

ANC will march on Ulundi

VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU Political Reporter

NATAL leaders of the African National Congress have defiantly declared that the organisation will march on Ulundi, dismissing KwaZulu Government and Inkatha Freedom Party warnings that such a march would lead to bloodshed.

And Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer immediately appealed for the march to be called off.

Speaking at a DP meeting in Durban last night, he said mass action that put human lives at risk had to be condemned. If the march did proceed, it was South Africa's duty to mobilise every force available to prevent violence.

The decision to step up the campaign against the KwaZulu homeland was announced at a news conference yesterday when the three Natal regions of the ANC met in Durban after two weeks of confusion and mixed signals about the march.

No date has been set for the march — but it would go ahead, a spokesman for the ANC Natal midlands region, Reggie Hadebe, said.

The decision follows a statement by Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillett that he had information from ANC sources that the organisation was set for "a humiliating back-down" on its decision to march.

The IFP and the KwaZulu Government have repeatedly warned the ANC that the march will not be tolerated. The KwaZulu Government has warned that the march would make the recent Bisho massacre "look like a Sunday school picnic".

ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said the KwaZulu Government's warning was an indication of the homeland's

Bloodshed warnings dismissed

opposition to free political activity.

He said the campaign would be aimed at promoting free political activity in KwaZulu areas, preventing the proposed transfer of land to KwaZulu and demanding that the homeland be re-incorporated into South Africa.

The ANC regions — southern Natal, Natal midlands and northern Natal — will meet regularly, together with their alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, to make further plans.

SACP regional secretary Dennis Nkosi said steps would be taken "to prevent another Bisho".

Mr Hadebe said that certain areas had already embarked on local actions and there were plans for local and sectoral actions — such as at schools — which could include the occupation of buildings and demonstrations.

He said steps, including discussions with the peace structures, would be taken to ensure that the march was peaceful.

Mr Tillett said while the IFP would not plan any counter-offensive to the march, the organisation would not be able to contain "the groundswell of anger" when large numbers of Zulu people "resisted, at all costs, the planned ANC march to Ulundi".

Various opinion-makers were under-estimating the depth of anger prompted by the ANC's threat.

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S. African Activist Blames ANC for Violence



HELEN SUZMAN
... "violence has become ingrained"

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 23—When it comes to waging lonesome battles against prevailing doctrine, nobody in South Africa has credentials quite like Helen Suzman.

For 13 years, she was the sole opposition member of Parliament, waging a one-woman assault on the architects of apartheid with speeches that mixed moral indignation with mordant wit. She once dared government officials to visit black townships to see for themselves how bad conditions were there—but cautioned that for their own safety they ought to travel "heavily disguised as human beings."

Now retired from Parliament—but by no means from public life—Suzman, 74, once

again finds herself in the middle of the great argument of the day.

This time, however, she is inveighing against doctrine to her left, not her right. The shift illustrates how murky the political currents have become in a society struggling to move beyond apartheid with formulas developed when the pitfalls were easier to identify.

Suzman threw her substantial reputation this week behind charges that human rights monitoring organizations here and abroad are providing misleading information on the issue of violence. She says these groups deliberately have turned a blind eye to the responsibility that the African National Congress—the nation's largest anti-apartheid organization—bears for the country's political carnage, which is three times deadlier now than it was during the height of apartheid repression.

"Pressures for conformity to some sort of 'politically correct' line are building up in many spheres," Suzman wrote in a response to criticism of a recent study detailing this alleged disinformation campaign. "This is an ominous development because South Africa has only recently begun to emerge from the 'thought control' that the National Party sought for so long to impose."

The study, written by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a 63-year-old research group of which Suzman is president, contended that recent surveys of violence in South Africa by Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the South African-based Human Rights Commission placed too much blame on the government

See SOUTH AFRICA, A18, Col. 1

Report accuses ANC members of torturing prisoners at camps

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — One of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards is among the dozens of ANC members who allegedly tortured and abused prisoners, a newspaper said Friday.

Also among those accused by former prisoners at African National Congress prison camps are the group's chief representative in Uganda and several ANC security officials, The Weekly Mail said.

The Mail, an anti-government newspaper known to have good sources in the black opposition group, said former ANC President Oliver Tambo and other leaders knew of the brutality but didn't do anything to stop it.

Monday, the ANC admitted an internal investigation showed torture and "staggering brutality" existed at some of its prisons through much of the 1980s.

But late Friday, the ANC said the report was based on "unsubstantiated allegations and accusations."

It said some names in the report came up in its investigation, but other names "are completely unknown to us."

The Mail's list included M.B. Mavuso, a former ANC prison guard who is a bodyguard for Mandela, the ANC president.

Buthelezi 'telling whites what they want to hear'

24/10/92
NATAL WITNESS

IT is not surprising that IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi received a standing ovation in Durban on Thursday from a predominantly white audience, as he was telling them what they want to hear.

This is the view of political analyst Eugene Nyati of the Centre for African Studies.

The IFP president held a successful meeting at the Durban City Hall and is expected to address similar meetings in other parts of the country.

According to press reports, the meetings are aimed at wooing whites in time for the democratic elections.

Nyati said: "For conservative whites Buthelezi is an African who while asserting ethnicity, is also prepared to take second place to them."

"This, coupled with the usual tirade against the ANC, will surely appeal to them but will rarely translate itself into a vote for the IFP."

Nyati said the claims by academic Lawrence Schlemmer that the lack of white support for the ANC was a "disaster" is "patronising" and said the mainstay of the ANC's support has always been the African community, whose vote will be decisive.

— Witness Reporter.

