

# ANC's relationship with Nats a disgrace

THE DECISION by the ANC to include the National Party in their 80th anniversary celebratory march in Eersterus, near Pretoria, is going too far.

To make conciliatory gestures during the Codesa talks is one thing, but to actually march with the oppressor, while there are still political prisoners in jail and CCB agents and activists unaccounted for,

is an out and out disgrace.

Has Mr Molefe Makinta, of the ANC Pretoria sub-region, forgotten about the National Party's history of racism, oppression and corruption.

Has he forgotten Sharpeville, Steve Biko, District Six, the Erika Theron Commission, the Senate manipulation to deprive the "coloureds" of their vote in the 50's and

## Letters to the Editor

Short letters, with writer's name for publication, are preferred, though pseudonyms may be used. No letter is considered unless it is signed, with the writer's full address. When possible, please give phone numbers. Letters may be cut or summarised for space reasons. Write to: The Editor, Sowetan, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000.

Infogate and Inkathagate.

They say you can judge a man by his friends: is the ANC prepared to befriend the National Party which even today spends only R1 410 a year on each black child's education R4 103 a year on each white child's education.

As a Democratic Party national councillor, I am pleased that I have resisted attempts to have the DP join up with the ANC.

If the ANC intends climbing into bed with the Nats and its shocking record of human rights vio-

lations, then there is all the more need for another independent political party.

A party committed to a non-racial democratic South Africa and that has a proud tradition of fighting apartheid and upholding human rights.

I really cannot see the day that the Democratic Party will voluntarily, and not out of any required protocol, march with the National Party until such time as there is majority rule in South Africa.

**RHETT KAHN (Dr),**  
Virginia.



# APLA denies threat

FROM PAGE 1

paign.

In a statement from the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam, the PAC's military wing said the man was unknown to them and, furthermore, it was not its policy to target civilians.

The statement was issued by the organisation's chief of information, Johnny Majozo, who backed Mr Makwet's refusal to testify to the commission probing political violence.

He said the APLA high command had no knowledge of Tafara Rafara.

Defending Mr Makwet's stand not to testify, Mr Majozo said there was no way that

APLA's "struggle" could be classified in the same way as township violence.

The PAC, in a statement on Monday, suggested the commission instead summon State President De Klerk, African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and "other Right-wing struc-

tures who claimed responsibility for bombing schools".

The PAC's statement said: "Widespread violence associated with the regime, ANC, Inkatha and the Right-wing are reported daily. None of their leaders has been summonsed to appear before the commission."

The South African Police were taking seriously threats made against Mr Justice Golsone, a police spokesman said.

THE CITIZEN 20 FEB 92



## Nats routed

news was: "Terrible! This is a new round of Afrikaner nationalism which has already cost our country so dearly."

Southern Transvaal DP chairman Peter Soal described the result as a "blow on the graph", saying the NP had no alternative but to forge ahead with reform. "But they have got to pay greater attention to the concerns of their own constituency and ensure they take them along."

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the result was not unexpected, but the NP should not use it as an excuse to slow down negotiations at Codesa. Macozoma said although the CP could gloat over the victory, it should be remembered that people who cast their vote at Potchefstroom, a town he described as "a conservative town by all standards", represented a tiny percentage of the SA population.

When voting began yesterday, 15 547 special votes had already been cast. Of these, the CP had gained 7 648 and the NP 5 806. In voting yesterday, the CP obtained 2 100 against the NP's 1 800. The polling percentage was 75,38.

The last person to vote was wheelchair-bound Hella Stander, 69. Asked why she left so late, she replied: "I only realised this

□ From Page 1

morning that I was still alive."

Shortly after polling closed at 9pm, scuffles broke out between CP supporters, who thrust forward in spite of police attempts to restrain them. At one stage a policeman drew his truncheon and beat back exuberant CP supporters.

The by-election, widely touted as one of the most important in SA history, took place in a carnival atmosphere with plenty of braai vleis. Apart from two incidents in which a black postman and a black pedestrian were allegedly assaulted and harassed by CP supporters, there was little but keen and raucous rivalry.

The CP's men were dressed mainly in military-style khaki uniforms while the NP cut more sober figures in their suits. Some CP supporters wore T-shirts proclaiming "white power", "Ku Klux Klan" and "race war — the white side is the right side, be on it".

Earlier in the day Trounicht, who celebrated his 71st birthday yesterday, told a huge welcoming crowd he knew he would be given a birthday present — "I just don't know how big it is going to be."

● Picture: Page 4

Negotiations 'must now speed up'

# Nats routed as Potch voters stream to CP

PATRICK BULGER

again as a result of an unworkable and discriminatory policy."

The result would make the NP work harder to continue with negotiations "so that our country and its people can enjoy security, stability and progress — those things apartheid could not bring".

NP information director Piet Coetzer said the result would "make us more determined to bring the process of negotiations to conclusion as soon as possible".

The result reflected "a lot of uncertainty because we are in the middle of the process of negotiations". But by the time government went to the white electorate with a referendum on reform, the proposals would be clear and the NP was still confident it would win a referendum.

Unsuccessful candidate Kruger said NP members had voted for the CP because of their uncertainty about the future.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the result would send a message to President F W de Klerk and his government that "they don't represent the white man any more. The people are asking for a general election." It was also a message to other leaders in SA that the CP was not "in enmity" with them, but that they should not attempt to take decisions on behalf of the Afrikaner.

Sapa reports Stellenbosch political economist and commentator Prof Sambo Terroblanche's spontaneous reaction to the

POTCHEFSTROOM — The CP inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nationalists in yesterday's by-election — but a disappointed NP said the result would only speed up negotiations.

CP candidate Andries Beyers polled 9 746 votes against the NP's Theuns Kruger's 7 606 votes, a 2 140 majority. The NP won Potchefstroom in the 1989 general election by 1 503 votes.

Beyers was carried shoulder-high from the counting hall shortly after 10.30pm, to be greeted by a crowd of about 1 500 CP supporters, held back by a chain of riot policemen. "The voice of Potchefstroom has spoken clearly. It is much more than just a victory for the CP. It represents a giant triumph for our people's striving for freedom," Beyers said.

Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis said the "disappointing" CP victory was "not an accurate reflection of what the majority of white voters really believe about the future of our country".

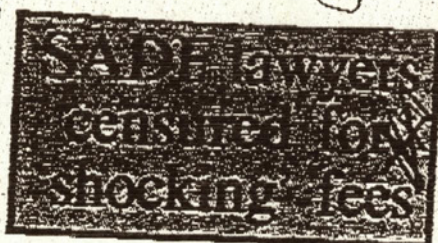
Sapa reports that Du Plessis, reacting two hours after the result was announced, said votes cast for the Conservatives "should not be interpreted as support for the CP's policy". Support for the party was mainly a result of uncertainty surrounding the negotiations process, the climate of violence and "various other circumstances such as the economic recession".

The NP had no doubt voters regarded the CP's policy of partition as unworkable and unacceptable. "We as whites do not wish to stand alone against the rest of our fellow countrymen and the whole world

□ To Page 2



B. Day 20/2/92



## LINDEN BIRNS

TWO senior Pretoria lawyers have effectively been barred from appearing in court and a third temporarily restricted after the Bar Council found them guilty of misconduct for charging clients "totally excessive and shocking" fees.

