PARIS. â\200\224 Consider—
— able common ground
on a â\200\234pragmaticâ\200\235 post—
apartheid economy for
South Africa has been
~ agreed upon at the
\_ Paris â\200\234indabaâ\200\235 be—
tween the exiled ANC,
and prominent internal
economic figures and
anti-apartheid
ists.

At a closmg Press conference on Saturday night after the weeklong secretive discussions, key spokesman for the delcgates indicated general

agreement desplte clear differences in approach  $a^200^24$  on a restructured economy which would do ]ustrace to the Black majority $a^200^231$ s developmental and other needs.

activ- -

ct

aw&

S Afrlca

Equally. such a Soualist appre-h o he

commodat. the need fura free-market system to provide the economic growth to ensure the success of a non-racial democracy in a new South Africa.

Spokesman for the ANC and other delegates made it clear, however, that the â\200\234indabaâ\200\235 had been intended as a forum for discussion and â\200\234building further bridges of understandingâ\200\235 between differing viewpoints, while there was no mandate from any side.

Although there were varying degrees of support and different assessments of State President, Mr F W de Klerkâ\200\231s reform initiatives, consensus was

that the onus was clearly 1

on the South African Government to create a proper climate for negotiations.

The  $ANCa^200^231s$  information secretary, Mr Paullo

Jordon, indicated his or--

ganisation would continue the armed struggle until the SA Government created â\200\224 as only it, and not the ANC could â\200\224 the climate for negotiations. What was needed was a fully binding ceasefire between the SA Government and the ANC â\200\224

which he claimed was the

main opposition factor. While post-apartheid economic structures appeared to dominate the  $a\geq 0$ 0 234 indaba $\geq 0$ 0 235 other equally and more immediate important issues focussed on were the ANC $\geq 0$ 0 231s and SA Government 200 231s preconditions for negotiations and

constitutional proposals,

 $sion a \200\231s$  draft legislation for individual.\_ human and group rights. :

The  $\hat{a}200\234$ indaba $\hat{a}200\235$  was held between some 75 South Africans from a wide spectrum from within the country and a top contingent of 25 of the ANC leadership.

It was hosted by the France-Liberte ~ human rights organisation founded by the French Presidentâ\200\231s wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterand.

The

for South Africa (Idasa), founded by former Liberal Parliamentarians, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Bo-

raine, co-ordinated the discussions.
The South African

Government immediately rejected any participation  $a\200\230$  dismissed the  $a\200\234$  inda-

leaked to the media at the beginning of October.

- Also noticeble by its absence at the Indaba was the Inkatha organisation of the KwaZulu home-

who with the ANC. continue.  $\hat{a}\200\224S.npu$ ;

 $baa^200^235$  when news of it was.

/ landâ\200\231s Chief Minister, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, | strained relations

and the SA Law Commis-

e s

Institute for a  $|\hat{a}|200|231$  Democratic Alternative |

APIA8A\_12\_ )2y

New AFRrcsrry ¢ pecenpex

 $\verb|ABOVE: Imbali Support Group spokesman Mr Graeme Swan and Imbali town councillor Mr$ 

Ben Jele shake hands after agreeing to work together for peace in the township. , He said w hile the ISG members were now coming

Agreement on

hites in Imbali

Aâ\200\230 be=c \q itness Reporter IMBALI town councillor and Inkatha Central Committee member Mr Ben Jele and the Imbali Support Group yesterday agreed to work together for peace in the township, at a meeting attended by Ward One residents, members of the Imbali Support Group and Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronje.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$  peace is the main objective. I see this meeting as a beginning, the meeting which may bring peace. I want the fear and doubt to be washed away from the people of Imbali and the killing to stop,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  MrJele said.

Members of the ISG, who have been staying with troubled families in Imbali requesting support against violence and intimidation, were introduced

 $\hat{a}$ \200\230toresidents at the meeting.

Their presence has led to strong protest from some quarters, with calls from Inkatha members, including the mayor of Imbali, Mr Phikelele Ndlovu,

and "KwaZulu MP Mr David Ntombela for them to  $\hat{a}\200\234$ get Mr Jele, the Imbali councillor for Ward One, said the aim was create a new South Africa which would look  $\hat{a}\200\234$ almost like a zebra, with white and black living and looking beautiful together ... It would be wrong to drive white people out $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

. 1SG spokeman Mr Graeme Swan, Mr Cronje and Mr Jele all deplored the continuing violence and the ple were being killed.

factthat

 $\hat{A}$ © BN mWh.{le we are talking, people are dying. Among

those being killed are youths that are the leaders of \gree on what solution can be used.

{ b row.Le

lfi¬201%o%a200230e the perpetrators of violence jn Imbali,a200235 Mr

Jele said.

Explaining the reason for the presence of the support grbup members in Imbali, Mr Cronje said there had been hundreds of deaths in Natal and very few of the people responsible for these murders had been prosecuted.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This makes our monitoring function important. People that are too scared to go to the police can come to us. We have the support of some senior policemen, not from this area, who have guaranteed that if we give them the names of people with information, they will look after these people,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

Mr Cronje said there would be peace only if the perpetrators of the violence were prosecuted or taught to live differently. :

Mr Swan thanked Mr Jele for holding the meeting and praised him for his courage in the stand he was taking. b LA  $\frac{3}{200}$  realise you are taking a personal risk and wantyou to know that we will stand by you,  $\frac{3}{200}$  he said.

to give support to people, they hoped that one day they could simply come to Imbali as friends.

Six die as fighting shifts from tensa M  $1\ 7$ â\200\230 by CARMEL RICKARD marsdaleâ\200\235. According to the report: â\200\234Police whi te homes in the Hillcrest an§3ato e HEAVY fighting in the Umsindusi area near found the bodies of fgive black mgles, all with a reas.; Cato Ridge left six dead at the weekend, as the = $^{\sim}$  knife wounds. $\hat{a}\200\235$  The Inchanga assi stant parish priest, Father centre of fighting shifted from a still tense Mpu- The sixth man was killed in Nhlanzeni in a Mark Hay, went into the Umsindusi valley on m%}\_anga, scene of more than 12 deaths last week. clash involving about 100 people. Saturd ay morning, several hours after the attack Bl of the six people who died in the Umsin- A number of homes were razed, and many in which the five were murdered, to rescue a .usxlarga on Saturday morning were killed in a refugees left the area at the weekend. More than church worker and his family. ' ts;nï¬\201 ed u;]cldent Wclllen heavily armed men.at- gp people are currently staying at th e Inchanga He described several tense moments, includche ahomestead before dawn. : Catholic mission station after fleeing their ing an incident in which he came up against These deaths were listed in the police week- homes, more than 300 armed men crossing into the end unrest report as having been â\200\234at Ham- +Other refugees have been streaming into Turn to page 2

2--sslmbali Nawaw MNOINE S \

hite 'Imbali Support Grour

members staying with familiei inImbali â\200\224 and for the most altruistic of reasons â\200\224 may well not havq anticipated the range and vehemence of local reactions to their presence. While some grateful residents, for example, believe the Â¥ whites have, mascot-like, kept vio-'lence at bay, others, for assorted' social and political reasons, resent â\200\230them and are suspicious of their. hosts. In short, their presence seems unexpectedly to have intro-duced new tensions: 'l

Perhaps it is time to ask what purpose may be served by a prolongation of the exercise. If violence has indeed been reduced in parts of Imbali, it would be a pity ifthat good effect were to be sweptaway by foreible expressions of resentment. A tactical departure at this stage might prevent this and should not be regarded as an admission of defeat, even though the support group has not succeeded in eliminating violence as it had hoped. Political and social awareness is at a new high in Imbali, as is the growing recognition that a community can take pride in resolving its own difficulties. The Imbali Support Groupâ\200\231s indirect contribution to this increased sense of responsibility may not have been spectacular, but it is

 $\tilde{\ }$  valuable nonetheless.