Murder accused were 'trained MK cadres'

by IMRAN AMLA
Court Reporter

TWO men accused of murdering a local Internal Stability Unit member are Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members who received training in Zambia and Tanzania.

This was submitted in a city magistrate's court yesterday during the formal bail application by accused Bongani Nkabinde and Musawenkosi Dlamini. They are charged with murdering Constable Marius Blom last month.

Investigating officer Derek Coetzee told the court the two accused are members of MK, the ANC's armed wing, and received professional military training. At the end of yesterday's proceedings, magistrate Duncan Robertson denied bail to the accused, saying that granting the request would not be "in the interests of justice".

Coetzee related a history of the two accused's military training, allegedly undertaken under the auspices of MK.

Coetzee claimed Nkabinde received his training "locally" in kwaMashu, Durban. However, Dlamini left South Africa in October 1989 specifically to receive military training in Zambia and Tanzania, he said.

During earlier proceedings Dlamini admitted to leaving the country, but only with the intention of attending a school in Tanzania.

Coetzee said Dlamini received his training at Mgagao, a military training camp in rural Tanzania. After his basic training, Dlamini was transferred to camps in Zambia where he received additional specialised training, Coetzee claimed.

Coetzee said Dlamini later returned to South Africa in 1991 as an "exile".

During yesterday's hearing, Coetzee said that firearms found in the accused's possession after their arrest were linked to separate incidents in kwaMashu when policemen were robbed of their firearms.

He added investigations so far suggest these firearms were used in the Blom murder.

ANC rejects list of 'abusers'

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress yesterday dismissed as inaccurate a weekly newspaper report listing the names of ANC officials allegedly responsible for human rights abuses in ANC detention camps.

The report used findings of an ANC internal commission of inquiry as a basis for repeating "unsubstantiated allegations and accusations", the ANC said.

The *Weekly Mail* claimed that a number of people employed at ANC Johannesburg headquarters had been personally implicated in torture and murders.

These included M.B. Mavuso "Jomo", Nelson Mandela's bodyguard, and others still attached to the departments of intelligence

and security.

The newspaper alleged others involved had been promoted, like the head of the ANC mission in Angola, Andrew Masondo.

The report claimed many of the most senior ANC leaders, including national chairman Oliver Tambo, Mkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani must have known about the abuses but turned a blind eye.

Other senior officials who the *Weekly Mail* claimed were directly implicated include current Head of Manpower Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piiso, the late MK head in Swaziland, Thami Zulu, former Quatro camp commissar, the late Morris Seabelo, ANC PWV security officials "Africa" Nkwe and Sizwe Mkhonto, former Quatro camp officers Cyril Burton, Griffith Seboni and "Itumeleng", and Tanzanian "MK Doctor". — Sapa.

TODAY the South African XI soccer squad is playing its fourth international game, this time against Congo. To date our national team has not recorded a win for a widely accepted reason: lack of international experience. For two reasons South Africa should win today.

Number one, for any moving object to go forward, it needs an exhaust pipe to emit carbon dioxide. In national coach, Stanley "Screamer" Tshabala, South African soccer has found the exhaust to push it forward to a win against Congo. Screamer is a dejected man right now after he lost his temper on Monday and punched South Africa's top soccer writer, Sy Lerman. Writing in the *Sunday Times*, Lerman suggested that Screamer should "Stop Screaming and go!". The South African Football Association (Safa) has since suspended the coach.

Safa will be deciding Screamer's future as national coach tomorrow morning. Whatever the result, Screamer's standing in national football will never be the same again. Humans seldom get a second chance to catch a live mouse by the tail.

This is an important lesson for our youngsters in this country: to learn from Screamer's blind fury, and from the Indian proverb which says "anger has no eyes".

Screamer had taken more than 30 years to build his soccer career from the late fifties, and

when he was at the top of the mountain (earning more than R10 000 per month), he took two short seconds to descend into the poverty-stricken wilderness.

The lesson is simple, according to the sages of this world: "He that is master of himself will soon be master of others." Coaching should have started with Screamer himself before he could continue coaching the national team.

In fact all of us, young and old, must know as basic human instinct that when a man grows angry, his reason takes flight. For anger is temporary madness. Away with madness and lessen our violent crisis in the country.

Anyway, for South Africa's sake, let's review Screamer's foul in a rational manner. Let's apply a philosophical remedy. If you can't swallow the lemon because it is sour, apply one simple tactic: add a little bit of sugar. Transformed into a lemonade, it goes down like a cool drink. The lemon philosophy beats the blues out of many unpalatable situations.

Clearly Screamer did punch Sy Lerman for allegedly writing

in sour taste. Add sugar into this one. Then stir the drink while weighing up the fact that Screamer reacted according to decades of conditioning, which is his country's culture of doing the best you can.

Shaya! (hit) is South Africa's idiom of doing your best and be damned, in the light of the country's predisposition to violence. Proof: Johannesburg currently holds the world record as the most violent city on Earth. Statistics show that 52 people are killed every day in eGoli. That's an average of two killings per hour! And also consider the unfortunate coincidence that the acronym of the controlling body of football in South Africa has a violent connotation when pronounced in Zulu: *Safa* — "Eina! we die".

To Sy Lerman, I say you were unfortunate to be at the mercy of someone whose reasoning lapsed. But surely, there is no wrong without a remedy. Forgive the man who behaved like a small boy. Take heart, Sy, and let's be positive and assume that the unfortunate punch-up might just provide the boost to break the hoodoo that has made our side the whipping boys of Africa

via, of course, the national whipping boy, Screamer.