Advocates Willem Burger SC and Piet Kemp had had their membership of the Society of Advocates terminated, while advocate Hennie Goosen's membership was suspended for three months, the Bar Council said in a statement yesterday.

The three had to repay more than R109 000 to the Pretoria State Attorney. This was money deducted from the inflated fees they charged the Defence Minister, the SADF chief and Col Malcolm Kinghorn, whom they represented during hearings on applications against their clients by three former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) members last year.

Although none of the lawyers had been struck off the court's roll of advocates, the termination and suspension of their society membership was the strictest censure the Bar Council could deliver, said an advocate who asked not to be named.

"It's as if the death sentence has been passed on their practice."

Should Burger, Kemp or Goosen in the next three months attempt to represent clients in court, the Bar Council could bring an action to have them struck off the roll, he said.

Burger and Kemp also represented former Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan, former SADF chief Gen Jannie Geldenhuys and the SADF during the 1990 Harms Commission probe of alleged state-sponsored hit squad activities.

Yesterday's decision on Burger, Kemp and Goosen was not related to the Harms Commission. It pertained only to the subsequent applications by three former CCB members — D Farrell, R Bosch and D du Toit — against Malan, the SADF chief and Kinghorn relating to the CCB's severance package offer.

The Bar Council described the fees the

□ To Page 2





Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

**KNOCKED DOWN:** An elderly woman is tended by ambulance staff after being knocked down by a car in Strand Street. The car apparently skidded on water.

## Panic as arsonists attack black school

**VUSI KAMA**  
Staff Reporter

FEAR stalks a black school in the centre of Stellenbosch after arsonists attacked it, causing damage estimated at R10 000.

A teacher at Luckhoff No 2, Mr Maphelo Ntshanga, said the attack had caused panic at the school and pupils were worried about their safety.

The tuition programme had been disrupted, "at a time when we were getting everything in order", he said.

The staff room and library were destroyed and two classrooms were badly damaged when the school was set alight last Friday.

The school belongs to the University of Stellenbosch and is leased to the Department of Education and Training.

The school's own premises are being built in Kayamandi.

Stellenbosch detective branch commander Captain Lourens le Roux said police were investigat-

ing the fire but no one had been arrested.

The gates and doors were locked when the fire broke out and there were signs that the arsonists jumped over the fence.

Books, maps, rugs and furniture in the staff room and library were burnt and the windows were broken.

Police have asked anyone with information about the fire to contact Detective-Sergeant Colin Wenn at ☎ 02231 70341.



20.2.92

# Violence means progress — Cohen

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Continuing violence in South Africa indicates progress is being made in constitutional talks in spite of opposition from extremists, says United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen.

"The fact that violence is continuing and even increasing is troublesome, but I think it also reflects the fact that those who do not want negotiations — the extremists in various communities — see that negotiations are moving well and are therefore stepping up the violence," he told a press conference.

"So it reflects the progress that has been made and we hope negotiators will continue to forge ahead and not be deterred by the violence, which is what I think they will do."

The US was encouraged, he said, by the progress in constitutional talks. "They are proceeding in a good atmosphere and there seems to be a willingness on all sides to listen to the concerns of other sides, and we feel there is a good chance that many of the issues will be compromised into solutions acceptable to the various factions."

He said that while the US was concerned by some of the statements on the economy made recently by the ANC, the evolution in the ANC's thinking was positive.

"The ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela came here and

talked about the importance of a vigorous private sector and the importance of foreign investment and domestic investment, so we feel that there is growing acceptance of the importance of a free market system in South Africa and we think the evolution within the ANC is favourable."

Asked about the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in constitutional talks, he said he had met IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week and had been assured that the IFP was taking part in Codesa and its working groups as a full member, although Chief Buthelezi was not himself taking part.

Questioned about the US attitude to President De Klerk's undertaking to hold a white referendum on any new constitution, Mr Cohen said he felt it was realistic to test the views of any community.

"If any major community rejects the constitution or the interim constitution, it would not be workable."

"However I am fully confident the white community will support a reasonable constitutional arrangement negotiated within Codesa."

Mr Cohen is to visit South Africa next month for the annual conference on South Africa sponsored by the Aspen Institute attended by about 10 members of US Congress, prominent academics and economists in the US and South Africa.



# ANC has 'no trade policy' says economic spokesman

16/1/11  
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JOHANNESBURG—The African National Congress has no trade policy, its economic adviser on international economic relations, Mr Alan Hirsch, told a trade briefing here.

"The ANC's general economic policy documents have very little to say about trade policy, if anything," he told an audience of about 100 businessmen, manufacturers and exporters who expected to hear whether or not a new government would support changes being made to the country's trade policies.

He attributed the lack of a policy to the ANC's reasoning that it was an adjunct to central economic questions, "many of which we are still grappling with".

He was confident his views were broadly in line with ANC economic policy-in-the-making, and the ANC and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions ("though I cannot speak for Cosatu") accepted exports of manufactured products and services to be vital for medium- and long-term economic growth.

However, he added: "It is true that most ANC advisers expect economic concerns in the first few years of transition towards democracy to focus internally on providing for the basic needs of economically deprived South Africans."

South Africa's existing trade policy was in dire need of reform, and protectionist tariffs were being abused by manufacturers who priced products according to import parity rather than to cost or demand.

He warned against Industrial Development Corporation proposals that tariffs should be homogenised and lowered to match World Bank standards for a strongly outward-oriented policy.

This assumed, he said, that exposure to world prices would make manufacturers more competitive because it would force them to allocate their resources efficiently.

"This may be fine in the abstract world of neo-classical economics, but in the real world many other factors impinge on the ability of a country to compete internationally."

Among these were access to

technology, terms of relationships to foreign buyers or sellers, and the role of foreign investment.

"Just because protectionism was a major cause of uncompetitiveness in domestic manufacturing does not mean that simply doing away with tariff protection will make manufacturers competitive."

He said the ANC felt it necessary to "think deeply and strategise carefully" about restructuring South Africa's relationships with trading partners and international bodies such as GATT (General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade), PTA (Preferential Trade Area), the European Community and Lome.

It would be necessary to move quickly, however, because these issues could be addressed only while "the window of opportunity that is our transition to democracy is open". Next year might be too late.

He said the Government's reluctance to reposition South Africa as a "developing country" rather than as a "developed country" was due to pride, and it was losing economic advantages as a result.

He said the Government, by entering constitutional negotiations, had admitted its constitution to be illegitimate.

"The Government cannot institute major changes in the trade regime, for example, because the commitment of a future government to the same policies will be doubted by the private sector, unless the policies have been negotiated."

"But the Government has made no attempt to even consult the ANC, let alone negotiate with it, over revisions to trade policy."

Mr Hirsch said: "What scares me more than anything is that the Government might continue with its current pattern of trying to rush through major economic policy changes in order to lock any incoming government into a policy strait-jacket."

Until the ANC was included in discussions, there would be uncertainty — the enemy of investment.

Replying to Mr Hirsch, the director general of the Depart-

ment of Trade and Industry, Dr Stef Naude, said export incentives had been changed because they had been badly abused.

The Government, he said, was fully aware of the possible advantages of joining trade groups such as Lome, but until now this had been politically impossible. "It might become possible in the future," he said.