Man killed

as police

iâ\200\231

break up Edendale ra

by CHRISTELLE DE JAGER <

SIX people were injured and one man was killed in Edendale yesterday at a rally organised by the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), after police dispersed crowds they said had gathered illegally.

The rally was held at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre after the cityâ\200\231s acting chief magistrate, Mr P.J. Venter, refused permission for it to be held at Wadley Stadium.

This made the rally illegal as soon as crowds gathered outside the hall. Police stopped people from entering the grounds once they decided the hall was too full and the rally was an illegal open-air gathering.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, Contralesa president Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, Chief Elphas Molefe and Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronje were among the guests.

More than 2000 people crowded into the hall while hundreds more packed the doorways trying to see in.

There was a heavy police presence in the area and at about

-11.45 am, during the rally, shots

were heard. They were fired outside the grounds after youths threw stones, witnesses said.

People panicked and the

mood became more militant as "

organisers and Mr Cronje tried

to negotiate with police:

people and keep them inside, while youths outside streamed through the gates until police

surrounded the fence and locked the gates.
Marshalls linked hands

gates and the rally continued but police fired on the crowd from outside the fence while chasing away those who remained outside.

Organisers struggled to get

the injured out of the grounds. Mr Linos Ngubane (23) died in hospital.

Several policemen were aggressive towards reporters and photographers, and residents were sworn at and threatened.

A Pretoria police spokesman, Colonel Jac de Vries, said permission had been refused for an outdoor meeting and that the meeting therefore had to take place in the hall.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The hall, which could only accommodate 1000 people, was too small for the crowd of 2 800 attending and many people converged outside the fence.

â\200\234Police closed the gates from 12.15 pm and directed buses and other people on their way to the rally away. The people inside became restive, threw stones at police and police

Marshalls moved in to control

around the crowd inside the

vehicles and displayed banners
. and placards. }

crowd at yesterdayâ\200\231s

ABOVE: Mrs Winnie Mandela salutes the

rally in Edendale.

RIGHT: A busload of supporters on their way home after violence disrupted yesterdayâ\200\231s rally.

Pictures by CLINT ZASMAN  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Police fired on the crowd. N teargas was used, but one rubber bullet and several stun grenades were fired,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said Colonel

de Vries.

He said one person had been killed and six injured, while eight special constables were injured by stones and a police vehicle was slightly damaged.

Mrs Mandela, speaking after

the crowds had been locked in.

to the grounds and surrounded by police, read out a message from Nelson Mandela.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ He sends fraternal greetings and solidarity. Like any man he would like to be with his family, but he knows that you have determined the future.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ If you love your freedom and his freedom, you will cease this violence and direct your energies to the main enemy,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Mrs Mandela said.

Mr Cronje was cheered by the crowd when he said there were many cultures in South Africa and that  $\hat{a}\200\234$ we do not have to destroy anything to move forward $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

T â\200\224â\200\224

# PAM rejec

" By Thabo Leshilo

## STAR

Similar cohditions were put down in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and rejected by the PAC.

Mr Ngcukana said that his movement on

# Saturday agreed:

Not to participate in the Conference for a
 Democratic Future, billed in some quarters
 as the biggest anti-apartheid gathering to
 be held since the early Fifties, which takes
 place this coming weekend

## NO CLARITY

- . There was also no clarity as to who should participate and homeland leaders had been invited.
- @ That there should be working class unity.

egotiation gpd ANC positi

â\200\224â\200\224

31

- @ That there were inconsisten&sfi terms of the cultural boycott. A  $\mid$  commission would formulate a consistent poll\_égy on this.
- @ Education was currently designed petuate the status quo. R ger:.
  @ That it should relate to other organisations in accordance with the principles of
  non-collaboration and non-racialism.,
  @ To put forward as conditions for negotiation with the Government one person, one
  vote in a unitary country and redistribution
  of the means of production.
- @ To condemn the National Sports Congress as sectarian, based on political-affiliation and to suppert Sacos. {

| ti¬\2010AUâ\200\231s conditions were not anything

el; Do i

onorary . d ee f dg =y | ANCâ\200\231s Govan' Nibeki

? 7 0 e MG oy

CAPE TOWN â\200\224'Govan Mbeki b2came the first leader of the outlawed African National Congress to receive an honorary doctorate from a South African university when he was awarded a philosophy degree yesterday from the University of the Weatern Cape.

Mr Mbeki (79), was freed in 1987. After Lolding two  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$  news conferences, at which he declared he believed in the actions for which he was sentenced and remained a member of the outlawed ANC and the South African Communist Party, he was prohibited from making public appearances or statements until his restrictions were lifted last month.

After a message from Mr Nelson Mandela was read to the cheering crowd of 1000, he said:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ We live in exciting and disturbing times when much of the world seems to be in the process of renewal.

 $\hat{a}\200\234We$  are fortunate that this happens on the eve of our own liberation.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

. He added that South Africa should endeavour  $\hat{a}\200\234$ not to repeat the mistakes that the sister peoples on our ' continent have made $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

by

e G5,  $Q = \sqrt{201}x$  GG,

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, DECEMBER 4, 19¢

PAC poised for a revival

By SARAH SUSSENS

IN an increasingly hostile political climate of a swi to the right and a failure to negotiate, black opigfon could become more radical.

Against this background, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) is showing signs of a revival and may well emerge as a major actor in the political drama. Ty g;

According to a research document, Return of the

the Prodigal Son Prospects for a revival of the PAC, Gary van Staden of the Institute of International Affairs at the University of the Witwatersrand, argues that the PAC is showing some signs of revival  $a\200\224$  both internally and internationally.

However, he says, it is unlikely ever to seriously challenge the  $a\200\234$  political high ground  $a\200\235$  of the ANC.

The PAC is one of the  $a\200\230$ 

three main  $a\200\234$ liberation $a\200\235$ movements operating in exile, the others being the African National Congress (ANC) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM).; Only the PAC and the ANC are recognised as  $a\200\234$ official $a\200\235$  South African liberation movements by, among others, the United | Nations and the Organisation of African Unit . (OAU).: % Gary van Staden

Mr Van Staden argues that for most of its almost 30 years in exile, the PAC failed to emerge from the shadow of its  $a\200\234$ father $a\200\235$ , evidence at hand suggests the PAC is showing some signs of revival, both internally and internationally and that, under certain cong

eémerge as a major political actor.

The PAC was launched in April 1959 as an Africanist breakaway after years of tension in the ANC. The two organisations differed over political programmes with the PAC arguing that the liberation struggle could take place only under African leadership in African organisations. This excluded the multiracial approach of the charterists.

the ANC, but that

itions, it could well re-

#### i 10t

. Africanism strived to shake off the inferiority complex colonialism had instilled in black people.

The PAC rose in stature during the demonstrations that led to the Sharpeville shooting in 1960 but ironically this also signalled its decline. The scale and intensity of the state-inspired restrictions coupled with the loss of its leader Robert Sobukwe (who had walked into jail as part of the pass protests in 1960) threw the PAC into disarray.

# Leadership crises

The most important consequence of this was the series of leadership crises and the crises of policy which were to dog the PAC for the next two decades and render it  $\hat{a}200\234$ all but useless $\hat{a}200\235$ ,  $\hat{a}200\230$ 

Mr Van Staden talks of a revival of the organisation in the sense of a re-emergence of influence because the PAC has an uninterrupted existence of almost  $30\ \text{years}$ .

The revival of PAC insurgency over the past few years has been matched by developments on the diplomatic front, he says.

In mid-1986 the PAC made unprecedented progress in bringing its case to the attention of the world community  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 an area where its ideological rival enjoyed more support.

