IFP supporters handed in their knobkerries and sticks to be put in a pile under a tree. There were no pangas evident.

Speakers appealed to their listeners for peace.

However, the leader of Johannesburg's Inkatha Youth Brigade, Evans Sosibo, said they would not turn the other cheek if attacked.

Carter Ndhlovu, chairman of

the IFP's Zondi branch in Soweto, criticised the Government for considering forbidding traditional weapons.

"We have had these kind of weapons since Blood River."

Mr Ndhlovu added that those who wanted peace joined Inkatha and, standing beside a Xhosa Inkatha member, said there was no violence between them. He said the IFP also wanted more white members,

as "we can't survive without each other".

He criticised the ANC for demanding continued sanctions. "We are the people who are suffering, not President de Klerk. We cannot go forward with empty stomachs."

Four policemen watched the gathering discreetly from under a tree and followed the group in a civilian car after the meeting ended.

Copy to Mrs B. P. 10/191 (100)
Bafokeng demonstration *(TB)*

JOHANNESBURG. — Permission has been granted to the Bafokeng tribe to stage a march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria today to request President F W de Klerk to intervene and allow the return of their tribe's exiled chief and his wife. Chief Patrick Lebone Molotlegi went into exile in Botswana shortly after the failed coup attempt in Bophuthatswana in 1988. His wife, Mrs Semane Molotlegi, left the homeland following President Lucas Mangope's refusal to renew her temporary residence permit.

BREYTEN BREYTENBACH WRITES AN OPEN LETTER TO NELSON MANDELA

Dear Mr Mandela,

Allow me to be so presumptuous as to address this open letter to you. It may be seen as a dog barking at the passing caravan—I can't pretend to fully understand the complexities of the present situation, and a letter is a poor substitute for helping to staunch the spurring wounds of our society—but everything possible must be done to alert as many people as can be reached to the consequences of state and communal violence.

From the poor man's Berrini in the Reed townships to the killing fields of Natal and the much bigger explosion looming in the Eastern Cape, this country is at the point of tearing itself apart.

Many anguished voices have cried out to warn that no political motive, no strategic advantage, no cause and no struggle can justify our cynical indifference to the issue of death. The killing is not just mortgaging the attempts to negotiate a different kind of

It is my conviction that we are still living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes, with skilled and motivated agents in the state apparatus practising a scorched earth policy in moral, political and human terms.

South Africa, not only is it rotting society with its wake of corruption and revenge and brutality—we are all being progressively brutalised and driven down the road towards the slaughter of a repressive state.

Now the ANC, by your hand, has finally and bravely spoken out, making future negotiations dependent upon a resolution of the violence. It is good that you recognised the urgency. Indeed, you, sir, would have had no further national role to play unless you were seen to be responsive to the agony of the population, and perceived to be effectively leading the ANC out of this vicious circle of fire.

I notice that the government and those media which have always been white-skinned about black death, maliciously interpreted your letter as an admission of weakness, the result of internal strife, a stalling technique. It was to be foreseen that they would do so and under other circumstances, these would have been justified perceptions of the ANC's troubles. But they refused to read the reason for your letter: that nothing can be solved until the killing, spawned by poverty and the passion of hatred—and feeding these—is stopped.

I have just returned from spending a few days in the Midlands region of Natal. I was taken for a drive through Kloof along the most expensive properties in South Africa, a veritable paradise for the white rich on the heights

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11B

of the First World and the raw fertility of a miserable subsistence living cheek by jowl.
More: this was a war zone, the visual manifestation of the heart of violence. With the naked eye one can judge where "Cornvale land" ends and "Inkatha land" begins. On one side the wasteland of roofless houses and burnt-out schools (their inhabitants now refugees elsewhere) on the other (of the same name) the maize patches and mango trees of areas where the rule of warlords holds sway.

It was explained to me how one could sit on the privileged heights, in a grandstand position and watch the Inkatha troops sweep down to "clear out" the Christian or communist or trade union or civic or teachers' or students' association "scum".

Komhls filled with firearms would speed along the ranks to deliver and recuperate the instruments of killing. A helicopter with Chief Minister Buthe's and Law and Order Minister Vlok aboard would whirr above the battlefield. Bring me the evidence, Vlok would later say. And: "The ANC is the common denominator to all violence."

Again and again I was given graphic descriptions of police collusion. A warlord would at last be charged with multiple murder, his docket would be "misplaced", necessitating a postponement of the trial, and the witness would be killed before the case could resume.

In Harry Gwala's office, he of the narrayised arms. I met people who'd just escaped a third assassination attempt by hit squads. I listened to the shrill tone in the voices of the survivors and the body-counters, those who get drunk and laugh in the way only the bomb-shocked do. I learned that only the physical presence of a few concerned whites in the townships can prevent the police from murdering, aiding and abetting the killing.

The ANC has been outmanoeuvred by the state. A senior government minister remarks to me that in their view, there is a vacuum below the top leadership of the ANC and people lower down are only interested in making money.

It must mean that the government has tried and is trying to co-opt you, thus hoping to split you from your followers. It is blackmailing you by locking you into the "objective conditions" of collaboration. A "new South Africa" is dangled before our nose and the state



Lead us from the wasteland,

Mr Mandela

21/4/91

minions conceptual and structural failure in Eastern Europe can be resurrected here.

We must own up to the unpleas- ant recognition that the ANC is not even a democratic organisa-

beneficiaries of apartheid and thus to start narrowing the gap between the starving and the stuffed, to create the conditions for democracy, to lay the foundations for a society in which we can take pride. That, to my belief and satisfaction, is what the ANC's constitutional proposals are pointing towards.

There must be local and regional and national elections, there must be an elected constituent assembly, there must meanwhile be a care-taking neutral authority — an interim government or some form of international supervision. And all this can only come about through sustained popular mobilisation and participation (but let's please ban that decadent 19th century terminology of "masses"), and through brave and visionary leadership.

You may well ask why I didn't write this letter to President De Klerk? It is my conviction that we are still living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes, with skilled and motivated agents in the state apparatus practising a scorched earth policy in moral, political and human terms.

I have no doubt that this present dissolution was programmed, judiciously controlling resources, profiting from a modified world environment, destabilising the population, vying for hypocritical "respectability" and bogus "moral high grounds" (that coming from national death masks!), dragging out the process—in the hope that the ANC would crack in the "African way" along ethnic lines. Its spine broken by internal contradictions and the weight of popular expectations. President De Klerk is in the hands of the monsters created by a totalitarian, profoundly immoral state.

It is my conviction that the war never stopped. For the authorities "negotiations" was a means of continuing its war of attrition against the population of South Africa. I also believe that there was never a "third force". From the outset, Inkatha was intended as a national vigilante force. Now the government Broeders have stretched out red hands to take the hand of Buthezi to boost him to a position of national eminence.

Yet, the government may well win this war in the short term, wheeled out its Parliamentary Forum and joining up with the Inkatha and dissident or corrupt black community leaders. They

the First World and the raw futility of a miserable subsistence living cheek by jowl.

More: this was a war zone, the visual manifestation of the heart of violence. With the naked eye one can judge where "Comrade land" ends and "Inkatha land" begins. On one side the wasteland of roofless houses and burnt-out schools (their inhabitants now refugees elsewhere), on the other (of the same community) the maize patches and mango trees of areas where the rule of warlords holds sway.

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Kombis filled with firearms would speed along the ranks to deliver and recuperate the instruments of killing. A helicopter with Chief Minister Buthelezi and Law and Order Minister Vlok aboard would whirl above the battlefield. "Bring me the evidence," Vlok would later say. And: "The ANC is the common denominator to all violence."

Again and again I was given graphic descriptions of police collusion. A warlord would at last be charged with multiple murder, his docket would be "misplaced", necessitating a postponement of the trial, and the witness would be killed before the case could resume.

In Harry Gwala's office, he of the paralysed arms, I met people who'd just escaped a third assassination attempt by hit squads. I listened to the shrill tone in the voices of the survivors and the body-counters, those who get drunk and laugh in the way only the bomb-shocked do. I learned that only the physical presence of a few concerned whites in the townships can prevent the police from initiating, aiding and abetting the killing.

The ANC has been outmanoeuvred by the state. A senior government minister remarks to me that, in their view, there is a vacuum below the top leadership of the ANC, and people lower down are only interested in making money.

It must mean that the government has tried and is trying to co-opt you, thus hoping to split you from your followers. It is blackmailing you by locking you into the "objective conditions" of collaboration. A "new South Africa" is dangled before your nose, and the state president obstinately refuses to admit to the intrinsically criminal nature of the apartheid state and culture which he is trying to rescue by dint of reform and international acceptance.

Can one blame him when "the enemy", the ANC, is so weak? You will lose nothing but dead illusions if you were to point out that the ANC is victim to its own propaganda and the creation of myths and aspirations that could never be satisfied — such as, that there was an "armed struggle" or that the "necklace" could be a tool for liberation; that the whites could be prevailed upon to "hand over power"; that the world worries about our plight and that it owes us solidarity; that that which has died the death of igno-



Lead us from the wasteland, Mr Mandela

IB
SI Times
21/4/91

minious conceptual and structural failure in Eastern Europe can be resuscitated here.

We must own up to the unpleasant recognition that the ANC is not (yet) a democratic organisation, that it still shows a hegemonic drive based on intimidation; that it was never a vector for revolution.

The ANC is a resistance movement fashioned from the suffering of generations, embodying the search for justice of a people, the only organisation capable of preserving and perhaps realising the dream of South Africans. And it is in the process of feeling (and sometimes fiddling) its way to becoming a responsible political structure.

You must show us the way, sir, by admitting that it is now counter-productive to be plaintively insisting upon sanctions in a world suffering from historical memory loss and recrudescing

racism, where money will always flow to where there can be exploitation. Why should we maintain the fiction and the absurdity of a cultural boycott which has seen the empowerment of mediocre cultural commissions and would-be-impresarios?

We must all break loose from the ban of a culture of "security", clandestinity, secret brotherhoods and cabals, manipulation, arbitrariness, intimidation, cooptation, elitism, indifference to human life and dignity ... the government must not be given reason to believe that you are like them. To enter into their cynical games is to betray your heart and deaden your tongue.

Somehow we must all inspire and articulate the national will: to stop the violence, to become productive and autonomous so that we may be freed from the humiliation of hand-outs, to change those economic structures which are the result and the

beneficiaries of apartheid and thus to start narrowing the gap between the starving and the stuffed, to create the conditions for democracy, to lay the foundations for a society in which we can take pride. That, to my belief and satisfaction, is what the ANC's constitutional proposals are pointing towards.

There must be local and regional and national elections, there must be an elected constituent assembly, there must meanwhile be a care-taking neutral authority — an interim government or some form of international supervision. And all this can only come about through sustained popular mobilisation and participation (but let's please ban that disdainful 19th century terminology of "masses"), and through brave and visionary leadership.

You may well ask why I didn't write this letter to President De Klerk? It is my conviction that we are still living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes, with skilled and motivated agents in the state apparatus practising a scorched earth policy in moral, political and human terms.

I have no doubt that this present dissolution was programmed: judiciously controlling resources, profiting from a modified world environment, destabilising the population, vying for hypocritical "respectability" and bogus "moral high grounds" (that coming from national death masters), dragging out the process — in the hope that the ANC would crack in the "African way" along ethnic lines, its spine broken by internal contradictions and the weight of popular expectations. President De Klerk is in the hands of the monsters created by a totalitarian, profoundly immoral state.

It is my conviction that the war never stopped. For the authorities "negotiations" was a means of continuing its war of attrition against the population of South Africa. I also believe that there was never a "third force". From the outset, Inkatha was intended as a national vigilante force. Now the government Broeders have stretched out red hands to take the hand of Buthelezi to hoist him to a position of national eminence.

Yet, the government may well win this war in the short term, wheeling out its Parliamentary Forum and joining up with Inkatha and dissident or corrupt black community leaders. They may destroy — as in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia — but, ultimately, they cannot construct. They cannot win the peace. You cannot rule against the majority, and it is foolish for them to bargain on the ANC splitting. Their "victory" will be pyrrhic, propagating the seed of South Africa's final demise.

It is the tightening of the heart, it is the vision of this death-in-waiting, sir, that permitted me to write to you, to join my voice to those weeping in the townships. And to reaffirm, come what may, that your cause is mine also. If only you will lead.

With fraternal respect,

Breyten Breytenbach,
Cape Town

©Breyten Breytenbach

**Khumalo was
assassinated,
says IFP man**

(118)

SA 23/4/91

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.

ANC not aware of IFP move

THE ANC says it has not received official word from the Inkatha Freedom Party on its reported intention of cutting all ties with its PWV regional office.

The IFP's West Rand region announced on Sunday it was breaking all regional contact with the ANC following the recent deaths of a number of Inkatha supporters. *Switzer* 2/14/91

In a statement yesterday the ANC said it had only learned of the break from newspaper reports.

It said it had not received any official message from Inkatha.

"As soon as that happens the regional executive committee will give the matter the necessary attention." - *Sapa*.

Inkatha branch to break ties with ANC

THE executive committee of Inkatha's West Rand branch would meet this week to resolve formally to cut off ties with the ANC, Inkatha West Rand spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

He said members in the area had voiced their unhappiness about maintaining ties with the ANC at a rally at George Goch hostel on Sunday. *5/0am 23/4/91*

The resolution would not be binding on other Inkatha branches, Ndlovu said.

WILSON ZWANE

"Our people's concern was the killing of our members by ANC supporters, in Alexandra on March 17 and in Soweto earlier this month," he said. *(11/13)*

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation had not been formally informed of the decision.

He added that the ANC had not given any directives to any of its members "to kill any members of any organisation".

Buthelezi waits for ANC move

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Sowetan 25/4/91

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was waiting for a move by the African National Congress for fresh talks on ways to end political violence.

Buthelezi said he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed to meet again in their last talks on March 31.

"We are now only waiting on Mandela to honour his side of the verbal agreement that we should hold an IFP/ANC summit meeting and that he and I should meet with the State President," he said in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Buthelezi reiterated he would take part in the peace talks proposed by President FW de Klerk, scheduled for next month.

"I applaud the State President's announcement and will do everything I can to make the summit conference a resounding success," he said. - Sapa.



BUTHELEZI

15/11/92
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'Re-arming' of Inkatha criticised

VERA VON LIERES

THE Alexandra branch of the ANC Youth League yesterday condemned the "re-arming of Inkatha members with traditional weapons, including spears and sharpened irons" by police this week.

Branch spokesman Keith Madonsela said the return of weapons by police affirmed the view that the searching and disarming of Inkatha members and supporters in Alexandra hostels last month was a "public relations exercise aimed at proving the impartiality of the police."

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday if similar requests had been made by other organisations, police would have acted in the same manner.

Breyten, be fair to Inkatha

SITimes 28/4/91

(117) (118)

Dear Mr Breytenbach,

WHEN I saw you had written an open letter to Dr Nelson Mandela last week, my mind flashed back to the time, some years ago, when you and your beautiful wife, Yolande, entertained me in your apartment in Paris.

The South African government had withdrawn my passport for nine years and, after it had been returned, at long last I could visit Europe and talk of our struggle.

We spoke about our love of our country, our commitment to freedom and a non-racial democracy. We shared stories of friends and what we both were doing.

Your embrace was warm. I valued our friendship. I admired your considerable talent.

Then I read your letter. I was flummoxed.

I am the same man who shared noble dreams with you then.

I am still committed to the same ideals. The image you portrayed last week of me and the people I have the privilege to lead was vicious and untruthful. Why?

You travelled through Natal/KwaZulu. You talked to ANC Midlands chairman Harzy Gwala and his comrades. Who did you talk to from the Inkatha Freedom Party?

Where, as a writer of renown, was your attempt to see all sides of the tragic story?

I write now with a heavy heart.

You wrote of me as a man who is impervious to the hideous death and destruction in South Africa.

Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI responds to Breyten Breytenbach's open letter last week to Nelson Mandela

A man, you insinuate, who sits in a helicopter above battlefields, far removed from the carnage, while aiding and abetting "state apparatus practising a scorched-earth policy in moral, political and human terms . . ."

I was shocked, and, yes, hurt.

Can you say why it is wrong for me to share a helicopter with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in order to see the destruction of homes in Maritzburg and why it is not wrong for the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela to do so?

You know of my long-standing opposition to racist rule in this country. You must know how I fought for many years for the unbanning of political parties and the release of political prisoners because I knew this to be right.

Democracy means freedom to choose, and I am determined there will be freedom of political choice in South Africa.

You give your political backing to the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, which I consider to be your God-given right.

I disagree with various of their tactics and strategies, which is surely my right. Last week, you used your skills as an author to paint a picture far removed from reality.

I must now speak for the millions of members of the Inkatha

Freedom Party and my other supporters, who you claim are part of a ghastly government plot.

You imply they are partners in a "war of attrition against the population of South Africa".

Inkatha, you say, was "from the outset intended as a national vigilante force".

ANC leaders who know the truth know differently, and should be prepared to admit it.

I say you are very wrong. Today, your words are propaganda manna from heaven for the ANC/SACP alliance.

Will they conveniently forget that at an ANC/Inkatha meeting in London in 1979 they wanted me to hand over the organisation to them — this so-called "vigilante force"?

You allege "the Broeders" have stretched out "red hands" to me. That they, covered in blood, wish to "hoist" me to a position of "national eminence".

Amazingly, you appear to be unaware that National Intelligence (then the Bureau of State Security) and an infamous past SA government Department of Information secretly funded and organised opposition parties — Shaka Spear and Inala — to oppose me and Inkatha. They wanted to get rid of me.

You damn us, and again I ask, why?

Do you really believe the millions of people who are members of Inkatha are so blind: that they deserve such contempt from you?

That millions who were stuck with fighting for survival for decades in apartheid South Africa are so stupid, so dehumanised?

That they have "joined up", as you wrote, with the government and "dissident or corrupt black community leaders"?

Should they have gone to Paris, as you did, or to other capitals of the world in exile instead of fighting apartheid within the country, as they did?

I will show you our membership records. Will you then personally, on public platforms, tell each and every one of them, of all race groups, that you believe they are traitors to their country and fellow citizens?

Please don't create more cleavages with such one-sided zealotry. We must talk, not fight. Your references to me can only stir the pot of disunity and conflict.

It is black South Africans, who are dying in their thousands, that I weep for.

Do you write as you do because they are not your people? Is this the only contribution you can make? The key word today is reconciliation.

You have a right to your views, to criticise, but be fair.

Yours sincerely,

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Buthelezi blasts ANC and

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... emotional address.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has launched a scorching attack on the ANC, dismissing ANC allegations of Inkatha plans to assassinate ANC leaders before May 9 as vague and groundless.

In an emotionally worded address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi also accused

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela of having lost control over the militarists within the ANC leadership.

Attacks

He said the IFP was not "shivering and shaking" about the ANC's threat to pull out of negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi spoke of an angry April 13 telephone conversation between himself and Mr. Mandela on re-

moured Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters.

Chief Buthelezi said: "I pressed Dr. Mandela for details about the information on which he acts when he telephones me in the middle of the night telling me that the poor ANC is going to be attacked."

"He could give no details and when I expressed scepticism, he petulantly says that he 'notes my attitude'."

"None of these allegations

of planned Inkatha attacks had ever been raised at the joint ANC/Inkatha peace committees."

Chief Buthelezi said that if he were to respond to "information or near-information or misinformation" about planned ANC attacks on his supporters, he would have no time for anything else.

He said the ANC had either not translated its "military idiom into a democratic idiom" or remained commi-

ted to making South Africa ungovernable.

"They are stalling on pretext after pretext. They are stalling because they are not ready to negotiate."

"All this bluster, all this thumping, the negotiating desk and all this crying wolf is simply symptomatic of Dr. Mandela and those who support his leadership in the ANC frantically trying to out-Hani Hani (Chris Hani) the militant Umkhonto we

Mandela

Sizwe chief of staff) and cluck and scratch and cackle like cocks trying to give evidence of being at the top of the pecking order."

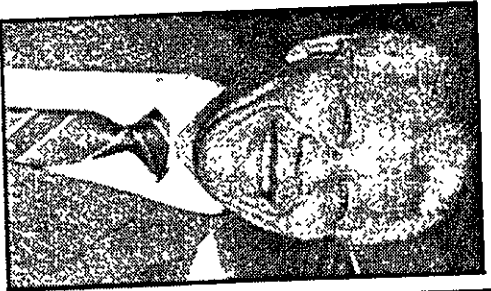
Floundering

He continued: "No, Dr. Mandela, I must say to you that your organisation is now so floundering and so falling over each other in some kind of tumbled-up heap of people crying wolf,

that South Africa does not know if the ANC's leadership is Arthur or Martha."

"So tragic. All so very tragic. Dr. Mandela, the martyr and the hero and the man we all love, so tied down by the thousands of ANC Gulliver lines that he can only squirm before the whole world."

He added: "Is this programme revolution or peace? Let your leader go, Mayibuye, (let it come back), Dr. Mandela."



Nelson Mandela ... accused of petulance.

SPEN 30/4/91

11/3

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 Buthelezi also lashed out at Mr Nelson Mandela, accusing him of making "petulant" midnight phone calls. — Sapa

Two-day struggle to put out fires in Cape mountains

Blaze battle

SAP Trip
11/4/91
AUG

Staff Reporter

LIGHTNING sparked three huge mountain fires in the Western Cape at the weekend, with firefighting teams battling for two days to contain huge flames in the Helderberg, at Cape Hangklip and in the Peninsula.

During the fierce blazes which raged through tinder-dry brush, 28 homes were evacuated at Hangklip and Betty's Bay while air force helicopters and soldiers were called in to help sorely pressed firefighters.

Rocket fuel at the Armscor testing site at Rooi Els

was removed as flames spread towards the site. One of the blazes was started when lightning struck high in the mountains between Rooi Els and the Palmiet River, above Cape Hangklip, on Friday night. Fanned by a brisk, northerly wind, the flames had scorched vast tracts of mountainside by late Saturday, sending huge plumes of smoke billowing skyward and causing residents to fear for their homes.

Yesterday morning the blaze, which had earlier been extinguished on the slopes of Hangklip, flared again, quickly fanning out towards homes near Betty's Bay. Flames were put out "at the front doors" of 10 homes, the RSC civil-defence officer for the Overberg, Mr Reinard Geldenhuys, said.

Two air force Puma helicopters were called in to bombard the metres-high flames with buckets of water.

By late last night all blazes between Rooi Els and Kleinmond were out and being monitored, said Mr Geldenhuys.

Residents were seen dampening their houses with garden hoses and frantically disconnecting gas cylinders as huge tongues of fire swirled and mingled with smoke.

The area is thick with fynbos and alien vegetation. One resident, Mr Brian van Wilgen, watched helplessly as firefighters wearing gasmasks trained high-pressure hoses on burning bush metres from his home.

A spokesman for the Caledon Regional Services Council said one house was damaged in Betty's Bay. Traffic police started redirecting traffic from the main Betty's Bay road early yesterday afternoon. Thousands of hectares of fynbos were lost and the

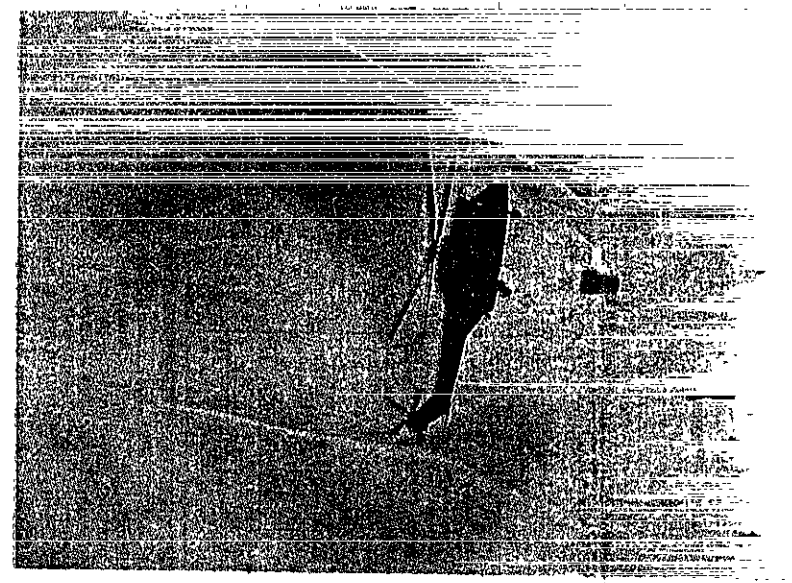
entire chain of mountains between Rooi Els and the Palmiet River in the south have been stripped of vegetation. The blackened slopes were still smouldering last night.

Another helicopter fought a second fire on the Helderberg mountain where some 150 Cape Corps soldiers joined local firefighters and volunteers to contain the blaze.

Somerset West resident Mr Phil Graham of Worldview said the Helderberg mountain fire cut a path within 300 metres of the area in which he lived.

He said a house belonging to the Newton-Kin family had to be evacuated but was saved by firefighters — including boys of the Somerset West Scout who beat down the flames.

To page 3



'Many whites will vote for Inkatha'

By Guy Jepson

A great many whites would vote for the Inkatha Freedom Party in a future general election, claims Bruce Anderson, committee member of the IFP's Sandton branch.

Mr Anderson sat alongside several Transvaal Inkatha heavyweights at the main table at yesterday's May Day rally at George Goch Stadium.

Touching his multicoloured IFP headband after the rally, Mr Anderson said: "This is almost saying to the ANC: 'Watch

out for the day when whites start wearing the red *doek*'".

He claimed there were 50 000 white Inkatha members in the PWV out of a total of 100 000 white members countrywide.

Many whites shared the IFP's commitment to constitutional democracy. *Star 2/5/91*.

Mr Anderson predicted that many potential voters would be drawn from the "new reformed National Party" and the Democratic Party. IFP branches were in the process of being set up in Randburg, Hillbrow, Johannesburg and other areas.

Inkatha tells its side of the story

Sowetan 2/5/91.

118

VIOLENCE in the townships will never end as long as ANC members continue to attack Inkatha supporters, said Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Themba Khoza.

In an interview with the *Sowetan*, he said: "There can be negotiations, but this violence will never come to an end for as long as ANC youths continue attacking us. We cannot wait to be killed."

Commenting on the weekend violence in Soweto in which innocent people including children were attacked by Inkatha youths, Khoza said the violence had been provoked by some ANC youths who had stoned an Inkatha bus.

He said: "Our youths could not just wait to be killed. We were just defending ourselves. Thousands of Inkatha members have been killed in the past years and we have now learnt to defend ourselves. My only appeal to ANC is that they should just stop."

Mistake

Asked how women carrying children became involved in last weekend's explosion of violence in Meadowlands, Khoza admitted that some innocent people had been killed by mistake.

"When these ANC attackers saw our youth coming in defence, they ran away into these houses and it is not possible to distinguish who is who, but I must make it very clear that we do not attack people but defend ourselves.