No mechanism existed at GATT for the reclassification of South Africa as a developing nation — "it depends on how you are perceived" — and pride had nothing to do with the issue. "Of course we would benefit from developing nation status. This distinction is, however, becoming less important than it was."

On consultation about changes in policy, Dr Naude said most documents were widely circulated, and nobody was deliberately avoided. "We will talk to anyone."

In his earlier briefing, Dr Naude said the jump "from sin to virtuosity" could not be managed overnight.

The 1960s was a decade of import replacement and, consequently, protectionism, he said. This should have changed to the promotion of exports in the 1970s, but instead a policy of self-sufficiency was adopted with a high level of protection against imports.

Any South African who believed in the immediate arrival of funds once sanctions were lifted would have to think again, he added.

"There are harsh economic realities that have to be faced, and among these are extremely attractive industrial incentive packages in Europe and South America, as well as bi-lateral agreements."

South Africa would have to compete for funds in a world where direct foreign investment was increasingly the norm.

He rejected any idea of a "big bang" move away from protectionism, saying South Africa had a responsibility through the Customs Union to some of the poorest countries in the world.

But it had participated fully in the Uruguay round of GATT, and tariff levels would have to be reduced. — (Sapa).



London

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

20/2/92

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FOREIGN

# White voters deal blow to De Klerk plan

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT de Klerk's hopes of gaining majority white support for his proposals for multi-racial power-sharing in South Africa received a sharp setback last night when the pro-apartheid Conservative party won a convincing victory in a parliamentary by-election.

White voters in the Western Transvaal university town of Potchefstroom elected the Conservative party candidate, Mr Andries Beyers, with a majority of 2,140 votes in a 73.3 per cent

poll, overturning the 1,583 majority won by the ruling National party in the pre-reform general election.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the Conservative leader, hailed the result as a "clear indication that South African whites reject a handover of power to the African National Congress" and called on Mr de Klerk to resign.

The State President is unlikely to resign, but the National party will be seriously worried by the result. It indicates a deep concern among whites at the speed of change in the country and soaring rates of violence.

On this showing, Mr de Klerk would be unlikely to win majority support for his proposals for a multi-racial interim government which he has promised to put before the white electorate in a referendum later this year.

The Western Transvaal is the heartland of the ultra-Right, but Potchefstroom is home to one of the more enlightened Afrikaner universities.

● Nine blacks, including seven killed in fighting between rival taxi operators in Cape Town townships, died in scattered violence yesterday, police said. — AP



Andries Beyers: victor from the Right

## Terror tactics frighten off electors in Punjab poll

A BOYCOTT call, backed by a terror campaign, kept most of Punjab's 13.2 million voters away from the first poll in the troubled Indian state for seven years yesterday, writes Rahul Bedi in Amritsar.

Despite the deployment of 300,000 security forces, turnout was estimated to be about 30 per cent, compared with more than 60 per cent at previous elections.

Many voters, particularly in rural areas, were kept away by death threats in a poster campaign by militant Sikhs demanding an independent homeland of Khalistan. Several bombs exploded, killing two people and injuring 30, in Ludhiana and Gurdaspur districts. At least 26 others have died in recent days.

In some parts of Amritsar district, policemen anxious to ensure some polling rounded up voters terrified of defying the militants, and pressured them into voting.

Results in the poll for 115 state assembly and 13 federal seats were due tonight.

The election was boycotted by the four main factions of the Sikh Akali Dal party. Captain Amrinder Singh, leader of the breakaway Akali Dal (Khal) party, which did take part, is expected to be the new Chief Minister. Polling took place on the second day of a 48-hour, militant-sponsored general strike, which was widely observed.



# Voters reject De Klerk reforms

From Chris McGreal  
in Potchefstroom

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk suffered a stinging rejection by white voters of the path of reform, if not the principle of reform, as the government lost the Potchefstroom by-election in a 10-per-cent swing to the pro-apartheid Conservative Party (CP).

In what was primarily a representative test of the mood of Afrikaners before a promised white referendum on any new constitution, the CP overturned a 1,583 National Party majority to take the seat formerly held by the speaker of parliament, Louis le Orange, by 2,140 votes.

An "overjoyed" CP leader, Andries Treurnicht, said the government could no longer claim to speak for whites and that the result made a referendum irrelevant. He called for an immediate white general election which, if a similar swing were to occur nationally, would give the Conservatives a substantial majority. The victory also put paid to any chance of the CP joining the government and the African National Congress at the national negotiations on a democratic constitution.

The ANC said the result was not unexpected. "The Potchefstroom electorate... is a tiny fraction of the total potential electorate," a statement said. "It should not therefore affect the national negotiation process."

The NP, which had resigned itself privately to losing, was nevertheless surprised at the size of its defeat. But it said the white backlash would not force it from its negotiating course and that its defeat was a short-term problem that would not be reflected in a national referendum among whites.

In Potchefstroom, which is in the Transvaal, the vote was defined largely by the CP, which por-

trayed it as a simple test of the government's handling of reform. It was conducive to a large protest vote. In a referendum the government will be in a better position to determine the nature of the ballot. Confronted with the choice of endorsing a new constitution or a new round of confrontation, the dissenters will find it harder to opt for the protest vote and the vacuum it offers.

But the NP's defeat yesterday does force it on to the defensive in dealing with the right, which has won over much of the government's traditional base of support, and will compel the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the negotiating forum, to move more swiftly towards its goal of a new constitution.

"There's deep uncertainty with voters, because we are in the middle of the process of negotiations. We know the process can't be reversed. What's important is that we get an end to the uncertainty," said an NP spokesman, Piet Coetzer.

An ANC spokesman, Saki Macozoma, said the lesson from the vote was that it should not have been held in the first place. "If there is any lesson for the Nationalists in this election, it is that ethnic elections are not compatible with the creation of a democratic South Africa."

Depressed NP supporters were pushed off the streets by ecstatic Conservatives who, fortified by drink, set about intimidating their opponents. Shortly before the result, CP supporters beat up a black post-office worker and tried to attack NP voters, before police intervened.

'Bugsy' tons

Broad



I N D E X  
 26/2/92



per cent benchmark many had seen as necessary for delivering a serious blow to the president.

The discrepancy apparently occurred because a large number of Republican write-in votes for Democratic candidates instead of Mr Bush or Mr Buchanan were not counted by city and town clerks during the initial reporting.

The Republican write-in returns showed a substantial number of New Hampshire voters preferred Democratic candidates to either Mr Bush or his conservative rival.

Although Paul Tsongas won his primary with 35 per cent, the real Democratic victor was Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, who defied the polls and pundits to win a more than respectable second place with 26 per cent. Mr Clinton doggedly persevered to overcome allegations of adultery and Vietnam war draft-dodging.

"New Hampshire has made

To capitalise on his New Hampshire victory, Mr Tsongas must win the Maine caucuses on Sunday, do well in South Dakota next Tuesday, win Maryland the week after, and damage Mr Clinton in the southern primaries on Super-Tuesday.

This intensely concentrated and exhausting primary process will have all the candidates flying tens of thousands of miles from the north to the west and south and back again, with fund-raising stops in New York and California along the way, before they fly on to Chicago and Detroit for the rust-belt primaries on March 17.

The next Democratic campaign for Tuesday's South Dakota primary has already begun, but the southern states will be crucial for both parties.