The PAC believed that its lack of support among Western nations stemmed from a perception of the organisation as being extremely radical and antiwhite. In response, the PAC leadership began its first in-depth  $a\200\234$ explanations  $a\200\235$  of its attitude towards whites, publicly stating that whites were part of the future in Africa. i

Working furiously behind the scenes they. eventually established diplomatic contact with the United Sgates, the United Kingdom, Australia, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, the Caribbean Island nations, the Soviet Union and a series of African countries which had been previously committed to the ANC.

By the first few months of 1988 the situation had undergone a remarkable transformation and the PAC

had expanded its area of diplomatic activity considerably. Yask

Widespread clashes

Arguing that the PAC has always held a special appeal for the more radical elements, Mr Van Staden says the higher the level of repression, the more radical the townships are likely to become.

The cycles of repression and radicalisation feed off

each other and the faster the wheels turn the greater

the PAC is likely to benefit.

The PAC could erode the political high ground in black politics the ANC enjoys by exploiting its apparent failure to consolidate its position or make any significant impact on the South African Government during the widespread clashes of 1984 to 1986.

Another key element in the growth potential of the PAC calls for a continuing shift in white politics to the right of the political spectrum which could further radicalise black opinion.

If events in South Africa continue along approximately the same path for the next few years as they have followed the previous four, then the ever-increasing levels of black radicalisation could well result in a situation where the ANC is regarded as too moderate by many in its present constituency, it is argued.

It would then depend on the PAC if it succeeded in taking advantage of the situation to improve its own position.

The leadership question is considered crucial because despite the fact that the PAC may be moving into the most favourable period of its history since the early 1960s, it still faces many obstacles.

Its biggest obstacle is the ANC and even under the most favourable conditions the PAC will be hard-pressed to close the gap to become a serious threat to the ANC. e

The established structures and organisational mechanisms of the ANC, its long history and the sheer size of its support base place substantial restraints on the  $a\200\231ACa\200\231s$  growth potential.

Mr Van Staden concludes that a less ambitious op-

n for the PAC would be to push for unity with the

DAY TRIBUNE DECEMBER 411988 :

IN FOCUS TODAY: REFORM AND THE (

THE ttnse uneasy calm  $\hat{a}\200\224$  fostered by the emergency  $\hat{a}\200\224$  shrouds a disturbing scenario of financial sanctxons, civil unrest and increased tension in the country. Prominent researchers, concerned by several years of political violence, predict that the Government $\hat{a}\200\231s$  reform strategy, faced with a mass re-organisation of anti-

apartheid groups, may contribute to an- j :

other more sustained wave of violence.

The future, however, is not entirely cheerless: the researchers have added what

they believe may be ways to avoid further conflict. Their Ylews and analysis are probably debatable but their studies indicate invaluable aids \towards ending the possibility of a cycle of violence.

They have also provided the first documentation of the anti-apartheid opposition, the state  $3200\231$ s responses, and the results of the conflicts between the Government and people. Included are detailed statistics concerning guerrilla actions, strikes, stayaways, maps of the conflict regions, rent and transport boycotts,  $3200\23410$  chronologies of conflict  $200\235$  and all the emergency regulations and amendments. .

Published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban, the comprehensive analysis titled Political Conflict in South Africa, Data Trends 1954-1988, was released this

\&\the launch of the book in Johannes-

~INatal university political scientist Dr Ian Phillips said it had become clear recently that a strategic shift had taken place in thinking about methods of control.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ What this has amounted to is a shift from the politics of repression whereby or-

ganisations simply were banned, people

restricted, and communities and potential

leaders wooed through offers of co-option

and bargaining, to a strategy premised no

longer on counter-insurgency thinking, but

a strategy based on counter-revolution.  $200\234$  This enables the state to adopt a policy

```
of elimination rather than mere contain- a\200\230
ment of opposition.
W ]
\hat{a}200\234Ine death squads that operate in
bouring states and overseasp:hfe v1gilz:1netlogsh
witdoeke, kitkonstabels and municipal
Il;zfeelf:;c? as w%llthas the actions of the
orce and the police,
of purposeful action.\hat{a}\200\235 " g
Dr Phillips said the Delmas treason
judgment also needed to be clearl -
:ters:ezy against the background of Zt:tse
The judgment, he said, had provided the
state with the judici
o judicial backing for further
Bank of South Africa. (Recessions are shaded areas)
BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE
® Sharprille
© Onset of Natal
labour protest
a\200\235MmmmMMmmMmmmmmå\200\235
o_snmrlm
® Onset of Vaal
© Natal school
Triangle and 1984-86 unrest/onset
oflll-/oï¬\202vlle
national unrest
unrest etc.
```

Sunahasy

-"\'\\%\s\NE

Ending

â\200\234â\200\22412-g<

violence

By Quraish Patel

â\200\234Delmas opens the way for the state to ban the United Democratic Front and other organisations mentioned in the charge sheet. What is different now, and compared with the other organisations like the ANC, is that the state for the first time has a Supreme Court judgment declaring the organisations to be â\200\230subversiveâ\200\231 and part of the â\200\230total onslaughtâ\200\231.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Ultimately, what Delmas represents is this: non-violent opposition to the regime has been criminalised under the guise of treason. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

In his contribution Polstical Options: Countering Cycles of Violence, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the

Witwatersrand, said:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Sudden recessions;

affect expenditure and decision-making at the margins quite severely.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The shift in quality of life and aspirations can create int $\tilde{A}$ Onse frustration for a period lasting long enough to be mobilised into protest.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

The part played by the economy in political conflict, according to Professor Schlemmer, is fundamental but quite often overlooked.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The precise relationship between economic downturn and civil unrest is not adequately understood. That there is a relationship is certain,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

Reviewing the period 1960-1988, Professor Schlemmer establishes a trendline showing the co-incidence of recession and unrest which includes Sharpeville, the 1972 Natal strikes, the Soweto uprising, the 1982 schools boycott and the national unrest between 1984-86. 2

The 1985 emergency weakened the lead-| ership and fabric of the United Democratic

Front and the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisa--tion, destroying their capacity to impose discipline on the newly-acquired youthful -activists and other rank-and-file youth. -Identifying specific Government actions

and responses between 1984-1988, Professor Schlemmer said:  $\hat{a}$ 200\234It would have been surprising indeed if South Africa had not gone through a period of political violence. $\hat{a}$ 200\235

In addition to the economy, he listed other major underlying causes of the violence as corrupt township administration, ill-timed security decisions, overstressed school systems and increased township densities, :

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is under these circumstances that the more aspiring, younger and better-educated members of = cbmmur:fities live and experience on a daily basis a ormofpmqg' that the system has to be smashed. d

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Obviously there were expatriate organisations with revolutionary goals which in-

# "â\200\230\-\â\200\231\\Q:L\NE

## R e) N $\hat{a}$ \200\230Esfg

fluenced the situation. As in 1976-77, however, the rise of political violence seemed to precede the utilisation of that violence as a focused strategy. The objective of making the townships ungovernable and of liberating certain areas through their capture by street committees crystallised after the townships had already become widely disrupted. A

## â\200\234The

probably accounted more for the persistence of confrontation than for its origins. $\hat{a}$ 200\235

If another sharp recession oincided with unpopular or controv: 1 constitutional changes, he predicted that a new  $a\geq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  be well-poised to remobilise. If the same takes are made as in the past, South Africa could

well go through another cycle of violence.â\200\235

Referring to whites  $a\200\231$  attitudes to the conflict he said his survey results showed that most whites luprorted coercive measures against political violence.  $a\200\234$ Even among

: PFP supporters, four out of 10 appear to approve of the presence of the army in the townships. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

A researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Mark Swiller, said the strategy of repressive reform was an option  $\hat{a}200\234developed$  by the militarised South African state that will  $\hat{a}200\231Elot$  resolve our fundamental prob-

 $\hat{a}\200\234To$  this extent, the solutions it is offering are a recipe for further violence, rather than long-term peace.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

He said three key contradictions faced the current strategy of  $a\200\234$ repressive re-

O Economists argue that a sustained eco-

namiÃ@gwwthmteofbetween5and7percent was required to support large-scale state subsidisation of urban infrastructure, which, in turn, would require massive foreign investment or heavy international

International isolation and sanctions would make this option unlikely and would - probably keep growth down to less than 2 percent. Fiscal restraint, deregulation and privatisation would not stimulate internal economic growth on the required scale.

