

AP 1992-25-3

3-05-92

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

PIK'S PLEDGE

□ From Page 1

Mr du Plessis's replacement as Finance Minister.

Although the appointment of ministers is the president's prerogative, he is known to favour consulting the NP's provincial leaders before doing so.

NP insiders say Mr De Klerk delayed announcing Mr Du Plessis's successor as Finance Minister until the new Transvaal leader was elected.

NP members expect that Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination Minister, Mr Derek Keys, who returns from a visit to China today, will get the post while retaining responsibility for economic co-ordination.

Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant, they say, is likely to get the Trade and Industries portfolio. He has previously served as deputy Minister of Trade and Industries.

Webster link

□ From Page 1

sier on Dr Webster and at least one agent on the Johannesburg municipality payroll was under orders to befriend him.

Information about the two academics who visited Kosi Bay immediately after the murder was disclosed this weekend by a senior police officer who was closely involved in the investigation.

Describing Dr Webster's murder as "a senseless

act", he said every lead had indicated that the anthropologist was a target of the CCB, or CCB agents acting independently.

"But the assassination was so well planned that no admissible evidence has yet been found," he said.

"We have not been able to establish whether or not the CCB ordered Dr Webster killed, but there is ample evidence that CCB agents were involved in political murders during that period, and that they had a virtual licence to kill.

"Remember, less than 10 percent of the CCB's activities have been exposed by commissions of inquiry and through the media. Even though the CCB has officially disbanded, there is no way of knowing for sure whether agents are still operating under cover."

The police officer believes Dr Webster's involvement in the End Conscription Campaign was a key factor in his death.

Last November, the Weekly Mail reported that Dr Webster had been spied on for several months before his death by game rangers employed by an intelligence unit which did covert work for the Kwa-zulu government.

Joan in tears on television

□ From Page 1

been collecting Joan Collins memorabilia since he was 12 and has more than 1 000 pictures of the star, said he felt ashamed of what had happened.

He said meeting Miss Collins had been a dream come true and he felt it had been spoilt by the unkind comments.

Miss Collins is in South Africa for a week to raise funds for Operation Hunger. During the interview she spoke openly about her career and about her commitment to charity work.

Contrary to expectations, she came across as warm, witty and intelligent and not the "super-bitch" she has been labelled because of her role as Alexis in *Dynasty*.

She will attend fundraising banquets in Johannesburg and Cape Town, where her aides have ensured she will be royally pampered.

Among a list of her requirements while in South Africa: Le Musk de Cartier perfume (in the black bottle), Nutragena soap, Guerlain Shalamar body oil and bath essence, peach and

white flowers (she hates red roses), Marlboro regular or light cigarettes, topical or fashionable magazines, Evian water and champagne, caviar, milk chocolate and cashew nuts.

Miss Collins does her own hair and make-up. She has requested two down pillows, two ordinary pillows and four small, soft baby pillows.

For the man in her life, antique dealer Robin Hurstone, 33, the requirements are: his favourite aftershave, Versachi, magazines about antiques and Chivas Regal whisky.

PIK'S PLEDGE

□ From Page 1

Mr du Plessis's replacement as Finance Minister.

Although the appointment of ministers is the president's prerogative, he is known to favour consulting the NP's provincial leaders before doing so.

NP insiders say Mr De Klerk delayed announcing Mr Du Plessis's successor as Finance Minister until the new Transvaal leader was elected.

NP members expect that Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination Minister, Mr Derek Keys, who returns from a visit to China today, will get the post while retaining responsibility for economic co-ordination.

Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant, they say, is likely to get the Trade and Industries portfolio. He has previously served as deputy Minister of Trade and Industries.

Webster link

□ From Page 1

sier on Dr Webster and at least one agent on the Johannesburg municipality payroll was under orders to befriend him.

Information about the two academics who visited Kosi Bay immediately after the murder was disclosed this weekend by a senior police officer who was closely involved in the investigation.