An ebullient Mr Buchanan, immediately challenged Mr Bush to the televised debate that the president has carefully avoided. Mr Buchanan then

cent and failed to catch the imagination even of an electorate sunk in recession.

Governor Jerry Brown, running for a platform of fundamental political reform rather than for the presidency, finished last, with 8 per cent. The write-in campaign for Governor Mario Cuomo scored just over 1 per cent, although polls suggested that he would have won had he officially declared his candidacy.

Both parties are now settling in to two-horse races, even though Mr Harkin claims to have the organisation and support across the country to eliminate the uncharismatic Mr Tsongas and a wounded Mr Clinton over the long haul to the party convention in July.

New Hampshire poll, page 12; City Notebook, page 14; Leader Comment, and Hugo Young, page 20; Martin Walker analysis, page 21

## Rightwing election victory threatens reforms in SA

David Bensusford  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE FUTURE of the peace process in South Africa was thrown into question last night by the results of a parliamentary byelection in which the ruling National Party was trounced by the rightwing Conservative Party.

The Conservatives took the key Potchefstroom seat with 9,746 votes against 7,606 for the Nationalists. The National Party had a 1,583 vote majority in the 1989 general election.

The result brings into question President F. W. de Klerk's mandate to enter into negotiations with the black majority on the country's future.

The Conservative leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who was also celebrating his 71st birthday yesterday, said it was the proudest moment of his life. He called for an immediate general election, declaring the Nationalists no longer had any right to represent whites at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). "The Conservative Party will lead our people to our own promised land," the Conservative Party's triumphant candidate, Andries Beyers, said.

National Party officials, shocked by the outcome,

slipped away from the polling station as the results came in.

The African National Congress put an optimistic interpretation on the result, however. "The Potchefstroom electorate is a tiny fraction of the total potential electorate in South Africa," a spokesman said. "It should not, therefore, affect the national negotiation process."

He added: "The Nationalist Party must look to a broader constituency of South Africans and not narrow its vision in order to soothe the sensibilities of a racist minority."

There were some ugly scenes earlier, in one of which Conservative supporters scuffled with a black telephone engineer found at the polling station. An effigy representing the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, as a Frankenstein monster was erected by Conservatives in front of the booth.

Mr De Klerk — the most famous graduate from Potchefstroom University — had held out the contest as a test of white support for his reforms. The Nationalists threw all their weight into the byelection, dispatching most of the cabinet to the constituency to shore up support. A 75 per cent turnout, believed to be a South African byelection record, reflects white interest in the poll.

There will be fears that the result could precipitate Nationalist defections, possibly including some MPs, to the Conservative Party. At the very least it will encourage rightwing political groupings, giving new credibility among their supporters to demands for partition and

threats of secession. It could also encourage black regional power blocs — such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and Chief Lucas Mangope's homeland of Bophuthatswana — to consider an alliance with the Conservatives.

It must now be questionable whether the government can win the "white" referendum which Mr De Klerk has promised his electorate before engaging in the next round of major constitutional reforms.

The government is likely to argue, however, that Potchefstroom is not a representative seat nationally, being overwhelmingly conservative.

Madams' tactics won't wash, page 6

### Inside

Arts, Reviews	24, 27-31
Books	25, 26
Computer Guardian	33
Crosswords	22, 38
Financial News	14-16
Home News	2-5
International News	8, 10, 12
Letters	20
Obituary	37
Parliament	6
Review Guardian	23
Sports News	17-19
Women	36
TV and Radio	38
Weather	37



20/2/92  
GUARDIAN - demand



## Madame bucket cure won't wash

David Barasford  
in Johannesburg

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**S**OUTH AFRICAN psephologists will be trying to work out today what the startling Conservative victory in the Potchefstroom byelection means for the future of South Africa's reform process.

But for those less enamoured with statistics, enlightenment may be offered by the story of how a town's domestic servants were collectively insulted by their "madams" armed with bowls of water.

The town of Stilfontein, about six miles from Potchefstroom, has 13,000 inhabitants, significantly outnumbered by the 35,000 blacks living in the local township of Khuma.

Khuma and Stilfontein have been engaged in civic hostilities for nearly two years. The confrontation between the two communities began with a black consumer boycott of white businesses in 1990, in protest against suspiciously high electricity charges in Khuma.

The boycott forced the Conservative-controlled Stilfontein town council to negotiate, but after a tentative settlement had been repudiated by more militant township residents, the boycott was resumed.

The Stilfontein town fathers retaliated in what is becoming a tradition among rightwing civic leaders dealing with "upplty" townships: they cut off their water and electricity supplies and suspended their sewerage and garbage-removal services.

The township's two doctors reported an increased incidence

of gastro-enteritis among children, and health workers at a maternity clinic found themselves delivering babies without power or running water.

A high note of civic-mindedness was struck by Stilfontein's town clerk, Nokkie van Vuuren, who became concerned about the health risk posed by the axing of essential services. He sent a circular to the white folk of Stilfontein headed: "Health hazards that could arise due to the cut-off of water and electricity supply to Khuma."

It said: "You are hereby given notice that your domestic servant/employee who resides in Khuma has no water for sanitary services. You could therefore be contaminated with the following by them: 1. Cholera 2. Dysentery 3. Diarrhoea, etc. You are requested to ensure that your domestic servant/employee does not prepare any foodstuffs or handle any utensils unless she has washed herself properly."

Indignant domestic servants arrived in Stilfontein to find their employers waiting for them with buckets and orders to wash before starting work.

Township residents burned down their administration offices in outrage last week. By the weekend the boycott was called off in return for the resumption of electricity and water supplies.

But the dispute over utility charges has still not been resolved. So the peace of Stilfontein and Khuma — like that of South Africa as a whole — continues to hang on the reconciliation of what so often resembles the irreconcilable.

THE GUARDIAN  
Thursday February 20 1992

London  
GUARDIAN  
20/2/92



AY FEBRUARY 20 1992

## Blow to de Klerk as right takes seat

Johannesburg: White voters signalled opposition to South Africa's reform process yesterday by inflicting a resounding defeat on the government in an important by-election (Gavin Bell writes).

Despite a campaign led personally by President de Klerk, the ruling National party lost its stronghold of Potchefstroom in the western Transvaal to the far-right Conservative party by a big majority. The election had been regarded as a key indicator of white attitudes towards sharing power with the black majority.

Andries Beyers, the Conservative national secretary, polled 9,746 votes to 7,606 for Theuns Kruger, the Nationalist candidate, in a record 75 per cent turnout. The seat became vacant with the death last year of Louis le Grange, the Speaker, who had held it for the government for 25 years. His majority in the 1989 general election was over 1,000.

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BUSINESS DAY 20 FEBR. 1992

### Vlok says parole works

CAPE TOWN — A large percentage of the prisoners released on parole in 1990 and 1991 had been reintegrated into society, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

In an interpellation in the House of Delegates, he said 16,75% of the 53 748 prisoners released on parole in 1990 had not adhered to their parole conditions, been arrested in connection with another crime, or were wanted in connection with other crimes.

In 1991 this figure was 11,84% of the 47 349 prisoners released.

The authorities could not resort to policies of no remission of sentence because of criticism that a few misbehaved. — Sapa.

## Weapons ban to be selective

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government would soon ban the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said in a mini-debate in Parliament yesterday.