O Expensive upgrading projects were all

```
very well, but who would pay for them in
\hat{a}\200\230the end? It was part of the Government\hat{a}\200\231s
orderly urbanisation policy to force the
poorer sections of the urban population out
into controlled squatter settlements and
site-and-service schemes located on the
metropolitan |
The inner t\hat{a}200\231own':l\hat{a}200\230l_\hat{a}200\230lps_\hat{a}200\230vnear the white
reserved for the better-off 1
cial system if its basic premises are non-
- areas would be
skilled workers and aspiring Africans.
O The mass-based political organisations
of radical organisations
- were too deeply rooted in the communities
to be eradicated so simply. These organisa-
tions had consistently articulated popular
demands for better services and full politi-
cal rights. No matter how the state went
about creating the conditions for a\200\234good
government \hat{a} 200 \ 235, as long as the majorty could
not vote for direct representatives in cen-
tral government, political conflict would
remain endemic.
a\200\234What the Government still refuses to
accept is that the black majority is not
demanding solutions, but quite simply the
;'ight to participate democratically in the
ormula
including the ANC. A Sy
â\200\234To this extent, urban upgrading and
fundamental politic e must be re-
garded as inseparable, â\200\235 he said.
_ Paulus Zulu, head of the Morris Webb
Race Relations Unit, University of Natal,
\tilde{a}\200\234at a popular level, resistance has
acted as the main
the masses and mo
grassroots
challenge the existing social order but also
endeavour to create a future society.
\hat{a}\200\234The \hat{a}\200\230alternative\hat{a}\200\231 concept has moved
from a theoretical stance to a practical
programme â\200\224 the programmes on alter-
native education, community health and
```

t committees to name a few. $\hat{a}$ 200\235

He believed that the concept of  $a\200\234$ people $a\200\231$ s justice $a\200\235$  as against the conventiona] legal system needed closer examination,

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Comrades argue,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said,  $\hat{a}\200\234$ the legal system is based on the existing power relations and is, therefore, a political tool.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They cite the numerous convictions for political offences as examples, and contend that the sophisticated trappings do not make that system more acceptable than v which, in their opinion,

t ents of the communities,

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Whatever the arguments are in both cases, in the final analysis, questions of method and detail do not enhance a judi-

democratic.â\200\235

# {3 owetan :"¬\201epone?]

- THE newly formed Pan Africanis : Mvement will \not compromise in\_its struggle for

liberation, speakers told more than

1 200 people at \_the launch yester-

â\200\234Will continueâ\200\231

day.

 ${\hat a}\200\234{\hat a}\200\234{\rm We}$  will pursue all peaceful methods but

- we will not comprom-

ise,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 $\hat{a}$ \200\235 Mr Cullingham

Ngcukana said during

-the policy speech.

Our stand is clear on

negotiations. We will not

c.?mer into them until a
system of one-person-

e St r u . \_ one-voie is instituted in a
| e non-racial community and

resources are
-distributed.â\200\235
Messages of support
\_from local and international Christian, commun- v
ist and anti-apartheid
movements were\*read on
the last day of the threeday congress held at Nasrec in Crown Mines.:

® To page 2

Fe-

Те

ess the Pan PAM launched £ ! e From page 1 Giving a keynote addr-Alricanist Congress president. Mr Zephania Mothopeng, said PAM arrived at a crucial time. However, failure 10 understand this climate will result in misunderstanding issues confronting the Azanian people and consequential tactical blunders, Mothopeng said. Internationally, the political climate is dominated by Perestroika, Glasnost and rapproachment between East and West. This swing [rom the confrontation and Cold War of .the post-Â¥ " World War 2 erdâ\200\231is misleading and  $\hat{a}^200^230\hat{a}^200^230$  easily  $\hat{a}$ fool you into believing = that the struggle is now expected and , possible 10 34 be resolved through rap proachment.â\200\235â\200\231 he said. +\*The PAC basic documents are prophetic in that they foresaw this phenomena in 1959 and adopted a policy of positive neutrality in -superpower rivalry or proachment and - we placed emphasis on selfreliance of the oppressed, exploited and dis-% possessed masses. 4  $\hat{a}$ 200\234This policy we still uphold till today and I ad-; vise PAM o adopt the

same. $\hat{a}$ \200\231 $\hat{a}$ \200\235 he said.

o PEAGATIRETT VLY

rap-? ,

+

```
WHEN Josephine
Oniahâ\200\231s husband died her
head was shaved. she was
confined to a small room
for a month-long period
of mourning, obliged to
sleep on the floor and
- wear the same clothes she
had . on when she was
widowed.
â\200\234There was no way
could not have performed |
the traditional rites, \hat{a}\200\235" said
Oniah. a lawyer. senior
magistrate and
respected - female
tional chief, now living in
retirement in her home
town ol Enugu, capital of
the Anambra State in
eastern Nigeria.
Oniahâ\200\231s experience,
now a ten-year-old
memory. is mild com-
Ι
pared with that of mil-
lions of women faced
.with customary practices
in modern Africa, she and
a\200\230her colleagues in the
Nigerian section of the In-
ternational Federation of
Women Lawyers told
Reuters.
a\200\234Property
The federation, known
by its Spanish acronym
FIDA, campaigns against
legal practices which dis-
tradi-
YR ol s )
criminate against women.
â\200\230 It says western cduca-
tion_and modern civil law
have barely begun 10 pro-.
```

```
customs which form part}
endless.
raditions kee
SoneTAn
dS wom
A Ae.ti-mâ\200\2301 p 5
INS
Islam and Christianity
both give married women
certain status but this is
' frequently undermined by
traditional practices
off which still hold sway.
Few women dare chal-
performing
back-breaking
of an otherwise valuable labour while raising an
cultural heritage.
a\200\234*Only this year a
Nigerian court ruled that a =
|woman -married under
customary law was not
\hat{a}\200\230only unable to inherit
property but that she her-
self was inheritable prop-
â\200\230erty,â\200\235â\200\235 said Stella Omiyi, |
President of the Nigerian
laverage of six children
\without the benefit of any
â\200\230modern
health care, the majority
of rural African women
are denied advancement
amenities Or
```

tect women against the negative effects

Concern

Apart from discrimination in inheritance and divorce, they face nutritional taboos which reserve the best food for men and boys. dangerous

birth practices. child mar-

riage and female circumcision.