Describing Dr Webster's murder as "a senseless

act", he said every lead had indicated that the anthropologist was a target of the CCB, or CCB agents acting independently.

"But the assassination was so well planned that no admissible evidence has yet been found," he said.

"We have not been able to establish whether or not the CCB ordered Dr Webster killed, but there is ample evidence that CCB agents were involved in political murders during that period, and that they had a virtual licence to kill.

"Remember, less than 10 percent of the CCB's activities have been exposed by commissions of inquiry and through the media. Even though the CCB has officially disbanded, there is no way of knowing for sure whether agents are still operating under cover."

The police officer believes Dr Webster's involvement in the End Conscription Campaign was a key factor in his death.

Last November, the Weekly Mail reported that Dr Webster had been spied on for several months before his death by game rangers employed by an intelligence unit which did covert work for the Kwa-zulu government.

Joan in tears on television

□ From Page 1

been collecting Joan Collins memorabilia since he was 12 and has more than 1 000 pictures of the star, said he felt ashamed of what had happened.

He said meeting Miss Collins had been a dream come true and he felt it had been spoilt by the unkind comments.

Miss Collins is in South Africa for a week to raise funds for Operation Hunger. During the interview she spoke openly about her career and about her commitment to charity work.

Contrary to expectations, she came across as warm, witty and intelligent and not the "super-bitch" she has been labelled because of her role as Alexis in *Dynasty*.

She will attend fundraising banquets in Johannesburg and Cape Town, where her aides have ensured she will be royally pampered.

Among a list of her requirements while in South Africa: Le Musk de Cartier perfume (in the black bottle), Nutragena soap, Guerlain Shalamar body oil and bath essence, peach and

white flowers (she hates red roses), Marlboro regular or light cigarettes, topical or fashionable magazines, Evian water and champagne, caviar, milk chocolate and cashew nuts.

Miss Collins does her own hair and make-up. She has requested two down pillows, two ordinary pillows and four small, soft baby pillows.

For the man in her life, antique dealer Robin Hurstone, 33, the requirements are: his favourite aftershave, Versachi, magazines about antiques and Chivas Regal whisky.

South Africa probes police murder charge

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter) — South Africa's law and order minister has ordered an investigation into charges by a top judge that police officers have been involved in murders and mounting township political fighting.

The order by the minister, Hernus Kriel, came as eight more blacks were killed, pushing the death toll in township fighting to more than 54 in six days.

Natal Province Supreme Court Judge J.M. Didcott had said on Wednesday, "The South African police commit well-planned murders and crime." He made the remarks in a speech at Johannesburg's University of Witwatersrand.

"The standard of the South African judiciary is so high that I am convinced no judge would say such a thing unless he had the necessary proof," Kriel said in a statement.

Referring to the conduct of police in township violence, Didcott said: "It is a truism that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

"And that is exactly what we

have seen in the case of some policemen. To reassert the law's control over the police force, to ensure that it, too, is governed in the future by the rule of law and tightly governed, is one of the most pressing tasks which lawyers should set themselves," he said.

A day after Didcott's remarks, another Natal judge demanded an inquiry into an alleged police cover-up in a case in which a white police captain was sentenced to hang for the murder of 11 people he thought were anti-apartheid activists.

A daily police report on township fighting yesterday listed eight blacks killed and 30 others wounded in 18 incidents. Some of the clashes were linked to May Day rallies held by rival unions and political groups.

About 5,000 people have been killed over the past two years in fighting mainly between supporters of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and the rival Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom party.

ANC policy proposes wealth redistribution

Foreign investment to be promoted

Reuters News Agency

JOHANNESBURG — Nelson Mandela's African National Congress announced guidelines yesterday for an economic policy that envisions a dynamic private sector and measures to promote foreign investment.

It reaffirmed, however, a need for what it called systematic redistribution of income and infrastructure, such as housing and education facilities, to make up for inequalities spawned by apartheid.

The ANC, which hopes to soon form South Africa's first black-majority government, said foreign investors would enjoy guarantees on repatriation of profits, as well as a consistent national economic policy.