The banning had been discussed in detail with the ANC and Inkatha, and as soon as a proclamation had been published police would arrest any person carrying these weapons at political gatherings, he said.

The ban would apply only to political gatherings as opposed to all public places because of the difficulties police would have in determining the intent with which the weapons were being carried.

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) wanted to know how police were going to interpret whether a funeral was a political gathering or a religious function.

Scheepers was responding to Tony Leon (DP Houghton), who called on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to "stop dithering" and ban the carrying in public of cultural and traditional weapons.

Leon said police had to apply the Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968 very strictly,

especially where it placed the onus on the person carrying the dangerous weapon to prove that he had no intention of using it for violent purposes.

It was necessary to interpret the law narrowly, especially in view of the Goldstone Commission's report on violence at Mooi River.

Leon quoted the report as saying carrying weapons for aggressive purposes could not be tolerated "if normal and peaceful conditions are to prevail".

Leon said: "As recently as Saturday night, the nation was treated on TV to the ugly and unacceptable face of politics in SA when hundreds of IFP supporters were seen at Umlazi flourishing, unhindered and untouched, all manner of dangerous weapons." The footage was shot at a funeral.

Unless the SAP stringently enforced the Dangerous Weapons Act, allegations of a "third force" and that the state was playing a part in the violence would persist.



# Regional govt 'to be autonomous'

*Business DAY 20 Febr. 1992*

**BILLY PADDOCK**

CAPE TOWN — SA was set to have strong and autonomous regional government — stopping short of federalism — entrenched in the constitution, government spokesman and Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport indicated yesterday.

He said that the principle of regional government would be entrenched in the constitution, and added: "There is no point in entrenching powers, functions and duties in the constitution if they are not substantial in their essence."

He said there had been general agreement at Codesa this week that there should be strong regional government enshrined in the constitution.

He added that maybe the ANC had a different interpretation of what this meant, but he insisted there was "general consensus that original rather than delegated powers and duties of regional government should be entrenched in the constitution".

He acknowledged that tough negotiations loomed on the details. "The exact powers, duties and functions would have to be negotiated, but there would be original powers, duties and functions which would be of a substantial nature," he said.

Delport said government was not going to commit itself to a three- or six-month period for setting up an interim government. "We want to make substantial progress but this will depend on the extent of the convergence and we also want to take the country and as many of the people with us when we make that decision."

He said government would table a detailed plan of its interim government arrangements in due course, but it was necessary for it to first study the proposals and views of other parties both in and outside Codesa.

"Whatever the government finally puts forward will be in the nature of accommodating as many views as possible," he said.

Government was more than a mere participant at Codesa and saw itself more as a facilitator, he said.

He said the most difficult issue Codesa would have to resolve was the nature and extent of democratic principles to entrench in the constitution.

There was general agreement for representation of all minority parties in government but "to what extent is there going to be not only representation but also effective participation" or power sharing, he asked.

He stressed that no matter what the Potchefstroom by-election result was, government would not depart from the course it had taken. "It has to be remembered that whenever any government changes its policy there is a period of uncertainty where people do not completely support all our proposals," he said.

But government was confident this was the only way forward and the increased realism being shown at Codesa had led government to be confident of taking with it most of the population.

## Minister grilled on teaching cuts

CAPE TOWN — Would a departmental rationalisation programme started last year cause more teaching posts to be lost than the 4 000 expected because of the latest cuts, Mike Ellis (DP Durban North) asked Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais yesterday.

In an interpellation debate, Ellis said if this was so, Natal alone stood to lose more than 1 000 jobs.

Marais said the 4 000 was an approximate figure, uncertain because it was not known how many teachers would take early retirement or how many schools would go over to Model C.

However, he was confident the overwhelming majority of schools would see the advantage offered by Model C in achieving significant self-determination and of maintaining standards.

Posts would be abolished only where absolutely necessary.

Burrows said Marais had ignored the fact that 700 teachers had lost their posts in Natal last year. He had made no statement on the number of teachers who would be transferred to Model D schools.

He had not talked of paying these excess teachers to teach black children outside formal school settings in venues such as church halls.

Burrows wanted to know whether the cuts in white education would help black education.

The Minister had made his decisions without consultation, he said.

The representatives of the Teachers' Federal Council on his advisory committee had not been permitted to report back to and consult with their constituency.

Dries Bruwer (CP Lydenburg) said it was clear government had turned its back on SA education. — Sapa.



THE NATAL WITNESS 20 FEB 1992

# Inkatha threat to Natal peace bodies

by MARY PAPAYYA  
Durban Bureau

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has threatened to pull out of future local peace structures in Natal if the problems in Bruntville and Richmond are not resolved, according to IFP leader and deputy-minister of works in KwaZulu, Velaphi Ndlovu.

Speaking after a Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) meeting held in Durban yesterday, Ndlovu said there is no point in establishing further peace structures if the issues in Bruntville and Richmond are not ironed out through negotiation.

He said other Natal LDRC structures will have more chance of success if peace initiatives in Bruntville and Richmond can set an example.

"If LDRC structures are set up in all areas in Natal without first addressing problems encountered, one could be party to taking ineffective structures into volatile

areas and thus compound the problem," he said. Ndlovu accused the African National Congress of manipulating the peace process in Natal.

In reaction the ANC said the IFP is seriously hampering the objectives of peace structures in Natal.

Southern Natal ANC executive committee member Bheki Cele said that Ndlovu walked out of yesterday's meeting when a National Party representative apparently accused the IFP of disrupting the meeting. He had to be persuaded to return and later left early.

Also, the IFP was represented by Ndlovu and not six members as was agreed by all parties in the RDRC.

• Meanwhile, contrary to Ndlovu's statement to journalists yesterday, a statement released by the IFP last night quoted him (Ndlovu) saying: "We in the IFP remain committed to peaceful resolution of problems and the peace structures to be set up in terms of the National Peace Accord."

## Gwala, Ndlovu debate peace prospects

A SOLUTION to the violence in the Midlands would be a change of government in the country, Midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala said in a Radio Zulu phone-in programme on Tuesday night, while his IFP counterpart Velaphi Ndlovu believes job creation and discipline among followers are the answer.

Gwala and Ndlovu were debating peace initiatives in the region.

Gwala said while apartheid and its structures exist "those who get to live better through apartheid privileges will do everything they can to ensure that there is no peace".

He said it is easy to tell people to stop attacking each other, but "those who operate in darkness distributing pamphlets, and the

government-trained hitsquads, do not want to see peace among the African people. We have to look for root causes. You cannot cure a disease without knowing its source."

Gwala said the government should have resigned in the light of the funding and hitsquad-training scandals as happened in the United States with Watergate and Britain with the Profumo scandal. "Since they (the SA Government) were not democratically elected by the people, they do not do that."

Ndlovu insisted that sanctions cause unemployment and said the unemployed will do anything to get food. "A person without a job can be bought by anyone to kill. We have people here who have been employed full-time by vio-

lence."

Ndlovu said local peace initiatives such as the one in Mpumalanga should be encouraged and that it is important for these to have the blessing of regional leaders in order to succeed. He said it is important for supporters to listen to their leaders.

An IFP caller from Nongoma said the solution is for "us IFP supporters to lay down arms because we seem to be the ones doing most of the fighting", adding that once the interim government takes over IFP supporters will fill jails which will be emptied by the new government. Ndlovu said the caller should himself stop the violence as he had not been sent by the IFP to attack other people. — Witness Reporter.