There is growing con-â\200\231 cern about this among international bodies and Af-

rican governments trying .

to mobilise Africaâ\200\231s 500 million people - more than half of them female - to build the continentâ\200\231s future. -

\* Women comprise about 70 percent of Africaâ\200\231s labour force and grow about 70 percent of its food, according to the

performing

.i back-breaking
while raising an

D enin

 $\hat{a}\200\224\hat{a}\200\224$   $\hat{a}\200\230$ Women have to be educated to value their own well-being $\hat{a}\200\231$ , -

United Nations Economic

. Commission for Africa
{ (ECA) which held a conintegrating \*

ference on
women in development in
Nigeria earlier this month.
â\200\234\*Women must Dbe
empowered and effectively mobilised,â\200\235
Adebayo Adedeji, the
ECA'S executive secretary.
- Nigerian President
Ibrahim Babangida " said
women were. quite literal-

'ly. Africaâ\200\231s hewers of

```
wood and drawers of
water, its farmhands and
traders.
llliterate, â\200\234malnourished,
endless,
labour
average
of six children without the
pbenefit of a
amenities or :
by a battery.of traditions. the ma jOlâ200\231Ity of rural Afri-
 can women are
advancement
ny modern
hKealth care,
denied
tery of traditions.
said
by a bat
But they were denied
education, skills and
financial credit, and were
burdened by their tradi-
. tional role.
a\200\230a\200\234No national develop-
ment will be meaningful
or thorough if women are '
not fully involved, â\200\235
. Babangida said.
A team from the Inter-
" African Committee (IAC)
on Traditional Practices
Affecting the Health of
Women and Children,
also in Nigeria this
month, said progress was
painfully slow.
\hat{a}\200\234All over the world,
' people prefer sons to
daughters, \hat{a}200\235\hat{a}\200\231- said Malika
Ladjali, from Algeria. {
â\200\234Little girls are
weaned earlier, they are
less likely to be given |
scarce protein, and more \hat{a}\200\230
of them die.a^200^235a^200^231
```

To ensure virgirity in a bride, girls are frequently married at puberty, often into -polygamous homes. The result is a high incidence of child-hood pregnancies with considerable risk to the still-growing mother.

Ensuring chastity is the reason frequently given for various forms of female circumcision performed on young girls or sometimes pregnant

tually every country, said IAC Presi-

from Ethiopia.

women in parts of vir-African

dent Berhane Ras-Work,

There are two com-

o f{ $\hat{a}200\231$ ,  $\hat{v}a200\231$ :  $\hat{a}200\230$  f( $\hat{a}200\230$ ; "ic $\hat{a}200\230$ ia $200\234$ a $200\230$ ; which works to upgradg

: EXCISION. 8 a\2027. which works to upgrad

- clitoris and surroundings 2 g

i o ills of untrained tra-

. tissue are cut away while! e skills of u

: p : ditional healers and birth infibul ey X N bulation also involves attendants, said women  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) +\left( 1$ 

bepeken ot Ehc pievigh leav-1 .nded to accept suffering ing only a tiny OpenINg.  $\\hat{A}^{\dagger}$  their ot in life. They U e had to be educated to Frigidi value their own: well-

â\200\234YSeing: eing â\200\230

The practice is often carried out in unhygienic/ \*This should be the conditions with the risk of prime concern for all who tetanus, infection, shock,talk ~about integrating and haemorrhage. |women in development,â\200\235â\200\231

The young womanshe said. - Sapa-Reuter. will be cut open just before her wedding night.

Painful intercourse and frigidity often result.

Food taboos which deprive pregnant women of proteins such as â\202¬ggs, meat and snails when they need them most, ig-norance about delivery techniques, and too-

frequent births due to social pressure favouring fertility, cause many birth complications, - espec'iallyâ\200\230 in young or circumcised women.

A ruptured uterus withâ\200\235 tearing of the rectum or bladder as a result of obstructed labour â\200\230s common. often turning the victim - if she survives - into a social outcast bes cause of the incontinence which results. -

## Death

Between two and six of every 1 000 African deliveries result in the death of the mother, compared with one in 10 000 in a prosperous European country such as Denmark,

" the ECA said.  $^{\prime}$ 

ANC's Mbeki honoured

IN his first major public address since his restrictions were lifted, African National Congress (ANC) leader Govin Mbeki - who was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Western Cape (UWC) last week - spoke about his vision for a new South Africa after the â\200\230ugly heritageâ\200\231 of the past has been undone. Siza Ntshakala reports.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ What the oppressed masses seek is an end to the racist apartheid system of white minority domination, the super-exploitation of the black working people, rule by facist methods and external aggression and domination,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Mbeki told the UWC audience.

He said the masses wished to see South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and nonracial country.

Mbeki said he was convinced that such a transformation was in the interests of the South African majority, both black and white.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ It will serve and advance the political and economic interests of the working class, but immediately, the black section of this class,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  said Mbeki.

He said this would favour what he called the  $\hat{a}\200\230$ middle strata, intellectuals and professions, the small and medium business people. $\hat{a}\200\231$ 

Mbeki said: â\200\230The view is expressed in some circles that the establishment of genuine democracy would result in the masses descending on the economy like a swarm of rapacious locusts.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Some think the masses will eat up everything in their path without regard to the vital question of pursuing an economic policy

' that would guarantee growth and

development,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  added Mbeki. He said this view erred because it assumed that the people

- . were incapable of understanding
   that life could not be lived only
- for today that there was a future and that preparations for a better future had to start today.

In a letter to Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector of UWC, Dr Nelson Mandela, the President of the ANC said:

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ To the best of my knowledge and belief, this is the first

. time that a South African univer-

sity has honoured a red-hot-freedom fighter who has spentnoless than 25 years in prison, and emerged from that harsh experience with his convictions unscathed.  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ 

Mandela said it was hoped that other local universities would soon join the UWC in this significant pioneering work.

The statementreleased by the ANCâ\200\231s national secretariate from its headquarters in Lusaka read:  $\hat{a}$ \200\2300n behalf of the ANC leadership we offer you our congratulations. All members of the ANC hold your leadership in the past, during your years of incarceration, and at the present time in the highest esteem. $\hat{a}$ \200\231

It added that:  $\hat{a}\200\230$ It is a significant honour to our movement and Lo your person that our contribution to the struggle has been recognised in this fashion. $\hat{a}\200\231$ 

The statement also pointed out that generations of South

Africans had benefited from |

Mbeki's profound political insights and analysis.

 $\hat{a}$ 200\230Your contributions to the

building of the ANC into a powerful instrument of the oppressed masses, your bravery and heroism in the face of state repression - working both underground and in the creation of Umkhonto weSizwe - are legendary.'

Mbeki told the graduation ceremony audience that to be relevant to the exciting and impending process of the democratic transformation of our country, the university would have to identify itself with national and class forces that stood to benefit from the victory of the democratic revolution.

He explained that the Freedom Charter dictum -  $\hat{a}$ 200\230The doors of learning and culture shall be opento all $\hat{a}$ 200\231 - was of fundamental importance in defining !.hat actofidentification.

Mbeki continued:  $\hat{a}\200\230$ The more thorough the democratic process, the greater the possibility torealise the genuine aspirations of the masses. $\hat{a}\200\231$ 

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The liberation movement, the established vanguard of the millions, must continue to be the unwavering representative of this democratic perspective,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  he added.

He wamed that the movement should resist any pressures to resort to any practice which would stifle the voice of the people.

Mbeki explained that the owners of capital in South Africa had recruited millions of people, who were not owners of capital themselves, to join the battle as defenders of property interests.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ In a fundamental sense, capital is the principal historic beneficiary of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  he said.

â\200\230There is a thin layer of black collaborators who, quite simply, are mercenaries who are prepared to accept the extra rand in exchange for any service the paymaster may demand of them.

â\200\234These people do not even have the comfort of a natural ideological standpoint to justify their betrayal.â\200\231

Mbeki stressed that  $a\200\230$ the oppressed masses must tap the African experiences, so that what we build does not repeat the mistakes that the sister peoples on our continent have made.

The study and analysis of these world experiences have to be part of the common effort to define the content of the democratic transformation of our country.â\200\231

He noted that it was inevitable that the combination of a brutal political system and an equally brutal economic process would evoke the resistance and opposition of the oppressed and exploited.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ In South Africa, to ensure that resistance and opposition does not become an open and victorious rebellion, it is necessary that the victims of the political and economic oligarchy be ruled with an iron hand, and by conscious resort to consistent state terrorism,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  he added.