"In addition, foreign firms will not be nationalized without adequate and fair compensation," the document said. Foreign investors would, however, have to comply with affirmative-action policies in all areas of the economy.

Tito Mboweni, a senior ANC economic official, told a news conference that the guidelines serve only as a discussion paper.

A new system governing tax, financing, mineral rights and leasing would be introduced for the mining industry, the bedrock of the economy, with public ownership and joint ventures considered where appropriate.

"Industrial policy will be aimed, in the first instance, at meeting the basic needs of creating jobs for the millions of our people who are unemployed and living in squalor," the document said.

Meanwhile, the pro-apartheid Conservative Party expelled a second member of Parliament in a growing rift over whether it should negotiate with blacks.

Koos van der Merwe was expelled this week for ignoring party discipline, according to a party statement. He had been replaced as the party's information officer last year after circulating a document calling for Conservatives to negotiate the creation of a small white homeland.

The party recently expelled Koos Botha for making a similar proposal.

The Conservatives reject talks with blacks on sharing power and demand a separate nation for Afrikaners, the country's Dutch-descended settlers.

It has never proposed boundaries for a white homeland, and many supporters would clearly prefer to keep 87 per cent of South Africa reserved for whites, as it has been under apartheid.

But some moderates, including Mr. Van der Merwe and Mr. Botha, have said the party lacks popular support to win a whites-only election and therefore should enter the talks in hopes of securing a smaller white homeland.

MAY 3, 1992

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Thabo Thulo

KNOWLEDGE Mdlalose is writing tests, attending lectures and eating in a campus dining hall following a hectic week of debates about his fate at the University of Natal in Durban.

He is adamant that he belongs there.

"I wish to make it clear that I am still a student at this university, much as the university has sabotaged my room, even before I could be told of the so-called final decision to exclude me," he told the Tribune this week when found eating in the residence dining hall.

"The administration has also covertly removed my belongings from my room. However, I was not shocked as I realise the kind of people we are dealing with," he said.

"I will consider myself a student until further notice from the student body, as my case is now in the hands of the students' structures. That the university has conferred on me 'trespasser' status does not intimidate me."

Mr Mdlalose said that when he returned from the Easter vacation this week he found that the lock of his room had been changed. He asked workers to open the room with a

☐ I'm staying -
Knowledge

☐ You're out -
Natal University

master key and found it empty. All his belongings, including R620 he intended to use for stationery, had been removed, he said.

Dirk Kemp, the university's director of public affairs, said Mr Mdlalose's possessions were removed from the room and stored for safe-keeping, and that the excluded student had been advised by the registrar through a registered letter to collect them.

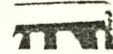
Mr Mdlalose has not collected his belongings. He told the Tribune that he had been advised by the student body handling his case not to do so.

He said the decision by the Senate to exclude him had not affected his academic activities. He has been attending lectures and tutorials, and has written tests and submitted assignments.

Mr Mdlalose claimed that after his exclusion, but before the Senate decision, he had been doing well academically. He attained 70% in Economic History, he said, and a History lecturer had commended his high standard of research.

Today a range of organisations will meet to look at ways of resolving the situation. They include the Joint Academic Staff Association, All House Committees, Student Representative Council, Creative Arts Society, South African Tertiary Inter-Varsity Sports Union, the ANC and the National Education Crisis Committee.

A number of campus organisations have come out in support of Mr Mdlalose. Several have decided to boycott an intervarsity cultural trip to Turfloop University this weekend in support of him, including the Creative Arts Society (Casoc).



Izikhalo zabeluleki

bezoLimo

XOLANI NXUMALO
ETHEKWINI. - Udaba lokushabashekela ukuqhuba imfundo kwabeluleki bezoLimo ngaphansi koMnyango wezoLimo namaHlathi KwaZulu, luzodingidwa kabanzi emhlanganweni wabo ozokubaseNsingweni Farmers Centre eGingindlovu.