"We are very sorry for all the victims of this violence,"

FOCUS



Themba Khoza, an Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member and the organisation's Transvaal youth leader, complains that his movement has been unfairly accused in the deadly explosion of violence between Zulus and other residents in Soweto last weekend. Zimbabwean reporter NEWTON KANHEMA (above) spoke to him. This is Inkatha's side of the story.

he said.

On the question of traditional and dangerous weapons carried by Inkatha members which are said by both the ANC and the Government to be a threat to peace, he said: "This is absolute nonsense.

"This violence started recently and traditional weapons have been carried for centuries without posing any threat to peace. So these weapons have nothing to do with this present violence.

"No matter how dangerous they are claimed to be now, they have always been around."

He said Inkatha had in-

formation that some of their leaders, mainly in Natal, were on an ANC "hit list" which became available a month ago.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, Inkatha's national chairman, was at the top of that list, Khoza said.

He also claimed that there was evidence indicating that the ANC wanted to kidnap IFP president Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his family.

Asked who the source of Inkatha's information was, Khoza said it was a "reliable informer" who was a high-ranking official of the ANC.

The official could not resign from the ANC because he feared for his life, Khoza said.

"We know that this information could be propaganda, but knowing the ANC we are sure that they are capable of doing it," he said.

Khoza also said that some 25 Zulu-speaking people had been killed without any provocation in Alexandra since Saturday.

Civil war

"What action is expected from us?" he asked.

He said the present violence was a threat to the proposed negotiations and claimed that the country was heading for a bitter civil war, "which no one will ever win".

Asked who Inkatha's perceived enemy was, the whites who masterminded apartheid or the ANC who were fighting for its demise, Khoza said: "There is no enemy among the two. The real enemy is poverty, starvation and dis-



THEMBA KHOZA

ease.

"Whites are not settlers anymore. They used to be, but now they are part and parcel of our society.

"We believe in power sharing and are opposed to a constituent assembly because it will disadvantage those who will be in the minority and that in my view is not fair."

Khoza, who claims that his party has two million members nationwide, said Inkatha was not afraid of elections. "With clear, free and fair elections in this country, I can bet you that Inkatha will definitely win - especially in Transvaal."

Khoza categorically denied claims that the Inkatha youths were being trained for war in camps in Natal.

"We would like those who have these allegations to show us where these camps are. Those making these allegations have their own internal problems and are busy trying to delay going to the negotiating table. They should be concerned with putting their own house in order."

Inkatha plans office in US

HOPING to appeal to moderate Americans, the Inkatha Freedom Party will soon open an office in Washington headed by an ANC renegade.

The Rev Siphosizwe Mzimela, 55, was the ANC's deputy representative to the United Nations from 1977 to 1980, but he left in 1985 because of its alliance with the South African Communist Party. He joined Inkatha in December because, he said, it reflected the principles of the "old ANC".

Mr Mzimela told the Sunday Times: "A lot of people who don't speak out have at least some serious questions about the ANC. The visit of Chris Hanu has helped to open their eyes."

He stressed that Inkatha was not planning to compete with the ANC in the US political arena. He has already written off the congressional black caucus which is solidly behind the ANC, dismissing this week's Africa sub-committee hearing, at which he testified, as "a waste of time".

"Our focus will be on how the US can participate in the transformation of South Africa and on building up the infrastructure," he said.

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

As the founder of an Atlanta-based programme to help educate black South Africans, his particular interest is in enlisting US aid for education.

There is little love lost between Mr Mzimela and the ANC. On Thursday night's edition of public television's MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, the outspoken clergyman accused Chris Hanu of smuggling AK-47 assault rifles into South Africa which were now being used to kill people in the townships.

Mr Mzimela also charged that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was not in control of the organisation.

"Unfortunately, the Inkatha Freedom Party has been negotiating with the wrong people in the ANC," he said. "We thought that Mr Mandela was in control of the ANC."

Camp

"But it is clear now after many talks that he's not the one who is in control. In fact, we should be discussing the violence with Mr Hanu."

The clergyman, who is affiliated with St Bartholomew's Church in Atlanta, has been in the US for 16 years and has not lived in South Africa since 1961.

Mr Mzimela trained in an ANC camp in Tanzania, before being sent to Czechoslovakia. There he saw communism first-hand — and didn't like it.

"Marxism in class was wonderful," he said. "But then I lived with the Czechs and saw that their lives were miserable. It was almost worse than living under apartheid."

"At least we could fight. The Czechs were so beaten down and hopeless."

White's role in rebel pact

By MARK STANSFIELD

A WHITE Inkatha committee member admitted this week he had witnessed the signing of a secret military pact between guerrilla movements to overthrow the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments five years ago.

Bruce Anderson, a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Sandton branch committee, joined the IFP 10 months ago when membership was opened to all races.

He said he had been present in Washington at the signing of a military accord between Renamo and the Zimbabwe Freedom Army of the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, the Zimbabwean former nationalist leader, to overthrow the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Dr Sithole now lives in exile in America.

Signed

Explaining his role in the secret agreement, Mr Anderson said he knew Dr Sithole "fairly well" and had been a representative of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Committee in 1986. He had attended the Washington convention where the pact was signed.

Also present at the signing on August 17 1986, were well-known White House lobbyists and prominent American politicians, whom Mr Anderson declined to name.

"I did not help draw up the agreement and I signed it as a witness, not a signatory. I do not believe that by witnessing the pact I endorsed it or supported an armed struggle," he said.

"But I have great sympathy for all the oppressed people in the world and believe that the people have a right to overthrow an oppressive government if that government will not



BRUCE ANDERSON

Impressed by Buthelezi

willingly agree to democracy."

Mr Anderson ran a security firm and other companies after settling in South Africa in 1980. His business associate was Garth Barrett, former commanding officer of the Rhodesian Special Air Service. The two remain firm friends.

His interest in politics began "at a fairly young age", he said.

"I was influenced by liberal and socialist ideologies, but later realised that the communist/socialist route would lead to the same thing as a fascist route — the killing of people.

"I joined the Inkatha Freedom Party because I am impressed by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's consistency."

Ensure

The IFP, he claims, has a white membership of more than 100 000. "I myself sign up about 40 people a week in this area," he said.

Yesterday Mr Anderson and other IFP members were promoting the party outside a supermarket in Hillbrow. Within 10 minutes, three white people had joined.

One of them, Andre Brits of Hillbrow, said he had joined because he felt the IFP's policy would ensure a "peaceful South Africa".

Mandela reneged on peace troika, says Buthelezi

Staff Reporter
and Sapa

Star
6/5/91

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."

No decision on impis - Buthelezi

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CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the Inkatha Freedom Party has made no decision regarding the deployment of 100 000 fighters to end township violence.

The IFP president yesterday renounced a claim by Inkatha central committee member and Transvaal leader Mr Musa Myeni that the organisation would import about 100 000 fighters from Natal to the Transvaal if factional violence did not end within seven days.

Myeni said this at the weekend when he spoke to journalists at Bekkersdal shortly before Buthelezi addressed an IFP rally in the township.

Buthelezi said Myeni was not making the statement on behalf of the central committee.

"No such decision has been formally made and the IFP central committee has not received any indication that such a decision could be in the making.

"The question of sending people to the Transvaal to quell violence has never crossed my mind and it has not yet been discussed by the central committee.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

"Neither did the IFP's Transvaal leadership make such a decision.

"I am not aware that there has been a decision at the Transvaal level about this," said Buthelezi, emphasising that the central committee of the IFP was the only authentic executive arm which made and ratified decisions.

Merciless attacks

However, he said: "I understand the Transvaal leadership's anxiety and anger at the merciless attacks which have been directed at IFP structures and its members.

"I can understand the anger of IFP leaders, who, like me, are saying enough is enough, and who are at the receiving end of the violence.

"Mr Musa Myeni's anguished call for the ending of violence and his statement must be understood for what it was - a cry for help and a cry that enough is enough," Buthelezi said.

Patrick Laurence looks at the tribal factor in township violence

Ethnic thread in tangled fabric

Star 2/19/91

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 solemnly 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 to recognise the power of tribalism in the intra-black context. It is associated with bigotry and often serves as a synonym for colonialism. 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 archetypal 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 mechanisms 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 tensions have 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 supreme 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 ethnonationalism 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 "homelands". 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 the ANC forces.

After the ANC's national conference in July, and the instigation 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 western Cape. Tswanas in the east and Transvaal and whites all figure in South Africa. □



Inkatha threat was a cry for help, says Buthelezi

Staff Reporter

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The threat made by a member of the Inkatha central committee to deploy 100 000 fighters in Soweto was "a cry for help", IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

IFP publicity secretary Musa Myeni said at the weekend that 100 000 fighters would be deployed in Soweto if the ANC did not halt violence in the township.

The ANC has described the IFP plan as dangerous and impractical, and blamed the violence on an Inkatha plot to attack the ANC from April 30 to May 9.

Addressing the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said of Mr Myeni's statement: "No decision has been made as yet to take such action."

"Mr Myeni's anguished call for the ending of vio-

lence must be understood for what it was: a cry for help and a cry that enough is enough."

Chief Buthelezi said he understood the Transvaal leadership's "anxiety and anger" at attacks against the IFP.

Chief Buthelezi also denied having said at a weekend rally in Bekkersdal that he would not attend the summit on violence called by President de Klerk.

"I said I may not be able to attend the conference ... if the Government is giving credibility to the ANC's condemnation of the IFP as the cause of political violence in the Transvaal."

The IFP's central committee would consider the matter on May 18.

Chief Buthelezi said "collaboration between police and the ANC in raids on hostels is humiliating and degrading".

Neither the "revolutionary" ANC nor the Government could eradi-

cate the township violence. This would come about only when the Government, the IFP and ANC came together to deal with it.

Yesterday, several political groups announced plans to focus attention on the township violence.

The ANC Women's League and Youth League announced plans for countrywide demonstrations tomorrow and for a day of prayer on Thursday, the deadline set by the ANC for the Government to take action to stop the violence.

The Azanian People's Organisation said it would hold self-defence workshops and rallies.

It planned to meet the PAC on Thursday and the ANC on May 16.

The ANC said its Soweto committee would host a meeting tomorrow with the PAC, Azapo and the Soweto Civic Association to discuss the Reef violence.

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 anti-finding concrete form in mass clashes between ANC supporters and Inkatha supporters living in

Inkatha militancy is fuelled by fears of being sidelined

By Pam 8/5/79

PATRICK BULGER



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.

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

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," Hayson 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

ANC pledges to work for peace

Buthelezi and FW in bid to save talks

B104 8/5/91

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TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT FW 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

A policy of "inaction" would be adopted from tomorrow, he said. The ANC would "announce its non-participation in the all-party congress and constitutional negotiations".

The ANC would continue with this policy until the demands were met, he said.

The ANC was not being difficult by laying down deadlines for demands to be met, but it was attempting to ensure that "negotiations do not drag on indefinitely", he said. "The ANC is also concerned at the long-term effects of violence on the economy."

□ From Page 1

IFP seeks elusive white magic

W/tnail 10/5-16/5/91

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Inkatha says it is recruiting at least as many whites as blacks.

MARK GEVISSER points out the contradictions in these claims

ONE hundred thousand seems to be a magic number for Inkatha. This week, party officials threw up two fascinating and unlikely figures: Inkatha will unleash an impi of 100 000 heavily armed fighters in Soweto unless the African National Congress halts political violence there, and Inkatha has more than 100 000 white members.

Johnny Clegg is clearly no longer South Africa's only "Zoulou Blanc": Inkatha Freedom Party statistics show that, since the Zulu cultural movement became a political party and opened its membership to all races, it is recruiting at least as many whites as blacks.

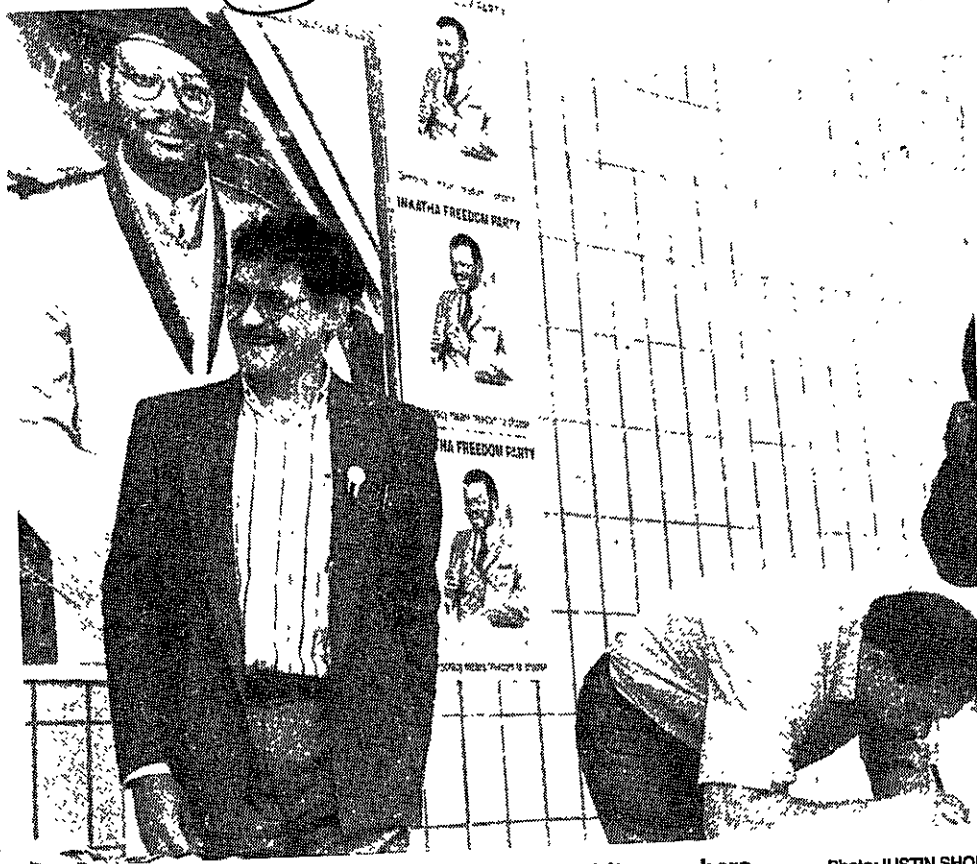
But how is it that the recruitment of whites seems to be increasing in direct proportion to the number of wild and irresponsible statements made by senior party officials like Musa Myeni? And why is it that a party that is by definition ethnically based seems to be generating so much interest in white communities at the very same time as evidence points to it being a major antagonist in this country's current civil war?

Dr Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute, has just been on a successful recruitment campaign in the western Cape, where, after only a few weeks, the IFP has received nearly 5 000 responses to advertisements placed in *The Argus*, *The Cape Times* and *Die Burger*. Of these, more than 2 800 requested to join up.

He believes the reason for this support is "whites are beginning to realise that, sooner or later, they will be under a black government, and many see the need to strengthen an alternative to the ANC. The Inkatha alternative seems to make sense to them."

In black South Africa, where surveys show the IFP has minimal support, the overwhelming perception is that Inkatha is Zulu and violent. But Inkatha's creator, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has always sold himself as the moderate, capitalist alternative to an irresponsibly Marxist and terrorist ANC — and this is what makes sense to Inkatha's new white recruits.

Buthelezi has been outspoken in his determination to protect white interests in two ways: while the ANC flails about trying to modify its socialist economic model into a mixed-economy system, Buthelezi has always embraced the free-market system unconditionally. And while the ANC calls for a simple one-person one-vote, winner-takes-all constitution, Inkatha has developed a federal option that will protect minority interests.



Signing up ... the IFP claims more than 100 000 white members

Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

Inkatha's courtship of white support to strengthen its natural Zulu base started with initiatives like the Buthelezi Commission, which proposed a system of regional self-government for Natal. A third of the 46 members were from the business community and a quarter were from the academic world.

With the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, Inkatha's relationship with white business and administrative interests reached its highest point. The Inkatha initiative received the wholehearted support of the Progressive Federal and New Republic parties, and of the Natal business establishment, particularly the sugar industry.

The Indaba's impact on Inkatha was far-reaching: the Zulu cultural movement cemented its relationship with the Natal business community and Buthelezi became a national figure representing a moderate, viable solution to South Africa's dilemmas.

However, Woods says "the business community does not seem to be showing the interest in Inkatha that it did at the time of the Indaba. Since the unbanning of the ANC, Buthelezi is no longer considered to be such a major player — and business doesn't throw its money away. So Inkatha is being ignored, while the ANC is being courted, even adulated. While the ANC has a vast full-time staff and corporate skyscraper headquarters in Johannesburg, Inkatha has no more than 10 full-time personnel and three vehicles, two of which are battered."

Woods says Inkatha's problem is convincing potential white members and backers that it is a major player. Though business interests may feel ideologically compatible with Inkatha, they believe that their future lies with the ANC which has, Woods maintains, set itself up as the only possible future government.

A Natal businessman who was involved in the Indaba comments: "The general feeling now is that it is not in our interests to be too closely associated with Inkatha, because of its involvement in the political violence." Things have changed greatly since the ANC was unbanned, he says, and business is being very careful to remain non-partisan.

Nonetheless, a group of Transvaal-based white businessmen, called Businessmen for Growth and Stability, published an "open letter to the ANC" in *The Star* and *Business Day* this

week, stating: "We as businessmen believe the ANC is not a political party but a terrorist organisation, bringing pressure against the people of South Africa in the guise of a democratic political action and, in so doing, destabilising the country."

None of the 33 signatories are prominent businessmen — the convenor, Rob Emmett, runs a company called Midrand Properties — but their statement does demonstrate the residual desire among many in the business community to support an alternative to the ANC.

What is interesting is that the initiatives do not seem to be coming from Natal, and that Inkatha's white recruitment drives, while very active in the Transvaal and the western Cape, have been almost non-existent in the province where Inkatha first made its links with white communities.

Gerhard Mare, co-author of *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance*, says "perhaps this is because even conservative Natal whites see Buthelezi as an irresponsible figure, while his record is not as sullied in other parts of the country. Buthelezi lost much white support in Natal when he urged whites to vote against the tricameral constitutional proposals by threatening violence if they voted for it. Natal whites responded by voting overwhelmingly for the new constitution."

Mare points out, however, that Buthelezi's proposals for a federation are still touted in Natal newspapers as South Africa's most viable constitutional option. "The media is making a concerted effort not to link the day-to-day atrocities in which Inkatha is involved with Buthelezi's plans for the future. If the two were linked, the contradictions wouldn't hold. But by describing the violence as 'black-on-black' and not tying it to Inkatha, Buthelezi can be elevated as a visionary national saviour who will protect white interests, even as his supporters continue a bloody war."

This, perhaps, best sums up the reason why Inkatha's white support seems to be growing, despite the violence and irresponsibility of the party's statements and actions in the past months — and despite Buthelezi's own track record in running kwaZulu.

The homeland has a security apparatus more repressive than the South African police. It has a schooling system that has come under fire for being as unjust as that run by the Department of Education and Training. In kwaZulu, an Inkatha card is almost a prerequisite for employment, housing and services. The homeland is a one-party state in all but name.

One can only assume that the 100 000 whites who have joined the IFP want South Africa just the way it is.

LARGE groups of Inkatha members from Natal are being trained by one of South Africa's largest security companies and some have taken part in battles with African National Congress supporters in Alexandra, according to three security guards trained by the firm, Springbok Patrols.

They also told *The Weekly Mail* this week that the South African Defence Force was using the company to recruit black employees into the SADF. The company MD, Abraham Baartmann, yesterday confirmed that groups of 60 Zulus whom he assumed were from Inkatha, had been sent to the De Deur training centre from Natal.

Asked whether they were recruiting Inkatha members from Natal, Baartmann said: "This is quite correct. "We have 11 branches in Natal headed by my sons Wahl, the Springbok rugby player, and Francois. They apply and if they pass the test they are sent to De Deur, and when they are trained they are sent back. I presume they are all Inkatha because all Zulus are Inkatha."

Baartmann confirmed that SADF and South African police recruiters had visited the base at De Deur, but said they were there to "poach" his instructors and not his recruits.

SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said in a statement that the defence force was not aware of any such recruitment campaign, but added "in principle there is obviously nothing wrong with recruiting at any locality."

"Organisations can recruit personnel wherever and whenever they wish to and people have a free choice as to whether they wish to join that organisation."

Two former Springbok trainees

On patrol with the combat ready Inkatha Springbooks

By Mervyn Dymally 16/5/79 113

Spoke of an "elite" group of about 60 Zulus brought down from Natal to Springbok Patrols training centre at De Deur in about March this year.

"This special group stayed separate and were very arrogant and aggressive," said "Themba" who completed his training two months ago, and is currently working for Night Riders, a subsidiary security company.

"About six weeks ago a whole group of them went out from the New Canada barracks with their own weapons. When they came back later some of them were covered in blood, and we later heard they'd been fighting for Inkatha in Alexandra."

"Thlopho", another recent trainee, told a similar story.

"This lot came from Natal and we'd only sometimes meet them on the marching grounds. They stayed separate from us and didn't allow us to get close to them.

"They were mainly younger people — some under 18, which is the minimum age — and the Zulus among us said they were Inkatha and that they were in Alex.

"After that week some Inkatha members came and broke into the camp to steal guns. I don't know whether they got any."

Another informant, "Piet", who has been working for the company for six years, said new recruits from De Deur told him they were being sent to the SADF or SAP, and also said the com-

panny had a "close relation with the army."

"A lot of coloureds were trained in the Cape Corps; there's an old colonel from the SADF who helps with the training at De Deur, and Wahl Baartmann himself was a second lieutenant."

"When he was around you'd often see SADF officers coming by the office. The company also bought some old trucks from the army."

"Themba" said in his four-week course he learnt to use a pump action shotgun, a rifle and a .38 revolver.

"We were also trained in how to take cover under fire, how to shoot fast, and in unarmed combat. Our instructors were a white captain and a white lieutenant, and some blacks from the Lenz military base. I don't know if they're still connected to the army."

Later, while staying at the New Canada barracks, he noticed frequent visits by white uniformed soldiers and policemen. Soon after, he said, he had heard that "those of us with standard eight would be sent to the army and those with matric to the police, but this hasn't happened yet."

"Thlopho" said he was trained to shoot an R1 rifle and a pistol, as well

as in unarmed combat and drill. His instructors were "black sergeants from 21 Battalion at Lenz, and one white who had been in the SAP."

"Some of the black sergeants told us that under the new arrangement we were being sent to the SADF, and those with matric to the police.

"We were then given a yellow form, which we were told was for the army, which we were told was for the army, which asked a lot of strange things like whether we'd be prepared to kill our brothers or nephews if they were demonstrating against the government or demolishing the property of the government. We were not allowed to take this home.

"When you're recruited they keep your passbook so you won't escape, but I got mine back because I told them I needed it to get money, and ran away because I didn't want anything to do with the army."

Baartmann said he thought the rumour arose from the fact that his company had to take the fingerprints of all recruits in order to register them as security officers.

"Some of them said the police were taking their fingerprints to recruit them. I then sent one of our officers to find out what was the matter and he discovered that some people from the SADF, and later the SAP, were trying to recruit our black instructors, but not our trainees."

Baartmann denied any of the recruits were trained in the use of the R1.

"All of us are ex-cops and ex-army guys," he said, adding that there was no special relation with the security forces.

He also denied that Inkatha members had tried to steal weapons, and said that what had happened was that some of the recruits had broken into the kitchen.

Rolt said the SADF did not provide training for private security companies, "and the defence force has no jurisdiction over where former employees may seek employment or are employed."

Baartmann confirmed reports that he and the company were facing 707 charges of unlawful possession of firearms.

"The charges arose when we took over companies in liquidation, and we took over the firearms from the company. It comes up for judgment on June 6 or 7 in the regional court."

Springbok Patrols has been one of the country's most controversial security companies over the past decade, with frequent allegations that security guards were prevented from leaving after having been recruited, and assaulted or fired if they complained.

"Themba" and "Piet" both said they were sometimes used to protect scabs during strikes.

"Our instructions were to shoot dead anyone who interfered," said "Themba".

The three Baartmann sons — Wahl, Leon and Francois — all played rugby for Roodoepoort Rugby Club, which was a favourite haunt for members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau. Among their teammates was Calla Botta, a CCB member who featured prominently in the Harms Commission.

Buthelezi on the shelf

And he doesn't like it

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UNIVERSITY libraries have been warned by lawyers acting for Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to remove a controversial biography of the kwaZulu leader from their shelves, or be sued for damages.

Buthelezi claims the book, *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief With a Double Agenda*, is defamatory. It was written in exile by an African National Congress official known only as Mzala who died earlier this year.

The letters from his lawyers, sent at the end of April, warn: "If you do not remove the book from your shelf and/or if you distribute the book and/or lend it to others, you will be sued for damages."

The letter asks for a written undertaking that the book has been taken off the shelves and that it will not be distributed or lent out "to anyone or to any organisation whatsoever". It is understood the letters have been written to nine universities. Commenting on the move by Buthelezi, the Anti-Censorship Action

Group (Acag) said no individual had the right to demand the removal of books from a library.

"In urging the removal of this book from the library shelves, Chief Buthelezi places himself in a similar category to book-burners of the past. A library is a place where society records its history and its impressions of itself for future generations to judge, and nobody has the right to interfere with that process."

Registrar of the University of Cape Town Hugh Amoore said the letter had been referred to the university's lawyers for advice.

"We are not going to do something that makes us liable to action in law. On the other hand, if we are not going to be rendered liable, we will not in any way

Inkatha's president wants a book about him removed from university shelves — else he'll sue. **CARMEL RICKARD** reports

restrict the right of any person to printed material." Natal University vice-principal Cofin Webb is also taking legal advice about how to respond.

He said the university "does not condone or accept any form of censorship. But if the book is declared through legal process to be defamatory we would consider handling it in the correct legal manner. Like any other university we have in our stocks holdings

which may be objectionable to some, but which should be available to our students and researchers for critical study."

The university was "not prepared to accept an opinion by lawyers acting for the complainant that the book is defamatory. We would want an opinion from our own lawyers."

Librarians at some of the universities threatened with legal action, said it was a disturbing move; their "banned collections" had only recently been opened for all students after the government changed its attitude to critical work, now it appeared a new category of "banned work" might develop, with Buthelezi using the threat of legal action as an indirect form of censorship. They also questioned whether Buthelezi's

portraying of himself as a champion of liberal values included freedom of speech and information.

Buthelezi's lawyers have acted to restrict the distribution of the book before. At the end of 1988, they wrote to David Philip Publishers, distributors of London-based Zed Books which published the biography, claiming the book was defamatory and threatening to sue the company should it distribute it in this country.

Managing director David Philip said yesterday when the letter was received it had already been decided by Zed Books not to distribute Mzala's book in South Africa although no pressure had been applied by David Philip Publishers.

While Zed was confident it was not defamatory under English law, the company was uncertain about the situation in South Africa.

Commenting on the threat to the libraries, Philip said his company "fully upholds the right of South African university libraries to decide what books they should have on their shelves".

Inkatha leaders on another planet? 11B

CERTAIN leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) must think we are all stupid. Either that, or they live on a different planet.