1992  
THE NATAL WITNESS 20 FEB 1992

## Official admits ANC attacked IFP chairman

RICHMOND African National Congress chairman Sifiso Nkabinde admitted to a heated Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) meeting in Durban yesterday that ANC supporters shot and wounded Richmond IFP chairman Paulos Vezi recently.

Vezi was shot and wounded in his house when a group of about 200 Phatheni "displacees" stormed the area.

Confirming the admission, Nkabinde said before "jumping to con-

clusions" people should look at the context of the incident.

"The attack was not for political gain or politically motivated and was not launched by outsiders. It was a fight by residents of Phatheni for their human right to be accepted back to their homes in the area. They were driven out six months ago and are desperate to return to their homes.

"We have been pleading with them to wait for the peace process to take its course. Then the IFP

pulled out of the peace talks. These youths then felt they have nothing left to rely on."

Nkabinde said the IFP pulled out of talks because they claimed one of their members, Bongani Phungula, was killed. "Firstly, Bongani was an ANC supporter and secondly, how can they pull out of talks just because one member has been killed? They killed 16 of our members but we still went ahead with a meeting that had been arranged. They killed

five more and we still continued with the talks. It concerns me to see them pull out while we continue talking to them on top of corpses of 21 members."

He said another IFP precondition for Richmond talks is that Chief Patrick Majozi be reinstated, but Nkabinde said Majozi was unpopular not because he is an Inkatha member but because people were unhappy with the manner in which he ran the area.

— Witness Reporter.



# De Klerk's Party Loses Seat to Rightists

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

POTCHEFSTROOM, South Africa, Feb. 19 — The governing National Party of President F. W. de Klerk suffered a defeat tonight as a coveted parliamentary seat here fell to an aggressive challenge from the right-wing Conservative Party.

The by-election, widely regarded as the most critical since the 1989 elections that installed Mr. de Klerk as President, was closely watched as a barometer of white support for his moves to dismantle apartheid and negotiate equal rights for the nation's black majority.

The election was held to fill the seat left vacant by the death in October of Louis le Grange, speaker of the white House of Assembly. But it assumed rising significance as both parties rushed reinforcements to the western Transvaal town for a test of political strength.

Andries Beyers, secretary of the Conservative Party, won 9,746 votes, or 56 percent of the total cast. His National Party opponent, Theuns Kriel, got only 7,606 votes, despite President de Klerk's personal intercession last week. The liberal Democratic Party, which supports Mr. de Klerk's changes, did not field a candidate.

## Demand for New Vote

The defeat will not weaken the governing National Party's control of Parliament, but it gives a psychological boost to the Conservative Party and will stiffen its resistance to President de Klerk's policy of negotiating a sharing of power with the black majority.

"It's not going to alter power relationships," said Theo Venter, a political scientist at Potchefstroom University. "I think it will marginally undermine F. W. because he declared this election to be important."

Potchefstroom had been a safe seat for the National Party, which held it by a margin of 1,583 votes in the 1989 elections. The town was also identified with Mr. de Klerk, who graduated from Potchefstroom University and is the university's honorary chancellor.

After the election results were announced, Andries P. Treurnicht, the Conservative Party leader, told cheering supporters that Mr. de Klerk's Government no longer represented the "white nation" in negotiations recently begun on South Africa's future. The Conservative Party refuses to talk to black leaders like Nelson Mandela.

"The message to Mr. de Klerk is to resign and call a general election," Mr. Beyers said.

National Party officials, shocked by the magnitude of their candidate's defeat, left without consoling supporters.

The President need not call new elections before September 1994, but he will find himself under increasing pressure to respond, since he promised to submit significant political changes to a white referendum. The results in Potchefstroom were significant because its white voters were considered representative of the nation's broader white electorate.

Blacks still lack the vote, except in limited elections for township councilors. But a black postal worker who walked too close was assaulted by jeering right-wingers, prompting the intervention of Anna Hennop, a National

Party worker.

"You've got to respect him because he's also a human being," Mrs. Hennop said angrily to the assailants as the black man rushed off wiping the blood from his mouth.

Had the Conservative Party lost, its efforts to marshal white opposition to change would have been seriously set back. Instead, it looks certain to become more militant in demanding a separate white homeland. White extremists also seem likely to take the election result as justification of their paramilitary activities and bullying of blacks.

Supporters of both parties converged at the main polling station in a brick banquet hall owned by the Potchefstroom municipality. They waved placards, hurled insults and badgered arriving voters with appeals of support. Electioneering outside the polls is permitted in South Africa.

The mood turned so unruly before the polls closed at 9 P.M. that National Party officials called in the police, asserting that voters were being intimidated by raucous Conservatives.

Groups of blacks stood a safe distance away from the polling station watching the ritual of white politics.



# Sinister phase in Natal's carnage

**A** SEA-BREEZE lifts the banana fronds, a hawkler dozes under a makeshift cardboard canopy, uniformed schoolchildren flock home along the baking tarmac — there is no outward sign that this township may be on the brink of war.

Even at Umlazi's Mbazwana supermarket, it is business as usual. Only the bullet holes behind the counter, clearly visible among the tinned goods and enamelware, bear mute testimony to the violent drama recently enacted here.

Four days earlier, the shop's owner, one of the most controversial figures in Natal's bloodstained recent history, was shot dead by a young man who reached into his pocket for change to buy cigarettes and produced a 9mm pistol instead.

A survivor of two earlier assassination attempts, Inkatha Central Committee member and kwaZulu MP Winnington Sabelo prided himself on his invulnerability, and was said to use

muti to shield himself from bullets.

The township, which exploded into months of violence after the 1985 killing of African National Congress luminary Victoria Mxenge, has been strangely quiet since Sabelo was murdered last Friday — but the sharply contrasting reaction of residents is ominous.

"We spent R800 on a braai to celebrate," a sharp young comrade in mirror shades tells us. "Life will be better for us now."

Says Robert Dlamini, a bare-chested resident of Hostel 17: "We have lost a man. We are angry; we want revenge. It is the ANC and the comrades who must pay."

For two months, intense conflict has raged across the densely vegetated gorge separating the hostel and two squatter settlements, Ekuthuleni ("the place of peace") and Uganda, displacing thousands and leaving at least 30 dead.

The origins of the conflict are

*Assassinations of Inkatha and African National Congress leaders has left Natal's townships on the brink of explosion.*

**By DREW FORREST**

obscure and most of the combatants are probably apolitical — "I'm not Inkatha: I'm here to find work," Dlamini tells us. But the hostel-dwellers' perception that the squatter enemy serves the ANC has given it a strongly political complexion.

Last week, a rumour ran that the hostel-dwellers were planning a violent assault on residents of nearby Q section, who are seen to be harbouring squatters.

Against this background, the murder of Sabelo could set the spark for a conflagration. "We're afraid for the funeral," said a taxi driver. "If the hos-

tel men come armed, anything can happen."

A womaniser, a controversial businessman and the hammer of Umlazi's youth, Sabelo had many enemies. But the police are treating his murder as politically inspired, and this seems a reasonable assumption.

His death marks a new and sinister phase in Natal's unending carnage: it involves the most senior IFP man yet to fall to assassins, and forms part of a broader pattern.