Lokhu ILANGA likubikelwe ngusihlalo wekomidi elibhekene nalokhu uMnu. A.B. Mchunu.

UMnu. Mchunu uthe kulomhlango kuyofundwa incwadi eyimpendulo evela eMnyangweni wezoLimo maqondana nokuvunyelwa kwalezizisebenzi ukuba ziyofunda. Uzokubangomhlaka February 8, eku-seni ngo 10.

Isikhalo esikhulu zabeluleki bezoLimo wukunikwa ithuba lokuyiqhuba izifundo ezizobenza banezele unyaka ku-diploma abayithola eCwaka College of Agriculture eMpangeni ngeminyaka eyadlula. Lelikolishi elalingaphansi koMnyango wezoLimo lalikhapha ama-diploma athatha iminyaka emibili bese umfundi eseyokwenza iminyaka emibili ngaphandle efunda ngokusebenza.

Ekuqaleni kuka-1990 lelikolishi lingene ngaphansi kweMangosuthu Technikon, le-diploma yaguqulwa yathatha iminyaka emithathu ezingeni likazwelonke. Inkankana ebhekene zabeluleki bezoLimo asebesebenza wukuba bathole ithuba lokuyiqhuba le abanayo ukuze ilingane neyabaphothule eTechnikon.

Ngokwejwayelekile zabeluleki abaqede eCwaka, uma beqhubeka nezifundo zabo, baya enyuvesi bathathe iB. Agric ethatha iminyaka emithathu kumbe bathathe iB.Sc. (Agric) ethatha iminyaka emine. Nokho lokhu akubilula kulabo abafuna ukuya enyuvesi, yikho obekudala izikhalo eziningi kwabafuna ukuqhuba imfundo yabo.

Kulomhlango kuzocaciswa ngalezozikhalo-ke.

LAWA

FEB. 3-5 1992

JUDGES ON THE WARPATH

Police minister to
quiz Didcott after
stinging criticism

Prakash Naidoo

BELEAGUED Law and Order minister Hernus Kriel, reeling under stinging criticism of the police force by two Natal judges this week, yesterday said he had instructed senior police officers to question senior Judge, Mr Justice Didcott, about claims that "policemen committed murders and crimes".

In a statement yesterday, Mr Kriel charged that Mr Justice Didcott had been quoted in media reports as saying: "The SAP commit well planned murders and crime."

The judge spoke out about police behaviour during a speech he delivered at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg on Thursday night after receiving an honorary law doctorate.

"The police will investigate the information received from Mr Justice Didcott with all the power at their disposal," he said.

Secretary for the minister Marius Durand said yesterday that Judge Didcott had contacted him to seek clarification on the minister's statement.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the instructions to senior police officers to interview the judge still stood.

Minister Kriel's reluctance to appoint an independent inquiry into questions raised by police action in the Trust Feed killings drew angry reaction.

This week Natal judges Mr Justice Didcott and Mr Justice Wilson added their voices to the growing chorus of protest against unaccountable police action.

Speaking at Wits University on Thursday after receiving an honorary doctorate, Mr Justice Didcott said South Africa was paying the price for legislation that equipped police with vast powers, placing them above the law, and maintained the most pressing task facing lawyers was to re-assert control over police.

He said various legal proceedings have shown some policemen to be involved in some crimes of violence, including planned murders, "acting in defiance of the very law you and I employ them to uphold".

Judge Didcott's remarks came just hours after Mr Justice Wilson made a second call in a week for an independent inquiry into the involvement of police officers in "counter revolutionary" strategies and an investigation into an alleged police cover-up during a criminal investigation.

Mr Justice Wilson first made the call for an inquiry during his judgment in the Trust Feed murder trial, at which the former station commander at New Hanover, Captain Brian Mitchell, was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death.

On Wednesday, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok will give a full explanation in parliament on the release of a KwaZulu policeman who served only nine months of a 27-year sentence for a series of brutal murders.