They tell us repeatedly that they are committed to peace, that they are the victim of vicious attacks, and that they have their followers under control.

I no longer believe any of these claims.

Let me cite some examples. Inkatha has for some months now made a point of staging rallies in townships where it has little or no support outside certain hostels.

These rallies are ostensibly to launch the such-and-such a branch of the IFP.

But what invariably happens is that Inkatha supporters are bused in from other areas, armed to the teeth, and fed a diet of hot words from local party leaders.

This past weekend saw such a rally staged in Bekkersdal on the West Rand. There, beer flowing under a hot sun for four hours was added to a mixture already volatile.

At the end of this particular rally, the crowd formed up in impis and went rampaging through Bekkersdal, looking for trouble. They found it in the shape of ANC supporters waiting in ambush.

It was during this rally that Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni stamped around telling reporters that Inkatha would put in place 100 000 fighters in Soweto and a further 150 000 in other townships.

Notebook

CHRIS GIBBONS



Mr Myeni is also head of Inkatha's foreign affairs section; which may indicate that he has a future as an ambassador in somewhere like North Korea, where access to reality is not a prerequisite.

Later in the week, after his boss, Chief Buthelezi, had issued a statement trying to limit the damage done by his subordinate's words, I spoke to Mr Myeni.

He flatly contradicted one of my senior and most experienced reporters, saying beer had not flowed. The rally, he told me, had been peaceful at all times. Inkatha was the victim of attacks and so on and so on.

Not 24 hours later, 702 spoke to another senior Inkatha staffer, Temb Khoza — head of its youth league. Mr Khoza told one of my colleagues that Inkatha definitely had its supporters under control.

Now let's examine this more closely, ignoring for a moment the question of beer, although I do not for one moment doubt my reporter's version of the events.

Inkatha spent four hours last Sunday afternoon in Bekkersdal haranguing its followers. I do not speak Zulu, nor was I there, but independently verifiable reports say that as soon as the rally was over, the crowd emerged, formed up into impis and ran off in various directions through the township.

To bus people into Bekkersdal or any other township where there is not locally-based support is an act which has aggressive implications. Inkatha's leaders cannot pretend to be surprised when hackles rise.

This busing, and the consequences, demonstrate quite clearly that the rally organisers cannot be committed to peace.

If they are, then they do not control their followers, as they claim. If they do control their followers, then they appear to be guilty — at the very least — of incitement to riot.

Are they — as they claim — victims? Not on the evidence of Bekkersdal. Perhaps in other places at other times, but not any longer.

If Inkatha wants its claim of a commitment to peace to be taken seriously, it will have to stop these provocative rallies. It will have to keep its followers under control. And it will have to make sure that they leave their weapons at home.

Until then, it may be Inkatha that is the single biggest obstacle to peace in a new South Africa.

● Chris Gibbons is the presenter of Radio 702's *Newstalk*.

Zulu king plans defiance march

By S'BU MNGADI

THOUSANDS of Inkatha-supporting Zulu impis are expected to stage a march in Johannesburg on May 26 - armed with "traditional weapons" - in defiance of this week's government ban on dangerous weapons.

This was decided at a special meeting of Zulu chiefs in Ulundi on Friday night.

The meeting follows the ANC's demand that the government extend its ban on weapons to the carrying of "traditional weapons".

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged the chiefs to support King Goodwill Zwelithini, who will lead the march and address a meeting later in the day.

The chiefs were also asked to recruit all able-bodied men from their constituencies to protect the honour of the King, the Zulus and their 200-year tradition of carrying "traditional weapons".

In a press statement, the chiefs called on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to "publicly apologise to the Zulu people and their King" for saying they had established control over migrant labourers staying in hostels through acts of intimidation.

The chiefs also resolved to:
■ Condemn the ANC for the "confrontationalism" in their open letter to the State President, in which they threatened to withdraw from negotiations if the government did not respond positive-

ly to their demands;

■ Warn that there would be no peace in South Africa while the ANC made war on the Zulu people;

■ Make it clear to the ANC that it was AK47s, petrol bombs, necklaces, handgrenades, land mines and other modern weapons which should be banned;

■ Tell the government and the whole world that there would be no compromise on the issue of "cultural weapons".

■ Call on the government not to appease the ANC, leaving them with arms caches and Umkhonto weSizwe as their private army; and

■ Reject the elimination of hostels on the Reef.

Chief: killing
about leaders,
not policies

1071 (118)
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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.

Now the Zulu impi goes to Maokeng

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RESIDENTS OF MAOKENG IN KROONSTAD ARE LIVING IN FEAR THAT A RALLY PLANNED TO BE HELD BY THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY IN THE TOWNSHIP THIS WEEKEND MAY LEAD TO VIOLENCE.

RESIDENTS of Maokeng in Kroonstad are living in fear that a rally planned to be held by the Inkatha Freedom Party in the township this weekend may lead to violence.

The IFP has been granted permission by the Maokeng Council to hold the rally at Seeisoville Stadium on Sunday.

A Maokeng resident said yesterday that although they recognised every political party's right to hold gatherings, they felt uneasy about the Inkatha rally because of what had happened in other townships after the organisation's meetings.

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

Another resident said what surprised them was that similar applications by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress had been rejected since last year.

Decision

Last week, Maokeng town clerk, Mr PC Slabbert, said the council had refused Cosatu permission to use the stadium because it was not a political organisation.

Asked whether the council's decision would not be seen as siding with

the IFP, Slabbert said he saw no problem as one was a political organisation and the other a trade union.

Residents said pamphlets purporting to have been issued by Inkatha had also been distributed in the township.

The pamphlets said the rally would address issues such as "children who kill each other and burn houses; parents' reaction to such acts; and business people who buy guns for comrades to kill other people".

Inkatha representatives Ms Susan Vos and Mr Themba Khoza were not available for comment.

Mr Prince Lefafa, secretary of the ANC branch in Maokeng, confirmed that there was general uneasiness in the area.

No date for more talks



DE KLERK

NO date has been set for further talks between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President FW de Klerk, according to the chief's private secretary Mr Amos Ngema.

Sowetan
16/5/91

Combat violence

(112)

~~set~~

The two leaders met on Tuesday and agreed to meet again.

A statement after the Tuesday meeting said the leaders had held a "constructive and friendly meeting", adding that discussions had focused on "the need to combat violence and intimidation as well as on the issue of firearms and other dangerous weapons". - *Sapa*.

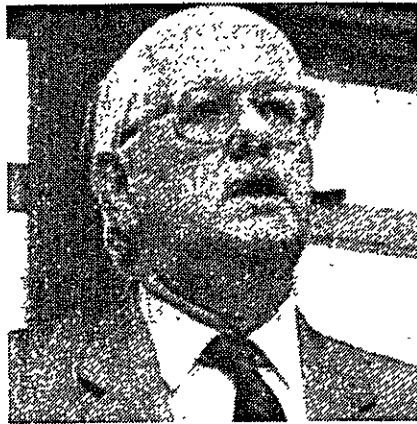


BUTHELEZI

IFP is the main source of peace, says Viljoen

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Sowetan 16/5/91



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

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a great leader.

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.

C

Gerrit Viljoen
Star 16/5/91 (118)
lauds Inkatha

Special tribute to Inkatha's contribution as one of the major role-players on the political scene was paid by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen yesterday.

Introducing debate on his department's budget vote, he referred to Inkatha's long record in rejecting violence.

He also recalled that after President de Klerk's speech on February 2 last year, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and other Chief Ministers, had immediately said they accepted the State President's integrity and expressed their readiness to start negotiations.

If one considered Inkatha's support for a market-related economy promoting economic growth and its rejection of sanctions and disinvestment, then he believed it was an important role-player, not only in the past and present, but also in a future South Africa. — Sapa.

Inkatha in Cape Campaign

By Musa Ndwandwe (118)

South 16/5 - 22/5/91

DR GATSHA Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is gearing up for a massive recruitment drive in Cape Town and intends launching a Western Cape regional structure shortly.

The IFP campaign in the Peninsula is aimed at boosting the party's membership in both white and black suburbs and the IFP claims it is receiving a warm response from whites and "coloureds" in the city.

"Within the next three weeks, we will be accelerating moves towards the launch of a structure in the Cape Town area," said the director of the Inkatha Institute, Dr Gavin Woods.

Woods said people were "going out of their way" to join the party, following a recent advertising campaign in major Western Cape newspapers.

He said about 3 000 whites and coloured members had been recruited since the adverts appeared.

According to the party's Ulundi office, more than 4 000 people in the Western Cape have joined the organisation since it became a political party in July last year.

Breakdown

Mr Robert Mkhize, the IFP's administrative secretary at Ulundi, said the organisation could not provide a racial breakdown on these figures as it did not classify people on racial grounds.

However, local IFP officebearers claim growth of the party in African townships has been hindered by fear of attacks from opposition groups.

Two senior KwaZulu government officials are reported to have visited the Western Cape recently in a bid to secure permanent premises for the homeland government in the Western Cape.

The KwaZulu government has asked the first white to join the IFP in the Western Cape, Mr George Shuttleworth to finalise arrangements for office premises in Cape Town.

"The owners of buildings are scared to give us space in case it poses a risk to their property," said Shuttleworth.

Although he emphasised the offices were for the homeland government Shuttleworth, who is an active member of the Nyanga IFP branch, acknowledged the distinction between KwaZulu and the IFP was "blurred".

TURN TO PAGE THREE

South
Inkatha 16/5 - 22/5/91
(118)

FROM PAGE ONE

There are an estimated 4 000 Zulu-speaking people resident in the Western Cape. While Inkatha officials agree not all these people are Inkatha members, they claim most are loyal to the party.

Mr George Langelibalele, who has been chairman of Inkatha's Nyanga branch since 1979, said Inkatha had been active in the area since the early 1970s. However, the organisation experienced a decline in the mid 1980s when many supporters withdrew their membership for fear of reprisal.

Langelibalele said recent growth had meant the organisation had grown from a single branch into three branches — Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu.

Recruit

Reacting to the IFP's recruitment drive, the ANC's Western Cape spokesperson Mr Trevor Manuel said any organisation should be allowed to freely recruit members and build structures.

"However, we would view their actions differently if it should be discovered that the object of recruiting in the Western Cape is not building the organisation, but some other ulterior motive," he said.

Inkatha is regarded as one of the major protagonist in the violence currently gripping the townships in the Transvaal and Natal.

Myeni tries to win Scandinavian friends

By PATRIK EKLOF: Oslo

INKATHA is trying hard to win the hearts and minds of Scandinavian politicians.

This week Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni visited Norway. Official host during his visit was the South African consul general in Oslo, Willem Bosman.

On Monday journalists were invited to a press conference with Myeni at the South African consulate in Oslo. However, at the last minute the venue was changed. Myeni did not want to be seen to have too close links with officials at the consulate.

Bosman confirmed he personally invited Myeni to Norway.

It has also been confirmed that the consulate covered Myeni's travel expenses and the cost of renting a room for the press conference at the Bristol Hotel in central Oslo.

"The aim was to introduce Inkatha to the outside world and to the Scandinavian countries in particular.

"My own personal role was to help Myeni with practical advice during his stay.

"I also helped by introducing him to different people in Norway," Bos-



Musa Myeni ...blamed ANC for escalating township violence

man told *The Weekly Mail*.

During his two-day visit Myeni met the chairman of the foreign committee of the parliament, Jan Pettersen, a member of the Norwegian Conservative Party.

On Tuesday night a dinner, with carefully selected politicians and representatives of the business community, was held at the South African consulate.

"Apartheid is dead. Today we are suffering under an emerging African National Congress dictatorship, backed by communists all over the world," said Myeni at Monday's press conference.

Myeni blamed the ANC for the escalating violence in the townships on the East Rand.

"We will stop the violence if the ANC takes a stand against violence," he said.

Two weeks ago Myeni personally proclaimed that Inkatha would deploy over 100 000 armed men in the East Rand townships. He also said Inkatha enjoys no support from the South African government or the police.

Before his arrival in Norway, Myeni spent a few days in Denmark.

On Wednesday morning he left Oslo for the Finnish capital, Helsinki, where he was invited by the Finnish-South Africa Friendship Association.

Inkatha could scuttle hostels plan

WMA 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 hostels".

Initiated by the IDT, the accord provides for joint enterprises among the three parties in the areas of housing, education and health.

This may be the official position. But a statement by an Inkatha representative this week suggested the party has serious reservations about changes to the hostel system, seeing it as an ANC move to undermine Inkatha's power base.

Said Inkatha's Suzanne Vos: "The ANC has a hidden agenda and an ulterior motive in wanting to abolish the hostel system. They know the hostels are Inkatha strongholds, and they want to get our people out. There are entrenched Inkatha branches in the hostels and there has been organisation for years."

She added: "By calling for the hostels to be converted into family units, what the ANC really wants is to get the present occupants out — to dislocate and disperse them, and then decide who is going to get the family units."

"It is a clever tactic to get our people out. After they have been upgraded, how do our people get them back again?" she said.

ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus



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

GOVERNMENT DILEMMA ON CULTURAL WEAPONS

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban
THE cultural weapons row is at the centre of a stark choice for the government: ban the public carrying of all offensive weapons to political rallies and marches; or allow some weapons, and fuel allegations of a weak-kneed approach to ending the killing.

The choice should be obvious, but there is a hidden agenda. A ban on all weapons would appear as siding with the African National Congress; a selective ban, as a choice favouring Inkatha. Members of the cabinet may have their preferences, but want to appear neutral for as long as possible.

The government undoubtedly has the legal power to act. For example, the Dangerous Weapons Act outlaws the possession of weapons, described as "any object likely to cause serious bodily injury if used to commit an assault". The Natal Code on Zulu Law made it illegal, except under limited conditions, to carry such weapons in Natal/

dismissed the allegations as "totally fallacious." WMA 17/5-23/5/91
"We are not calling for the abolition of the single-sex hostels to get rid of Inkatha members," he said. "We are calling

for the abolition of a system that has created enormous social problems and dislocation, and that undermines people's dignity and their right to family life." (118)

But the government has undermined its position, first by not insisting that the law was enforced by the police when such weapons were routinely carried to political meetings in Natal; then by broadening the circumstances under which "traditional weapons" could legally be carried in terms of the Natal Code.

Despite the uncertainty now created by changes to the Code however, there are other laws and regulations which the government could apply if it wanted to do so. However, it appears mesmerised by the argument that the carrying of spears and other weapons is a sacrosanct feature of Zulu culture, even though the ban urged by the ANC concerns the carrying of such weapons during political marches, demonstrations and rallies — not on the carrying of genuine cultural weapons during genuine cultural occasions.

"We would like to get rid of the single-sex hostels, but we don't see this in a dogmatic way that people should be driven out. We recognise that there is a need for single accommodation"

(118) kwaZulu leader and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi puts this view strongly, predicting dire consequences of a spear ban.

To back his claim, pro-Inkatha traditional leaders say there can be "no compromise whatsoever" on the issue, warning of the serious view which would be taken of any move to "strip Zulus of their cultural weapons as accoutrements through which they express their historic identity".

Clearly there are Zulu people who have deep seated feelings about the carrying of such weapons. But it is by no means unanimous, and the question remains whether this should stand in the way of a government blanket ban on all offensive weapons carried on political occasions.

There is also no evidence to indicate that if the gravity of the violence in the country were clearly conveyed to traditionalists, they would still insist on carrying weapons to non-cultural events.

(118) 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. WMA 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 has become an Inkatha military barracks. "Until the invaders have been evicted, we cannot make any progress on the future of the hostels," one said.

The problem has allegedly been compounded by the reluctance of the Inkatha-dominated council to evict those occupying the hostel, seeing the current tenants as a support base. The civic, representing the displaced hostel dwellers, is challenging the council to proceed with evictions.

Another upgrading initiative is being hampered by the violence. Formulated by the National Union of Metalworkers late last year for the phasing out of hostels and their replacement by family and single units, the scheme has been adopted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and tabled in talks with employers.

In part, the scheme would be financed from pension and provident funds of which the unions are trustees. But they are looking for matching funds from business and the state.

However, "the scheme has to be negotiated with the state and employers. We cannot implement it unilaterally," said Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman, "and until the violence ends, nothing much can happen"

w/mail 1715-23/591

SADF denies training Inkatha

THE South African Defence Force has denied that its members are involved in the training of Inkatha paramilitary fighters or members of "third force" teams. The Weekly Mail last week published allegations that members of the military were training Inkatha members at a base near Barberton. It also noted reports that municipal workers in Klerksdorp were being recruited for training as anti-ANC fighters. (S)

"There are two bases in the Barberton area. One of these houses troops from the Cape Corps who are deployed for border protection tasks. The other is a training base for Citizen Force members (all white) and serves as a transit base," said a statement issued by the SADF. (S)

"As far as the allegations about Defence Force involvement in the training of members of Inkatha are concerned, the Defence Force is already on record that it does not train, arm or equip anyone other than its own members."

Inkatha lashes ANC and Press

By DON SEOKANE

Sowetan 20/5/91

INKATHA Youth Brigade leader Mr Themba Khoza yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC and the Press for labelling Inkatha members "impis".

Khoza was addressing a meeting at George Goch hostel to reaffirm Inkatha Brigade's mandate to attend President FW de Klerk's summit on violence to be held next weekend.

About 2 000 Inkatha supporters attended the meeting carrying traditional weapons such as axes, metal pipes and spears.

Tempers flared at the meeting when Khoza said the media was bowing to the ANC's propaganda and that the Press was conducting a negative publicity campaign against Inkatha.

Some sections of the crowd demanded that the Press should be dealt with immediately.

"They need to be taught a lesson," Inkatha supporters shouted.

Earlier, the meeting mandated Inkatha leadership to attend the summit on violence called

by De Klerk.

Khoza said: "If the ANC can stop attacking our members, then we will stop defending ourselves and the violence will end. We did not start a programme of ungovernable the townships - the ANC did."

"Street committees and kangaroo courts are the origins of violence."

"The ANC is having problems with us because they are not used to being opposed. They are used to being the only liberation movement in the country," said Khoza.

IFP the chief instigator of Reef clashes, says survey

By Brendan Templeton

The Inkatha Freedom Party has been identified by press reports as the instigator of Reef violence 11 times more often than the ANC, a social research organisation said yesterday.

But the accuracy of the findings were immediately questioned by Inkatha liaison officer Suzanne Vos.

"I very much doubt the manner in which this so-called survey was conducted and it is clearly yet another attempt to skew the information against Inkatha," she said.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), which conducted the survey, said reports showed that guns played a more important role in attacks than "traditional weapons".

The survey covered more than 1 500 articles from 14 local newspapers, dating back to July 1990, covering 338 violent incidents.

An aggressor was "confidently identified" in 146 of these cases, with the IFP topping the list as instigator in 66 percent of them. Following Inkatha were the police and defence force (18 percent), the ANC (6 percent), militant youths (4 percent), vigilantes (3 percent), and other organisations and criminal elements (3 percent).

CASE senior researcher Dr David Everatt said a comprehensive report would be published shortly should anyone wish to examine his findings.

Graphs of his figures corresponded closely with those drawn up by monitoring groups such as the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, the Human Rights Commission and Lawyers for Human Rights, he said.

21/5/91 118 (118)

Inkatha supporters in court

JOHANNESBURG. — Nine Inkatha Freedom Party supporters made a brief appearance in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the deaths of 15 people at an Alexandra vigil in March.

Mr Gibson Mbatha, Mr Isaac Makhoba, Mr Derek Majosi, Mr Vuzimuzi Nkosi Jali, Mr Christopher Mbatha, Mr Themba Ntuli, Mr Petrus Buthulezi, Mr John Zakhloe and Mr Bheki Ndimba, all from Alexandra, will appear at an identity parade today.

The case was postponed to June 5. Bail was refused and the men were remanded in custody. — Sapa



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

● To Page 2

IFP agrees to control lethal weapons

From Page 1

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 impi 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.

Inkatha the aggressor in most attacks - study

By KAMAL SINGH

SO-CALLED traditional weapons were used in 16 percent of the incidents of violence reported on the Reef in the past 10 months, according to research figures released yesterday.

The research was carried out by the Community Agency for Social Inquiry's senior researcher Dr David Everatt, who collected the information from about 1 500 English and Afrikaans newspaper reports.

The figures given in newspapers were checked against figures published by organisations like the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, Human Rights Commission and Lawyers for Human Rights.

The figures showed that 1 805 people died as a result of political violence, an average of seven deaths a day.

An analysis revealed that the Inkatha Freedom Party was blamed in newspaper reports 10 times more than the ANC.

"In 338 reported instances of violence, responsibility was attributed by the media and monitoring organisations in 146 cases," Everatt said.

"Inkatha was held responsible for 66 percent of the attributed acts of aggression compared with six percent to the ANC."

The Reef violence included 22 attacks on train travellers in which 58

were killed and at least 387 injured.

The media reports attributed blame in 15 attacks - 14 to Inkatha and one to criminals.

"Traditional weapons" (spears, assegais, knives, knobkerries and sticks) were identified 35 times out of 215 instances (16 percent).

Firearms and explosives were used in almost 47 percent of cases, pangas (6,5 percent), axes (3,6 percent), petrol bombs (1,9 percent) and bars and poles (0,1 per-

cent).

Inkatha was reported responsible for 55 percent of cases of using guns and explosives, the ANC two percent; Inkatha was blamed in 23 percent of the cases of using "traditional weapons" and the ANC three percent.

Inkatha was also seen as using pangas, axes, petrol bombs necklacing twice more than the ANC.

Everatt said the reported use of AK-47 rifles (5,6 percent of all weapons) was restricted to Inkatha.

The ANC was not identified as using AK-47 rifles.

A special friendship.
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CP 23/5/79

Lusaka talks for Buthelezi

(16)
LUSAKA — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived here yesterday to hold talks with Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, government officials, said.

Chief Buthelezi's visit follows a meeting between Dr Kaunda and Inkatha leaders here last week at which they discussed the escalating violence in the black townships. — Sapa-Reuter

Police 'not culpable' for Soweto killings

BiDay 23/5/91

JONATHON REES

AN INQUEST into the deaths of 22 people in Soweto on 26 August 1986 found yesterday that police or municipal police might have been responsible for 20 of the deaths, but that they had not acted unlawfully.

Inquest magistrate CJ de Lange said evidence was that a police unit based in Mapetia, Soweto, had been returning to base on August 26 1986 when they came across a group attacking a Peugeot with pangas, axes and sticks. One man was on the roof with a panga and a woman was heard screaming inside the vehicle.

When police stopped they were attacked, and opened fire to save the occupants of the vehicle and defend themselves.

Police had caused the deaths of five people during "drastic action required to save their lives" but had not acted unlawfully, the magistrate said.

On the same date, in Rockville and White City, also in Soweto, the magistrate said evidence was that municipal police had taken action during a night of public violence, at times firing shotguns loaded with buckshot. It was possible they had been responsible for the majority of the 15 deaths in the area.

There was however no evidence that any of the deaths were brought about by an offence on the part of the police. The SAP had arrived only after 10.30pm and were

not responsible for any of the deaths, De Lange said.

He said the court was aware of the chaotic circumstances in Soweto at the time. Negotiations between residents and police at the scene would not have helped as people were "behaving like wild animals".

Media reports at the time indicated residents, particularly the youth, mobilised to defend themselves against eviction by Soweto council officials trying to break a rent boycott in the township.

The official death toll finally stood at 24, with almost 100 injured. The deaths prompted a parliamentary debate, with calls for a judicial commission of inquiry being led by former DP MP Helen Suzman.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) litigation spokesman Ahmed Motala said the organisation was extremely disappointed by the decision, and expected more enlightened decisions by judicial officers.

"This clearly indicates the unwillingness of our courts to hold members of the security forces accountable for their actions," said Motala.

He said the LHR was concerned the inquest was heard more than four years after the incidents. "It is an indication that when there has to be an inquiry into the actions of members of the security forces, the wheels of justice turn very slowly."



Prof Robert Charlton of Wits U of Education Rector during yr

Mabuza: let Promat run

colleges

TANIA LEVY

FORMER KaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza said yesterday he would like to close down all teacher training colleges in thebantustans and in "white" SA and hand them over to the independent trust Promat.

Mabuza was speaking at the official opening of the Promat College of Education in Cullinan, north of Pretoria — SA's first independent non-racial teachers' training college to be opened in more than 30 years.

He said the experiences of Promat — whose matric colleges for teachers have become synonymous with impressive pass rates in recent years — should be used to reform and revitalise the education system.

The Promat College was essential to recreate education values, he said. The Promat College opened in January to 128 student teachers chosen from 4 000 applicants.

Situated on the farm of a former Lutheran mission, the Promat College campus was developed with R6m from the Anglo American and De Beers chairman's fund, R400 000 from the British government and R3m from German church group EZE and donations from several countries and major companies.

'Be traditional' at rally, Zulus urged

BiDay 23/5/91

THEO RAWANA

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced last night that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini would address a mass meeting of Zulus at the FNB Stadium near Soweto on Sunday and that they would be encouraged to wear "traditional attire".

The announcement came just days after President F W de Klerk reached an agreement with Zulu leaders, including Zwelithini, on curbing the carrying of Zulu spears.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said there would be no reason to fear any violence if there was no provocation, ambushes or attacks from ANC supporters.

"It is not an Inkatha gathering, but an 'imbizo' at which the king will deliver a special message to his people," she said.

Vos denied the meeting was ill-timed.

A statement called on Zulus from throughout Transvaal to be "attired in their cultural dress" as the king and his entourage would do the same. It did not specify whether this included "cultural weapons".

Zwelithini would be accompanied by Buthelezi, chiefs and other dignitaries.

Vos said the ANC should "do everything possible" to prevent its followers from provoking anyone.

To support her assurance that there would be no violence, Vos cited the rally Inkatha held in Jabulani, Soweto in March. "On that day the ANC was also burying a member who had died in a bomb blast. But there was no trouble."

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



(112)

Inkatha drops march - rally will go ahead

Political Staff ^{sta} 24/5/71

The Inkatha Freedom Party has abandoned plans for a mass march from the First National Bank Stadium near Soweto to John Vorster Square.

But it is expecting more than 100 000 at a rally in the stadium on Sunday.

Confirming the decision to cancel the march, Inkatha Youth League spokesman Themba Khoza said about 10 000 supporters would be coming from areas outside the PWV region, but "we expect to get the first 100 000 locally".

The rally is to be addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has announced that those attending will be encouraged to wear traditional attire.

A member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has reportedly made it clear that this implies the carrying of spears, sticks and shields.

While the carrying of spears in unrest areas is banned, the stadium falls outside the area of Soweto.

About 2 000 supporters are expected from the Vukindlela area of Natal.

According to Mr Khoza, there would also be an attendance from "the north" and the western Transvaal.

The ANC in Natal has accused the IFP of forcing people in townships around Durban to travel to Johannesburg for the rally. The IFP has denied this.

Buthlezi to visit US, Bush

(118) 24/5/91

ATLANTA. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will visit the US to meet President Bush and seek American support for his Inkatha Freedom Party, an aide has said.