In two weeks, three Inkatha high-ups have been attacked by seemingly well-trained groups wielding firearms, including automatic rifles and hand-grenades. In Imbali, near Pietermaritzburg, deputy mayor Abdul Awetha was ambushed by 16 people who shot up and hurled grenades at his car, killing two of his children, while kwaMashu "warlord" George Vilakazi's home was destroyed by attackers he says included "men with long hair".

These were almost certainly the work of death squads.

The attempted murder of IFP leader Paulus Maseko was another such hit, although the Human Rights Commission stresses that there has been continuous sectarian violence in that area and that Vezi's son was hacked to death — suggesting less-professional killers.

One cannot rule out the possibility that the attacks were officially sanctioned by the ANC — comrades in kwaMashu have told *The Weekly Mail* that Umkhonto weSizwe has held secret training sessions in rural Natal in recent weeks "to stop them getting rusty".

But observers seriously doubt MK's ability to mount a series of swift, co-ordinated offences.

What is more telling is that in three areas, the violence threatens delicately balanced peace initiatives, which the ANC has assiduously cultivated.

After years dedicated to the brutal suppression of the United Democratic Front/ANC in Umlazi, Sabelo had been drawn into the local dispute resolving committee, where he is said to have played a constructive role. In Imbali, now said to be "ready to blow", an informal peace deal had secured a measure of stability since November 1990.

"It's happening at a time when we are all seriously talking peace," comments Umlazi ANC chair Felix Dlamini, Sabelo's counterpart in the local peace forum. "It's either people standing on the fringes who are becoming frustrated, or others who don't want peace."

According to the first scenario, dissident MK members, perhaps youthful returned exiles impatient with the meagre fruits of ANC horse-trading, are bucking the official line.

It is at least conceivable that dissidents may have come under the sway of the Pan Africanist Congress or extreme fringe groups such as the Trotskyist Marxist Workers' Tendency (MWT) within the ANC.

PAC slogans are daubed across Umlazi, and some observers believe it may be adapting its Transvaal tactic of supplanting the ANC as the champion of armed struggle, in an effort to extend its influence in Natal.

The MWT is led by harmless eggheads in love with the idea of violence, but its strident message — that the Natal conflict can only be resolved by arming the townships — would fall on fertile ground.

Natal University sociologist Ari Sitas says the MWT has recently become increasingly active and visible in the province.

But the sophistication and swift succession of the recent attacks — Awetha was ambushed despite taking an unaccustomed route, suggesting inside intelligence and careful groundwork — argues against the direct military involvement of far-left splinter groups.

What is highly significant is that the attacks on Inkatha leaders have been matched by a series of chillingly professional hits on the ANC, principally its Imbali chairman S'kumbuso Ngwenya, shot dead at the weekend as he left a Pietermaritzburg city-centre restaurant.

It appears that two hit lists are in existence: a member of the ANC's kwaMashu branch executive, Dumisani Phungula, has been warned that he is among those earmarked for assassination, together with Umlazi ANC/South African Communist Party activist Sandile Thusi.

Nothing could be better calculated to undermine Imbali's fragile peace than simultaneous hits on leading figures from both rival organisations.

## Sabelo rests, but did not live, in peace

**By DREW FORREST**

ONE is not supposed to speak ill of the dead — but in the case of assassinated Inkatha leader Winnington Sabelo, this poses special difficulties.

Until January this year, when he helped set up a local dispute resolution committee in Umlazi in terms of the National Peace Accord, he personified everything that is wrong with South African politics.

There must have been wry smiles in Umlazi when, reacting to Sabelo's assassination last week, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Frank Mdlalose described him as "a man of peace".

A fanatical Inkatha loyalist, utterly intolerant of opposition and repeatedly implicated in violence and coercion, Sabelo, who was in his 60s, has been credited with single-handedly establishing an Inkatha presence in the greater Durban area.

He is said to have been very close to IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to one of the most feared Inkatha leaders, Lindelani slumlord Thomas Shabalala.

His problem was that he lived in a United Democratic Front/African National Congress stronghold. To

offset this, he organised warriors in the Umlazi hostels and from his home area of Umbumbulo, and is said to have frequently called for assistance from Tshabalala's private army.

His uncompromising hatred of the UDF was, on occasion, an embarrassment to Umlazi. In 1985 he warned UDF supporters to leave Umlazi "by the weekend", adding that cars without NUZ (Umlazi) registration plates would be barred from the township. He also warned that his next step would be to close the churches, describing them as "nests of rival organisations".

This outburst drew a disclaimer from the then secretary-general of Inkatha, Oscar Dhlomo, who said Sabelo had spoken without the mandate of the Inkatha president, the kwaZulu government or the local council.

Sabelo's most notorious political intervention followed the 1985 assassination of Victoria Mxenge, when he led an attack on a memorial service at the Umlazi cinema, in which 19 people died. A councillor who knew him said he took great pride in this feat, often referring to it in later years.

With 300 warriors he also made an



Many enemies ... Political opponents were not the only foes of Winnington Sabelo

appearance at the funeral of the cinema victims. Mourners were attacked, buses were stoned and the *amabutho* kicked over markers on the new graves.

A semi-literate patriarch in the traditional mould, Sabelo was particularly outraged by youth dissidence. Campaigning tirelessly against school boycotts, he paid door-to-door visits to youth activists, whom he allegedly threatened and beat.

In 1989 an Umlazi schoolboy, Lucky Shezi, brought a damages claim against Sabelo, claiming the IFP leader and two kwaZulu policemen had sjambokked him at a parents' meeting called to discuss a school boycott.

Sabelo, had so many enemies there is at least the possibility that his assassination flowed from a private grudge. He is known to have been a womaniser, and many youth activists, now back from exile, fled Umlazi specifically to escape him.

His business dealings were also controversial. As a councillor, he was an alleged beneficiary of a scam in terms of which council members awarded themselves sites and later sold them to the private sector at enormous profit. At the time of his death, he was facing a charge in the Durban Supreme Court brought by First National Bank, which claimed his account was overdrawn by R45 000.

Of satanic energy and over-

whelming force of character, he continued to dominate the Umlazi council long after he had ceased being a councillor. "Even when he wasn't at meetings, he ran things by remote control," said one council source. Others say that Inkatha high-ups in the area, including regional chairman Reuben Mfeka, are privately relieved at his disappearance from the scene.

Until very recently, Sabelo's relentless intolerance of political opponents was unchanged. In November, he blocked a planned ANC rally in commemoration of Griffiths Mxenge — for which council permission had been obtained — by the simple expedient of threatening violence. The IFP then used the stadium for its own gathering.

He appears to have been particularly incensed by ANC plans to discuss renaming the Mangosuthu Highway — Umlazi's main road — the Mxenge Highway, in honour of the assassinated ANC lawyer.

Seemingly never without a weapon — he appeared in a famous 1985 *City Press* photograph, leading an impi, a handgun hanging from his belt — Sabelo survived two previous attempts on his life. In 1986 his wife, Evelyn, was killed and his three children were hurt in a hand-grenade and AK-47 assault on his house.

Three years earlier, he had been stabbed at a funeral in Chesterville. "I had my gun handy," he told the media while recovering. "But I stuck to Inkatha's policy of non-violence."