,\/ZM) Q Frican

Pedce talksgk\
breakdown results
In more deaths

AFTER Inkatha pulled out of the § peace talks with the United - Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) last month, the phrase â\200\230Little Beirutâ\200\231 has echoed through almost every township. The Black Sash repression monitoring group said in its September/October bulletin â\200\230there is little doubt that the escalation of violenceis as adirect result of the breakdown in peace talks.â\200\231 According to the bulletin the last two months have been more violent than any of the previous months of 1989, with a total of 103 deaths being recorded in  $a\200\234$  September and October. Statistics for November are still being collated but with the fierce clashes being waged in the townships the figure is expected 10 soar beyond those of September and October.

In the past week at least 15 people have died in KwaMakhutha and Mpumalanga.

The Black Sash bulletin said top of the list in terms of troublespots was KwaMashu/Ntuzuma

where 29 deaths were recorded in September and 48 in October.

Following KwaMashu/Ntuzuma was Mpumalanga with 14 deaths in September and 25 in October, while third in line was Inanda with 16 deaths in September and 10 in October.

The bulletin said more disturbing is that in  $a\200\230$  some areas such as Umlazi which have been  $a\200\230$  quiet  $a\200\231$  in the past, 19 deaths were recorded during the period monitored.  $a\200\231$ 

Responding to the increased violence, the MDM last week announced a broader initiative to bring about peace in Natal.

Following Inkatha's decision to pull out of talks in October, the UDF/Cosatu has decided to go ahead with a peace initiative  $\hat{a}200\230$ with or without Inkatha. $\hat{a}200\231$ 

The plan - which has met with some success - was to place greater emphasis on local peace initiatives, instead of attempting to work only through Ulundi.

The spotlight was placed on Mpumalanga where about 20 people died in three weeks after alleged vigilante attacks.

Mpumalanga residents organised a march - attended by a 25 000-strong crowd - 10 the local KwaZulu police Station to demand the withdrawal of the SAP riot

## 4/12/ ¢

ln the past month there has been an
upsurge in violence in Natal townships.
Current flashpoints are Mpumalanga and

KwaMakhutha where fierce clashes have  $\hat{a}$ 200\234taken place in the past few weeks. \* Sithembiso Sangweni and

Farouk Chothia report

unit anid kitskonstabels.

They demanded that the policing be left to the KwaZulu Police (ZP).

This led to a lull until the outbreak of violence after the  $a\200\230imbizoa\200\231$  at Kings Park two weeks ago.

At the same time, the UDF/ Cosatu organised a visit for an eminent persons group - comprising the religious, business and diplomatic sectors - to the area to obtain a first hand account of the violence.

Peace marches were also held in Ntuzuma where the main perpetrators of the violence are said to be the vigilantes of bordering Lindelani. The Ntuzuma march was followed by a march last Sunday to the KwaMashu police station to protest against the ZP, regarded as the main cause of the violence.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) appointed a one person independent commission of inquiry - consisting of a senior Durban advocate, RS Douglas - to investigate the cause

 $a\200\230$  of the violence and to make recom-

mendations on how to end it.

Inkatha
march flops

A MARCH by an estimated 200 Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga last Thursday â\200\230flopped.â\200\231

The marchers from Unit 1 and Unit 4 converged in the open field diagonally opposite Mpumalanga mayor Rodger Sishi's garage where they milled around for more than an hour before the South A frican Police (SAP) transported them back to their areas.

The marchers said they were waiting for their leaders who were holding ameeting with industrialists in Hammarsdale to discuss the violence. However, bystanders said they intended to march to the Hammarsdale police station to ask the SAPto remain , but their plans failed, as they could not draw a big crowd.

. KwaZulu Police (ZP) stood near the vigilantes but withdrew when the SAP arrived. Following discussions the' SAP transported the vigilantes to their areas.

```
] asked him why not, and he
refused to give me an answer, \hat{a}\200\231
said Lyster. Later, Lyster said
Lieutenant Kemp from the
Inchanga police station came to
the scene \hat{a}\200\230 and drove straight to
where the vigilantes were stand-
ing and spoke to them quietly\hat{a}\200\231.
Lyster said the vigilantes ,
, â\200\231
a\200\230appeared to acknowledge his
authority and immediately began
to move away\hat{a}\200\231.
Ainslie said ZPs - regarded as -
relatively neutral in Mpumalanga
- told him that last Monday the
SAP had transported vigilantes
from section 4 to attack section 3 -
and had attacked and looted houses
with vigilantes.; =
200\230 spoke to some ZPs who
told me that they were being
prevented from taking action by
the SAP,\hat{a}200\231 said Ainslie. He added
that a Colonel Dube - in charge of
the local ZP police station - \hat{a}200\230seemed
to lack authority in the presence
of the SAP.\hat{a}\200\231
*The SAP at Pretoria and KwaZ-
ulu Minister Of Police, Gatshg ; /
" Buthelezi, were asked to respond K
to the allegations. No response
was received at the time of going
to press ** Latest - See page 3
w8
A group of women protest against police brutality. Pic: Aron Mazel
Lawyers allege SAP collaboration
with vigilantes in Mpumalangary
THE South African Police (SAP) and sticks.
- already facing a major image * Lyster said he had asked a
: SAP's presence in the township
â\200\234Durban lawyer Richard Lys-
was \hat{a}200\230contributing to the serious
ter - after visiting Mpumalanga -
crisis since the Hit Squad scandal
blew up - have been accused by
lawyers and Mpumalanga resi-
dents of throwing the law into the
waste paper basket in their
handling of the Mpumalanga cri-
```

sis.

While the KwaZulu Police (ZP) appear to have been effectively stripped of their powers in Mpumalanga, there is allegedly close collaboration between vigilantes and the SAP in attacks against United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters in the township.

said in an affidavit  $a\200\230$ there appears tobe atotal breakdown of law and

order, and the SAP appears to be involved in the commission of criminal offences, by participation and by omission $\hat{a}$ 200235.

Lyster said it appeared that

this area and to force them to leave the township to make way for supporters of Inkatha.

He said the SAP had  $a\200\230$ shown themselves to be seriously biased

in favour (\_)f Inkathaâ\200\231, and that the

| the police were determined to undermine and harass people in

 $a\200\234$ undermining of the maintenance

of law and orderâ $\200\231$ .

On Wednesday Lysterandan '

entourage of Mass Democratic
Movement (MDM) representatives, joined by Democratic Partyâ\200\231s

Roy Anslie, entered the trouble-

spot.

Lyster said there were a group of about 100 armed vigilantes standing near a SAP hippo vehicle. They were armed with spears, knobkierries, bushknives, pangas

P70

policeman whether he intended to arrest the vigilantes as it appeared they had acted unlawfully: He said the policeman refused to make any arrests.

 $\hat{a}\200\230I$  then asked him if he would disarm them, and he said he would

! not.

 $\hat{a}\200\230I$  told him that in terms of several laws it was unlawful for groups of armed men to go walking round the streets. He told me in very emphatic terms that his

instructions were not to  $\ensuremath{\operatorname{disarm}}$  .

this particular group of people.

## By Farouk Chothia

THE South African Police (SAP) and kitskonstabels fired live ammunition — seriously injuring six people — at a rally called by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) at the Lay Ecumenical Centre in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, yesterday..

; In astinging attack against the shooting, keynote speaker Winnie Mandela - wife of jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela - told a 6 000-strong crowd: â\200\230We have no violence to renounce. It is the government which must renounce violence. There shall never be peace until the government renounces violence.â\200\231

\_ She said the shooting showed that State President FW De Klerkâ\200\231s regime was not ready for negotiations and the so-calledreform measures were aimed at appeasing the international community. At about midday the SAP and kitskonstabels - who dropped to their knees forming a human wall - randomly fired a hail of bullets at a large section of the crowd standing outside the packed hall. Crying women, children and youths fled for safety behind buildings and cars but six youths failed to escape and were shot.