Chief Buthelezi is to meet President Bush on June 20 as part of a week-long tour that includes speeches and television appearances, said the Reverend Sipo Mzimela, Inkatha's chief US representative.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Inkatha 'provokes' on weapons issue

W/ Mail 24/5 - 29/5/91

By EDDIE KOCH

INKATHA is being "provocative" by urging thousands of Zulus to carry sticks, spears and shields to a mass rally at the First National Bank stadium near Soweto on Sunday despite a government ban on these weapons in unrest areas.

African National Congress representative Ronnie Mamoepa said Inkatha's move was a deliberate attempt to frustrate this week's official ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and warned that it could spread sectarian violence into peaceful areas.

The complaint comes along with research conducted by academics which shows that Inkatha members are reported in the press as making more extensive use of AK-47 rifles and other firearms than supporters of the ANC in the current violence.

kwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Robert 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 desig-

nated 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.



King Goodwill Zwelithini

Inkatha expects 100 000 at mass rally outside Soweto

Soweto 24/5/91 (11)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has abandoned plans for a mass march from FNB Stadium near Soweto to John Vorster Square but expects an attendance of more than 100 000 at a rally at the giant stadium on Sunday.

Confirming the decision to cancel the march, Inkatha Youth League spokesman Themba Khoza said about 10 000 supporters would be coming from areas outside the PWV region, but "we expect to get the first 100 000 locally".

The rally will be addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has announced that those attending will be encouraged to wear "traditional attire".

A member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has reportedly made it clear that this implies the carrying of spears, sticks and shields.

While the carrying of spears in unrest areas is banned, the stadium falls outside an unrest area.

About 2 000 supporters are expected from the Vukindlela area of Natal where local Inkatha leader David Ntombela has spearheaded the collection of funds from Inkatha members for the trek north.

According to Khoza there will also be a large attendance from "the north" and the Western Transvaal.

The rally was originally scheduled to be held at George Goch Stadium to be followed by a march to Jeppe Police Station. *Political Staff*

SUMMIT POLITICS FM 24/5/91

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.

FINANCIAL MAIL • MAY • 24 • 1991 • 47

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 parlia-

ment 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 inflamma-



Mandela ... praised and condemned

tory and dangerous.

Viljoen said that while Mandela had repeatedly rejected the concept of minority protection or the protection of group rights, because he regarded it as tantamount to a perpetuation of racism, his speech at Stellenbosch indicated a considerable softening.

Mandela assured students that structural guarantees would be written into an ANC constitution to ensure that whites were not dominated by blacks and that cultural and religious rights would be protected.

"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. ■

Dress 'properly',

says Zulu king

LESS than 24 hours after the Government banned the carrying of weapons this week, King Goodwill Zwelithini urged Zulus attending a mass rally at the FNB Stadium tomorrow to wear "proper traditional attire".

Sporting "traditional attire", according to an Inkatha Legislative Assembly member, implies the carrying of spears, sticks and shields.

Asked whether organisers of the meeting had applied for permission for the carrying of cultural weapons, Suzanne Vos of the Inkatha Freedom Party said this was unnecessary, as the stadium was not in an unrest area. She pointed out that the IFP were not the organisers of the rally.

This means that many of the 100 000 people expected at the stadium tomorrow will be carrying traditional weapons. And many Zulus from local regions are expected to arrive on foot after travelling through tension-racked township areas.

Amakhosi

The rally is to be addressed by King Goodwill and his Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It will also be attended by other dignitaries and the "amakhosi (chiefs) of the Zulu nation" were urged to "solidly support" the king at this occasion.

Previous plans for a meeting to be held at the George Goch stadium and a subsequent march on the Jeppe Station were cancelled.

The Zulu rally will once more focus on the heated debate surrounding Wednesday's gazetted ban on the carrying of weapons, including spears and assegais and other items like pointed or metal objects, axes, petrol-bombs and pitchforks.

But the ban does provide for exemptions, including the right to carry cultural weapons to events if prior notice has been given. This exemption was criticised by violence-monitoring groups, including Lawyers for Human Rights, the Independent Board of Inquiry and the Centre for Applied Legal studies.

The three organisations called on the Government to impose a



KING GOODWILL ZWELETHINI.

Traditional
attire urged
for rally

PAT DEVEREAUX

complete ban on cultural weapons and to outlaw all public display of weapons, particularly at political and outdoor gatherings.

An ongoing outcry against traditional weapons follows this week's report that Inkatha has been blamed for 66 percent of the political violence on the Reef, claiming at least 1 805 lives, in the past nine months.

According to the Community Agency for Social Enquiry's senior researcher, Dr David Everatt, who collated information from news reports and cross-checked it with monitoring groups, Inkatha was blamed for 10 times more acts of aggression than the ANC — said to be responsible for six percent.

In the research, traditional weapons (spears, assegais, knives, knobkerries and sticks) were identified 35 times out of 215 instances (16 percent).

Firearms and explosives were used in almost 47 percent of cases, pangas (6,5 percent) axes (3,6 percent) petrol bombs (1,9 percent) and bars and poles (0,1 percent), said the report.

Inkatha was reportedly responsible for 55 percent of cases of

using guns and explosives, the ANC two percent; Inkatha was blamed in 23 percent of the cases of using "traditional weapons" and the ANC three percent.

Inkatha was also seen as using pangas, axes, petrol bombs and necklacing twice as often as the ANC. Dr Everatt said the reported use of AK-47 rifles (5,6 percent of all weapons) was restricted to Inkatha while the ANC was not identified as using AK-47 rifles.

However, the report was disputed by Dr Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute, who said their own research had indicated that very few people were killed by traditional weapons.

He said there were two problems with Dr Everatt's research: Case had "a politically partisan reputation" and the analysis was "superficial and distorted".

Opposing the ban on cultural weapons, Dr Woods claimed that in one month's reported incidents of violence this year, 75 percent of victims were killed by guns and 20 percent hacked to death.

He claimed the weapons used to hack people to death were not traditional. He said the remaining five percent of deaths occurred though other means, including necklacing.

Manager of the Inkatha Institute Peter Smith stressed that pangas and other sharpened instruments could not be regarded as traditional weapons.

Necklacings

Referring to Race Relations research, on which Inkatha's research has been based, Mr Smith said: "Since the violence began a few years ago, firearms, explosives and other incendiary objects account for 50 percent of weapons used in the violence, while knives, pangas other sharp objects account for 18 percent."

Mr Smith added that the Inkatha Institute's research was to be presented at the Government's current all-party peace conference.

Approached for figures regarding violence, deaths and the weapons used, police liaison officer Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen said they did not compile such statistics and the cause of death was left up to the inquest courts.

Brothers' home sends minister into a frenzy

By S'BU MNGADI

APR 26/191.

THE brother of KwaZulu's Deputy Works Minister Velaphi Ndlovu, whose speech against conversion of hostels into family units caused a storm this week, lives happily in a hostel-turned-family unit.

Imbali mayor and Inkatha official, Phikelela Ndlovu, lives with his family in a modest four-roomed house in Stage Two in the township near Maritzburg. His house is situated in "Hostel" - Imbali's only Inkatha-controlled section.

Speculating on why the ANC wanted the South Africa government to convert hostels into family units, the minister said: "The ANC wants to house its returning exiles."

Break down

Minister Ndlovu was addressing a 3 000-strong Inkatha meeting at Umlazi's Railway Hostel Stadium, which culminated in the formation of the South African Hostel Dwellers' Association.

The minister, who also lives in Imbali, said once the hostels were "broken down" by the ANC, thousands of people would have no place to stay.

"The ANC is trying to put politics in the hostels in the wrong way, and then afterwards starts killing the people," Ndlovu told the emotionally-charged crowd.

Prince Gideon Zulu told the meeting: "Now is the time for Zulu people to unite and fight the ANC, who are saying that Zulu people must die and Xhosa people must live."

However, Ndlovu's elder brother Phikelela told *City Press* this week that his family would probably still be homeless today had the Department of Development Aid (DDA) not converted the local hostel into family units in 1985.

Prior to this, he had been renting a room at his brother-in-law's house in the township.

The decision by the DDA to develop the hostel was a culmination of pressure from the Inkatha-controlled township council and residents, the mayor explained.

The DDA gave first preference to hostel inmates to re-occupy the 403 blocks converted to family units.

Cosatu's Southern Natal secretary, Thami Mohlomi, told *City Press* that the upgrading of hostels had been a long-standing debate in Cosatu.

"We have demanded that those who want to live with their families near their places of employment should have the right to do so."

Zulu rally fuels violence fears

By THEMBA KHUMALO

(118) e/PRESS 26/5/91
ZULU monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini addresses thousands of his subjects today at the FNB Stadium near Soweto amid fears that violence will erupt when hostel-dwellers return to townships on the Reef after the rally.

Zwelithini's address takes place against a background of anger and confusion in PWV townships where at least 13 people have died violently this week.

Adding to fears of further bloodshed were Zwelithini's statements at a government-convened summit on violence on Friday, that the Zulus were keen to go to war and would destroy any enemy if

they took up arms.

Meanwhile, survivors of an attack on Masiza hostel beerhall in Sebokeng on Thursday described how men in balaclavas sprayed patrons with automatic gunfire, killing seven and wounding 21.

Speaking from his hospital bed, Nxego Xhegu, 50, a security guard at Iscor, said there were about 70 patrons drinking when the men opened fire.

"We scrambled for cover in the toilet, but they followed us and continued shooting while we screamed, pleading for mercy. They then left without uttering a word. It was hell," said Xhegu.

On Friday night men from Nancefield Hostel in Soweto went on

the rampage killing four people and wounding scores of others in Pimville Zone 2. Two other people died later.

Local ANC branch secretary Kabelo Mohlodi said the attack came after residents had saved a girl from being raped by hostel inmates who threatened to return.

"At about 10.55pm we heard gunshots and windows breaking.

"I switched off the lights but it was too late because they were already in my yard. They broke down the front door."

Mohlodi escaped through the back door, chased by 70 men.

Four people were killed, 20 houses damaged and furniture worth thousands of rands stolen.

40 000 Zulus hear king's call for peace

310am
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(11B) JONATHON REES (11B)

AT LEAST 40 000 Zulus, many carrying spears, attended a rally near Soweto yesterday to hear King Goodwill Zwelethini appeal for an end to township fighting.

Zwelethini said it was "good" that some of his people belonged to various political parties, including the ANC, and that he had come to tell "my father's people" to stop using violence for political purposes.

"Let the atrocities end. Let there be no more necklacing. Let the chopping up of people to pieces with pangas and axes end. Let people be free from coercion and make their own choices," he said. "I command peace and I say to the ANC: do not destroy our peace-keeping capacity."

The Zulu king also handed a petition to deputy Regional Police Commissioner Brig 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 Adriaan Vlok to remove the ANC's weapons and to protect the lives of innocent people in the townships.

KwaZulu ministers including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, civil servants and members of the Zulu royal family flew to Johannesburg from Ulundi for the gathering at the First National Bank stadium.

Buthelezi told the rally that the Zulu gathering — the first since government banned the carrying of spears in unrest areas — was not a meeting of his Inkatha movement but a call for peace.

Scores of buses delivered singing and dancing Zulus to the stadium from hostels and townships all over the Reef.

SAP Witwatersrand head of operations Brig Jaap Venter said precautions had been taken by police and the army to prevent violence after the rally.

● Pictures: Page 3

THE RISE OF ZULU NATIONALISM ...

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.

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 door open for Buthezi 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.

The power and the danger behind

Unleashing powerful ethnic feelings — as Inkatha has done — can have enormously dangerous repercussions, argues

CARMEL RICKARD

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

... A SPECIAL WEEKLY MAIL FOCUS

the ethnic wave

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: Simus' fate bears testimony to this.

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: test this by mentioning 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.



SPEAR

OF THE

NATION

W/mail 30/5-6/6/91. 11/8

RESPLENDENT in his "tiger-skin" head-dress and monkey-skin kilt, with his multicoloured bead armlets and anklets, carrying an elegantly crafted rawhide shield, knobkerrie and spear, Visitor 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 "mbizo" — a royal address to the entire Zulu nation on the subject of peace.

Women ululate as King Goodwill Zwelithini warns to his theme: at points the crowd breaks in approvingly: "Begerhe!" (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 stogans displayed under IFP colours on the turf below the packed terraces leave no doubt that this is a political gathering, skillfully stage-managed as a cultural event.

To hear the Inkatha leader, one might think him 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 FOREST** reports

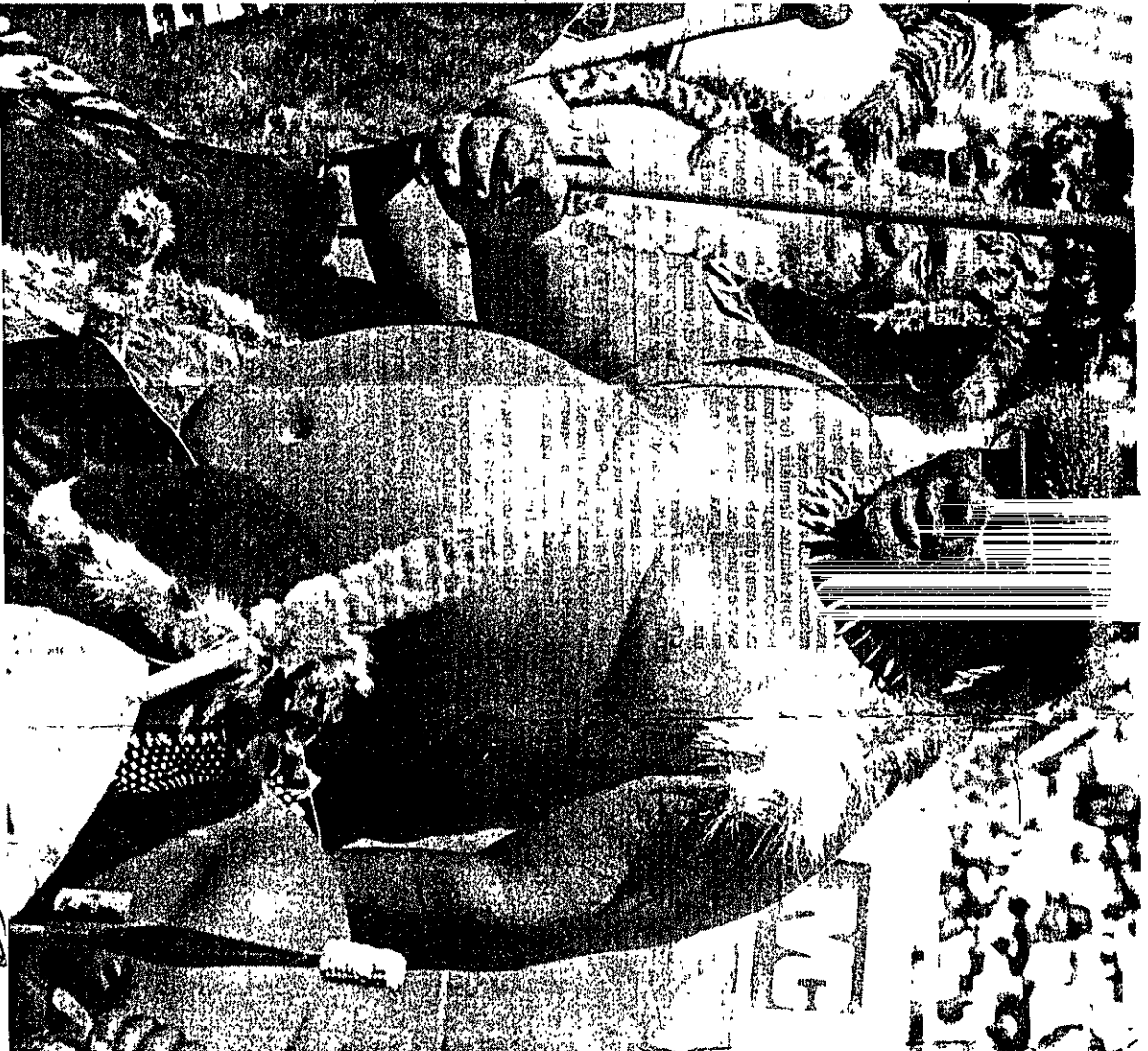
The unctuous references to "Dr Mandela" in the king's speech — it is an appellation which Nelson Mandela never uses and of which Buthelezi is particularly fond — raises some doubts about its authenticity.

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 Lutulu, 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 "mbizo" showing Lutulu carrying "traditional" weapons. It is on the treatment of the traditional weapons issue that the underlying agenda of the Soccer City



SHOWING HIS MANHOOD — A Zulu in cultural garb at a cultural gathering carries on the tradition of his nation

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 "mbizo" 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 "umkhonto" 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 weapons at Zulu national gatherings was banned before 1879 because they were too dangerous.

Interviewees with ordinary Zulus at the Soccer City before 1979 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, carried it for 200 years, since before Shaka, "It is a rallying-point is that it taps into intense Zulu pride in a warrior past."

There is undoubtedly such a thing as an indigenous ethnic pride and consciousness, Guy says, 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 of the spears. In the 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.

W/mail 30/5-6/6/91

Photo: AP

Churchmen to meet

Buthelezi

A high-powered delegation headed by Dr Louw Alberts and the Rev Frank Chikane, co-chairmen of the National Conference of Church Leaders (NCCL), is to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha Freedom Party members in Ulundi on Monday.

The NCCL office in Johannesburg yesterday said that in the light of the recent peace summit held in Pretoria, the meeting was seen as crucial because of the ongoing violence in the country, as well as "being a significant contribution to the reconciliation process".

Star 31/5/91

Respond

Members of the steering committee in the delegation will include Dr Alberts, Mr Chikane, Professor Johan Heyns (Ned Geref Kerk), Emma Mashinini (Church of the Province of Southern Africa), Bishop Wilfrid Napier (SA Catholic Bishops Conference), Archbishop Temba Ntongana (Council of African Independent Churches) and the Rev John Scholtz (Trinity Methodist Church). -

"It is expected that the Chief Minister and his national chairman, Dr F T Mdlalose, who have received a copy of the historic (Rustenburg) document, will respond to the many proposals made therein regarding a new dispensation.

"To date the Rustenburg Committee has met with President de Klerk in Cape Town and with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

"The Ulundi meeting with Chief Buthelezi is a continuance of the Rustenburg Committee's task of meeting personally with major political leaders in the nation," the statement said. - Sapa.

THE PEACE PROCESS

~~11B~~ 11B

FM 3115791

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.

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



King Goodwill at rally ... the heart of the matter

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funding; funding is always limited by the economy's capacity to grow; and that growth faces the "internal sanction" of violence. Perhaps it was for this reason that government decided to convene a talking-shop on the issue — its top men like Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen believe in rational debate as a solvent when passions are high. Unfortunately, this isn't always so.

Last Sunday, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu addressed a mass rally at the FNB stadium in Johannesburg. He made a powerful and sensible plea for his subjects to "desist in the use of violence for political purposes." His presence outside KwaZulu was a major step, authorised by the KwaZulu Cabinet. He also spoke forcefully on the issue of cultural weapons: "I am the Zulu nation. He who attacks the Zulu nation attacks me . . . The call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons by Zulus is an insult to my manhood. It is an insult to the manhood of every Zulu man."

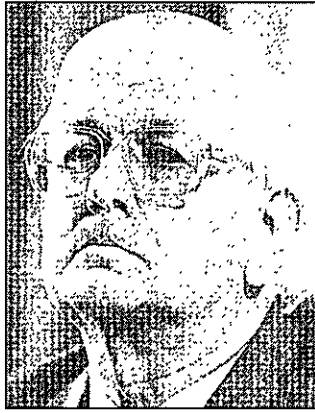
The sensitivities revealed here suggest how far we have to go before a constitutional settlement acceptable to all is found. While cultural weapons should obviously not be on aggressive display in unrest areas, in the long term the Zulu nation clearly feels it has the right to bear these arms.

From what was said at the conference, at the FNB rally, and by those who did not

attend the summit, an outline of how the current violence arose can be formed. It is not a clear-cut issue, but these are among the major factors:

□ The call by the ANC-in-exile in the mid-Eighties to make the townships ungovernable and to replace local "government" structures and officials with "representative" ones had effects which have far from abated, particularly since the programme continues in various forms. It is called "mass action." From this period date people's courts, necklacings, "liberation before education," and so on;

□ The behaviour of the police and SADF during the State of Emergency — in certain well-publicised incidents — led to violent confrontations that fuelled sanctions campaigns and lost the security forces credibility among blacks, which can only be regained



Viljoen



Dhlomo



Parsons

through a long process of confidence-building at community level;

□ The denigration of Inkatha — and "Zulu pride" in general — by the ANC led to attacks by Zulu impis spurred on by motives of self-defence and helplessness, certainly engendered in part by the conditions of life in the hostels and squatter settlements; and

□ The emergence of what the ANC terms a "third force" — but one, in the *FM's* view, composed of political malcontents, possible rogue elements within the security establishment and, above all, criminals exploiting the situation. This coincided with gun-running to the Reef as part of a general infestation of southern Africa by AK-47s.

It should be remembered that this last "group" is not cohesive in the way any of the others might be — but also that it has nothing to lose and everything to gain from continued violence. They will have to be dealt with by the police — and the communities that give them succour need redemption from helplessness. "There is no simple solution," F W de Klerk pointedly told the conference, "because of the tremendous complexity of the problem and the deep divisions which need to be bridged."

He also said there was "a need to address the fundamental causes of violence, and not only the symptoms." By this, of course, he meant that reform must continue

— that the legacy of apartheid is a "fundamental cause" of violence, however tangled and obdurate the problem has become.

This view was almost immediately reinforced by Viljoen. Speaking to the Cape NP mouthpiece *Die Burger*, he agreed with the view expressed by many at the Pretoria summit that another peace conference was pointless. Rather, the proposed multiparty negotiating forum should be facilitated as soon as possible — and it was for this forum to debate ways to achieve peace and transitional arrangements as a first step towards wider constitutional talks.

Viljoen said that proceedings at the peace summit led to a new realisation that the multiparty conference must take place as soon as possible. And it would negate the need for the "continuation committee" proposed by De Klerk further to investigate

methods of ending the violence, with a parallel body sounding out the views of those who boycotted the summit.

Viljoen favours the early establishment of a multiparty forum and the creation of broadly acceptable transitional mechanisms as a means of defusing tension and easing political frustration over the perception that the reform process has stalled (*FM* May 24).

There is the possibility of a second conference being convened by the churches — but the initial proposal has effectively been rejected by government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. So it would be as meaningless without their participation as De Klerk's meeting was without the attendance of the ANC, PAC, SACP and the SA Council of Churches. It would be disappointing in the extreme if another round of political tit-for-tat arose out of the convening of another conference on violence. The conferences would merely become a relatively polite form of violence themselves.

What was also learnt at the summit was the need to consult widely before launching initiatives that affect a broad political spectrum, and to have independent conveners and chairmen. Some senior Nationalists who slammed the refusal by the ANC and other groups to attend the Pretoria meeting now agree that consultation — petty as it may seem as an issue on which to hold up the peace process — has to be a priority in future dealings with extra-parliamentary groups.

The need for impartiality was stressed by former MP Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert who told the summit that all groups in SA had no choice other than to keep searching for impartial referees and mechanisms to assist in the transitional phase and the monitoring of violence. He said government could not be both participant and referee and government opponents could not simply reject attempts at negotiation in an effort to get out of a dilemma.

It now remains to be seen whether the ANC's hedging on the issue of multiparty talks can be overcome. In April the congress threatened to break off negotiations with government on a new constitution if violence had not been ended by May 9 — and the rest, including the peace summit, is history. We wrote at the time: "There are some deadlines to be met — the expiry of the statutory term of the current parliament is one — and the ANC should be aware that many people, here and abroad, will grow impatient if it refuses to participate in all-party talks aimed at justice for all."

"Of course, violence is in some ways the most important issue of all — but who in the months ahead, if constitutional talks fail, will be seen to foster it most? Government or the ANC?"

Viljoen's impatience with another conference on violence is understandable — and his sincerity in wanting to get on with reform is patent. So the question we asked in April still stands, and the answer is, after all, clearer after the peace summit. Those who delay a settlement foster violence. ■

Church leaders meet Inkatha to seek peace

ARG 3/6/91
(11B)

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — A new peace initiative stemming from last week's Pretoria peace summit will be launched today when a delegation of church leaders meets Inkatha and Kwazulu executives in Ulundi.

The planned meeting will be led by Dr Louw Alberts, the facilitator appointed at last week's peace conference in Pretoria, with his Rustenberg Churches Conference fellow coordinator, the South African Council of Churches' The Reverend Frank Chikane.

The Ulundi visit is seen as a breakthrough in that Inkatha has opposed the churches' involvement in all-party cam-

paign that could lead to a peace summit. Inkatha's objections were based on perceptions by the government and Inkatha of the SACC being pro-ANC.

It is understood the government, and particularly President De Klerk, are satisfied with the political neutrality of the church group brought together by Dr Alberts.

The group now assembled appears, observers say, amply to have balanced the SACC component and represents perhaps the best chance of facilitating the peace process.

The plans for the meeting were announced last week by the secretariat of the National Conference of Churches.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said 153 IFP leaders have been killed recently.

Dr Buthelezi was speaking at a memorial service at Stanger for the assassinated former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

"The fact that the IFP is being targeted for death is shown by the statistic that 37 of the 153 IFP leaders who have died were IFP chairpersons, branch leaders, leaders working for the party, leaders opposing revolution and leaders who have tried to keep politics committed to the employment of non-violent tactics," he said.

"To these 37 chairpersons who were slain we must add another 14 vice-chairpersons and another 14 committee members. We must also add 11 organisers, 14 publicity secretaries, six treasurers and one deputy treasurer who were killed because they held official positions in IFP structures.

"As well as this more than 1 000 members of the party have been killed in violent attacks.

"Twenty-two were burned, some even after having their throats slit, or having been hacked to pieces. Seven were necklaced, 54 were simply shot.

"Four were shot and then burned. Five were shot and then stabbed. Two were shot and then stoned to death. Five had their throats slit and two were completely decapitated."

Hawke fends off leadership challenge

SYDNEY. — Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke fended off a leadership challenge today from his top deputy, Treasurer Mr Paul Keating, who immediately resigned his Cabinet post.

The action came during a 10am caucus meeting in Canberra of the governing Labour Party's parliamentarians, who voted in favour of Mr Hawke 66-44.

Mr Hawke had been expected to win the vote after a weekend of heavy campaigning by both men, but the size of

lected Health Minister Mr Brian Howe to replace Mr Keating as deputy prime minister.

Mr Hawke was expected to name a new treasurer within a day.

Although the leadership showdown was largely seen as a clash of egos, Mr Hawke claimed he was staying on for the party's benefit.

"It would be very much easier personally for me to resign as prime minister," he told a news conference.

"The only reason I stay is...



Buthelezi hits at violence rumours

11/3 [scribble] Sowetan 27/6/91

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised reports that violence was likely in Durban during the ANC's national congress next week.

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States and Britain, Buthelezi said it was "grossly irresponsible" to warn of violence unless there was evidence.