Remember that last week, before the South African rugby side played the French, it looked like an insurmountable task as the Boks had become the whipping boys of international rugby since the lifting of the sport boycott. Headlines and commentators were unanimous in their assessment of the mountainous task: "Boks must beat the odds". Surely, odds they were. In previous matches things were not moving well for the South African side until the punch-up that broke the deadlock.

Springbok Adri Geldenhuys did *shaya* French lock Abdelatif Benazzi and he was knocked out seconds after coming on as a replacement in South Africa's 20-15 win at Lyon last Saturday.

Screamer says that our soccer side's trail of losses were caused by lack of experience in international soccer. I agree, absolutely. Punching Sy, I don't agree; it's unacceptable. Not unless, of course, Screamer used Lerman as a sacrificial punching lamb to produce South Africa's first international win. This we'll see today.

I am tempted to think that Screamer and Geldenhuys acted as they did after taking literally, for sport in South Africa's the motto that says "the more mischief, the better sport". Let's hope it's not true.

Anyway, after the match this afternoon, Lerman should have a solid incentive to forgive Screamer if his *shaya* saga produces the first win for the SA XI. *Safa amagoal*, in three international games we have won none, in a blitz of a total nine goals against with only one reply, against Zimbabwe!

Evidently, what South Africa lacks in international experience she makes up by *shaying*, which is our newly cultivated "cultural sports weapon".

Since the start of the century, January 2, 1901, our country has been involved in more than 100 battles and massacres. No wonder they say that an ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept, if not years of practice makes perfect.

The time to practise international sport was obviously consumed by playing in rebel tours

Fists: the new cultural weapon?

"Screamer" Tshabalala's indiscretion may have a positive outcome, muses KHABA MKHIZE

THE
NATL
WITNESS
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Govt and PAC show optimism for summit

GABORONE — The second summit between the South African Government and the Pan Africanist Congress outside South Africa got underway in Gaborone, Botswana, shortly before 3 pm yesterday, with both delegations expressing hopes for a positive outcome.

The two-day talks will focus on six issues: a new, more representative negotiating forum, a constituent assembly and/or constitution-making body, transitional arrangements, violence, attacks on security force members and future meetings.

The summit was opened yesterday by Botswana's Foreign Affairs Minister Dr G.K.T. Chiepe, who said her government believes in the peaceful resolution of all disputes and conflicts in the sub-region.

"It is only fair and right that the South African Government should meet and discuss the way forward with the PAC as much as it has engaged its other protagonists," she said.

South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha praised Botswana for providing a venue for the meeting.

He said he hopes the meeting will achieve something tangible.

PAC delegation head and deputy president Dikgang Moseneke also expressed optimism about the meeting.

"We will do our utmost to ensure peace in our land, which should be free from discrimination, poverty and hunger," said Moseneke.

Both parties have fielded top constitutional and legal specialists for the talks.

In addition to Botha, other members of the South African delegation include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Jac Rabie, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives.

The PAC team includes its foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim and secretary for legal and constitutional affairs Willie Seriti. — Sapa.

KwaZulu rallies: peace group asked to intervene

THE question of the ANC and its allies being given access to venues in KwaZulu for political rallies has been referred to the National Peace Secretariat for discussion.

The discussion will take place at a meeting of the peace accord signatories soon.

According to a statement issued by the Natal KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee this decision was taken at a meeting held in Durban on Wednesday.

Those attending the meeting were KwaZulu's interior minister Steven Sithobe, Anthonie Gildenhuys of the nat-

ional peace secretariat, M.C. Pretorius of the RDRC, and UN monitors Angela King and Ismat Steiner who attended as observers.

Pretorius said that when the peace accord signatories discuss the issue, they will "negotiate the terms and conditions for making use of the venues".

"They will also find a solution to the recognition of tribal and local government structures."

The ANC alleges that it has been denied the use of venues under the control of Ulundi or town councils responsible to Ulundi.

— Witness Reporter.

First black major-general

KWAZULU Police deputy commissioner Brigadier Sipho Mathe has been promoted to the rank of major-general, the first black policeman in South Africa to attain such status.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi said Mathe met all the requirements.

And in Pretoria, the Department of Correctional Services has scored a first by promoting a woman officer to the rank of general, effective from December 1. Brigadier Erieka van Zyl will be the first woman to be promoted to the rank of major-general in all three departments, including the South African Defence Force and the South African Police. — Sapa.

ANC, IFP in row over venues

WHILE the row rages over political freedom in Natal for the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, the two organisations are to hold public meetings in virtually adjacent Durban venues this weekend, under the watchful eyes of local and international monitors.

ANC northern Natal officials said yesterday they will be bringing legal action against the IFP-dominated Sundumbili Town Council. They said they have applied four times for permission to hold a rally in the area. The council refused three times, and did not reply to the fourth request. The officials said this is a breach of the national peace accord.

However, IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said yesterday that the ANC should not complain about a lack of political freedom in KwaZulu, since certain ANC leaders ensure the IFP is not free to operate in their areas.

The issue of the ANC's access to venues in KwaZulu was discussed this week by representatives of the two organisations, the national peace secretariat and the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee. Participants decided to refer the problem to the peace accord signatories.

Meanwhile, local monitors met with ANC and IFP officials of the Umlazi local dispute resolution committee yesterday, with UN and Commonwealth observers present. They aimed to defuse mounting tension over meetings of the two parties, due tomorrow in adjacent venues at the same time.

The ANC rally, intended to prepare people for elections, will take place at 9 am. The IFP gathering will take place at a nearby venue, also at 9 am. The IFP said it is too late to change venues, but its gathering is not a rally, but simply a meeting of committees. Leaders of the two organisations agreed to appear on television and radio to make a joint appeal for restraint and discipline. — Durban Bureau.