Police

New KRN 4%

at Maritzburg rally

Part of the 6 000 strong crowd at the Lay Ecumenical. Cfe in CTEP DS  $9\hat{a}20023029$ 

â\200\224 L

Edendale. Pic: Rafs Mayet

openfire,.

Eyewitnesses said Selby Shezi lay in a pool of blood after being shot in the chest, Mvovo Mbatha was shotin theeye and a youth known as Sibusiso was shot in the temple and jaw.

Details about three other people shot atemtkmwnbmeyewimesm said they had sustained frontal wounds.

The rally - already in progress - ground to a halt as organiser stormed out of the hall to handle the crisis.

Panic-stricken women screamed:  $\hat{a}\200\230$ Tell the police to stop shooting....Get a car. These chaps must be rushed to hospital.

Police sealed off the entrance to the hail and Reverend Lizo Jafta of the Fed-

-eral Theological Seminary began negotiations with police to open the entrance solhntl.hewoundedcouldbemshedto

. hospital.

But a policeman - who refused to give his identity - adopted a brickwall attitude.

Rev Jafta begged: â\200\2300ur people are

 $hospital.a^200^231$ 

Police initially refused but after continued negotiations agreed to open the gate.

Clashes erupted, following a police decision to prevent people from attend-

and bundling people into police vans.

On several occasions, emotions running high, people clashed with police and at least on one occasion police opened fire.

Police spokespersons in Pietermaritzburg could not be reached for com-

ment late yesterday.

In her speech, Winnie Mandela referred to ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuliâ\200\231s words to Nelson Mandela following the ANC executive decision on August 4, 1962 to embark on armed struggle.

She quoted Luthuli as saying:  $\hat{a}\200\230Man-$ dela, I'm an African. When men attack

my kraal, I take my spear and defend my

dying. Open the gate. Letus take themto

ing the rally by putting up a road block

T3 pga,

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The plan - which has met with some success - was to place greater emphasis on local peace initiatives, instead of attempting to work only through Ulundi. -

~ The spotlight was placed on Mpu-

malanga where about 20 people died in three weeks after alleged vigilante at-

tacks. : â\200\230 |
Mpumalanga residents organised a

In the past month there GECRLCURCL upsurge in violence L ELEL townshipsa Current flashpoints are Mpumalanga an TR G UE R LR clashes have

taken place in the past fe\fv weeks. Sithembiso Sangweni and Farouk Chothia report

afh

Peace talksâ\200\235â\204¢

4 e
AF Inkath of the |
::ZeEleks; shullet:: mUnited people have died in KwaMakhutha
Democratic Front (UDF) and the " and Mpumalanga. i, |
~ Congress of South African Trade' ~ TheBla k Sash bulletin said
Unions (Cosatu) last month, the \*°P of the list in terms of troublephrase â\200\230Little Beirutâ\200\231 has echoed spots was KwaMashu/Ntuzuma

through almost every township. The Black Sash repression monitoring group said in its September/October bulletin  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$  there is little doubt that the escalation of violence is as addrect result of the breakdown in peace talks.  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ 

last two months have been more violent than any of the previous months of 1989, with a total of | 103 deaths being recorded in ! Statistics for November are still being collated but with the - - fierce clashes being waged in the - | townships the figure is expected

to soar beyond those of Septem- | initiative \( \frac{a}{200}\) 230 with or without Inknlu\_':

" ber and October.

According to the bulletin the

breakdown results
" in more deaths

In the past week at lc;st-IS

where 29 deaths were recorded in September and 48 in October.

\_Following KwaMashu/Ntuzuma was Mpumalanga with 14 deaths in September and 25 in October, while third in line was Inanda with 16 deaths in September and 10 in October.

The bulletin said more disturbing is that in  $a\200\230$  some areas such as Umlazi which have been  $a\200\230$  quiet  $a\200\231$  in the past, 19 deaths

were recorded during the period moni-

tored.â\200\235

Rmporiding to the increased violence,

the MDM last week announced a broader initiative to bring about peace in Natal. Following Inkathaâ\200\231s decision to pull out of talks in October, the UDF/Cosatu has decided to go ahead with a peace

march - attended by a 25 000-strong crowd

" - 16 the local KwaZulu police Station to demand the withdrawal of the SAP riot

! unit and kitskonstabels.

| They demanded that the policing be left to the KwaZulu Police @P). , |

This led to a lull until the outbreak of violence after the  $a\geq00\leq30$  imbizoa $\geq00\leq31$  at Kings Park two weeks ago.

At the same time, the UDF/ Cosatu organised a visit for an eminent persons group - comprising the religious, business and diplomatic sectors - to the area to obtain a first hand account of the violence.

Peace marches were also held in Ntuzuma where the main perpe-  $a^200^230$  trators of the violence are said to be the vigilantes of bordering

Lindelani. The Ntuzuma march was -

followed by a march last Sunday to the KwaMashu police station to protest against the ZP, regarded as the main cause of the violence.

The Congress of Traditional
Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa)
appointed a one person independent commission of inquiry - consisting of asenior Durban advocate,
RS Douglas - to investigate the cause -

 $\hat{a}$ \200\230of the violence and to make recom-.

; areas

Inkatha
â\200\230march flops

A MARCH by an estimated 200

| | Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga

last Thursday  $\hat{a}\200\230flopped.\hat{a}\200\231$ 

The marchers from Unit 1 and
Unit 4 converged in the open field
â\200\230diagonally opposite Mpumalanga |
mayor Rodger Sishiâ\200\231s garage where |
they milled around for more than an
hour before the South African Police |
(SAP)transported them back to their |

The marchers said they were | waiting for their leaders who were holding ameeting with industrialists in Hammarsdale to discuss the violence. However, bystanders said they

- intended to march to the Hammars-dale police station to ask the SAPto
- remain , but their plans failed, as they could not draw a big crowd..
- . KwaZulu Police (ZP) stood near the vigilantes but withdrew when  $a\geq 00\geq 30$  the SAP arrived. Following discus-  $a\geq 00\geq 30$  sions the SAP transported the vig-  $a\geq 00\geq 30$  ilantes to their areas.

mendations on how to end it.

The New African 4 December 1989 Page 9

Woman -moum deaths at a funeral in one of the Natal fownships.

## Pâ\200\231

TWO members of KwaZulu Policehave been arrested in connection with the burning of the Ndlovu family home in the Mkhazeni area bordering the KwaMakhutha township which is being torn by political violence.

The incident occurred on

The incident occurred on 'November 25 in broad daylight.

KwaZulu Police spokesper-

son Lieutenant T.J. Mpanza - who
is heading the investigation into
| the burning of the Ndlovi house has confirmed that two members
of ZP were arrested by members
of the SA Defence Force (SADF)
after they were found at the scene
\_of the crime. \*.

## ' Licutenant Mpanza said in-

vestigations were continuing. He said the two policemen were released on Sunday, No-vember 26 after they had been taken to CR Swart Square.: ¢ Mpume Ndlovu, who witnessed the burning of her home,

said she was not living with any -

young male who might be labelled a  $a\geq 00\geq 30$  comrade  $200\geq 31$ .

Ndlovu said the family had gone to help a neighbour find out about her son, a member of the 7P, who h::gd apparently been shot.

She sdid that as they were

 $\hat{a}$ \200\234 walking they came acrossa group.

of heavily armed men who said they were looking for the people who had killed the ZP member.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ When we came back home we saw the same group of men stoning our house. $\hat{a}\200\231$ ;

She said when the men were asked why they were stoning the

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Come, you cowards. $\hat{a}\200\231$ 

alight and was reduced to ashes before the SADF fire extinguishers arrived.

Ndlovu estimated the damage at R186 000.