Although he said the protection of conference delegates was the responsibility of the Government, Buthelezi guaranteed protection for ANC members staying in townships around Durban.

"I will make sure that security is provided in the townships," he said.

The IFP leader is also KwaZulu's Minister of Police and townships surrounding Durban fall under his ministry.

Buthelezi said he hoped the ANC would be able "to get their act together" at its congress and give whoever is the newly elected president a mandate to negotiate.

He said he

POLITICAL STAFF

sympathised with the ANC and that South Africa needed the organisation to be strong and in tact.

Asked if he was worried about the possibility of former United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement leaders - who were mostly antagonistic to the IFP - being elected to the ANC leadership, Buthelezi said it was the organi-

sation's prerogative to elect into office whoever it wanted.

However, he said he was "apprehensive" that Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala would be elected deputy president or general secretary.

Leadership

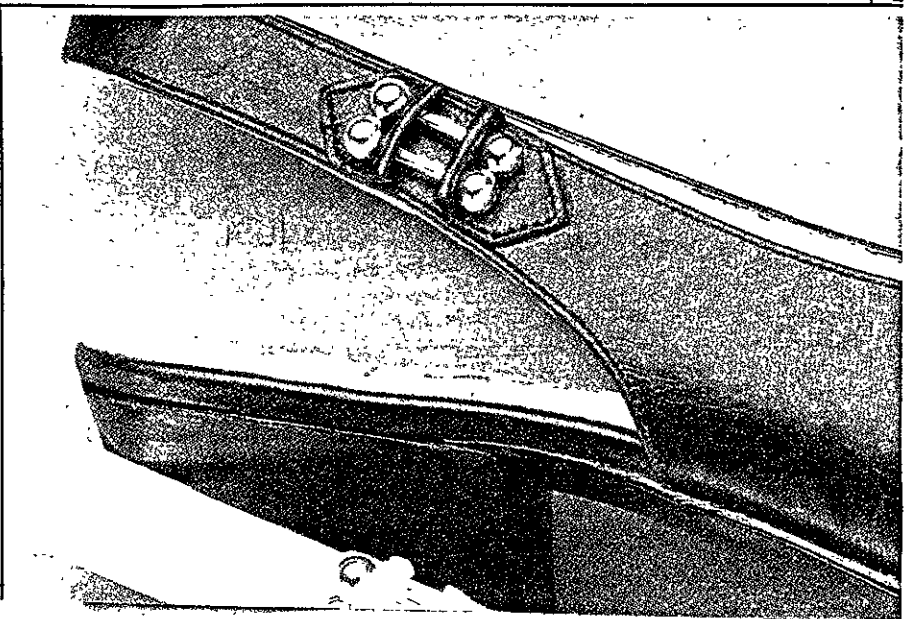
Buthelezi said he was wary of Gwala's "fighting talk" and hardline attitude towards the IFP.

He praised ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jacob Zuma as a man

with leadership qualities whom he respected very much.

Zuma had been "outstanding" in his efforts with IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose to restore peace in Natal, Buthelezi said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader also described his trip - during which he met US President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major - as successful.



C

R75 a month (for those residents have until Sunday to pay the new living in bond houses), Tokozza administrator Mr Gert Muller said yesterday. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Inkatha 'big mistake' 118

THE Inkatha Freedom Party said on Monday it had a white membership of 100 000, but at least two people were given memberships without ever asking to join.

Sowetan 26/6/91
Sowetan correspondents are in possession of two IFP letters sent to people to thank them for joining, although they had never applied.

Asked to comment, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos joked: "Well, I'm amazed at the efficiency." She then said: "I have no idea how such a thing could have happened."

Transvaal executive member Mr Themba Khoza said: "I am very, very sorry. I think it must be a big mistake." - *Political Staff.*

...with the aim of ca
ing them according to ability, skill
interest."

Govt not on its knees ⁽¹¹³⁾

Buthelezi

ATLANTA — A constituent assembly in SA followed by an interim government to which the current rulers would hand over power would not work, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Atlanta, Georgia, on Monday night.

SA did not have a broken-down white government politically at the mercy of revolutionary militants, Buthelezi told reporters during a meeting at the start of his current tour of the US.

The ANC's "winner takes all" plan for a constitutional assembly to precede an interim government was an impossible one because the groundswell demand — backed by institutionalised SA — for a new democracy was providing the real impetus for change.

"The changed tune is not being called by the ANC or any other political party," he said.

"It is not even being called by the SA government or the ruling NP."

In rejecting a constituent assembly and interim government he was not taking sides against anyone, Buthelezi said. He was simply saying it would not work.

In a separate address, he told Atlanta businessmen the liberation of SA would be complete only when its people and those of neighbouring states and the rest of Africa were finally liberated from poverty, ignorance and disease. He called for investment in southern Africa's future. — Sapa.

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Second national peace summit planned by churches, Inkatha

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A second national peace summit, which would include both the African National Congress and Inkatha as well as other political parties and organisations, could get under way soon, following positive discussions between a high-powered church delegation and Inkatha in Ulundi.

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

"Further discussions will be needed,

whether between the two groups or between individuals from constituent members of the group."

"The meeting committed itself to pursue ways and means of addressing the violence. It also identified that there are many more factors regarding violence which were not addressed in the declaration and that any future peace initiatives will have to take due cognisance of these."

Inkatha were initially against meeting the church delegation. Their objections were based on the South African Council of Churches' historic connections, which have been seen by Inkatha and the government as pro-African National Congress.

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19/9/91

Inkatha coalition with Nats 'on cards'

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — A coalition between the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party is definitely on the cards after lengthy talks between the two organisations.

Natal's MEC for hospitals, Mr Peter Miller, said last night: "We in Natal have long been having detailed discussions with Inkatha, not to try to make a deal against any other political grouping ... but to see and identify the common values we share," Mr Miller said.

"The scene is set — although not consummated at this stage — for a logical working arrangement."

Addressing an NP meeting in Umhlanga, Mr Miller said the NP, its allies and other groupings that shared its principles and values "are going for government".

He said it was imperative that parties and organisations with such shared values drew together "so we can become an unstoppable force for government".

The fundamental issues which drew the NP and parties such as Inkatha together were, he said, a belief in a multi-party democracy, the need for free, fair and frequent elections, a market-driven economy based on free enterprise, a Bill of Rights which protected the individual and protection for political and cultural minorities.

"I am totally satisfied that Inkatha subscribes to these beliefs," he said.

Mr Miller praised the recent defection of Labour Party MPs to the NP, and called for members of the Indian community "to stand up and be counted".

Mr Miller said any future government in South Africa that wished to maintain the country's standards would have to draft a constitution which made the first world sector of South Africa confident.

Buthelezi trying to whip up support in US

ATLANTA — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet US President George Bush at the White House on Thursday to discuss the situation in South Africa and seek recognition for himself as the main black alternative to ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi is on a week-long visit to the US seeking support for the IFP.

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

Inkatha's US representative, the Rev. Sipho Mzimela, said Atlanta had offered police escorts

and security for the KwaZulu Chief Minister, but cancelled them on Friday.

"They said he's not a head of state. The police major who told me said he was not a politician and was following orders. It's a little comic when he's going to meet the head of this nation," Mr. Mzimela said.

Mayor Maynard Jackson was said to be unavailable for comment, but mayoral aide Monte Bond said the city offered security only to foreign government leaders.

Chief Buthelezi arrives in Washington tomorrow and will meet corporate and foreign policy figures in New York on Friday. — Sapa-Reuter

Education 'a key to peace'

Staff Reporter *Star* 17/6/91

While June 16 1976 represented a turning point in the liberation struggle, the day also heralded "the spirit of much of our black-on-black violence", an Inkatha Freedom Party youth leader said in Soweto yesterday.

Addressing more than than 5 000 IFP supporters at an open-air Soweto Day commemoration rally at the Diepkloof hostel, IFP Youth Brigade leader in the Transvaal Themba Khoza called for education to be a priority in the interests of a peaceful, nonracial future.

"I do not want to be part of the lost generation — aimless, hopeless, useless and danger-

ous," he told the large, heavily armed crowd.

"Where is our pride? We know nothing is perfect just as our fathers did, but this did not prevent previous generations of leaders from going to school, imperfect as it was."

He said events in 1976 and later years had proved wrong the belief that a people's army would defeat the SADF and that a mass insurrection would sweep the ANC into power.

When this tactic failed, the "failed revolutionaries decided to turn on their brothers instead of the Pretoria regime".

Police and troops monitored the rally, assisted by a spotter plane and a helicopter.

No violence was reported.

SADF isn't giving us AK-47s — Buthelezi

By Patrick Laurence

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday repudiated allegations that the SADF was supplying AK-47 rifles to IFP men for use against the ANC.

The allegations were made by Nico Basson, a former SADF major, during an interview with *The Star* in which he described his role in Namibia in 1989 as an incognito military agent.

Mr Basson alleged that the SADF was trying to build up the IFP as a counter-weight to the ANC in the same way as it tried to boost the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance at the expense of Swapo in Namibia.

One of the means of doing so, he charged, was to buy AK-47 rifles in Mozambique and channel them into the hands of Inkatha zealots as part of its

strategy of accentuating tribal divisions between the Zulus and the Xhosas.

"I categorically deny any implication that Inkatha would approve of, or allow itself to be a party to, deliberately fomenting violence and creating ethnic divisions in South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said.

Labelling the charge a "horrible accusation", Chief Buthelezi said: "It is in line with the anti-IFP smear campaign which has been waged against us from several quarters for quite some time both here and abroad."

"I can only reiterate that the IFP is committed to peaceful change and negotiation and, since its inception, has been dedicated to non-violence. We want a multiparty democracy in South Africa and we believe that democracy means freedom to choose," he said.

B11001 12/15/91

Buthelezi denies Inkatha-SADF link

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday strongly denied allegations that the SADF has provided funding and weapons to his party as part of a "dirty tricks" strategy to weaken the ANC.

The Star had quoted a former member of Military Intelligence, Nico Basson, as saying the SADF was

buying AK-47s and funneling them to Inkatha zealots, Sapa reports.

"They are busy discrediting the ANC," Basson alleged. He also named a senior officer, Col Tony Vermaak, as a member of a team created to discredit Winnie Mandela.

In a statement Buthelezi said he was astounded by the allegations.

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

Buthelezi added that his organisation was dedicated to non-violence.

"The postulation that the 'SADF strategy' is to 'build Inkatha through intimidation so as to form a strong alliance with the NP in the first post-apartheid elections' is simply laughable.

"We want a multiparty democracy in SA and we believe that democracy means freedom to choose," the Inkatha leader said.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was yesterday studying Basson's allegations.

The ANC's representative in Paris, Solly Smith, said yesterday he would be making reports of the alle-

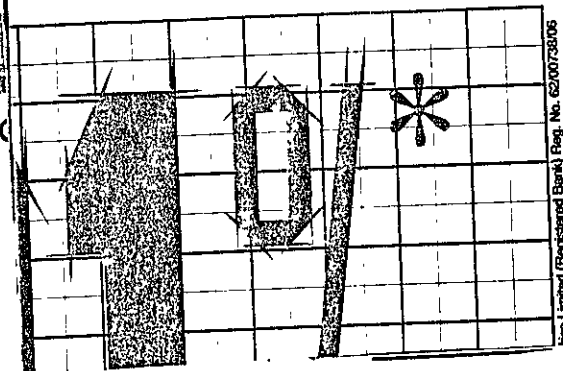
gations available to Mandela, who is due to return to SA, via London, tomorrow.

Basson claimed in reports published in London that the use of counter-insurgency unit Koevoet to "terrify" opponents in Namibia found its counterpart in SA in the deployment of Inkatha vigilantes against the ANC.

The Military Psychological Institute and Comops, the SADF's communications section, were playing an important role in SA — as they had in Namibia, he claimed. (113) (12/15/91)

A London report quoted Basson as saying: "The SADF is buying AK-47 rifles on a large scale, notably from Mozambique, and supplying these weapons to Inkatha." He said the violence in the Johannesburg region had been deliberately orchestrated by the SADF. "They could stop it immediately if they wished."

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Bush tells Buthelezi he will lift sanctions if ...

11B



TOP LEVEL: Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with US President Bush after their talks at the White House in Washington yesterday.

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — After a meeting at the White House with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Bush said he fully intended lifting sanctions as soon as the South African government had complied with the provisions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

In general remarks on the south lawn of the White House after what officials said was a "useful and productive" meeting, Mr Bush said he shared Chief Buthelezi's views on the lifting of sanctions, but added ambiguously that more would have to be done.

ARG 21/6/91

This was interpreted as meaning that the White House did not believe Pretoria had complied fully with the requirements of US sanctions legislation, and that the lifting of sanctions might be delayed until all doubts had been removed.

President Bush declined to answer questions, but Chief Buthelezi returned alone to the south lawn microphones after bidding farewell to Mr and Mrs Bush and said their discussion on sanctions had included an exchange of views on the dispute over the release of political prisoners.

He evaded a question on whether or not he had told Mr Bush that all political prisoners had been released, saying only that before his departure he had consulted the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the issue and had been given an assurance that virtually all prisoners covered by the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes had been released. He had conveyed this to Mr Bush.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been given no hint of when Mr Bush might take action on sanctions, and White House sources confirmed that the decision was likely to be delayed until after the ANC's national conference next month, although the president "sometimes has a knack for surprising us."

President Bush is understood to have telephoned President De Klerk to brief him on his discussions with the IFP leader, and he is likely also to have telephoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Bush Administration gave Chief Buthelezi an unusually cordial welcome, upgrading yesterday's meeting from an originally scheduled brief morning audience to a formal meeting followed by lunch in the old family diningroom of the White House.

Immediately before his meeting with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Bush had a lengthy discussion with the former British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

When he greeted Chief Buthelezi, Mr Bush reminisced about their past meetings. "I think this is at least the fifth time you and I have met in the last few years," he said.

Yesterday afternoon the IFP leader had a meeting with the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, and other State Department officials, and he is due in New York today to address a meeting of the influential Foreign Policy Association, and to meet the editorial board of the New York Times.

● Chief Buthelezi is expected to meet British Prime Minister Mr John Major when he visits Britain next week.



Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi

Buthelezi confirms consensus with NP

11B

AGUS 6/6/91

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night confirmed that intense discussions between his organisation and the National Party had yielded consensus on several issues.

He was responding to comments by NP leader and Natal MEC for Hospitals Mr Peter Miller that detailed discussions between the two parties had identified common values.

"The scene is set — although not consummated at this stage — for a logical working arrangement (between Inkatha and the NP) at some time in the future," Mr Miller told an NP meeting in Umhlanga.

In his response, Chief Buthelezi agreed that Inkatha sided with the NP with regard to a multiparty democracy, the need for free, fair and frequent elections, a market-driven economy based on a free enterprise system, a Bill of Rights to protect the individual and protection for political and/or cultural minorities.

However, his party had held similar discussions with others including the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, the Conservative Party and the PAC. — Sapa.

100 000 whites have joined, says Inkatha

The Argus Correspondent (116) ARGUS 25/6/84

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has a white membership of 100 000, half of whom live in the Transvaal, says party spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos.

More than 3 000 branches had been formed, including the Transvaal areas of Sandton, Bryanston, Boksburg, Benoni, Randburg, Pretoria, Hillbrow and Middelburg.

Ms Vos said many former Democratic Party supporters, English-speaking ex-Nationalists and Afrikaans students had joined the IFP.

"It is really a mixed bag. We have members ranging from housewives to company directors, sales representatives to advocates."

Asked how recruiting was being done, she said: "We have no money. People who really believe in our values and principles just go out and spread the word."

There have been allegations that IFP letters were sent to people to thank them for joining the party, but they had never applied to join.

The letters congratulated them for having made "a sound choice" and referred to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "the leader of your party".

Asked to comment, Ms Vos said: "This is extremely irregular. I have no idea how such a thing could have happened. We keep thorough records. People who subscribe to the IFP's principles have to join of their own free will."

Transvaal executive member Mr Themba Khoza was apologetic.

"I am very, very sorry. I think it must be a big mistake," he said.

Buthelezi sees Major at end of 'offensive'

ARG, 26/6/91

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has met British Prime Minister Mr John Major at the end of his international diplomatic offensive.

It was their first encounter since Mr Major succeeded Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

A spokesman for the Prime Minister's office said the 25-minute meeting was "friendly".

He said Mr Major had welcomed the agreement between the South African government, the ANC, Inkatha and other parties to work towards the elimination of violence in the townships.

Mr Major expressed support for "multiparty" talks on a new constitutional dispensation.

Row over funding for Buthelezi visit

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has given a conservative American think-tank organisation the boot after it tried to raise money in connection with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's visit to the US this month.

Chief Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, is to visit the US between June 15 and 22. He is to meet President Bush at the White House on June 20.

Inkatha's chief representative in the US, the Rev Sipo Mzimela, was furious when he learnt the Jefferson Foundation had been circulating a letter among American businessmen calling for funds to cover \$175 000 (R472 000) it said it was spending on Chief Buthelezi's visit. *Argus 3/6/91*

Mr Mzimela said he stormed out of a meeting with the foundation after telling it to have nothing further to do with the visit.

"They made out they had in-

vited Chief Buthelezi to the US, were paying for him to come here and had arranged the meeting with President Bush. They were asking American businessmen to pay for it.

"The truth is Inkatha is paying for this visit and I personally arranged the meeting with Mr Bush," Mr Mzimela said.

The foundation could not be reached for comment.

The foundation had been involved in arranging additional appointments, including addressing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Inkatha representative said Chief Buthelezi would be visiting members of the US Senate and of the House of Representatives. He would also be giving several media interviews, including to three of the major networks. He said the Carnegie address, to the organisation's influential South Africa Forum, would go ahead but that he was now arranging it personally.

ANC congress

will be safe, says Buthelezi

sta-27/6/91 (113)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

There was no reason to believe there would be violence coinciding with the ANC's national congress in Durban next week, and unsubstantiated statements that violence was likely were grossly irresponsible, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States and Britain, Chief Buthelezi said it was grossly irresponsible to warn about the likelihood of violence next week unless there was evidence pointing at that possibility.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, who held talks with US President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major, described his trip as successful.

Security

He said although he was not responsible for police in Durban and that the protection of people attending the conference would be the responsibility of the Government, he guaranteed protection to ANC members who would be staying in townships around Durban during the conference.

"I will make sure that security is provided in the townships," he said.

The IFP leader is also KwaZulu's Minister of Police, and police in townships surrounding Durban fall under his ministry.

Chief Buthelezi said he hoped the ANC would be able "to get their act together" at the Durban congress and give Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo, should either man be elected president, a mandate to negotiate.

He sympathised with the ANC, which had not operated in the country openly for

many years because of its having been banned. South Africa, he said, needed a strong and intact ANC.

Asked whether he was worried about the possibility of former United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement leaders, who were mostly antagonistic to the IFP, being elected to the ANC leadership, Chief Buthelezi said it was the organisation's prerogative to elect into office whomever it wanted.

However, he was apprehensive about the election of Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala as the organisation's deputy president or general secretary because of Mr Gwala's "fighting talk" and his known hardline attitude towards the IFP.

He praised southern Natal ANC regional chairman Jacob Zuma as a man with leadership qualities whom he respected. He said Mr Zuma had been outstanding in his efforts, with IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, to restore peace in Natal.

The IFP leader, who stated it was fortunate that South Africa did not have any single most powerful organisation which could win a majority election on its own, said he regarded the IFP's meeting with the ANC on January 29 this year as more important than last Saturday's peace summit in Johannesburg.

He said that if agreements reached at that meeting had been adhered to, progress would have been made towards the restoration of peace.

Chief Buthelezi said President Bush had assured him that sanctions would be lifted as soon as all the conditions listed in the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 had been complied with.

He had found Mr Major, whom he met for the first time this week, as a man who was well-informed on South Africa and concerned "about the extent to which we are threatened by poverty".

Joe Latakomo rides on a fear-soaked train and looks for answers

Inkatha? No, the third force

Star 2 7/6/91

118

I was hit squarely by news of the massacre this week on train 753 from Vereeniging. It was, therefore, with great trepidation that I decided to take a train ride — back along the route that claimed the lives of six innocent people.

It was the senselessness which struck me, the randomness of the attack.

In the train, conversations were subdued. No more the chatter that accompanies the clatter of the wheels as the train snakes its way to the vast black townships to the west of the big city. Nothing about the National Soccer League, its problems, and Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates.

Instead, people gave furtive glances to every passenger who boarded. One could detect fear.

And perhaps it was this fear that kept people off this particular train. For, even though it was not peak time, it was emptier than normal.

This latest attack came just as people were regaining confidence in the trains after another, similar attack last year.

The railways have lost some passengers for ever, but those are

the people who are able to muster the daily taxi fare between Soweto and Johannesburg.

Now fear has returned to the faces of the commuters. The uncertainty is there for all to see: the reaction as the inter-coach door opens.

At Orlando station, where the bodies of those who perished at the hands of the mad gunman lay, only the dark stains remained as evidence of the grim deed.

Police were still searching for clues along the railway line, and traffic from Phelani and Mofolo was being diverted onto the freeway that runs parallel to the railway line. The question that kept being asked was: Who could have done this? And that is the question I want to try to answer.

Inkatha attacks? No, it does not make sense, no matter how many people try to plant this idea in our minds. Why would they shoot randomly, possibly killing their own supporters too? Why would people try to get us think of the attackers making their way to Nancefield Hostel? First of all, if the attacks continued beyond Nancefield station,

then the attackers would have been seen heading for Nancefield from Orlando — which seems a ridiculous conclusion. Again, if there were only five attackers, and all indications are that the number could not have been much higher, why is it suggested that the attackers arrived "in cars and minibuses" — what makes them "strange" in the darkness of 3 am? Why would they fire shots to attract attention? No, it seems to me that our attention is being deliberately diverted from the real killers.

No matter how vehemently the police may want to dismiss the "third force" idea, it seems the most logical explanation.

It is significant that witnesses to the attack said the attackers "did not say a word".

Was it because they could not speak any of the black languages, or that they could not speak Zulu and if they tried to speak, it would have punched holes into the "Inkatha-theory"? Do we have a Renamo-type operation here? What has happened to the "strange people" who were often seen around the Phalaborwa

black township?

Looking at the weekend attacks in Natal — even two-year-olds did not escape the fury of the gunmen.

It was bloody terrorism, clearly aimed at disrupting ANC-Inkatha peace talks set for the Monday.

Is it in the interest of the Government to sponsor such attacks? Unless President de Klerk has been the master trickster, and been able to keep a secret agenda, I doubt this.

So who could be running such a Renamo-type operation? The right wing? Most likely, for it is on the violence that the right wing feeds, so that they are able to tell their followers that the country is going to the dogs under De Klerk and that their only hope is to press for a white homeland.

Reports of "strange people" who cannot speak any of the local black languages have been coming in thick and fast.

And yet, as this is difficult to pin down, there is general denial of the existence of trained squads of assassins who could be used for just the kind of mission as this week's train killings and the killings in Natal. □

100 000 ^{MB}

whites join

IFP - claim

^{Star 25/6/91}
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Inkatha Freedom Party had a white membership of 100 000, half of whom lived in the Transvaal, party spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday.

More than 3 000 branches had been formed countrywide, including the Transvaal areas of Sandown, Bryanston, Boksburg, Benoni, Randburg, Pretoria, Hillbrow and Middelburg.

She said former Democratic Party supporters, English-speaking ex-Nationalists and Afrikaans students had joined.

Asked how recruiting was being done, she said: "We have no money. People who really believe in our values and principles spread the word."

The Star is in possession of two IFP letters which had been sent to people to thank them for joining the party — although they had never applied.

It congratulated them for having made "a sound choice" and referred to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "the leader of your party".

Asked to comment, Ms Vos joked: "Well, I'm amazed at the efficiency."

She continued: "This is extremely irregular. I have no idea how such a thing could have happened. We keep thorough records. People who subscribe to the IFP's principles join of their own free will."

Transvaal executive member Themba Khoza was equally apologetic. "I am very, very sorry. I think it must be a big mistake," he said.

Rifles 'flood'

KwaZulu

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A number of areas in KwaZulu have recently been flooded with German-manufactured G3 rifles, which use the same ammunition as the SADF R1 rifle, says a spokesman for the Legal Resources Centre here.

According to the LRC, the advanced 7,62mm automatic rifles have a higher rate of fire than the R1, and are being issued by the KwaZulu government to chiefs and headmen. (16)

(118) 24
CT. 19/6/91

Senior Inkatha man for summit

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday confirmed that senior central committee member Mr Walter Felgate would attend Saturday's peace initiative under church leader Dr Louw Alberts.

The IFP will join the PAC, ANC, Cosatu, SACP, Nactu, SACC and other organisations including government representatives at the meeting, billed as a "peace summit".

But this week Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the IFP did not regard it as a peace summit, but as a continuation of a process already under way.

Conference organisers were anxious about the attendance of Inkatha, following the "premature" announcement of the meeting last week by Cosatu.

The CP, AWB and HNP have declined invitations.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday that the organisation would attend if it was a "preliminary meeting to set up a full-scale meeting of all parties".



Chief Buthelezi

2711 118
'Over a
thousand
Inkatha
officials
killed'

CT 3/6/91

STANGER. — Violence targeted at the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has claimed the lives of more than 1 000 members, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a memorial service for India's assassinated former leader, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Chief Buthelezi claimed that at least 153 Inkatha leaders had been slaughtered for supporting the party and promoting peace, democracy, justice and a multi-party parliamentary system.

He claimed 37 of these were IFP chairmen, who had opposed revolution and had been committed to non-violence.

Others killed because of their IFP positions included 14 vice-chairmen, 14 committee members, 11 organisers, 14 publicity secretaries, six treasurers and one deputy treasurer.

In addition, 18 youth leaders, 18 young unmarried women, 13 married women and more than 1 000 members had been killed in violent attacks, he said.

"If ever there was an attack on a political party that Mahatma Gandhi would have rejected, or Martin Luther King would have rejected, it is these attacks on the IFP. No politics justifies it. No threat is so grave that it is justified. Such attacks cannot possibly build a better future for South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said.

Inkatha would join people "from whatever political camp who are really committed to work for peace and to normalise relationships between South African political organisations", he said.

He also expressed the sympathies of "black South Africans" to the family of the slain Mr Gandhi, to "India's teeming millions, as well as to our fellow South Africans of Indian extraction". — Sapa

● Weekend unrest claims 11 lives — Page 7

LET us assume for the sake of argument that the Inkatha Freedom Party has indeed shot and hacked its way to the negotiating table; that neither it nor its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have any substantial following; that, as the community agency for social inquiry, the "independent" Human Rights Commission and other related entities have claimed, Inkatha is responsible for the bulk of the violence, both alone and in combination with sinister elements in the security establishment.

Let us also grant that Chief Buthelezi, despite moments of high lucidity and warmth, is not an easy character. Indeed, even to the experienced, he can be about as reassuring as a slab of sweating gelignite.

What, then, explains his recent treatment here?