Commonwealth observers to monitor Natal violence

FIVE Commonwealth observers arrived in Durban yesterday to join a host of other violence monitors in Natal — and said they would report to their secretary-general on political fighting and ways to quell it.

The national leader of the mission, Austin Amissah, said the Natal team will initially comprise six observers.

"We've been appointed by the Commonwealth secretary-general to come and observe violence and to try to make a contribution to its arrest," said Amissah.

The team will work closely with existing National Peace Accord structures and international and local monitors as well as parties caught up in the violence.

• In Cape Town, Johnson Mpukumpa, a local representative of the National Peace Accord, was shot and seriously wounded in the shoulder on Thursday night in what appears to have been an assassination attempt.

Mpukumpa is the third civic leader to have been attacked by assassins in the past two years.

— Sapa.

Fire death probe continues

POLICE investigations into the death of city businessman Dennis Pillay at a Howick shopping centre on Wednesday are continuing, amid speculation by an anonymous caller that he committed suicide.

The caller, who refused to identify himself, but said he was a friend of Pillay's, added that the businessman had financial difficulties and subsequently decided to gas himself in his store.

Asked how the gas could have been ignited, the man said people staying in adjoining flats could have had paraffin lamps burning and the flames from these could have started the blaze.

Police liaison officer Captain Henry Budhram said police could not "weigh up" what the anonymous caller said, adding that investigations are still proceeding.

Town clerk Gerard Strydom said insurance assessors were at the site and once they have completed their inspection, the municipality will call on shop owners to start removing rubble from their stores.

"We are concerned that with the state of the building, it represents a great hazard and people could get hurt." — Witness Reporter.

Dukuduku squatter deadlock resolved

THE deadlock over the Dukuduku forest squatters has been resolved with the Forestry Department agreeing to make land available on which the squatters can resettle.

Natal MEC Val Volker yesterday announced land has been made available for the squatters who are at present illegally occupying the state forest in northern Zululand.

He said "this important breakthrough" came after protracted discussions between all the parties involved.

"Consultations will be held with the communities occupying Dukuduku within the near future, with a view to obtaining their consensus and involving them in the planning of the move," Volker said.

The squatters and the destruction of the forest have been the focus of debate for several years.

About 850 families live in the forest at present with several thousand head of cattle.

Volker said it has also come to his attention that more families have recently moved into the area and caused damage by slash-burning.

The SA Police are currently controlling the area to prevent others moving into the forest.

Responding to the announcement, Wildlife Society conservator Keith Cooper said he is "very thrilled at the excellent news".

"It is a very major step and we are grateful at the Forestry Department's gesture," Cooper said. "There is still a lot of work to be done and this will need the co-operation of all involved."

"In addition, the proposed site has to be attractive enough for the squatters to want to move to it. Nevertheless, this is great news."

—Witness Reporter.

Federalism

The quarrel between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the hierarchy of the ANC can be summed up in one deceptively simple question: is the new South Africa to be a unitary or a federal state? There is nothing inherently unsound in the concept of federalism, which is enshrined in the constitution of the world's most prosperous democracy, the U.S. Many constitutionalists would add that federalism is the only model that will work in a multi-racial state where minorities fear the tyranny of the majority.

Why, then, is the ANC so opposed to a federal state with autonomous regions? One objection is that it will divide the country by encouraging ethnicity, the tendency to think in group terms. Ethnicity, after all, was the primary evil of the apartheid system. The organisation also suspects that regionalism is part of the government's hidden agenda, a means of perpetuating white rule in a disguised form, though this is hardly a feasible proposition, seeing that there is no region in the country where whites form a majority of the population, apart from a few urban residential areas.

As for the future status of KwaZulu, it is the ANC's contention that Buthelezi is not the elected leader of the Zulu people, but a representative of the tribal hierarchy which refuses to permit democratic procedures, such as marches, meetings and demonstrations. Until an election is held in the area, the true extent of Buthelezi's power cannot be established.

However necessary such an election might be, it will solve only a local issue. Our constitution-makers are still faced with the wider problem of choosing between federalism and the type of rigid centralised control that the Nationalists used with such decisive effect to perpetuate their power.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT Whacky

IT'S a whacky South Africa.

Car-bomb and landmine planters, who between them killed ten people, are free.

A mass murderer who killed seven people is free.

Hundreds of convicted "political" prisoners are free.

Hundreds of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres who returned from overseas have been given indemnity, without having to acknowledge publicly any crimes they may have committed.

Leading members of the ANC who were being investigated for serious crimes will no longer be answerable for their actions.

Yet when the government wants a law under which others will be indemnified, but their crimes will not be disclosed, there is a howl of indignation across the whole political spectrum, the measure is defeated, and the government decides to have it rubber-stamped in the President's Council.

The ANC, which blackmailed the government into freeing more "political" prisoners than it regarded as "political", is not going to accept any indemnity legislation the government now passes and has warned that it will nullify these measures when it comes to power (assuming it does).

What's good for the ANC is obviously not good for Right-wing terrorists and state agents who may have committed serious crimes.

Whacky enough?

Well, how about the sight of the government holding the short session of Parliament when, because of the ANC's walkout from the negotiations, there was no chance of submitting legislation for an interim government?

So it presses on, regardless of the dangers of stiff opposition, and suffers two humiliating defeats.

Then, in the case of the Further Indemnity Bill, it creates another furore by sending the measure to the President's Council.

The government's name is then mud. Critics say it is a minority government imposing its will on the majority.

If the government wanted to return to the image of the PW Botha interregnum, that of a bullying, dictatorial government, it couldn't have gone about it in a better way.

Yet it plans to resume negotiations on the basis of power sharing.