In another incident the Nzama

family' of the 23s area in

house, they ignored the Ndlovu ! family members and shouted: | mother after 2 row in July. He is

Ndlovusaidthe housewasser | 2¢hcved 10 be .living with a

in the bush tried to shoot all of us,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said Solomon Nzama.  $\hat{a}\200\230$ He said they left the body of

his brother in the open as the

KwaZulu Police refused o go back to the spot because they

| feared for their lives.

When Nzama returned to the

spothe found the body beheaded.

~ Another victim of the renewed violence was a 17-year-old youth from an area known as 19s in KwaMakhutha. He was shotdead during a night raid by heavily armed men.

The distraught mother, Sarafina' Mthembu (42), said she was unable to conduct a vigil for her slain child because she felt compelled to join the youths who were on the run because â\200\230we are dying and having sleepless nightsâ\200\231.

She said on November 22 the family was woken by raging flames in the house. A petrol bombs had been thrown inside by a group of men who had surrounded their home.:

When she and hertwo daugh-

ters tried to escape, they were ordered back into the house at gunpoint.

 $\hat{a}\200\230I$  begged them to let me go. My daughters tried to extinguish the fire with sand. I was afraid

Shcniddnmevmlly allowed them to get out of the house and ordered them to num. â\200\230I was unaware that my son Sipho, who was a standard seven | pupil at Sibusisiwe Secondary in Umbmi:uh,hdnnburuï¬\201-bourâ\200\231s house. . . =k

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They followed him and shot -him and killed him. $\hat{a}\200\231$  Another person was shot in

rrested for Ndlovu murder

 $\hat{a}\200\230$  leMak.hutha. has divided into two factions after one of three

brothers were killed.

France Nzama, a comrade and amember of KwaMakhutha Youth League (KYL), was shot on on November 28.

: His brother, Solomon Nzama, said a third brother, Jwa, had been chased out of their home by their

â\200\230warlordâ\200\231.

When we went with mem-  $a\200\230$ 

bers of KwaZulu Police to the

SPOI where my youn brolh B dead body lay, % il

antes hiding

e T

Fov

â\200\231 IN his first major public address since his restrictions were lifted, African National Congress (ANC) leader Govin Mbeki - who was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of 'Western Cape (UWC) last - week - spoke about his vision for a new South Africa after the â\200\230ugly heritageâ\200\231 of the past has been undone. Siza Ntshakala reports.

\*What the oppressed masses seek is an end to the racist apartheid . system of white minority domination, the super-exploitation of the black working people, rule by facist methods and external ag-

told the UWC audience.

He said the masses wished to see South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and nonracial country.

Mbeki said he was convinced

that such a transformation was in . the interests of the South African majority, both black and white.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ It will serve and advance the political and economic interests of the working class, but immediately, the black section of this class,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  said Mbeki.

and medium business people.â\200\231

Mbeki said: â\200\230The view is expressed insome circles that the establishment of genuine democracy would result in the masses descending on the economy likea - swarm of rapacious locusts.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Some think the masses will eat up everything in their path without regard to the vital question of pursuing an economic policy that would guarantee growth and development,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  added Mbeki.

He said this view erred because it assumed that the people 1 were incapable of understanding | that life could not be lived only for today - that there was a future and that preparations for a better future had to start today.

Govan Mbeki during his recent visif to ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison. Pic: Eric Miller (Afrapix)

gression and domination, â\200\235 Mbeki -

He said this would favour what  $\mid$  he called the  ${\hat a}\200\230\mbox{middlesstrata, intel-} {\hat A}^{\circ}$  lectuals and professions, the small \*

~© &G L

By Mbongeni Khuzwayo
APROMINENT councillor in the
suspended Umlazi council has
accused KwaZulu's Minister of
Interior, Steven Sithebe, of deliberately prolonging the stalemate
in the council.

the councillors, the council is currently inoperative.

The councillor (who declined to be named) revealed that lawyers of the warring parties in Umlazi council would prefer an outside court settlement but Sithebe had not co-operated to break logjam. Sl The lawyers are acting on behalf of the Umlazi Residentâ\200\231s Association, the suspended councillors and a former mayor, R.E.S Mfeka.:

Mfeka was recently granted an interdict restraining Umlazi councillors from proceeding with elections in the council.

The New African disclosed that councillors were earning a mere R66 per month.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ We endure all kinds of difficulties, not least the people $\hat{a}\200\231$ s lack of faith in the Local Authorities system, only to be paid peanuts.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Sometimes we have to pay out of our own pockets for the council $\hat{a}\200\231$ s activities,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

He attacked Sithebe for a statement he allegedly made at a meeting between the suspended Umlazi councillors and Sithebe on November 13.

He said Sithebe had told them that he attached no significance to the elected councillors as their work was only to collect refuse and maintain sewerage systems.

He claimed Sithebe was biased in favour of the controver-

.â\200\234After the ministerâ\200\231s temperamental outburst at the meeting we
concluded that the minister was

mot prepared to listen to our side
of the story and to protect us as
well,â\200\235 he added.

' He dismissed reports in the

Following a dispute among

1,JVmAIngi \_
EwW AFRIChaw |
council 4

4 DEcem SR /9¢7

allegations

Durban-based Zulu newspaper that Mfeka successfully prevented Umlazi coucillors from going on with the elections, claiming that these  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$  misrepresented the facts.  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ 

â\200\230The summons delivered in the council chamber from Mfekaâ\200\231s lawyers was brought on the same day as an order from the Minister of Interior suspending the council. Had it not been for the minister's intervention, we the councillors would have fought the order in court,â\200\235 he said.

He said it was a mystery that the KwaZulu government had not cracked down on racketeers involved in the alleged embezzlement of building sites in the township. He claimed that the racketcers were well-known in the township and ia the upper echelons of KZ government.:

In response to the allegations, Sithebe said: â\200\230I do not know who you are talking about when you | refer to the Umlazi Residentâ\200\231s Associnion.lhavemhing todo wixlnlmmkmwnpumorpersons. In fact, I am not even interested toknow anything about that thing you call Umlazi Residentâ\200\231s Association. I have not been an impediment in any way to the settlement that Mfeka and com-Ppany wish to arrive at:â\200\231

About his alleged prejudice in the meeting he said he had no reason to align himself with any side in the discussions held.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Thatis why I reject the alle- | gations with the contempt it deserves,  $\hat{a}\200\231$  he added.

He claimed that the importance or non-importance of councillors was not an issue in the deliberations. o

On the issue of the building sites he said that  $\hat{a}\200\230$ the KwaZulu

government is trying to find those who wrongfully acquired a lion's share of the building sites at Umlazi. So far we have not concluded our investigations.â\200\231

He added that his govern-ment was against all forms of

corruption.

T N S

S -oees.s

AN Mpumalanga ere lasl month forced to flee

with their nine children after police:

warned them that Mpumalanga

was reserved for Inkatha people, and all others had to leave.

" Now the family of 11 - who

lived in their Unit 3 home for

r home

chopped to death. : In an affidavit, Gloin 201, a Gu-

mede said that early in October Inkatha members looted the fur-

niture and belongings from her

" home, leaving  $\hat{a}$ 200\230us standing in the clothes we were wearing. $\hat{a}$ \200\235

The family fled to a friendâ\200\231s |
home in Unit 3. Gumede said last
Monday she saw a youth, Jabu-

more than 20 years - is holing up- | policunqi'camewhqlnni#. ui¬\202ï¬\202mni¬\201ehedbywnp lm mpoliccme- SR g inaoneâ\200\224bedrodmhomeinUnillt.' " Translating what the white | ShcsidSikhosmhadmed | ® The woman's name has been | - But here too they live in fear | policeman was saying, his Afri- | torun away when policeme n ar- chmgedtomalnfxm re- | having seen a youth brutally | can colleague said that people rived athishomebut â\200\230h ewasshot | prisals. e il