Why did Courtland Milloy, one of the Washington Post's more politically correct columnists; compare him with Booker T Washington, a member of the black American pantheon?

Why did the Atlanta Constitution blast those who called him an Uncle Tom?

HOW come official Washington gave him a welcome so respectful that Lally Weymouth, daughter of Washington Post publisher Kay Graham, felt inspired to declare him one of the American capital's new heroes.

The answer cannot be successful propaganda because, unlike the ANC, Inkatha has shown little aptitude for the pandering arts. Nor did Chief Buthelezi offer the slightest evidence that he had been to executive charm school before arriving here.

No, he received the kind of welcome he did for one simple reason: he and the IFP are not the ANC.

As admired as Nelson Mandela remains, the ANC is frightening people to the point where the serious of all political persuasions are beginning to wonder whether he may be less its



SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

SI Times 30/6/91

leader than its prisoner. The communist connection is part of the problem, as evidenced by the recent vote in the House of Representatives to deny assistance to any organisation "affiliated" or "associated" with the SACP.

It is worth noting that seven of 11 Democrats on the House Intelligence Committee supported this motion.

BY itself, however, the ANC's relationship with the SACP would not these days be sufficient to cause the kind of unease that is starting to translate into US policy.

Communists aren't deemed to pose much threat to American security interests any more: they cause more mirth than alarm. More damaging are the ANC's other liaisons, many of which will be on display at its conference later this week.

The Libyans, for example. The story of how a \$1-million (R2,8-million) gift from Muammar Gaddafi to the ANC ended up frozen in an American Express account in New York is getting less and less funny.

Libya is back in the head-

lines, this time as the party responsible for blowing up PanAm flight 103 over Scotland in December 1988 and a French UTA jumbo jet over West Africa the following year — 441 died overall.

Inquiring minds want to know just where the ANC gets off having fraternal relations with such murderers.

Among those minds is President George Bush, still smarting from the lecture he received from Mr Mandela on the evils of Operation Desert Storm.

Mr Bush learnt of Mr Gaddafi's generosity to the ANC during his meeting with Chief Buthelezi.

He turned to his adjutants — they included Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and CIA chief-designate Robert Gates — for an explanation.

THEY confirmed that, yes, Mr Gaddafi was helping fund the ANC and, yes, some of the money had fallen into the hands of the American Express, which had frozen it as required by US law.

Chief Buthelezi then observed that the US ambassador to Pretoria, Mr William Swing, had been petitioned by the ANC and had duly recommended that the money could be released as expeditiously as possible.

Mr Bush, who as vice-president had headed the task force that developed the anti-Libya regulations, was not pleased. He turned to his advisers and indicated, tersely, that he trusted the recommendation would not be followed.

Mr Swing has since been reprimanded for even suggesting to the ANC that Washington might release the Libyan money. He was told, in effect, to get on the same page as his employers and to stop misleading the organisation as to their true sentiments.

Those sentiments, the ANC should know, cannot be described as particularly cuddly.

Armed and on the march

By RYAN CRESSWELL

KWAZULU police are issuing firearm permits for rifles and pistols to Inkatha supporters in the homeland.

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters were seen and photographed with G3 automatic rifles at a march in Tongaat on the North Coast last weekend.

There have been persistent allegations that Kwazulu chiefs and headmen are receiving guns from the Kwazulu government.

This week Inkatha spokesman Peter Auf der Heyde, of the Inkatha Institute denied that weapons were handed out, but admitted that Kwazulu police were giving permits to Inkatha supporters.

A senior spokesman for the Durban office of the Legal Resources Centre said he had spoken to Inkatha

Kwazulu police hand out weapons permits to Inkatha members

STIMES 23/11/91

bodyguards and was told the Kwazulu government was issuing G3 rifles and other guns to chiefs and headmen.

He said some of the guns were being carried by Inkatha supporters at rallies and marches in Natal.

A statement from the Legal Resources Centre said: "It is vital to note that none of the strict security checks carried out by the South Afri-

can police when issuing weapon licences are put into effect.

"The persons to whom these G3 rifles are given do not hold gun licences nor are any licences issued. The weapons and ammunition are made available to chiefs on permit and they in turn hand weapons to tribal headman and their bodyguards.

"These weapons have been seen in the hands of people who cannot be described as officials in any sense."

The centre's spokesman, who asked not to be named, said issuing these weapons to untrained people not involved in law enforcement at a time of political conflict was reckless and potentially disastrous.

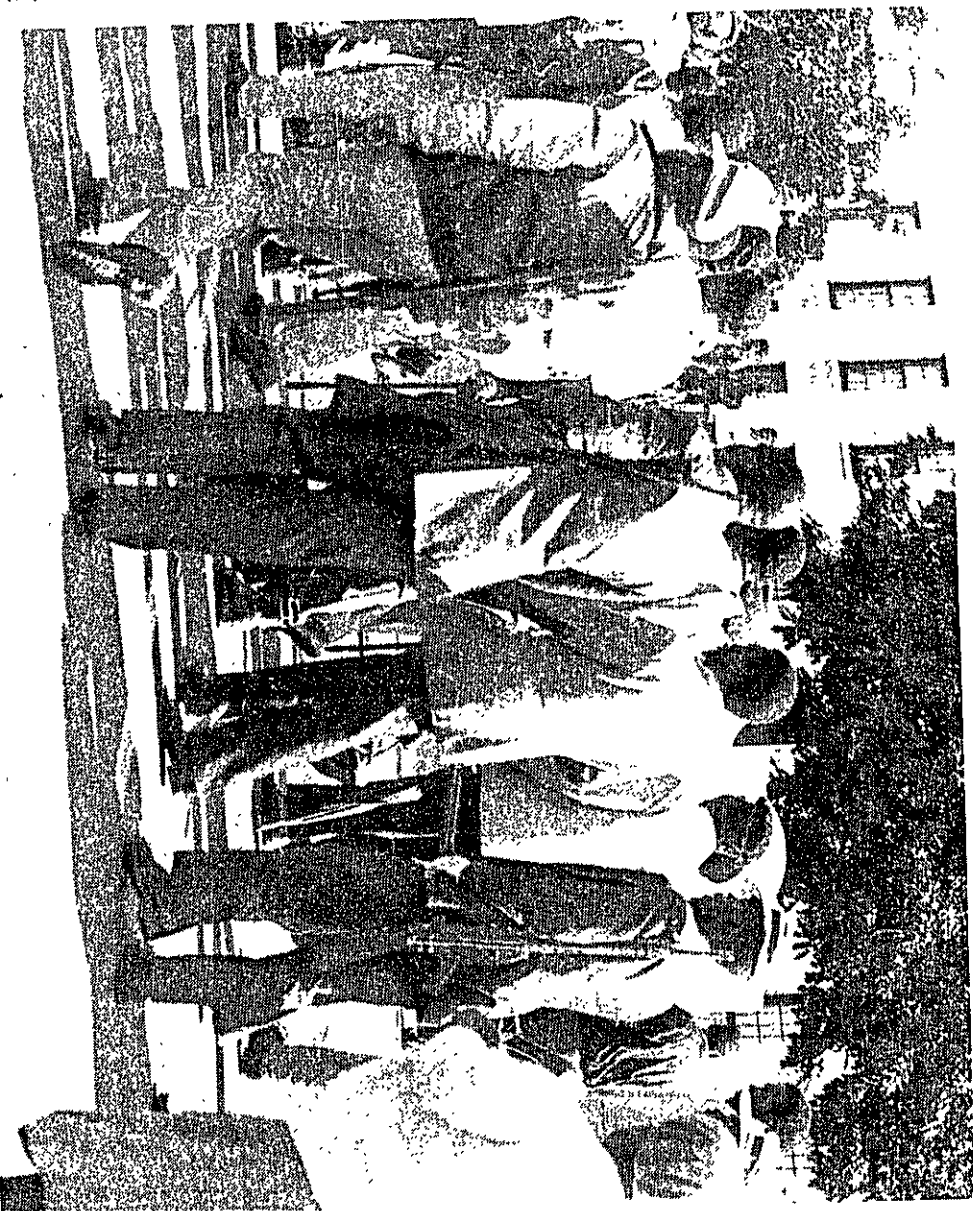
Cancelled

The ANC's regional secretary for Southern Natal, Mr. Shu Ngebele, said: "There is no way that carrying weapons can be conducive to a climate in which we can have normal participatory politics. We condemn this in the strongest terms.

"We hope that after August, there will be swift movement towards proper negotiations for a new constitution, but this depends on whether there is still violence or the threat of it. Carrying guns is a threat of violence."

He was also concerned that the Kwazulu government had changed the law on the use of dangerous weapons.

Kwazulu Justice Minister Celandi Jeffrey Mitwetwa has cancelled



ON CAMERA... Inkatha supporters carry G3 automatic rifles at a march in Tongaat last weekend

two provisions which imposed automatic penalties.

One stipulated that a minimum sentence of two years be imposed on anyone convicted of an offence which involved violence and in which the person injured or killed someone with a dangerous weapon

or firearm. The courts were allowed to impose lighter sentences in certain cases.

The other provision stated that the sentence in a case involving violence and in which a dangerous weapon had been used, had to include a term of imprisonment.

Three other laws on the carrying of dangerous weapons in Kwazulu were repealed last November.

Mr Auf der Heyde said: "The IFP is against the carrying of unlawful weapons and condemns the carrying of such weapons, but it is difficult to comment on individual cases."

He said Kwazulu police were receiving many applications for gun permits and many people were obtaining permits.

"Everybody is allowed to apply for a gun permit for a rifle or a pistol, including chiefs and headmen. These permits are

then handed out on merit he said. Mr Auf der Heyde said he did not think permits were being handed out for G3 automatic rifles. He added that "nothin'staters" should be re-into the repeal of laws, weapons.

Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused the Australian government of not contributing to the resolution of South Africa's problems but of making them worse.

Speaking at a press conference after hosting an Australian delegation led by Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans at a lunch in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi accused the Australians of partisan political support.

"Australia is not contributing to the resolution of the problems, it is only making them worse," Chief Buthelezi said.

In a speech during the lunch, Chief Buthelezi criticised the Australians for refusing to sup-

criticises

CT 13/6/91

ply financial aid to Inkatha and for having developed a consistently inaccurate picture of the policies and practices of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Reporters described the lunch and the press conference as "very tense".

At the press conference, Mr Evans denied giving funds directly to the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said the Kwa-Zulu government did not support the IFP financially. Income came from members' subscriptions.

The chief also criticised Mr Evans for saying the ANC was the most widely representative black organisation. He said he was "appalled" at the Australian government's attitude that Inkatha's

Australia

views were represented by the government.

Inkatha had "for decades" struggled against the government and apartheid and homeland policies, Chief Buthelezi said.

The IFP had a paid-up membership of nearly two million black people, he said, and it was ANC "disinformation" that the IFP was not supported on the ground.

Before his visit to Chief Buthelezi Mr Evans, accompanied by two plane-loads of Australian journalists, flew to Maritzburg for talks with senior African National Congress officials and others and was taken on an air tour of strife-torn Midlands townships.



Inkatha 'won't fight back' in Peninsula ^(11B)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which claims 60 new members in the Peninsula region in recent weeks, would adopt a "unique but solid" policy of non-retaliation locally, a senior local member said yesterday.

Mr George Shuttleworth, a regional member of the IFP's Transition Commission responsible for local recruitment, said the local IFP would act "differently to the rest of the country" and not retaliate if attacked.

"We met last week and decided the ANC wanted to deliberately provoke trouble so they could say the IFP was starting trouble with them," he said.

His comments followed accusations in the township taxi war that Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) president Mr George Langilibalele was an active IFP member.

Mr Langilibalele, a former IFP regional chairman, immediately denied this, saying he became inactive in politics in the early 1980s and was now "purely a businessman".

Mr Shuttleworth said the IFP would distance itself from "any violence Webta might commit" and take strong disciplinary action against any IFP member who committed violence.

He said the local IFP recruitment drive had to be done "very, very carefully". Meetings were held in "safe houses" in white suburbs. He hoped three dormant IFP branches could be revived into "flourishing branches".

● The Inkatha Institute's director, Dr Gavin Woods, recently claimed there were 4 000 replies to an IFP recruitment drive advertised locally — but Mr Shuttleworth put local new membership at "about 60".

Inkatha link in cop killing

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JOHANNESBURG. — Troops surrounded a Soweto hostel yesterday after a policeman was shot dead from inside it on Thursday — but the Inkatha Freedom Party says police were to blame as they had fired at the hostel while crawling towards it and residents thought the ANC were attacking them.

“The inmates, justifiably fearing that their lives were at risk, acted in self-defence,” an IFP statement said.

Police arrested four people and seized automatic rifles, handgrenades and pistols after gunmen inside Nancefield hostel had “sprayed bullets” at them on Thursday evening, killing one sergeant and wounding three other policemen.

“The police will not be deterred by this cowardly act,” said police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn. “The type of operation carried out last night is not done to harass the (hostel) residents, it is done in their own interests so that law and order can be brought back to the area.” — Sapa

Storm over

'arms

for IFP'

Sowetan
12/16/91

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MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

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

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

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

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

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

Sowetan Reporter

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

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

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

'Smear campaign'

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

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

To Page 2



MAGNUS MALAN

By ALINAH DUBE

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

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

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

Lieutenant Mohlabi Tomatsana, Press liaison officer for the Lebowa police, yesterday confirmed the deaths.

He said four other pupils, Priscilla Lebelwane, Simon Molema, Alfred Maluleke and Sefatha Tsaine were among those who were injured in the incident. Sowetan 12/16/91

Lebelwane and Molema were treated in hospital

To Page 2

Each Cigarette a Masterpiece

Rembrandt VAN RIJN
FLEETS DE LUXE

P.T.O.

Big storm brewing over 'arms for IFP'

From Page 1

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

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

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

The plans were codenamed Operation Agree when first devised

at the end of 1988 by *Southern* 12/6/91

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Violence

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

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

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

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

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

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

Secret

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

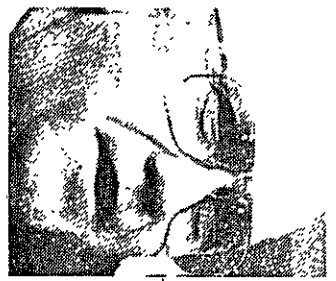


PIK BOTHA

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

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

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



DE KLERK

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

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

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

Letter

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

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

Buthelezi denies NP link

CT 6/6/91
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party, president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday firmly rejected reports stating that the IFP was considering forming a political alliance with the National Party.

"The question of a coalition between the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party has not been discussed at all at this stage," Chief Buthelezi said.

He described yesterday's reports of an alliance as "jumping the gun".

He confirmed that ongoing talks between members of Inkatha and members of the NP had taken place, but said similar discussions had also been held with the CP, the DP, Solidarity and the National Peoples Party.

He said the talks were all aimed at finding common ground between various South African political parties. — Sapa

State is using Inkatha - ANC

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(IFP) *(UB)*
(SOTA)

By GRACE RAPHOLO

THE transformation of cultural organisations like Inkatha into political ones was part of a Government strategy to undermine the ANC, an official of the organisation said yesterday.

ANC department of political education official Mr Mandela Nkomse said yesterday that the Government was promoting the politicisation of cultural groups to bolster its argument that the ANC was not the only organisation to negotiate with.

Speaking at the Medical University of South Africa, Nkomse said: "The ANC will never transform into a political party because it was established to be a liberation movement and it will remain so."

Strategy

He said the IFP was important in the current political situation because it had made itself felt through aggression and intimidation.

Nkomse accused the Government of equating the ANC with socialism and economic disaster, which had resulted in disillusion among the masses.

While negotiations were the swiftest route to the transfer of power, mass action had to remain part of ANC strategy.

Action

"Mass action and negotiations have to be complementary."

He said if South African liberation movements were to learn from Nicaragua and other countries, they would realise that mass action was important.

'Hundreds intimidated into leaving homes

Soweto
27/6/91 11B
275

Political Staff

HUNDREDS of township dwellers on the Reef have fled their homes as a result of escalating Inkatha Freedom Party intimidation since March, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said yesterday.

Many workers have also been intimidated into cancelling memberships in trade unions affiliated with the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions and joining the IFP.

Intimidation has been reported in Alexandra, Dobsonville and Mapetla in Soweto, the Benoni/Boksburg industrial area and Benrose, Denver and Jeppe, in the Johannesburg industrial belt.

False

The board said Inkatha supporters were charging township families "a protection fee" of between R20 and R100 a month, saying they would be excluded from Inkatha attacks if they joined up.

In Alexandra, the board said, more than 200 families occupying 31 stands have been forced to abandon their backyard shacks.

The IFP have "taken over" the area between 1st and 6th Avenue, marking many of the dwellings with red cloth to indicate IFP control, the board said.

In Dobsonville, people living in the married quarters of hostels had been forced to join the IFP or be forced out.

Those who had fled as a result of the intimidation had had their furniture confiscated. " " "

The board said it did not rule out ANC intimidation, but such cases had not come to its attention.

IFP central committee member Mr Themba Khoza dismissed the allegations as false, saying his party believed in freedom of association and political tolerance.

Boycotts

If these acts were committed in the name of the IFP, complainants were welcome to contact the IFP office, which would investigate the allegations.

Khoza said: "We have been complaining about intimidation, such as during consumer boycotts. We won't do the same because it is undemocratic."

He said he was suspicious that "this was a smear campaign from our opposition to water down our support and rapidly growing membership".

TIM A WHITE ZULU

113

SITINGS 216191

FLAMBOYANT British millionaire John Aspinall has three obsessions: Zulus, gambling and wild animals.

The British zoo park owner and casino entrepreneur — who by his own admission is "extremely rightwing, but certainly not racist" — indulges in all his interests with gusto.

That's why he was the surprise guest speaker at last weekend's Inkatha rally in Soweto, where he faced his adopted kin and declared: "I am a white Zulu."

Mr Aspinall's lifelong affection for the Zulu people has earned him the title "Induna" — or royal counsellor — bestowed by King Goodwill Zwelithini 18 months ago.

When the royal command came that Induna Aspinall should address "the people" at an imbizo, or royal rally, in Soweto, he simply replied, "the king has spoken", and flew to Johannesburg from London.

In a rousing 25-minute address to more than 40 000 Zulus, all in national costume and bearing traditional weapons — spears, sharpened sticks and knobkerries — Mr Aspinall entrenched his view that ethnic differences were not only to be maintained, but nurtured and cherished.

He was the only white guest of honour sharing the dais with the royal party, the only man dressed in a suit.

When, as they were being seated, a secretary gestured to a chair on the king's right, he raised his eyebrows in question.

Back in London a few days later, he said: "It was a great honour to be seated next to the king. I'd passed the night fitfully out of sheer excitement. My old friend Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi suggested my talk should lift the people up."

Mr Aspinall, speaking through an interpreter at the rally, warned those who opposed the Zulus that they had "woken the Zulu giant who, once roused, will not easily be pacified".

The crowd roared its approval. Sitting in his sumptuous London home in the city's exclusive Belgravia, Mr Aspinall was a little bewildered by the enthusiastic response he got from the Zulus.

He said: "I've never had the experience of speaking to so many people before. I told them there were groups who wished the Zulus away. So far, the Zulu people have been restrained by their legendary forbearance. But as they are goaded and taunted so wakes the giant in them."

"I reminded them no nation could throw up great men unless it was great. I told them their weapon was their unity, and asked them to stand as one man behind their leaders."

Everything about the day delighted Mr



BROTHERS ... Chief Buthelezi and John Aspinall at the huge Soweto rally

Picture JOE SEFALE

When Induna Aspinall addressed a rally of 40 000 Inkatha members, he was the only man wearing a suit

Aspinall — the blocked off road from the city hotel to the Soweto stadium, the motorcade of 14 cars, the honour of being in the king's car with him and the courtiers joggling briskly behind...

The king introduced him as "a good friend of the Zulu people" saying he had been asked to "address the people he loves".

"Everyone seemed to know me. I don't know how. Bush teletograph. I expect," Mr Aspinall said.

John Aspinall was born in India in 1926 and, like all British children in India, was sent off to school in Britain when he was seven.

At about the age of 11 or 12, Mr Aspinall came across a historical novel by Victorian writer H Rider Haggard, who'd spent some 14 years in northern Zululand. His historical prose on the Zulus touched something in the young boy. Mr Aspinall said: "I was inspired by their loyalty, patriotism, honour and respect for bravery. I was touched by the

way they cherished friends and protected family."

So began a love affair with the Zulu people that has lasted more than 50 years. At 18, Mr Aspinall bought his first serious book on Zulu history and today his collection is so extensive some titles are foreign even to Chief Buthelezi, whose own Zulu history library is comprehensive.

LIKING

"I am going to leave all my books to the Zulu people," said the man once described as modelling his life on how he thought a Zulu chief would behave.

Mr Aspinall began visiting South Africa about 30 years ago, though he limited his holidays to wild-life parks. He owns several properties in South Africa, his pride being former Cabinet Minister John Wiley's Goede Hoop estate in the Cape.

Five years ago, his old friend and long-

standing business associate, Sir James Goldsmith, gave a dinner for Chief Buthelezi in Paris and arranged that the two men meet. "We had an instant liking for each other. I then visited KwaZulu and met the king, who gave a feast with dancing and music in my honour. It was very moving. I now go to Ulundi each year," Mr Aspinall said.

Being made an induna fulfilled all his schoolboy imaginings. "Then three months ago, during a speech, the king referred to me as a white Zulu, and Chief Buthelezi called me my white brother. It somehow made my induction complete."

A British newspaper columnist wrote this week that Mr Aspinall footed the £500 000 (R2.4-million) bill for Chief Buthelezi's world tour recently. He also hinted Mr Aspinall had fallen on hard times and was broke.

He is not broke in the usual sense of the word. But he is down to his last few million pounds and needs to replenish his fortune — both for himself and to maintain his zoo parks, with 1 000 animals to feed. He said: "It costs £11 000 (R52 800) a day to keep my zoos open."

Mr Aspinall who made his fortune from gambling — he sold his casino Aspinall Curzon for £90-million (R436-million) in 1987 — is applying for another gambling licence.

"Gambling is the only thing I know that brings in a lot of money quickly," he said.



BACK HOME ... John Aspinall in his sumptuous London house in the city's exclusive Belgravia

INKATHA S. Atlanta-based US representative, the Reverend Siphiso Mzimela, got a call from TransAfrica, the sanctions lobby, last week. The caller wanted details of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's forthcoming visit, presumably to co-ordinate TransAfrica's counter-measures.

"Do you know who we are?" she asked. Mzimela did know, of course, but let her explain anyway.

"We are the organisation that is fighting apartheid."

"Oh," said Mzimela, with a mischievous twinkle. "I thought apartheid was a great source of income for you." The line went dead.

After more than a generation genuinely fighting apartheid, mostly as a member of the ANC, Mzimela has not lost his sense of humour. Which is just as well since, in recent weeks, he has needed it badly.

He has been sorely vexed, not by the Inkatha Freedom Party's US critics — for whom he is more than a match — but by people who claim to be Buthelezi's most ardent fans.

SOME appear to be miffed that they are not running the visit, so miffed, indeed, that it might even be concluded that they are trying to mess things up in the hope that Mzimela will get the blame and Buthelezi will thus be persuaded to rely on them — as he always has hitherto — the next time he comes.

Then there are the entrepreneurs.

One of them is David Barron, founder and chairman of an outfit called the Jefferson Educational Foundation, but readily mistaken for the smoother sort of Southern TV evangelist.

Barron volunteered his services to help arrange Buthelezi's itinerary and promptly moved to take control of the show, treating Mzimela as a slightly pesky houseboy and refusing to show him the letters he was sending to his "old friend" in Ulundi.

Mzimela tolerated this for a while. The foundation's letterhead was thick with influential names, many of them hailing from President George Bush's kinder, gentler wing of the Republican Party. Barron himself suggested he might even be able to fix up a meeting between Buthelezi and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, for he and Jackson lifted weights at the same gym.

However, by the end of last month, it was becoming clear that Barron talked a braver game than he played. Somehow, he could never quite confirm that the arrangements he was promising to make had in fact been made. Mzimela himself meanwhile quietly sorted out the important stuff — the



SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

meeting with Bush, for example.

Matters came to a head on May 31. The previous day, Mzimela received a copy of a fundraising letter Barron had sent Johnson and Johnson, Dresser Industries and, by his own claim, more than 40 other major US companies active in South Africa.

IN the letter, dated May 22, Barron suggested he had personally convinced Buthelezi to come to the US, adding that "the Chief Minister has graciously accepted our suggestion and presented the challenges for an upcoming visit... on the shoulders of the Jefferson Educational Foundation".

"Although working on the visit for just a few days, we have met tremendous successes, having scheduled commitments from President Bush and Secretary of State Baker and preliminary media/public relations advance operations that will yield the sort of national media attention the Chief has always deserved."

In fact, he had done nothing of the kind. Mzimela had arranged the Bush appointment through Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen. At that stage, no one at the State Department knew anything about a Baker meeting. As for the other "advance operations", even the description "preliminary" would have been a vast exaggeration.

Then Barron came to the point: "Our major obstacle at this point is that Jefferson is straining with the enormous deficits we've run up on our South Africa desk, for which we have insufficient funding commitments. We are now faced with the reality that the Chief Minister will not be able to make the most of this trip unless we raise the necessary funds."

"Please help us obtain a \$20 000 (R56 000) to \$25 000 (R70 000) one-time com-

mitment from your company today."

This was outlandish on several counts. First, the idea that the foundation, which comprises a small office and fewer than five full-time employees, runs a "South Africa desk" as if it were the State Department itself, is egregious.

Second, Barron states elsewhere in the letter that the "deficits" he referred to were run up escorting various congressmen to South Africa. Those congressmen will be delighted to know that their junkets were deficit-financed since they are under obligation to know and disclose the source of anything of value they may receive in connection with their public duties.

FAR and way the greatest outrage, however, was the request for money in Buthelezi's name — as Barron himself had every reason to know since the chief personally told him not to engage in fundraising efforts. Buthelezi has a strict policy against soliciting corporate donations for fear of compromising his free market, anti-sanctions stance. Barron now says he misunderstood.

When Mzimela attempted to tackle Barron on this question at the latter's Washington office, Barron lost his temper. According to Mzimela and, separately, Dawn Gray, a church member who was also present, Barron erupted: "Get you're black a** out of here" and kicked Mzimela's briefcase across the room.

With the Chief's trip still only half-arranged, he then went on holiday to South Carolina.

Reached last week, he denied the racial slur, but admitted that he had ejected Mzimela abusively.

After the scene, Mzimela and Barron wrote to Buthelezi; the former to insist that the foundation be relieved of any further responsibility for the visit, the latter to abort Mzimela's quite justified demand.

IT is not to Buthelezi's credit — but may well reflect appalling and self-interested advice he was getting elsewhere — that he refused to side with the Inkatha representative. Instead, in a private letter whose contents Barron was only too happy to divulge, he threatened to cancel the trip unless the two "buried the hatchet".