Whacky, isn't it?

Take the foreign observers — several dozen of them — all running around (or should we say flying around?) the country, observing the beastliness of many South Africans towards other South Africans and telling us how to handle our problems when, with the best will in the world, we are unable to solve them ourselves.

And while they do their monitoring, the death toll mounts.

As for the Goldstone observers, who will wear white and yellow fluorescent jackets, with Goldstone Observer emblazoned on their chests, they are in danger of laying themselves open to ridicule, some cynical journalists calling them the Keystone Cops.

Whacky, isn't it?

Then we have an economy that is in ruins. Even the ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, is worried about it.

But if you thought the ANC would stop calling for financial sanctions to be kept in place, you'd be sadly mistaken.

The curbs stay.

And if you thought the ANC would end its mass action campaign, which is destabilising the country, you would be sadly mistaken, too.

For mass action is to continue.

The ANC has decreed that the country should suffer until it has achieved its aims, which means until it takes over, and the ruination of the economy and the sufferings of millions of people, mostly Black, do not count.

And all the time the ANC weeps crocodile tears about what is happening.

And the country bleeds.

Whacky, isn't it?

Or should we put it more strongly:

Deplorable. Disgusting. Shameful?

'Aids most prevalent among Natal women'

THE Aids-linked HIV virus is spreading rapidly in South Africa with Natal being the most affected province.

The virus, furthermore, is most prevalent among women, Blacks and in the 15-24 age group.

This was said by Natal medical researcher Mrs Quarraisha Karim when she addressed the Conference on National Aids Convention of South Africa at Nasrec near Soweto yesterday.

She said HIV was in an early stage and had only begun affecting heterosexuals since 1987.

Doubled

The prevalence of HIV had doubled in one year from 1990 to 1991, among anti-Natal clinic attenders around the country.

In Natal, the prevalence among rural people doubled in six months from December 1990 to July 1991.

Women were found

to have four times more infections than men.

Mrs Karim pointed out that the survey, conducted among rural people in Natal, was "skewed" because there were twice as many women as men in the area. However, this result was not out of step with other studies conducted in other countries, she said.

At least 446 people have died of Aids in South Africa since 1982.

— Sapa.

Apartheid was factor in spread of Aids: Mandela

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday that apartheid had been instrumental in the spread of the killer disease Aids in Black townships, and said government efforts to combat the epidemic were viewed suspiciously.

"Apartheid legacy has played a great role in this factor, particularly in the Black communities where overcrowding in homes does not provide for privacy within the family," Mr Mandela said when he opened an ANC conference on Aids.

He cited the migrant labour system under which workers have been compelled to live in single sex hostels and generally poor living conditions in townships.

"We do have a problem with the efforts being made by the South African Government, in that the efforts by the Government to introduce preventative measures are viewed with suspicion and as a ploy to control the population," Mr Mandela said.

"This government does not have the credibility to convince the majority of Black South Africans to

change their sexual behaviour."

Aids has killed at least 446 people in South Africa in the past 10 years.

Mr Mandela called on the government and business community to provide resources towards the eradication of the disease.

"I wish to make a special appeal to the government, the business community and other formations to, as a matter of

urgency, make resources available for a speedy implementation of the recommendations that will come from this convention."

He also endorsed the proposal for an Aids charter for the education of the masses.

"Our most potent weapon against this virus is education. We have, perhaps, for some time, allowed ourselves to believe that like other epidemics it will come and

go, that the great advances of our time in science and technology will offer us appropriate quick intervention."

In his speech he invoked the words borrowed by Ernest Hemingway in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* to stress the seriousness of the disease.

"No man is an Island/He is not an entity unto himself/Therefore ask not for whom the bell tolls/It tolls for thee." — Sapa.

Commonwealth observers to monitor Natal

DURBAN — Five Commonwealth observers arrived in Durban yesterday to join a host of other violence monitors in Natal — and said they would report to their secretary-general on the province's political fighting and ways to quell it.

The national leader of the mission, Mr Austin Amisshah, told reporters at Durban's Louis Botha Airport the Natal team would initially comprise six observers, who would begin work immediately for periods of up to three months.

To this end they would monitor a planned Inkatha Freedom Party march through central Durban next Saturday.

"We've been appointed by the Commonwealth secretary-general to come and observe violence and to try to make a contribution to its arrest," said Mr

Amisshah.

The team would work closely with existing National Peace Accord structures and international and local monitors, as well as with parties caught up in the violence.

Among the observers are specialists in the fields of law, policing, security and public administration, said Mr Amisshah.

Questioned on how the mission intended helping end violence, Mr Amisshah said the observers would submit regular reports to their secretary-general. These reports would be distributed to various Commonwealth countries to act on influencing those involved in the violence and to try and stop the carnage.

The observers would attend marches, scenes of conflict and any other potentially violent situations. — Sapa.

2 more policemen killed in Natal

DURBAN. — Gunmen shot dead two policemen in separate incidents in townships around Durban on Thursday in a wave of attacks on officers that has killed five policemen this week.

The deaths brought to at least 65 the number of police officers killed in Natal so far this year. Authorities say 170 policemen have died nationwide.

Four other people were reported killed in Natal on Thursday, one of them a 17-year-old girl gunned down as she rode a motorcycle with her lover in KwaMashu

township.

In the latest attacks on police, four gunmen wearing army uniforms shot dead an off-duty constable at KwaMakhuta Hostel near Amanzimtoti on Thursday night.

Police said the armed men had attacked a house at the men's hostel. The men demanded arms from the occupants of the house but one occupant managed to escape and informed police neighbours about the attack.

Police rushed to the house and met gunfire. A shoot-out broke out

and an off-duty officer was killed. The gunmen escaped.