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**SOUTH AFRICA VOTE:** South Africa President F.W. de Klerk's ruling National Party suffered an embarrassing defeat in a by-election considered a gauge of white minority support for his efforts to share power with the nation's black majority. The whites-only election in the Potchefstroom constituency of rural western Transvaal Province marked the second major defeat in three months for the National Party in a parliamentary by-election.

14A THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER Thursday, February 20, 1992 •

# Conservatives deal blow to de Klerk's party

By BARRY RENFREW  
Associated Press

POTCHEFSTROOM, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk's National Party suffered an embarrassing defeat Wednesday in a by-election considered a gauge of white support for his efforts to share power with blacks.

Andries Beyers of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party defeated his National Party opponent, Theunis Kruger, by 2,140 votes out of more than 17,000 cast for a parliamentary seat held by the Nationals since 1948.

The whites-only election in the Potchefstroom constituency of Transvaal province marked the second major defeat in three months for the National Party in a parliamentary by-election.

De Klerk's party has a strong majority in the dominant white chamber of parliament, and he has promised to continue reforms.

Both parties had called the election an indication of white support for them. Conservative Party leaders contend a majority of whites oppose the reforms.

The Conservative leaders are trying to trigger an electoral backlash to oust the National Party government, and the Conservative victory could encourage more whites to cross over from the National Party. National opinion polls show the government's support among whites is crumbling.

Conservative supporters erected a statue of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela resembling a Frankenstein figure in front of the polling station. Several Conservative members scuffled with a black telephone company

worker, saying he had no right to be at the polling station.

"We are voting for the white man. We will never give power to the blacks," said Conservative supporter Jannie van Vuuren.

The by-election was required after the incumbent died last year.

Meanwhile, 10 black people died in scattered violence in Cape Town, police said Wednesday.

Much of the violence has been blamed on a power struggle between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the two leading black opposition groups.



# APLA denies threatening judge

THE CITIZEN 20 FEB 1972

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army yesterday distanced itself from the man who threatened Mr Justice Goldstone if Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu was forced to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

A caller, purporting to be APLA's field police commissar and identifying himself as

Tafara Rafara, telephoned Sapa to warn Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be responsible for any action taken against Mr Makwetu.

Mr Makwetu on Tuesday vowed he would rather go to jail than testify on reported attacks on police by APLA operatives before the commission.

Mr Rafara said attacks on police were APLA's main cam-

TO PAGE 2



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

20 Feb. 1992

# Have faith

BLACKS have always been deprived, so in the new South Africa they can only have better conditions, better housing, better work opportunities, better education and a better life in general.

In fact, the process of social upliftment and economic change is already well under way and there has been a remarkable improvement in many respects.

For Whites, the future is less certain.

They have to give up the privilege that comes from having a white skin.

As Blacks advance, the special considerations that gave Whites the best jobs, the best education, the best standard of living and the biggest slice of the national cake are falling away.

Whites are struggling, many are out of work, each school change costs parents more while at the same time threatens to lower the standard of education of their children, the benevolence of the State is aimed more at the Blacks than the Whites, and at the workplace the Whites find themselves increasingly competing with Blacks who are acquiring more skills.

Some of the all-White suburbs — certainly in a city like Johannesburg — are not just mixed but are becoming Black.

Places like Hillbrow are Third World slums and Whites fear this is going to be the pattern in other suburbs.

At the same time, while Blacks know that any new dispensation is likely to bring Blacks to power, Whites anguish about the future.

They do not know what kind of government will be in office.

On the extreme Right, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and other extremist organisations threaten to go to war if the ANC gets into power.

Many of the people who support reform — and their numbers are diminishing — are unsure where the government is taking them.

Others, who are committed to reform — and they include Afrikaner Yuppies as well as Afrikaner businessmen — simply shrug off the dangers by saying that what had to be done is being done and there is no way in which the process can be stopped — nor should it be.

Armchair liberals, who supported the Progressive Federal Party and then the Democratic Party, are becoming jittery as their posh suburbs begin to change in character and not even the most sophisticated alarm systems protect them from marauding gangsters.

Nobody ever thought that transition was going to be easy, but few thought it was going to be so violent or so frightening.

White businessmen, too, are beginning to doubt the future, since the ANC still harps on nationalisation and redistribution of wealth and hankers for the kind of centrally controlled economy rejected even by former

East Bloc and Soviet States.

There is, in fact, a crisis of confidence, and billions of rands of funk money is leaving the country.

We believe that the reforms were inevitable, though we have never supported the rush to change everything as quickly as possible.

We also worry over the loss of control over the country, the open defiance of authority, the mockery that is made of the law, and various other aspects of the situation.

But whatever happens, the Whites will have to realise that their lives of privilege are ending and their standard of living will never be the same as it was "in the good old days".

This places tremendous responsibilities on the players in this dangerous period. They will have to realise that while they pursue their political aims, they must not, either by policy statements, economic threats or lack of appreciation of White fears and anxieties, set the stage for White resistance and the flight of White skills.

As for the Whites themselves, we can only say:

This is your country, as much as it is the country of any other section, and you will be needed in the same way as in the past.

Have faith, have confidence. You will survive and you will continue to make your great contribution to the success of this wonderful land.



## 1 074 die in unrest in Natal

UNREST claimed 1 074 lives in Natal and KwaZulu between January 1991 and February 10 1992, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said yesterday.

In Natal, 505 people died in 1991, and another 474 in KwaZulu, he said in written reply to a question by Mr Roger Burrows (DP Pinetown).

The figures for KwaZulu applied only to areas controlled by the South African Police.

The killing peaked in Natal in December last year, when 85 people died. The highest monthly death toll in KwaZulu was 54 in March, 1991. — Sapa.

Citizen 20 Febr. 1992



# ANC-IFP strife on Natal peace talks

*Citizen 20 Febr. 1992*

DURBAN. — The peace process in Natal faced renewed problems yesterday with the Inkatha Freedom Party threatening to pull out of peace structures and the African National Congress questioning the IFP's commitment to the National Peace Accord.

This emerged after a meeting of Natal's Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in Durban.

IFP central committee member Mr V B Ndlovu called an urgent news conference directly after the meeting at which he accused the ANC of trying to manipulate the peace process in Natal.

He said attempts to set up Local Dispute Resolution Committees in Richmond and Bruntville had failed, "yet the ANC has failed to address the root problems encountered".

The ANC was intent on setting up local committee's in other areas without first addressing the problems in Richmond and Bruntville, he said.

These included the ANC's alleged violation of a cease-fire in Richmond and its preconditions — including a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons and the

scrapping of the hostel system — to peace in Bruntville.

Mr Ndlovu said the IFP would not support the setting up of Local committee's before the situation in these areas was "sorted out".

Although an Inkatha statement released after the conference said Mr Ndlovu reiterated the IFP would not pull out of peace structures, his threat was made to several reporters at the news conference.

## Ineffective

Mr Ndlovu added: "If LDRC structures are set up in all areas in Natal without first addressing problems encountered,

one could be party to taking ineffective structures into volatile areas and thus compound the problem".

The ANC, meanwhile, blamed the IFP for not abiding by the Peace Accord or committing itself to the accord's structures which were aimed at addressing the problems in these communities.

A Natal Midlands spokesman said the ANC's commitment to peace was illustrated by its commitment to establishing LDRCs.

He said the alleged cease-fire violation was a problem from both sides and added that this had to be addressed by an LDRC. — Sapa.