They have — and one can only applaud Mzimela for his dedication in so doing. He, at least, understands the importance of the visit coming off well. For, if the visit goes badly, it will only encourage those who wish to believe the chief is marginal to step up their attacks on him. And that, as we have seen, means more bloodshed.

clearly
August

Buthelezi: Uganda training ANC, PAC

ULUNDI. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday alleged that ANC and PAC members were being retrained by the Ugandan Defence Force. (1) (2) CT 28/6/91

Chief Buthelezi said the retraining was to prepare the people for integration into the South African Defence Force. However, he said such plans could only escalate the conflict between black political organisations and make reconciliation impossible.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has denied that the KwaZulu government is 'flooding' the area with G3 rifles.

IFP central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela said it was true, however, that the German-made rifles had been issued to "a number" of government functionaries.

"This step became necessary after numerous attacks on KwaZulu government property caused damage amounting to more than R1 million," he said. — Sapa and Political Staff





KEY MAN...
Walter Felgate

Delegate is key Buthelezi aide

CF 19/6/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Walter Felgate was the first white to join the Inkatha Freedom Party when it opened its membership to all races last year — and was immediately nominated to the Inkatha central committee.

Mr Felgate is the leading researcher for the IFP and has been centrally involved with the formulation of its policies, ideology and constitution.

When, like party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, one has an average of seven speeches a week to make, a researcher like Mr Felgate is a vital staff member.

A trip to Richards Bay this week to meet

the man at his home revealed a hive of activity.

At least 10 people were in the living room, discussing how to assist more than 300 people made homeless by the demolition of 60 shacks by the Richards Bay municipality.

Many people see Mr Felgate as a "speechwriter", an impression which he corrects: "I am not a speechwriter. It is a misnomer. What I really do is research and documentation.

"Also I can reflect the perceptions of the party. For over 15 years I have been involved with Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi and I have developed a deep rapport and a close working relationship with him."

Mr Felgate said that as time passed he and Chief Buthelezi had become close friends, allowing him, where necessary, to "put on paper the leader's thinking and perceptions".

The two met in 1973, when Mr Felgate was a labour consultant for the Phalaborwa Mining Company. At the time he asked Chief Buthelezi to serve on a panel to evaluate the mines' labour policies and social responsibility programme.

In 1974 Chief Buthelezi, already Chief Minister of KwaZulu, approached Mr Felgate to take part in discussions to form a constitution for Inkatha. Since then he has worked closely as a consultant for Chief Buthelezi and the IFP.

G3 rifles become 'cultural'

By S'BU MNGADI

INKATHA protesters this week gave new meaning to the term "cultural weapon" when they marched to Tongaat Police Station, on the Natal North Coast, some carrying G3 automatic rifles.

Led by KwaZulu's Deputy Works Minister, Velaphi Ndlovu and southern Natal Inkatha leaders, the heavily-armed crowd was protesting against the ANC's proposed banning of cultural weapons and the conversion of hostels into family units.

A team from the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) in Durban photographed and talked to some of the men who openly carried the German-made G3 rifles. A few metres away, members of the SAP looked on nonchalantly.

According to the LRC's Howard Varney, the armed men either identified themselves as Inkatha members or bodyguards to chiefs and Inkatha officials.

Varney said the centre had information that the advanced 7,62mm rifles, which have a faster firing rate than R1 rifles, were being issued by the KwaZulu Government to chiefs, headmen and Inkatha officials.

CIPRES 23/6/91
In a 15-page memorandum presented at the State President's Summit on Violence and Intimidation recently, the LRC stated that KwaZulu chiefs and headmen issued these weapons to tribal bodyguards.

A copy of the memorandum detailing the distribution of the weapons is in the hands of President De Klerk and the LRC has called for a full investigation.

The LRC stated that none of the strict security checks normally carried out by the SAP when issuing weapons licences was put into effect.

"The people to whom these G3 rifles are given do not hold gun licences, nor are any licences issued. The weapons and ammunition are made available to chiefs on permit, and they in turn hand out weapons to tribal headmen and their bodyguards".

These weapons had been issued to people who could not be described as officials and there had been many shootings involving people presumably issued with these weapons, said the LRC.

The G3 rifles had been linked to so many shootings the SAP had asked the KwaZulu Government to stop the practice, but without success.

"We believe that issuing these highly-dangerous weapons to untrained people not officially involved in law enforcement in the police or army is irresponsible and reckless in the extreme and should cease immediately," the memorandum stated.

On Sunday, ANC security marshals at a June 16 rally at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, disarmed men with a G3 rifle and other weapons and called the police.

The police, however, denied being assisted "by any private persons in effecting the arrest and recovery of the firearms and ammunition".

KwaZulu Police (ZP) commissioner General Jac Buchner has denied that his department issued any firearms to chiefs and headmen.

He said his force did not train civilians to shoot and no ZP firearms were issued to civilians.

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu Government has changed the law regarding the carrying of dangerous weapons, by repealing provisions which imposed automatic penalty on people convicted of assault using such weapons. This allows lighter sentences to be imposed.

IFP opening offices in Lebowa?

CP Correspondent
C/Rep 23/6/91

RUMOURS that the Inkatha Freedom Party is establishing branch offices in Lebowa are gaining credibility.

But if this is happening, the police will not interfere, according to spokesman Lt ML Tihomatšana.

He was reacting to claims by the deputy chairman of the Northern Transvaal region of the ANC, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, that IFP supporters had written to the Lebowa Chief Minister asking permission to launch the organisation in Lebowa.

Buthelezi on sanctions

WASHINGTON - Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi attacked sanctions on Tuesday in closed meetings with Congressional committees, winning some endorsements and some condemnation.

Buthelezi will today meet President George Bush.

Four of five conditions set out by the United States sanctions law have been met. The remaining condition is that South Africa release its political prisoners.

Senator Ms Nancy Kassebaum said after the meeting that Buthelezi told the Senate Foreign Relations committee there are no political prisoners in South Africa. - Sapa-

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I'll call Inkatha - magistrate

113



Sowetan 12/6/91

A MESSINA magistrate yesterday told 11 youths charged with public violence that he would call in Inkatha to restore peace in the local township.

Mr CJ Bester made the remark as he dismissed an application by the unrepresented youths for bail.

He said the youths, most of whom are under age, were responsible for fomenting trouble in Nancefield township, whose residents are on a consumer boycott of white-owned shops.

Bester said he would get 50 Inkatha members armed with kerries

By MATHATHA TSEDU

to knock sense into the youths' heads.

He told them they were wasting time dancing the toyi-toyi in the township.

Bester could not be reached for comment late yesterday.

'Preaching'

But State prosecutor Mrs M Skinner told *Sowetan* that the remark was a joke made during "a moment of preaching by Mr Bester".

"He was just telling them that they should stop the trouble in Nancefield and go to school," she said.

But ANC officials in the area are concerned about the remark, which came amid widespread rumours that "strangers have been seen in town provoking people", said ANC chairman Mr Jack Mokobi.

He said the strangers, first noticed yesterday, could not speak any of the three black languages used in the area.

They were seen in town carrying beer and asking people where they could buy things, he said.

Bush won't lift sanctions yet

Sowetan 21/6/91 (118)

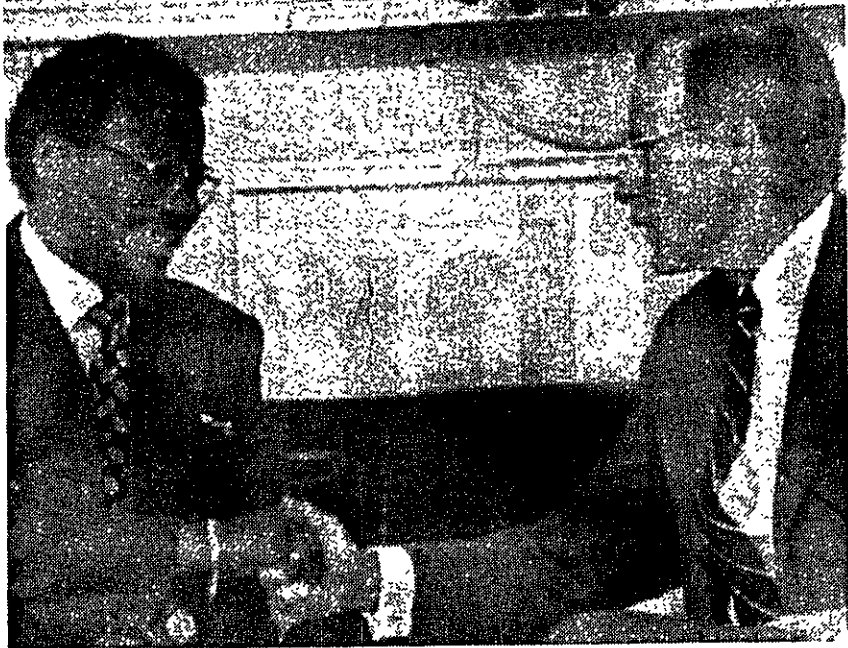
WASHINGTON - South African Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged President George Bush yesterday to lift economic sanctions against his country and Bush said he would do so as soon as possible.

Buthelezi, after a meeting and lunch with Bush in the White House, told reporters that the president gave no date for a lifting of the five-year-old sanctions.

The United States is waiting for confirmation that all political prisoners have been freed by South African authorities, the last of five conditions for lifting sanctions that Congress imposed to protest against apartheid policies in 1986.

"The president said that as soon as there is compliance with the conditions stated in the legislation, then sanctions will be lifted," Buthelezi said.

Bush called the meet-



President George Bush greets Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Oval office at the White House in Washington yesterday.

ing with the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party "a very good, productive meeting".

"We agree with him that dramatic progress has been made" in dismantling South Africa's offi-

cial policies of strict racial segregation, the president said.

"We both agreed that more progress must be made," he said in a Rose Garden appearance with Buthelezi before returning

to the Oval Office to let Buthelezi answer questions.

"The law is very clear. When the five conditions are met, the sanctions will be lifted," Bush said. - Sapa-Reuter

CIPRES 301691.

'Coincidental men carrying G3s said they were Inkatha'

By S'BU MNGADI

THE controversial G3 automatic rifles, which the KwaZulu chief minister's department is issuing to Inkatha-aligned chiefs and Inkatha officials, are supplied by the SAP.

This has been confirmed by both the Law and Order ministry and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's department.

However, Law and Order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze this week absolved the SAP of any responsibility, saying the rifles were now the responsibility of the KwaZulu Police.

DJ Michau, director-without-portfolio in Buthelezi's department in Ulundi, said the department only issued G3 rifles to chiefs in their capacity as government employees.

Michau maintained the military assault rifles were to protect government property, and not to further the political aims of Inkatha.

He declined to disclose the number of rifles issued to date. He could not furnish an answer as to why the rifles were being carried at Inkatha rallies and why unrest monitors have linked G3 rifles to political violence.

The director said it was coincidental that men armed with G3 rifles at an Inkatha protest march in Tongaat had identified themselves as Inkatha members and not as KwaZulu Government employees.

In a 15-page memorandum presented at the State President's Summit on Violence and Intimidation recently, the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) stated that KwaZulu chiefs and headmen had issued these weapons by way of permit to tribal bodyguards.

Michau admitted the chiefs did not hold firearm licences.

The German-made G3 rifle fires a devastating 600 bullets a minute and 20 in two seconds. However, its magazine can only hold 20 7.62mm rounds, City Press was told.

A prominent Durban gunsmith told City Press the South African government banned the sale of G3 rifles and other automatic assault rifles in the early 1980s following the discovery of rightwing arms caches.

Nobody in South Africa is allowed to have in his or her possession a weapon that will fire automatically. All government personnel are exempt, he said.

Durban director of the Democratic Party, Roy Ainslie, this week claimed Inkatha supporters used these rifles as recently as last Sunday.

He named shooting incidents at Obanjeni near Empangeni, Mshayazafwe in Inanda and in KwaMashu. These incidents followed Inkatha rallies.

At the Obanjeni rally police confiscated a G3 rifle from a chief's brother. But they returned it to him the next day, Ainslie said.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

Assault rifles for

chiefs



PUBLICITY DRIVE ... Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who arrived in Atlanta on Saturday for a week-long visit. The trip marks his most aggressive US publicity drive yet.

Buthelezi on US visit to seek

(116) CT 17/6/91

ATLANTA. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived here yesterday for a week-long visit seeking US support for his Inkatha Freedom Party.

He also wants recognition as the main black alternative to African National Congress leader Mr. Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi said on his arrival that he was looking forward to a meeting with President George Bush at the White House on Thursday.

"I don't often come to the United States, so this visit is very important for me personally," he said.

The trip marks Chief Buthelezi's most aggressive US publicity drive since the IFP became a formal political party and started recruiting whites in an effort to help shape a post-apartheid South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi, who supports an end to sanctions against Pretoria, is due today to meet executives of Coca-Cola, which sold off its South African subsidiary a few years ago under pressure from the anti-apartheid movement to disinvest.

He arrives tomorrow in Washington,

which he described as the major stop, and is to meet corporate and foreign policy figures in New York on Friday.

ANC officials in the US appeared to be ignoring Chief Buthelezi's trip. However, some anti-apartheid activists who back the ANC vowed to demonstrate at some of his appearances, charging that the Inkatha leader is a "stooge" of the National Party government and that his party is fomenting black township violence.

In sharp contrast to the effusive public welcome given Mr. Mandela here a year ago during a fund-raising tour for the

Support for IFP

ANC, political and civil-rights leaders in this black-governed city are largely snubbing Chief Buthelezi's visit.

The IFP's US representative, the Rev Sipo Mzimela, said the city had offered police escorts and security for the Chief Minister of KwaZulu but cancelled them on Friday.

"They said he's not a head of state. The police major who told me said he was not a politician and was just following orders. It's a little comic when the chief is going to meet the head of this nation," Mr Mzimela said.

"We need to correct this terrible picture of Inkatha which has been painted by the American media," he said.

But, Chief Buthelezi's US visit is not considered likely to win hearts. He has image problems both at home and in America itself.

Mayor Mr. Maynard Jackson was said to be out of town and unavailable for comment, but mayoral aide Ms. Monique Bond said the city offered security only to foreign government leaders such as heads of state, ambassadors and governors. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Sowetan 27/6/91

Violence ~~11B~~ warning 11B

THE Inkatha-linked United Workers Union of South Africa yesterday warned that planned industrial action by the National Metalworkers Union of SA would promote violence.

Uwusa issued the warning in reaction to Numsa's strike ballot, which is being conducted among about 130 000 workers following a deadlock in wage negotiations with the Steel, Engineering and Iron Federation of South Africa.

Uwusa spokesman Mr DR Sennakgomo said the union was not opposed to the strike ballot provided those not in favour of the action were not "disturbed". - Sapa.

11B
11/27/91
27/6/91
3030

Fear could aid Inkatha cause

Sowetan 3/6/91

11B



NERVOUS residents of the PWV area rarely wear African National Congress T-shirts anymore.

In a recent opinion poll by *Drum* magazine which asked people about their political intentions, 24 percent replied that they were too terrified to vote. The category came second after the ANC which topped the poll with 39 percent.

Political analysts say that in South Africa's atmosphere of fear, Mandela's main rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, could eventually prove tough competition for the loyalty of the black majority.

At least 1 800 people have died since August in the worst urban violence in decades in clashes around Johannesburg between pro-Inkatha Zulu migrant workers and ANC-supporting residents.

Building ties

Although Inkatha won only four percent in the *Drum* poll, in line with other surveys, it stood to pick up support from blacks fearful of the future, the analysts say.

Potential recruits were blacks who felt Inkatha had proved itself the strongest in the battles and should be backed out of prudence, and people of all races with something to lose from apartheid reforms and anxious about a future under the ANC.

"We are being very much intimidated by the civics," said Inkatha recruiter Mr Joshua Mojaki, referring to pro-ANC civic organisations.

He said his Tswana people were joining Inkatha, adopting Zulu ways but "in the Tswana culture" and building ties with local rightwing whites to combat

what he called ANC violence.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Musa Myeni said he was recruiting hard among black town councillors, policemen, priests and miners in the industrial heartland around Johannesburg.

Twelve township mayors recruited to Inkatha "are now making things easy for us to penetrate their townships even in areas where we have never existed", he said.

Members

Inkatha, which Buthelezi once described as a group where "the dove of peace sits easily on the point of a spear", was for years a local power ruling the KwaZulu tribal territory.

But membership has grown to two million, a quarter of that around Johannesburg, from about 30 000 in the mid-1970s. The ANC is believed to have fewer than half a million members.

Stooges

Asked whether Inkatha was protecting township councillors, widely reviled as stooges of the apartheid system, Myeni replied: "No, we are not in the security business. But as soon as they (councillors) join Inkatha, members of Inkatha in their areas will not fold their arms when they are attacked."

Lawyer Nicholas Haysom said Inkatha was taking up the cause of many potential losers from apartheid's end, functionaries in local government, tribal homelands and municipal black police.

"Inkatha may also use its position as an armed protector to create a national base among a more ethnically and regionally disparate group of persons," he said.

All sides agree there is no point in creating a multiparty democracy if people vote not for who they believe in but for those they fear most. But analysts say that is the danger.

"If we could go to elections while we are trapped in a culture of violence, people would vote on geographic lines, depending on who is strongest in that area," said Mr Khaba Mkhize, a newspaper editor in Natal.

Another analyst in Natal who declined to be named said: "People will decide which is the more powerful, the ANC or Inkatha. Then for security reasons Inkatha will pick up votes."

New recruits

"Inkatha has come to stay in Soweto. The presence of Inkatha in people's minds is incredibly strong," said the pro-ANC analyst, who toured Soweto recently.

"They have also penetrated the Free State in the most incredible manner.

"Inkatha now represents the politics of being conservative. It is not a matter of being Zulu. The violence creates the picture of (ANC) failure. It creates doubt."

Inkatha spokesmen also said they drew "tremendous" support from churchgoers after Buthelezi last year publicly declared belief in God and Mandela spoke ambivalently on the same topic.

New recruits include 100 000 whites who cite respect for Inkatha's pro-business, anti-sanctions stance, its proclaimed

emphasis on free choice and the proud history of the Zulus.

Township residents report that Zulu migrant workers in some areas extort taxes from people living beside their hostels.

Those who refuse are generally attacked. Inkatha is also accused of coercive recruiting in KwaZulu.

Inkatha denies all this. But Myeni caused a stir when he said Inkatha would field 250 000 warriors to combat crime and ANC violence unless the ANC ended the township conflict.

The threat was repudiated by Inkatha's leaders but they said it remained a possible subject for internal debate.

Ethnic hostility

"Inkatha has enormous capacity to disrupt community life and threaten the peace process," Haysom commented.

He said violence created strong ethnic hostility towards Zulus, ensuring that Zulus apprehensive of attack turned to Inkatha for support.

"That would consolidate a more far flung support base previously not interested in Inkatha."

Business Day newspaper said that for President FW de Klerk and Mandela, Myeni's comments "must have been the political equivalent of a cold bath ... the realisation is dawning that the ANC and the Government are not the only parties capable of reverting to violent solutions".

On Tuesday, Mr Samuel Jamile, a deputy Minister of Interior in the KwaZulu homeland government was found guilty of murder and attempted murder.

Although Jamile is not the only Inkatha member to face such serious charges, he is the most senior to be convicted. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Mystery of the hi-tech spears

W/ Mail 14/6-20/6/91

By MARK GEVISSER

The Weekly Mail has been shown a "fold-up" spear, clearly factory-made, that was sold to a hostel dweller by whites at Merafe in Soweto for R12.

It has been specially designed to evade detection in unrest areas, where such weapons are now banned.

After *The Weekly Mail* informed Soweto police of the spear, Colonel Tienie Halgryn assured us that Merafe hostel had been thoroughly searched, and that nothing of its kind had been found.

But the hostel dweller bought another identical spear last week — this time for R25.

South African Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman commented that "we have no specific details of factories making weapons, but we know that the people who are fighting work in places where it is possible to use the equipment to manufacture the sort of weapons that we are confiscating".

There are unsubstantiated rumours circulating that workers are using factories in Devon and Wadeville to manufacture weapons, and *The Weekly Mail* has confirmed that workers at Maristeel in Devland, outside Soweto, were making

weapons on site before being "disciplined" by both Maristeel's management and the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), which organises the factory.

And at the end of last month, a police roadblock in Charlestown,

on the Natal/Transvaal border, found 60 identical mass-produced assegais in a bus headed from Tugela Ferry to the Reef. The 1,2m spears, with 15cm steel tips, were concealed in two potato sacks.

While police say there is no evidence these were made in a factory, Newcastle police spokesman Sergeant Paul Korb told the *Natal Witness* that "there is no doubt that the spears are professionally made and turned on a lathe".

Newcastle police have not found the source of these weapons, but they have set up daily roadblocks in an attempt to stop further traffic of this nature.

Colonel Halgryn said the sophisticated "fold-up" spear found by *The Weekly Mail* "is the first evidence of factory-made weaponry we have seen in Soweto."

Wooden rods with attachable metal tips

have, however, been used in battles.

The "fold-up" spear represents a new leap in "cultural weapon" technology: Roughly 50cm long, it has a detachable blade that screws into a rectangular metal base, and the two parts fit snugly into an easily-concealable sheath made of industrial tape.

The hostel dweller who bought it is an Inkatha member who said the spears were sold by a group of white men.

He also maintained that the sellers were policemen from Protea police station, but Colonel Halgryn said there was no evidence of this.

Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos said: "We have never heard of these fold-up spears, and they certainly do not conform to the specifications of traditional weapons".

At Maristeel, managers have confiscated five spears — including a sharpened solid round bar 12mm in diameter and more typical assegais — but sources told *The Weekly Mail* that many more may have been made and distributed before the discovery.

Maristeel's owner, George Spagnoli, said "no weapons have been made in our workshop, but we believe these spears

were made by workers while they were out on site, where there is sometimes no supervision."

The weapons were uncovered when trucks returning from site were searched, and disciplinary action was taken against two members.

Both of the workers disciplined were Zulu members of Numsa, Eric Khumalo, who organises the factory for the union, supported the testimony of the disciplined workers: "We believe that no spears were made on the premises. They were bought on the roadside."

But Tony Ruiters, regional secretary for Numsa Witwatersrand, said that, in the action that Numsa took after the discovery of the weapons, "a general shop meeting was called by our shop stewards, and it was agreed to destroy all weapons being made, and to stop making any more".

Numsa organisers claim that this meeting happened about three months ago, but Maristeel managers counter that the workers were disciplined just over a month ago.



A factory-made fold-up spear

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1 000 IFP ^(11B) members slain, says Buthelezi

Star 3/6/91

STANGER — Violence aimed at the Inkatha Freedom Party has claimed the lives of more than 1 000 members, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking in Stanger at a memorial service for India's assassinated former leader, Rajiv Gandhi, Chief Buthelezi claimed that at least 153 Inkatha leaders had been slaughtered for supporting the party and promoting peace, democracy, justice and a multi-party parliamentary system.

He claimed 37 of these were IFP chairmen who had opposed revolution and had been committed to non-violence.

Others killed because of their IFP positions included 14 vice-chairmen, 14 committee members, 11 organisers, 14 publicity secretaries, six treasurers and one deputy treasurer.

In addition, 18 youth leaders, 18 young unmarried women, 13 married women and more than 1 000 members had been killed in violent attacks, he said.

"One leader was not only shot but was also stabbed and burnt. Six deaths were caused by petrol bombs and hand grenades used simultaneously. Twenty-two were burnt, some even after having their throats slit, or having been hacked to pieces."

"Seven out of the 153 IFP leaders murdered were neck-laced. Fifty-four were shot and four were shot and burnt. Five were shot and stabbed. Two

were shot and stoned to death. Thirty-two were stabbed to death. Five had their throats slit and two were completely decapitated.

"This list is not complete. It is growing as we discover more and more IFP leaders who have died because they were IFP leaders," he added.

The IFP members had mostly been victims of violence, claimed Chief Buthelezi.

"If ever there was an attack on a political party that Mahatma Gandhi would have rejected, or Martin Luther King would have rejected, it is these attacks on the IFP. No politics justifies it. No threat is so grave that it is justified. Such attacks cannot possibly build a better future for South Africa.

"Violence must end today. Violence must be shamed out of existence. We must put an end to political killings."

"I and the Inkatha Freedom Party pledge ourselves to the elimination of all violence and we will join whoever there is from whatever political camp if they are really committed to work for peace and to normalise relationships between South African political organisations," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also expressed the sympathies of "black South Africans" to the family of the slain Mr Gandhi, to "India's teeming millions, as well as to our fellow South Africans of Indian extraction". — Sapa.

Inkatha boots out US group

By David Braun
Star Bureau

Star
4/6/91

WASHINGTON — The Inkatha Freedom Party has given a conservative American thinktank organisation the boot after it tried to raise money in connection with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's visit to the US later this month.

Chief Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, is to visit the US between June 15 and 22 and meet President Bush at the White House on June 20.

Inkatha's chief representative in the US, the Rev Sipo Mzimela, was furious on Friday when he learned that the Jefferson Foundation had been circulating a letter among American businessmen calling for donations to cover \$175 000 (about R473 000) it was spending on funding Chief Buthelezi's visit.

Mr Mzimela told The Star he had told the Jefferson



Chief Buthelezi . . . to visit US this month.

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Foundation it was to have nothing further to do with the visit.

"They made out that they had invited Chief Buthelezi to the US, that they were paying for him to come here and that they had arranged the meeting for him with President Bush.

"Inkatha is paying for this visit and I personally arranged the meeting with Mr Bush," he said.

The Jefferson Foundation could not be reached for comment on the weekend.

The foundation had been involved in arranging additional appointments for the chief, including addressing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Inkatha representative said Chief Buthelezi would be visiting members of the US Senate and of the House of Representatives. He would also be giving several media interviews, including three to the major networks. He said the Carnegie address, to the organisation's influential South Africa Forum, would go ahead but that he was now arranging it personally.

"The Jefferson Foundation made false claims about paying Chief Buthelezi's costs," Mr Mzimela said.

He said it appeared the Jefferson Foundation was trying to raise the money for itself and not Inkatha.

NO easy road to US freedom for Buthelezi

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CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is going to Washington to meet President Bush next week. But, in contrast to Nelson Mandela's royal reception exactly a year ago, the Inkatha Freedom Party's entry into the American political maelstrom is already plagued with problems.

For a start, his conservative backers are showing signs of internal dissent over who will run the visit and over Inkatha's involvement in the Reef violence and its promotion of Zulu ethnicity.

But as Inkatha's conservative support fractures, moderate support for Buthelezi seems more and more unlikely, even though the party's United States representative, the Rev Sijo Mzimela, is seeking to promote Buthelezi as a liberal who espouses the mainstream American values.

The powerful anti-apartheid lobby is effectively using his image — in the US at least — as an archetypal conservative to force many moderate politicians, who rely on black support, to keep their distance from the Inkatha chief.

Inkatha's central problem is this: how can any reputable US liberal or black politician be seen in the company of someone whose major proponent in the Senate is Christian fundamentalist demagogue Jesse Helms, and who is the flavour-of-the-month of rightist groups like the Heritage Foundation and the Jefferson Educational Foundation?