The second police officer was shot and killed while hitch-hiking to work in Umlazi.

SAP spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said the officer, Sergeant Edward Mthemba, was shot in the back of the head by two men who grabbed the policeman's bag, containing his service pistol, before escaping.

• A policeman was wounded by a gunman while on patrol in Guguletu township in Cape Town on Thursday. — Sapa

ANC says names of 'guilty' not accurate

THE African National Congress yesterday dismissed as inaccurate a weekly newspaper report listing the names of ANC officials allegedly responsible for human rights abuses in ANC detention camps.

The report in the Johannesburg-based Weekly Mail had used findings of an ANC internal commission of inquiry as a basis for repeating "unsubstantiated allegations and accusations", thereby doing justice and those listed a disservice, the ANC said in a statement.

The organisation admitted some of the names listed had been submitted by the internal commission of inquiry, but claimed many more had been added in the report, some of which were completely unknown to the ANC.

"The names listed, some of which are com-

pletely unknown to us, are clearly drawn from a magazine article published in 1990 (Searchlight SA, Vol 2, No 1 July 1990) and therefore available for all to read."

Documents

The names of those under investigation were left off documents handed to the media after the broad findings of the internal investigation were made known this week.

ANC president Nelson Mandela undertook to launch an independent inquiry before allegations could be made against individuals. However, the ANC was widely criticised for keeping secret the names of those under suspicion.

The ANC yesterday reiterated its viewpoint "that it is a basic principle of justice that those who stand accused have the opportunity to be heard. It would be incorrect to simply release a list of names so inaccurate that it even includes names of people who could in no way be connected to any of the allegations made".

The Weekly Mail claimed that a number of people employed at ANC Johannesburg headquarters had been personally implicated in torture and murders.

These included M B Mavuso "Jomo", Mr

Mandela's bodyguard, and others still attached to the departments of intelligence and security.

Promoted

The newspaper alleged others involved had been promoted, such as the current head of the ANC mission in Angola, Andrew Masondo.

The report claimed many of the most senior ANC leaders, including national chairman Oliver Tambo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani must have known about the abuses but turned a blind eye.

Other senior officials who the Weekly Mail claimed were directly implicated included current Head of Manpower Mzwandile "Mzwai" Pili- so, the late MK head in Swaziland, Thami Zulu, former Quatro camp commissar, the late Morris Seabelo, ANC PWV security officials "Afrika" Nkwe and Sizwe Mkhonto, former Quatro camp officers Cyni Burton, Griffith Seboni and "Itumeleng", and Tanzanian MK official "MK Doctor".

At least 21 other names were listed by the newspaper. — Sapa

14 corpses dumped at Ratanda

A MACABRE tale of 14 corpses dumped in open graves at Ratanda, Heidelberg, emerged yesterday as the Goldstone Commission intervened to have the bodies returned to the local government mortuary, a lawyer acting for the African National Congress said.

Ratanda residents, concerned about a possible health hazard, on Thursday reported one coffin had broken open while others had been lying on their sides in ill-dug and watery graves after rain, said lawyer Mrs Chrystal Cambanis and ANC

PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe.

Ms Cambanis said the residents alerted their local civic association and the ANC when they saw two police lorries and a hearse arrive at the Ratanda cemetery about 11 am on Thursday and uniformed policemen offload the 14 coffins.

Eleven of the graves had not been filled yesterday morning because, according to residents, the grave diggers refused to fill the graves as they did not want to "take the responsibility".

"They felt seeing that

the police brought them there they should take the responsibility," Ms Cambanis said.

She said she was contacted by the ANC yesterday morning and immediately requested the help of Goldstone Commission of Inquiry investigator Mr P J Botbijn, an advocate.

She also sent a facsimile letter to Police Commissioner Maj-Gen Johan van der Merwe asking for the identity of the 14 corpses, their post mortem results, death certificates and photographs and finger prints.

Through intervention

by the Goldstone Commission, 11 of the coffins were returned to the Ratanda mortuary by last night, she said.

Permission was being awaited for the exhumation of the three remaining ones, whose graves had meanwhile been filled.

Ms Cambanis said the ANC had been granted permission to receive all information available from a Heidelberg magistrate concerning the identification of the deceased, as well as photographs and finger prints of them — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 24 OCTOBER 1992

Dispute Committee member 'led march'

Citizen Reporter

A MEMBER of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr Mohammed Dangor, was allegedly one of the leaders of an illegal protest march in Bosmont yesterday morning.

Police liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce yesterday expressed his disappointment

and concern over the development and said police were investigating the illegal march and illegal obstruction of a public road.

The case docket will be forwarded to the Attorney-General once all investigations have been concluded, he said.

Lt-Col Bruce said Mr Dangor allegedly acted in

an "irresponsible manner" by allowing about 250 people, mainly children, teachers and a few other adults to march and erect barricades in Maraisburg Road, Bosmont.

"The organisers (of the march) apparently did not even find time to adhere to the guidelines issued by the Goldstone Commission."

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 24 OCTOBER 1992

6 OFS districts now unrest areas

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel has declared the magisterial districts of Botshabelo, Excelsior, Dewetsdorp, Brandfort, Ladybrand and Hobhouse in the Free State unrest areas from today.

Announcing this in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State regional Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Tertius Calitz claimed the unrest at Botshabelo could be attributed to radical elements in the ANC.

He said that according to his information the ANC in the region had not sanctioned a recent march in the township. Radical elements had nevertheless gone ahead and were prepared to run the risk of destabilising the Botshabelo community. — Sapa.