The release of Khethani Shange was first raised by another Natal judge, Mr Justice Thirion, three weeks ago during appeal application in Pietermaritzburg.

Natal's Attorney-General, Mike Imber SC, said he and his counterparts from the other three provinces had recently taken up the matter with the Minister of Justice when it came to their attention that people convicted of common-law crimes were being released in terms of the State President's amnesty.

Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe announced on Tuesday that a probe into an alleged cover-up surrounding the Trust Feed investigation had been launched, but Judge Wilson said on Thursday that the public would not be content with a departmental inquiry, where results would not be made public, and again called for an independent investigation.

SADF will march in step with MK

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 13-05-92

THE ANC and the government this week reached agreement on a formal code of conduct to control the country's military — now and in the future.

The government has also accepted that a new army could be made up of all existing military and paramilitary units, including the ANC's military wing.

However, the government set stringent conditions that would have to be met before integration was effected.

On Wednesday a working group established under the National Peace Accord agreed on a military code of conduct to which all SADF soldiers would commit themselves.

The code commits the SADF and its members to the execution of their duties in a manner which will not advance or obstruct party political objectives.

Unlawful

Every member of the SADF will also accept full responsibility for orders and their execution. Soldiers will also be able to refuse an unlawful command from a senior officer.

The code also stipulates that:

- The SADF must pursue its missions in a way that respects fundamental human rights, the freedom of the citizenry and the rule of law;

- Soldiers must recognise fundamental human rights and accept personal responsibility for the legality of actions by men under

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

their command;

- Members of the SADF must participate in a democratic society both as citizens and as soldiers with self-knowledge, courage and knowledge of the values with which they are entrusted;

- The SADF and its members undertake to act or conduct military manoeuvres in a non-partisan manner and not for the purpose of unlawfully threatening or intimidating any community or part of the community;

- All actions in time of war shall be guided by relevant national and in-

ternational law, including the Geneva Convention, and by the determination to observe them. All ranks of military personnel in the SADF must abide by these rules in their assigned tasks and responsibilities.

The code makes provision for an ombudsman to deal with complaints by soldiers as well as the public.

While agreement has been reached on a code to govern the behaviour of the existing SADF, talks continued this week between the government and the ANC on a future army.

The government is still

insisting that it will participate in joint planning for the future army only when the ANC complies with the DF Malan and Pretoria minutes.

Military intelligence and command structures would be discussed only when all bilateral agreements were honoured, agreement was reached on all principles and violence was under effective control, the government said.

And the incorporation of MK into the SADF could be implemented only once agreement had been reached on transitional government and the ANC had renounced violence.

In stating guidelines for

implementation, the government said that all existing paramilitary and military forces should be afforded equal opportunity to become part of the SADF if they denounced the use of force and violence to promote their partisan objectives.

The ANC suggested that all army and police forces be placed under a security forces committee on which all parties would be represented.

Proposals

All the armed forces would be placed under the command of the interim government.

No agreement has yet been reached on these proposals, but a set of general principles for a new army has been proposed by the government and in part approved by the ANC.

Among the principles: the army must be non-discriminatory, it must be made up of full-time and part-time members. The ANC wants a full-time army with no conscription and the appointment and promotion of members only on the basis of merit.

Yes to detention rule

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

THE ANC has accepted Codesa's proposals that a state of emergency and detention without trial could become necessary under certain conditions.

In a document submitted to the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity, the ANC said a state of emergency should be declared only on the advice of a multi-party interim executive.

The ANC accepted that the law should contain provisions for a state of emergency, but opposed powers that would allow a state of emergency to be proclaimed retrospectively.

However, the ANC stipulated that under a state of emergency certain rights could not be impaired.

These included the right to life, legal remedy, freedom from discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex or creed and freedom from torture.

The ANC also said that security personnel or anyone acting outside the law should not be indemnified under a state of emergency.

Regarding detention without trial, the

ANC stated that detainees should be informed of the reason for their detention as soon as they were detained and a family member or friend notified as soon as possible.

The right to consult a lawyer of the detainee's choice should be guaranteed and detainees should be allowed regular visits by family members.

Detainees would have the right to have their detention reviewed within 30 days. They could only be detained for longer than 30 days if the reviewing authority reported there was sufficient cause.

A term longer than three months would be reviewed at regular intervals by a review board presided over by a Supreme Court judge and consisting of members appointed by the minister.

The review board would have the power to order the immediate release of a detainee if the detention was not necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the abatement of the state of emergency.

Detainees would be entitled to make representations and submissions to, and to be represented at the proceedings of, the review board.

NOT A DROP TO DRINK

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

The dry winter
months have barely
begun and already
man and beast are
struggling to survive
the ravages of
Natal's drought

MAY 3, 1992

Man and beast are fighting over dwindling water supplies in rural areas of Natal after people have dug deep into dry river beds in their desperation to find water.

And where there are no rivers, people mount midnight vigils around dried-up springs, where by candlelight they collect the nightly bubbling up of precious water.

To a traveller on the N2 southern freeway, just outside Umkomaas, the Mahlongwe river, with its green banks and a healthy level of clear blue water provides a pleasant sight to behold.

But the serene image is deceptive. The blue is undrinkable seawater making a short foray from the river mouth.

Like most rivers on the South Coast, a few kilometres further upstream, the river bed is bone dry for most of its length.

Rural villagers are now bracing themselves for the worst as the dry winter begins.

Beatrice Cele said the water situation was so desperate that people no longer chose where they obtained water, but drank from any source they could find.

Already the drought has claimed casualties: a woman who had to walk six kilometres to find water recently was killed by a car while returning with the container on her head.

Page 1

The streams have dried up. They dig with their hands until water seeps to the surface – and then the battle for the precious liquid begins . . .

This is how desperate people get water:

Report: **THABO THULO** Pictures: **MICHELLE TAYLOR**

They approach the river at a spot where it used to be deepest and start digging with their hands, sticks or any tool available.

The water deep down slowly seeps to the surface. When it suddenly turns into a small pool, people, cattle, goats and other animals all jump in to battle for their share of the precious liquid.

After filling their containers, people then bath, swim and wash their clothes before the water disappears back below the sand.

Mrs Cele said her 10-year-old son had to be treated at hospital for the dreaded bilharzia parasite after such a swim.

Another way to get water is to dig and insert a drum with both ends open into the hole. After some hours it will contain water.

Springs and boreholes have become unreliable sources as they yielded too little water and only during limited periods.

In some places the springs start oozing at

midnight, when queues of waiting men, women and children wait with lit candles. Only a fraction will get the water before the spring dries up and the rest have to go and try their luck somewhere else or return the following night at the same time.

Even for the lucky few who manage to get the water, it takes patience and time.

When those in front of the queue start dipping their containers in to draw, the water gets murky; those behind then have to wait for the sand in the water to subside before they draw.

Most of the boreholes are not working due to over-use and the mishandling of pumps, especially by small children.

Crops were a failure this year; maize and green beans, staple foods of the subsistence farmers, were burned out, said Graham Manca, a KwaZulu agricultural officer.

He warned that a large number of cattle

would die during the winter because there were no prospects of rain till September.

The meagre natural sources of water are likely to dry out as the dry winter season progresses.

John Allwood, local World Vision regional director, said it was only a matter of time before Natal's "Green Drought" underwent a "sudden, dramatic and disastrous change".

"The availability of water from natural sources, the green scenery and the apparently well-fed livestock are part of a scene that is about to disappear now that what was supposed to be the rainy summer season is over," said Mr Allwood.

Explaining Natal's "green drought" phenomenon, he said the occasional drizzle in the province kept the water table – the underground water level – just within reach of the plants: hence the green scenery. However this water was not enough for growth.

With the ending of the rains in April, heralding the beginning of the dry winter season, the water table is about to fall and most underground sources will dry up and the vegetation disappear.

However, the villagers are fighting back and an ambitious scheme to install two large pipes to deliver water to two villages on the South Coast is underway.

Residents of Mahlongwe have collected a

staggering R40 000 while those of Mandawe have so far managed R9 000 towards the scheme to get a water supply from the Umzinto Joint Services Board.

But the amount collected by the people is a small drop in the ocean as the scheme will run into millions of rands and outside funds will be needed, said Mr Gumede.

The medical effects of the drought have already been felt.

"So far only babies have suffered water related illnesses. The number of small children with gastro enteritis and dehydration needing hospitalisation has increased dramatically since the drought started," said Dr

Les Haines of the DG Crookes Hospital at Scottburgh.

"This increase is because people obtain water from rivers with low levels of water and high concentration of germs," he said.

Without rain, water-related diseases will increase but if and when the rains do come they are likely to spark off epidemics.

"We are monitoring the situation very closely for any signs of outbreaks of cholera and typhoid," he said.

The sewerage systems in the area are bad or non-existent and when the rains arrive they will wash all the dirt into the rivers and other sources of water used by the people, he said.

INKATHA as Goldstein. The parallel grows by the day. In George Orwell's 1984, Goldstein was a shadowy eminence, the proprietor of all ills. When water was cut off, bread was lacking, trains were late, any problem, Big Brother's news machine would announce that Goldstein's agents had been sabotaging again and the populace would work itself up into an anti-Goldstein froth.

In South Africa 1992 we have Inkatha to do that job. Township rhetoric becomes ever more simple: Inkatha is wicked, Inkatha is vicious, Inkatha causes the problems.

The result is a huge one-way flood of finger-pointing, which feeds upon itself. Inkatha's case gets routinely trotted out on TV, in the form of interminable semi-decipherable statements by its president, but hardly anywhere else. On the ground level it becomes branded as the wrecker, its people as the barbarians, and the debate is closed right there. Whosoever argues is labelled an "Inkatha sympathiser" and therefore beyond the pale, so nobody argues, certainly not in the circles of "respectable thinking" and least of all in the circles of respectable black thinking.

Personally, I want to say, I don't see myself particularly as an "Inkatha sympathiser". In fact I have about sixty thousand personal reasons for failing to sympathise, being the R40 000 that Inkatha's president once extracted from me for defamation.

Black thinking

I had published an article which originated in The Spectator and which was largely a crack at the then incipient — this was 1987 — conventional wisdom which said that all black thinking was represented by Desmond Tutu and Winnie Mandela, and that Buthelezi was merely a stooge to be dismissed from thought.

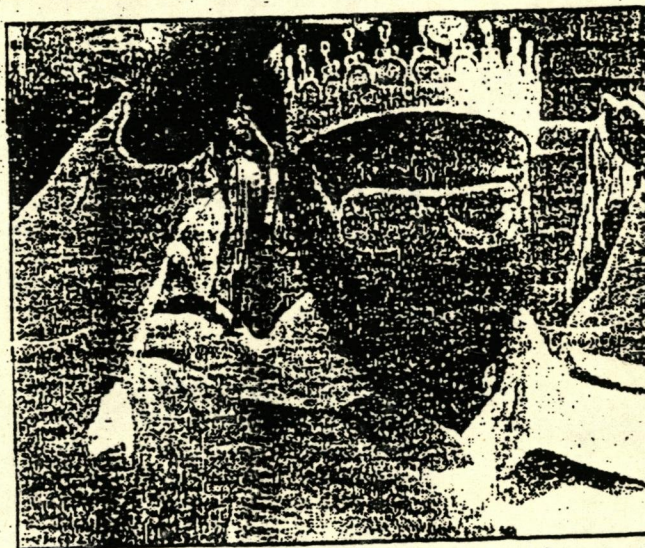
Buthelezi, said the article, could not simply be wished away, no matter how unlikeable you might consider him — and indeed, it said, he was "unpleasantly pompous" and his Inkatha tropes were "among the most thoughtless operators in South Africa".

Chief Buthelezi promptly sued me and wound up with R12 000 in damages, which was small in relation to the costs. In the end some deeper pockets than mine saved me from having my home attached by the Deputy Sheriff, a possibility that at one point had loomed large, but to this day I remain slightly sore and some day I am going to

Hanging the dog with a bad name

Sunday Star - 3.5.92

INKATHA is being blamed for all the problems facing the townships, their denials glossed over or unheard. But this huge flood of finger-pointing is actually feeding on itself. Far from helping to solve the constant violence, it is making it far worse. One effect of the image of villainy is to create more villains, writes DENIS BECKETT.



FAIR PLAY . . . Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha is being blamed for all the ills of the townships.

reinstate the whole bizarre tale — Buthelezi in the Supreme Court witness box talking about the size of his hat; a major newspaper inexplicably backing down from the same suit; the extraordinary propensity of legal procedure to obstruct common sense; the eerie silence of the press establishment which later went delirious over a much lesser suit brought against me by the editor of the Citizen; the lot.

But wounded feelings aside, the Inkatha issue now raises broad questions. One of these is the principle of fair play, which is now often treated as quaintly antique and as just a nuisance when "everybody knows" who the bad guys are, but which for my money is something to be especially zealously protected in the face of an avalanche of bandwagon thinking.

Does Inkatha get a square deal? They say no, naturally enough, and they have a point.

When a middle-senior ANC character (Sam Ntuli, who by all accounts was genuinely a truly outstanding individual) is murdered on the East Rand, there is quite correctly a tidal wave of public and published outcry, accompanied, perhaps less correctly, by a good deal of Inkatha-blaming innuendo. When shortly afterwards an Inkatha deputy branch chairman is murdered nearby (by a grenade which also destroys the house he was visiting and injures children in it) there is silence punctuated solely by a single reference in the 14th paragraph (literally, I checked) of a single unrest report.

When the house of an Inkatha Central Committee member — Musa Myeni — is razed, there is a small spate of small reports. If it happened to an equivalent ANC person . . . you can imagine. When Inkatha churns out reams of documentation about targeted assaults on

local leadership figures, these (for the most part make little, if any, news. When bodies are thrown from trains that is — justly — big and very disturbing news but — less justly — it is universally assumed that Inkatha is doing all or nearly all of the throwing.

Then, cherry on the top, come the allegedly scientific analyses which are based on news reports and which demonstrate that Inkatha produces 95% of the aggressors and 5% of the victims. Inkatha claims that this is compounding injury, since its victims aren't reported in the first place, but Inkatha's claims feature in paragraph 16 if they feature at all, and the image of villain becomes ever more deeply ingrained.

Mob psychosis

One effect of the image of villain is to create more villainy. My own ears have heard one old-time hostel dweller (and second-hand I am told this is a common phenomenon) haltingly explain that he is now too frightened to travel alone, as he always used to. He gets insulted, he has been spat at, and he's scared. So he travels now only in convoy.

I shudder at the thought of this convoy. As he speaks to me this man comes across as humble and modest and decent. I hate to think what happens when he is one of a convoy of 30 or 100, who may all individually have nothing more in mind than to get home to dinner and bed. Mob psychosis is an awful thing at the best of times, let alone when you're labouring under a deep belief that your mob is being derided and marginalised by the people around you.

What happens when this convoy comes across someone who looks as if he, were the numerical tables turned, would be giving them a hard time? One doesn't like to think. Afterwards we have a fresh spate of conspiracy theories, and blame directed at the Inkatha leadership. What happens when a sergeant and three constables are supposed to disarm this convoy? The police beat a swift retreat; at best stoer a force they cannot control into its home base. Afterwards we have a spate of allegations about complicity and duplicity from the police.

We're in a vicious cycle. I don't suggest that a change in public rhetoric stands to promptly, and I do suggest that the general determination to hang the dog with the bad name is doing the opposite of ending the violence.