Because these groups seem determined to present themselves as his hosts and benefactors, Buthelezi is most likely going to be viewed, in the words of one highly-placed moderate

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's planned entry into the maelstrom of American politics is plagued with problems, report **MARK GEVISSER and EDDIE KOCH**

Washington policy-maker, "as another darling of the far-right. They are feigning him as the next Jonas Savimbi, fighting the evil forces of communism represented by the African National Congress.

Perceptions by introducing Buthelezi to black Americans as a moderate anti-apartheid alternative. He insists that the week-long tour "is to introduce the Inkatha Freedom Party to the widest possible spectrum of American politicians," because he believes that "both FW de Klerk and Mandela have put their cases to the American public, so it's very important that the third major player, Dr Buthelezi, has an opportunity to do so too".

He believes that Inkatha is too often dismissed or misunderstood by Americans, and that once they hear Buthelezi's democratic free-market vision for

South Africa, "they will realise that Inkatha is much closer to mainstream American values than the ANC."

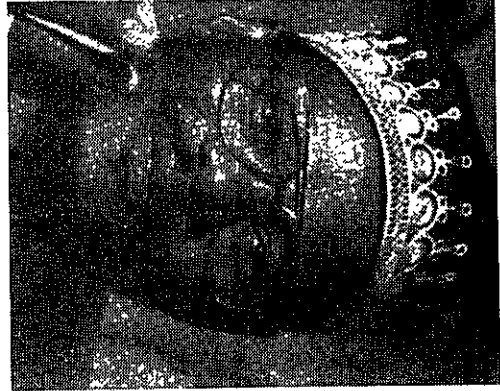
There has already been a major fallout between Inkatha and David Barron, the chairman of Jefferson Foundation and a close personal friend of Buthelezi, which ended in Barron angrily ejecting Mzimela from his Washington office earlier this month.

Without the knowledge of Mzimela and the tour's organisers, Barron had sent out letters — in the name of the Jefferson Foundation — to 50 major US firms with South African ties, asking for a "\$20 000 to \$250 000 one-time commitment" from each to help pay for Buthelezi's trip.

Mzimela claims, rather nonsensically, that such donations could compromise Buthelezi's stand against sanctions, and adds that "we are not following in Nelson Mandela's footsteps. We are adamant that this is not a fund-raising trip".

But clearly, he is most worried that fundraising by so extreme a right-wing organisation could only stigmatise Buthelezi further.

Already, the man co-ordinating Buthelezi's meetings with lawmakers is



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Jesse Helms, and the Heritage Foundation has set itself up as Inkatha's major supporter in the United States. The foundation is hosting a luncheon at which Buthelezi will deliver his major policy speech.

Heritage's Africa expert, Michael Johns, also claims that he is organising a meeting in Washington at which Buthelezi will address representatives from the Fortune 500 — the US's largest corporations. Mzimela denies this, and says that "Heritage has nothing to do with this meeting. We sent out the invitations ourselves."

In a paper published at the end of last year called *Preparing for a Post-Apartheid South Africa*, the Heritage Foundation lays out very clearly its interest in Inkatha and Buthelezi.

Using tired Cold War rhetoric about guarding the Cape sea route and South African mineral resources from communist onslaught, it characterises a future ANC government as "a threat to American security interests" and de-

scribes Buthelezi as "a popularly elected... anti-apartheid... leader". The paper infatrates Buthelezi by claiming that Inkatha has almost unanimous support among South Africa's Zulus and that the ANC "draws most of its members from the smaller Xhosa tribe".

"Buthelezi has tried to end the violence between ANC and Inkatha, demanding last February that 'blacks throw their instruments of death into the sea', the paper adds. It was, in fact, Nelson Mandela who said this at a peace rally in Durban.

The Heritage Foundation wielded much influence during the Reagan years, providing the ideological backbone for the president's conservative policy, but it has seen a marked decline during the more pragmatic, less ideological Bush administration.

In terms of African policy, it has lost "hosting rights" over Jonas Savimbi now that he has become an official player in the Angolan government, and it has landed up with egg on its face as details of atrocities committed by its *cause celebre*, Renamo, have been revealed. So it now seems to be trying to carve a niche for itself through Buthelezi and Inkatha.

But Inkatha's own record of violence is potentially as damaging as Renamo's, and other right-wing groups which have historically supported Buthelezi are now beginning to distance themselves from him.

● Arthur Gavshon reports from London that Buthelezi leaves this week for the first stop of his overseas tour in Frankfurt, Germany.

After his trip to the US next week, Buthelezi has arranged a brief visit to London before flying back to South Africa.

IFP, Nats pact on the cards

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Sowetan 6/6/91

A COALITION between the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party is definitely on the cards for the future, Natal MEC for hospitals, Mr Peter Miller, has revealed.

Miller said on Tuesday night that the move followed lengthy discussions between the two organisations.

"We, in Natal, have long been having detailed discussions with Inkatha, not to try to make a deal against any other political grouping but to see and identify the common values we share."

"The scene is set - although not consummated at this stage - for a logical working arrangement at some time in the future," he said.

Addressing an NP meeting in Umhlanga,

Miller said the NP, its allies and other groupings that shared its principles and values "are going for Government".

He said it was imperative that parties and organisations with such shared values drew together "so we can become an unstoppable force for Government".

The fundamental issues which drew the NP and parties such as Inkatha together were a belief in a multiparty democracy, the need for free, fair and frequent elections.

Others were a market-driven economy based on free enterprise, a Bill of

Rights which protected the individual and protection for political and cultural minorities.

Miller praised the recent defection of Labour Party MPs to the NP and called for members of the Indian community "to stand up and be counted". *Sowetan Correspondent.*

IFP angry over US trip claims ¹¹³

WASHINGTON - The Inkatha Freedom Party has fired an American organisation after it tried to raise money in connection with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's visit to the United States later this month.

Buthelezi is to visit between June 15 and 22 and will meet President Bush on June 20.

Inkatha's chief representative in the US, the Rev Siphon Mzimela, was furious on Friday when he learned the Jefferson Foundation had been circulating a letter calling for donations to cover R525 000 it was spending on funding Buthelezi's visit.

Sowetan
Foundation 3/6/91

Mzimela said he had told the foundation it was to have nothing further to do with the visit.

"They made out that they had invited Chief Buthelezi to the US and were paying for him to come here."

"The truth is Inkatha is paying for this visit and I personally arranged the meeting with Mr Bush," he said. - *Sowetan Foreign News Service.*

BUSH TO MEET
Chief Buthelezi

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE — President George Bush said yesterday that he would meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi next week in hopes of furthering efforts to end violence.

"What we want to do is see peace and reconciliation in SA," Mr Bush said.

(118 015619)
The president is to meet Chief Buthelezi at the White House next Thursday. — Sapa-AP

IFP claims right of reply 'denied'

LONDON. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday lodged an official complaint with a British media watchdog, alleging that the London Independent newspaper was denying it the right of reply to reported allegations of collusion between the SADF and Inkatha.

In a letter to the Press Complaints Commission, the IFP's permanent representative in London, Mr Ben Skosana, claimed the Independent had refused to publish a letter of his that rebutted the allegations.

The Guardian and the Independent

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earlier this week reported in prominent front-page reports on the allegations made by former SADF intelligence officer Major Nicó Basson.

Major Basson also alleged in an interview broadcast by NBC's "Nightly News" on Thursday that the SA government was secretly paying and training Zulu warriors to attack ANC members.

Major Basson said the government secretly wanted to spread black-on-black violence as a way to maintain political control by whites. — Sapa-Reuter ET 15/6/91

- (ii) 1 681
(iii) 1 573
(b) (i) 21
(ii) 22
(iii) 78

Bryanston: offences committed

470. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (a) How many instances of (i) theft of vehicles, (ii) theft from vehicles and (iii) housebreaking and theft occurred in the area covered by the Bryanston constituency during the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available and (b) how many convictions resulted in each category?

B1230E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) (i) 1 027
(ii) 1 171
(iii) 2 309
(b) (i) 36
(ii) 38
(iii) 169

The figures are furnished for the period 1 April 1990 to 31 March 1991.

SADF: certain persons on payroll

471. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether he will disclose whether certain persons (the names, ranks and numbers of whom have been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply) are on the payroll of the Defence Force; if not, why not; if so, (a) for how long has each been on this payroll and (b) how much is each being paid on an annual basis?

B1231E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

No, the persons are not on the SA Defence Force's permanent payroll. Some of them, however, have military service commitments in the Citizen Force and Commandos, whilst

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

others are volunteers. Each is paid a daily tariff, compiled to rank, for each day of service rendered. The pay of rank, per day, for each of the ranks involved, is as follows:

Lieutenant	= R30,15
Warrant Officer (Second class)	= R46,46
Staff Sergeant	= R37,46
Sergeant	= R28,82
Private	= R16,32
(a) and (b) fall away.	

White man assaults Black man: SAP action

473. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he or the South African Police have been informed of an incident in which a Black man was allegedly beaten unconscious by a White man for urinating in public; if so, (a) when and (b) where did this incident take place;
(2) whether an investigation into this incident is taking place; if not, why not; if so, (a) what progress has been made in this investigation and (b) what have been the findings so far;
(3) whether any (a) arrests have been made and (b) charges have been laid in connection with this incident; if not, why not; if so, (i) how many arrests and (ii) what is the nature of these charges;
(4) whether local Whites threatened to beat up a certain journalist, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, while he was tending to the said Black man's injuries; if so, what is the name of this journalist;
(5) whether an investigation is being conducted into the incident involving the journalist; if not, why not; if so, (a) what progress has been made in this investigation and (b) what have been the findings so far?

B1233E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
(a) At 19:10 on 6 June 1991.

- (b) In Florida, Johannesburg
(2) Yes, one charge of alleged assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

(a) Statements have been obtained from all the witnesses. Since the victim is still unconscious a statement could not yet be obtained from him. On conclusion of the investigation the case docket will be submitted to the Public Prosecutor for a decision in respect of prosecution.

(b) I do not regard it to be in the interest of the judicial process to speculate at this stage on any possible findings.

- (3) (a) No.
(b) No.
(i) and (ii) Fall away.
(4) No.
(5) No, but his involvement in the incident is part of the investigation of the alleged assault on the victim.

SADF: weapons financed/supplied to Inkatha

474. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether he or the South African Defence Force has been informed of the allegations made by a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, that the Defence Force has in recent months (a) deliberately inflamed township violence and (b) financed and supplied weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party; if not, why not; if so, what is this person's name;
(2) whether an investigation is being made into these allegations; if not, why not; if so, (a) what progress has been made in this investigation and (b) what have been the findings so far;
(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1234E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) I have taken cognisance through the Press. The name supplied by the hon member.

- (2) No, because it is devoid of all truth.
(3) No.

Teacher/pupil ratio: teachers required

476. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

- (1) Whether his Department or any other body advising his Department has calculated the number of additional teachers required for the (a) attainment of a 1 to 30 teacher/pupil ratio within the Department of Education and Training and the self-governing territories and (b) introduction of compulsory education for the first seven school years; if not, why not; if so, what additional number of teachers is required in each case;
(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1239E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

- (1) Yes.
(a) 16 205 for the Department of Education and Training.
Information concerning the Self-Governing Territories is not readily available.
(b) Approximately 18 059 for the Department of Education and Training and the Self-Governing Territories.
(2) No.

MPS: additional police protection

477. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, since 5 June 1991, the Government has assigned any additional policemen to the task of protecting members of Parliament; if so, (a) what is the nature of the protection provided and (b) what equipment are these policemen issued with;
(2) whether all members of Parliament receive the same protection; if not, (a) why not, (b) what is the basis used for deciding what protection each member of Parliament is to receive and (c) in what respects does this protection differ;

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (3) whether the remuneration payable to these firms of private consultants will depend on results achieved; if not, (a) why not and (b) on what basis will these firms be remunerated?

B1244E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Provincial Administration of Natal

- (1) No, (2) and (3) fall away;

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State

- (1) No, (2) and (3) fall away.

Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope

- (1) Yes,

(a) Byrne Fleming Consultancy (Pty) Ltd, and Andersen Consulting SA,

- (b) to place specialist and community reference hospitals, respectively, in the Cape Province on the most efficient basis by providing structures and systems through which available resources (including and especially finance) can be optimally utilised so that effective health care can be rendered to the ever-increasing number of patients, and

to undertake a feasibility study of the future utilisation possibilities of the main building of the Karl Bremer Hospital at Bellville as a patient care facility,

- (c) guaranteed savings on the present expenditure levels of the hospitals and the extent and duration of the project in the case of Byrne Fleming Consultancy (Pty) Ltd, and the extent and duration of the project in the case of Andersen Consulting SA and

- (d) (i) *Byrne Fleming*

Beaufort West Hospital
Caledon Hospital
Voortrekker Hospital, Calvinia
Conradie Hospital, Pinalands
G.F. Jooste Hospital, Manenberg
Central Karoo Hospital, De Aar
National Accelerator Centre,
Faurie

Deloitte Pim Goldby
Coopers, Theron en Du Toit
Andersen Consulting S.A.
Byrne Fleming Consultancy (Pty) Ltd
Ernst and Young/Wiehahn Meyermel;

- (3) yes, in both cases formal appointments were made with briefs to which they have to adhere,

- (a) and (b) fall away.

Provincial Administration of Transvaal

- (1) Yes,

(a) Ernst and Young: Management Services and Wichahn Meyermel: Chartered Accountants (SA),

- (b) to act as consultants with a view to create a responsibility costing management system and to evaluate the cost effectiveness of the different services rendered by the Health Services Branch,

- (c) both firms are of proven integrity and success and therefore have been approached to undertake the task and,

- (d) (i) all hospitals under control of the Health Services Branch are being involved in the investigation;

(ii) the investigation is being carried out in various phases and with independent accents and is integrated with a total mission, strategy and policy exercise in the branch. It is therefore not possible at this stage to indicate how long the investigation will take before finally completed.

- (2) no—the procedure in paragraph (1)(c) has been followed and the approval of the Treasury No 40/5/25 dated 25 February 1988, is not subject to tender procedures;

- (3) no,

- (a) and (b) remuneration is based on the tariffs as approved by the Treasury and as stipulated in paragraph (2).

Deaths of SACP/Inkatha members: SAP investigation (118)

483. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he or the South African Police have been informed of the alleged violent deaths of (a) 3 members of the South African Communist Party and (b) 153 members of Inkatha, the names of whom have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (112)
- (2) whether an investigation is taking place into these deaths; if not, why not; if so, (a) what progress has been made in the investigation and (b) what have been the findings so far;

- (3) whether any (a) suspects have been identified, (b) arrests have been made and (c) charges have been laid in connection with these deaths; if not, why not; if so, (i) what are the names of (aa) the suspects, (bb) those arrested and (cc) those charged and (ii) what is the nature of these charges?

B1247E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b)

Yes.

- (2) and (3) Yes.

—According to the data over which the Police disposes we have to do with 63 murders in the undermentioned matter. In 26 murders the suspected murderers could not be traced.

—In 3 murders 6 persons were charged and the case dockets submitted to the Attorney General who declined to institute any prosecutions.

—In 12 murders 25 persons were charged. The charges against them were, however, withdrawn and inquiries will be held as regards the deaths.

—In 10 murders murder charges are being investigated by the South African Police.

—In 3 murders 3 persons were arrested. The case dockets were submitted to the Attorney-General of Natal. His decision is still being awaited.

- In 1 murder 1 person was charged, found guilty and given the death sentence
- In 1 murder 5 persons were charged and found not guilty.
- In 5 murders 31 persons were charged. The trials have already commenced and have not, as yet, been finalised.

— In 1 murder 1 person was charged. He escaped and a warrant for his arrest has been issued.

— In 1 murder 4 persons were charged. One person was found guilty and given the death sentence, 2 persons were found not guilty and the charge against another person was withdrawn.

In all these instances the persons were charged with murder.

In the remaining 93 alleged deaths the information which the hon member furnished is insufficient. No record can be found of these alleged deaths. Should the hon member have more information at his disposal, it will be appreciated if he will convey such information to the Commissioner of the South African Police or myself.

Because conflict between opposing groups has been rampant for some years, furnishing the names of persons who have been charged in these cases, are to be charged or against whom the charges have been withdrawn, could result in revenge actions being taken against such persons and/or their next of kin.

It is, therefore, not in the interest of law and order to make public the names of these persons. I trust that the hon member will appreciate this point of view.

Certain women's organisations: funding received from Govt Dept

484. Miss M SMUTS asked the State President:

- (1) Whether a certain women's organisation, the name of which has been furnished to the Office of the State President for the purpose of his reply, received any funding from the Bureau for Information, the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Medical aid societies

490. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

- (a) How many medical aid societies are there in South Africa and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B1255E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (a) and (b) There were 198 medical schemes registered in terms of the Medical Schemes Act, 1967, as at 25 June 1991.

Apart from the five medical schemes controlled by the State under other legislation, referred to in section 2 of the Medical Schemes Act, 1967, there were also 40 schemes registered in terms of the Labour Relations Act, 1996, as at 25 June 1991.

Health in RSA: division of total amount budgeted

491. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

- (a) What total amount has been budgeted for health in South Africa in respect of the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available and (b) how much of this amount has been earmarked for (i) primary health care, (ii) secondary health care, (iii) tertiary health care and (iv) any other specified division?

B1256E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (a) The total amount budgeted is R8 130 370 000 and
- (b) only the total amount is available. The financial information is presently constructed in such a way that it cannot be subdivided into amounts for primary, secondary and tertiary health care.

Training of medical doctors: cost per annum

492. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) What is the cost per annum of training a student to become a medical doctor;

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) The matter is *subjudice*, but certain information will however be provided.

B1258E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

South African Communication Service or any other Government Department at or after its inception; if so, (a) what is the name of this organisation, (b) which body or bodies provided this funding and (c)(i) what are the amounts involved and (ii)(aa) on what date and (bb) to what purpose was each such amount provided;

(2) whether these amounts were provided subject to any conditions; if so, what conditions?

B1249E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) and (2) The hon member is referred to my replies in Parliament on 5 March 1991, 12 March 1991 and 9 April 1991. I reaffirm once again the point of principle, namely that denials in certain cases may lead to a situation in which later refusals to provide information in other cases because it would not be in the public interest to do so, could be construed as admissions.

Commuter trains to Jhb: arrangements for Soweto passengers

486. Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether, since a date early in June 1991, certain trains travelling from Vereeniging and Oberholzer to Johannesburg and back during peak morning and evening commuter times, no longer pick up passengers in Soweto; if so, since what date;
- (2) whether this has been done to ensure that the trains in question are kept essentially White; if not, why has it been done;
- (3) whether alternative arrangements will be made for those Black commuters travelling between Soweto and Johannesburg who have been affected by this step; if not, why not; if so, what alternative arrangements;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1251E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) No.
- (2) and (3) Falls away.
- (4) No.

(2) how many medical doctors were in (a) private practice and (b) State employ in each of the provinces as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B1257E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) The cost per student is estimated at R25 000—R30 000 per year.
- (2) the number of medical practitioners in each province in (a) private practice and (b) Public Service—June 1990:

Province	Private Practice	Government
Transvaal	5 745	2 981
Cape	3 267	2 258
Natal	1 950	1 122
Orange Free State	689	472

Certain bank: SA Rail Commuter Corporation

493. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 30 April 1991, he will now furnish information on how much money the South African Rail Commuter Corporation invested with a certain bank, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) how much, (b) on what terms, (c) who took the decision to make the investment and (d) what is the name of the bank concerned;
- (2) whether, in the light of either possible losses of money as a result of the above-mentioned investment or possible delay in recovering the funds so invested, he will take steps to supplement the funds of this corporation; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;
- (3) when is the report of the Auditor-General in this regard expected;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) The matter is *subjudice*, but certain information will however be provided.

B1258E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

IFP 'did not
star 13/6/91
justify attack'

Staff Reporter (113)

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos has denied saying Inkatha supporters "deliberately" attacked the Swanierville squatter camp at Kagiso on the West Rand on May 12.

Ms Vos was reported to have said the attack was in response to the kidnapping of two hostel residents.

She said in reply to the May 12 report: "On behalf of the IFP, I did not attempt to (as it is now being claimed) justify wanton death."

"I said to the various reporters that Inkatha did not condone unlawful, violent acts. There was so much fear and intimidation and perceived threat in these areas that responses occurred spontaneously." ebnw

Love to protect farm-workers

By SHARON SOROUR, Labour Reporter

FAR-REACHING proposals to extend protective labour laws to the country's 1.3-million agricultural workers have been handed to the government.

Minister of Manpower Mr Eli Louw is studying a 16-page report by the National Manpower Commission (NMC) which was published in the Government Gazette yesterday.

A unique proposal for dealing with strikes during crucial periods of the farming process is included in the recommendations along with those on collective bargaining, the minimum wage and settling disputes.

The report reflects the views of trade union federations Cosatu and Nactu together with those of the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU). Other union and employer groups took part in discussions.

Draft legislation to include farm workers is expected to be drawn up towards the end of August and would affect six-million people, including the workers' dependants.

The majority of NMC members supported extending legislation to farm workers while the SAAU, which represents the farmers, was reluctant to do so and expressed reservations about several of the key recommendations.

The SAAU said it was "not convinced of the need for a formal labour relations dispensation at present" and expressed fears that peaceful agricultural labour relations could be "badly disturbed" by a new dispensation.

It was therefore "hesitant" to extend the Labour Relations Act to the farming sector at all.

All members agreed there should be an extensive information campaign to inform agriculture about the Act's requirements.

The NMC recommended that:

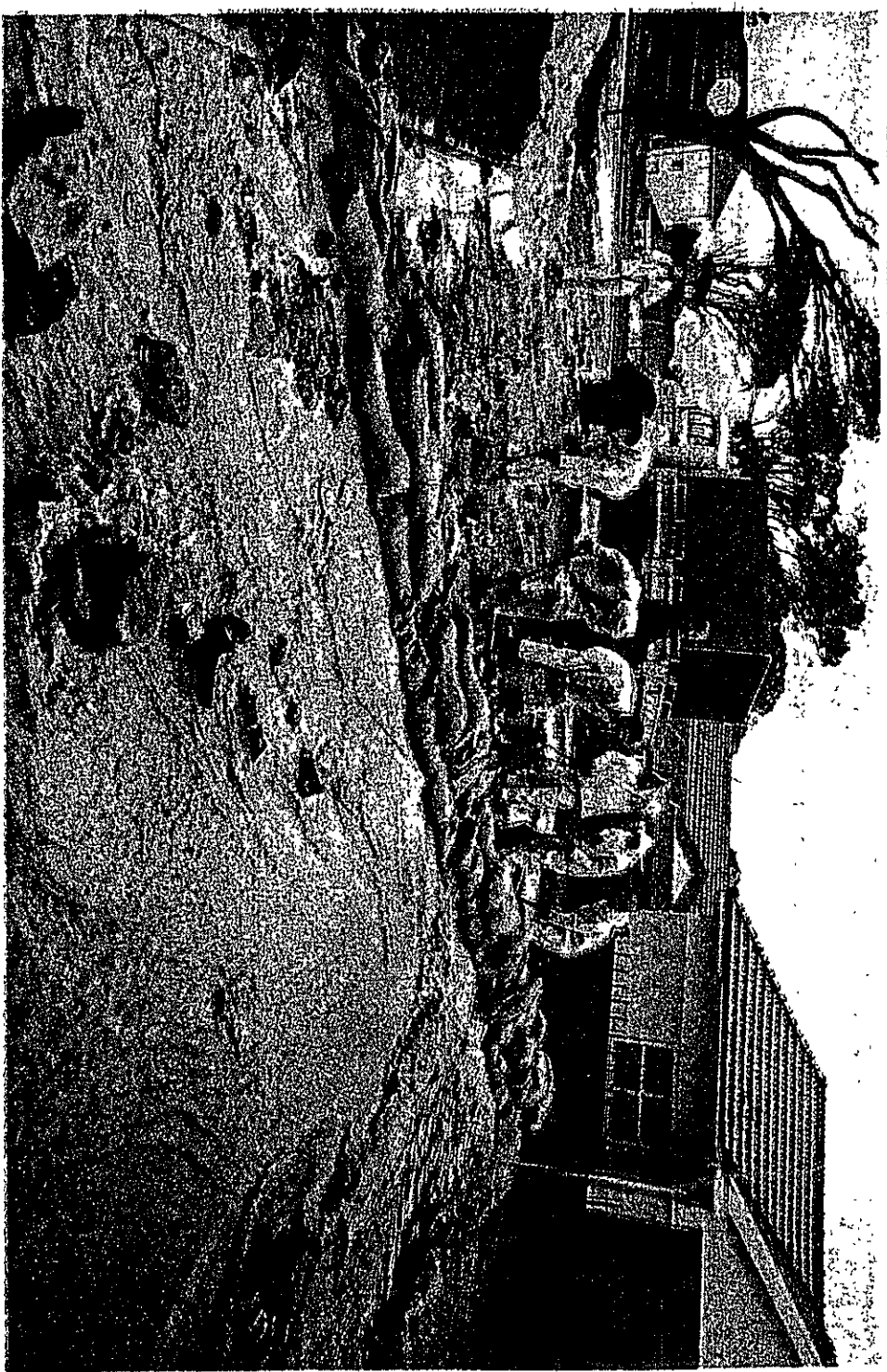
- "No-strike" agreements should apply during peak farming periods because of the "biological" nature of agriculture. Disputes which arose during this period would be resolved through compulsory arbitration.

- A code of unfair labour practices be drafted to apply to agriculture.

- Provision should be made for establishing small labour courts, similar to small claims courts, under the arm of the Industrial Court to deal with minor disputes. These courts would be based in major towns and empowered with regional jurisdiction.

- A system of collective bargaining, the duty to bargain and the recognition of trade unions apply to agriculture.

The SAAU said there should be no "outside interference" by trade unions at the initial stage of dispute settlement.



SILTSLIDE: Water laden with silt is diverted by sacks filled with sand, as workmen struggle to clear a blockage caused by a jammed log in Derry Street, Vredehoek.

Plan to curb Devil's Peak washaways

By CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

QUICK-GROWING annuals whose seeds were sown on Devil's Peak after the first rains may save the slopes from further washaways of silt, says city engineer Mr Arthur Clayton.

Contacted by The Argus as more soil choked Vredehoek streets in yesterday's down-pour, Mr Clayton said it had been expected that stormwater would carry heavy loads of silt into the area in the wake of the February fire.

However, it was incorrect to call the washaways "mudslides", he said. "If a thick layer of soil is saturated, then you would get mudslides, and while there is a possibility of this later in the year, it has not happened yet," Mr Clayton said.

Anti-erosion measures had stood up well to the battering of the first winter rains. Despite last week's rain, which brought silt into Bella-donna, Derry, and Barnham roads in Vredehoek, moisture had not soaked deep into the soil.

The mixture of renosterveld and annuals seeds which had been planted would also pay off, Mr Clayton said.

Pictures: DOUG PITNEY, The Argus.

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