Govt-PAC talks in Gaberone 'amicable'

GABARONE. — Talks between the South African Government and the Pan Africanist Congress continued into yesterday evening in Gabarone, Botswana, with both sides describing the discussion as amicable.

The delegations were scheduled to conclude

their first of two days' talks at 5 pm, but liaison officers for both parties indicated the meeting would continue until about 9pm.

No statement would be issued after yesterday's talks, government spokesman Mr Marius Kleinhans and PAC

spokesman Mr Jaki Seroke concurred.

"The talks are amicable at the moment. The talks are scheduled to continue after a joint supper between the parties," Mr Kleinhans said.

Mr Seroke told journalists the six item agenda had been divided into two general sections.

The first section dealt with the constituent/constitution-making body and transitional arrangements, while the second section dealt with the current violence and attacks on security forces.

As yet there were no indications as to whether both parties had agreed on any items.

The PAC spokesman said the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in South Africa could not be dealt with under the general item for internicine violence. — Sapa.

Hope for fruitful PAC-Govt summit

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

GABORONE — The South African Government and the PAC expressed optimism at the beginning of a crucial two-day summit in Botswana yesterday that their meeting would bear fruit.

Before the meeting, delegation leaders Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the summit would have to succeed.

Botha said "Botswana is a shining example in Africa of what can be achieved if a country enjoys economic and political stability. We look forward to our discussions here for the next two days, and we hope that they will achieve something."

Moseneke, who said the talks had to "prove to be very important", told Botswana's External Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe that his organisation would "do our utmost to ensure that ultimately there will be peace in South Africa".

Government and PAC spokesmen emphasised that the meeting was intended to pave the way "for fully representative constitutional negotiations and to address ways to end violence in South Africa".

Although he would not confirm that the Government would call on the PAC to suspend its armed struggle, Constitutional Development spokesman Marius Kleynhans said Pretoria was concerned about violence and at-

tacks on police by alleged operatives of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The issue was raised at meetings between the Government and the PAC in August. The PAC then said it was not involved in violence and that "a mutual cessation of armed hostilities" could be agreed upon once an interim government was in place.

PAC legal affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said it was envisaged that another summit, involving PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President F W de Klerk, would be held "at a later stage".

Botha's delegation includes Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, House of Representatives Ministers' Council chairman Jac Rabie, constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe, Constitutional Development Services head Dr Niel Barnard, Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans, and General J le Roux of the SAP.

In Moseneke's delegation are PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti, civic affairs secretary Molefi Litheko and special adviser R F Martin.

The summit ends today.

14 corpses dumped in open graves

A MACABRE tale of 14 corpses dumped in open graves at Itatanda, Heidelberg, emerged yesterday after the Goldstone Commission intervened to have the bodies returned to the local government mortuary.

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Cambanis said the residents

had alerted their local civic association and the ANC when they saw two police lorries and a hearse arrive at the Ratanda cemetery at about 11am on Thursday and uniformed policemen offload the 14 coffins.

Eleven of the graves had not been filled by yesterday morning because, residents said, the gravediggers refused to fill the graves.

She said she was contacted by the ANC yesterday morning and immediately requested the help of Goldstone Commission advocate PJ Botbyl. She also sent a facsimile letter to Police Commissioner Major-General Johan van

der Merwe asking for the identity of the 14 corpses, their post-mortem results, death certificates and photographs and fingerprints.

Local police spokesman Major E.J. du Preez said yesterday the 14 corpses had been at a government mortuary for more than six months. "After no one had come forward to identify the bodies, we obtained authorisation from the local magistrate to bury them.

"We then made arrangements with an undertaker and the local municipal office regarding the burial. It seems the job was left unfinished by the undertaker," he said — Sapa.

Mass action only option – Hani

CAPE TOWN – The Government's intransigence and lack of commitment to the negotiation process made mass action the only peaceful and non-violent option, the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani, said yesterday.

Speaking in Bellville at the Conference on Democratic Sub-national Government, Hani said mass action was aimed at "speeding up the transfer of power to a demo-

ENRICO KEMP

cratically-elected government" which would guarantee the political and social stability needed to put South Africa back on an economic growth path.

Hani said mass action remained an integral part of the culture of democracy. However, such action had to be peaceful, disciplined and had to operate within the law.

He said the continuous

decline in the economy suggested that the National Party wanted to hand over a depleted economy with veto rights, which would create constitutional fetters that would seriously impede any new government's ability to effect socio-economic reconstruction.

"The exclusion of central government from important functions clearly suggests that the NP, underpinned by the

Broederbond, wants to foster tribalism, separatism and conflict which would lead us to the Yugoslavia scenario," he said.

Speaking at the same function ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu commended the Government for its attitude toward the local government negotiating forum.

He expressed the hope that the Government's participation would be more constructive. — Sapa.

Ex-prisoner tells of years of hell in ANC custody

WHEN Thabo Mohale was taken into a small room in a Lusaka house and made to squat — holding a brick out in front of him, a broomstick clasped behind his knees — he knew very well how the pain would seep through his limbs with each passing hour.

He'd been put through this before, he says — with the security police in Bloemfontein.

"At first I did not believe I was going through this. This is what happened when the Government took me in. Now it was being done by my own people."

That signalled the start of an ordeal that would last nearly five years — in Luanda Central Prison, at Quatro camp and in Uganda.

Mohale (32) cut and sharpened his political teeth on the same bones as many young blacks, and led the Congress of South African Students in his township.

"After my arrest, my school refused to have me back," Mohale said. He then moved to Johannesburg and joined the unions. He also joined the ANC underground, and when his commander was arrested in 1986 he skipped to Zambia.

NOW the torture was being done by his own people. JOHN PERLMAN records the story of an ANC prisoner accused of being a police spy who just wants to set the record straight.

"It was never my intention to leave the country," he says. "My wife was pregnant."

At first Mohale thought he would be sent to Cuba for training. "Then they said they still had to find out some things from me. I knew my entire being was being questioned. But I thought they will realise the mistake."

Mohale was first accused of betraying his unit commander; later his jailers claimed he had spied on the union movement, the United Democratic Front and Winnie Mandela, with whom he had ties. Beatings followed, at the hands of three men he knew only as "Spinks", "Timmy" and "China".

Later he was flown to Angola and locked up in Luanda Central Prison. "My cell was on Death Row and Wynand du Toit (a South African soldier captured in Angola) was in the cell opposite," Mohale says. "For the first month I

could not talk to him. But then I realised that even though we were on opposite sides we were both South Africans in prison."

Mohale was there for three months — "no blankets, no mattress, just mosquitoes and constant malaria" — before going to Quatro.

He recalls lashings while pushing the camp's 1 000 litre water drum up a hill each day.

In 1988 the inmates were moved to Nonkala prison near Luanda. "We travelled in trucks for a night and half a day. Some people had to relieve themselves where they sat."

From Luanda, Mohale and others were transferred to Uganda. "We were forced to shave our heads there, a mortal insult, just like criminals."

"I began to wonder if I had unwittingly worked for the enemy," he says. "In Quatro they gave you a name when you arrived — like 'pig' or 'fool' — and you were

not allowed to use your own." Mohale won't give his camp name.

Some things did help Mohale to cling to his sense of self. "I was ordered to teach the history of the ANC. That helped me not to feel so vengeful because I was teaching the beliefs that had inspired me."

Mohale believes the inquiry into the camps should have begun in 1988 when news of Quatro first came out.

"There were those who have openly admitted working for the State and there were those like myself who were locked up on suspicion. We are less concerned with who tortured us than with challenging the allegations."

"Nobody has yet come forward to say why they thought I was a cop. I have children who need to know the truth."

"I am not looking for vengeance. But we can't put the welfare of the nation in the hands of people who have done this to their own people. But I do believe they should have a hearing."

"I am still in the ANC. I uphold all its aims. But I cannot participate fully until certain things are clarified."

Organise or else, ANC told

FIRST impressions of Tokyo Sexwale are that he is trying to set an example of the kind of efficiency he says is sorely lacking in the African National Congress.

If you can't get him at the offices of the ANC's PWV region, which he heads, you can call him on his carphone. If he's not in his car, you can reach him on his pager — messages are promptly returned.

Second impressions are of a strongly built man with a resounding voice, and a handshake that makes you wonder if it isn't sometimes prudent to start off wearing a mailed fist before extending a velvet glove.

Sexwale (39) is chairman of a region he describes as "the heart of political activity in our country", and is expected to be re-elected to that position at the PWV regional conference in Johannesburg tomorrow. As one might expect of someone who left the country to join Umkhonto we Sizwe at the age of 21 and was jailed for 13 years for guerrilla activity on his return, Sexwale has a reputation as a straight-shooter.

Ineffective

That reputation was enhanced last weekend when he opened the PWV regional conference — which is being held over successive weekends — with a tough message for delegates to chew on: internal disorganisation, he said, had the potential to render the ANC "ineffective and inefficient. It is none but ourselves who have the capacity to weaken the ANC and consequently the democratic movement."

Leading activists were elected to committees when they had no

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale warns that internal disorganisation is threatening to weaken the ANC. In order to be effective, he says, the organisation must change its methods. JOHN PERLMAN reports.

Sharp-shooting Tokyo gives stern warning

time to serve on them effectively, Sexwale said. Administration at branch level was poor. Leadership frequently failed to report back on important meetings and was often reluctant to delegate responsibilities. "We start meetings late. We tend to market politics with politics. Need we wonder where people are when we address half-full branch meetings?" he asked delegates.

"We are calling for big changes in the ANC and it's a challenge," Sexwale says. "But I was saying these things out of a sense of pragmatism rather than one of alarm. It is underlined by a sense of urgency, though. We will have problems if these things are not attended to."

Sexwale does not believe that the moribund state of many ANC branches reflects the true level of support for the movement. "The ANC has much more support than that," he says, and bubbles with enthusiasm as he talks about the

march on the Union Buildings earlier this year.

The problem, he says, is that the ANC is still grappling with the change from "the exciting politics of pure activism to the new challenges of legality. We must recognise that there is a change, and change our methods." While Sexwale says support for mass action is evidence of the ANC's popular appeal, he takes issue with those who say everything is okay. "One branch said 'don't measure our strength by the people at our meetings, measure it by the response to our campaigns,'" Sexwale says.

"But when you say 'let's march against De Klerk', of course people will do it. People respond because the issues are popular ones. They will always get people into the streets. In that sense it is easy to be the ANC at the moment."

But that will change, says Sexwale, and sooner rather than later. "An interim government will remove apartheid legislation — that is why we are going into it," he says. "And when that goes we may find ourselves in trouble. We will no longer have the politics of big accusations. The election is going to be fought on bread-and-butter issues — on jobs, on policies to generate capital and promote exports and imports."

Excuse

Sexwale, despite his strong words on ANC disorganisation, concedes that some things have made branch activity very difficult. "The violence in the country has affected those levels of society where we are strongest. In the areas hit hardest, our branches have not been able to meet," he says. "I accept that this and other factors are an excuse. Many things are difficult. What I don't accept, though, is when people start hiding behind the excuse."



ONE OF THE BIG GUNS: ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale heads a region he describes as "the heart of political activity".
 • Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER