

The Natal Witness

1/5/91
**Free
speech**

Prominence in national and international news reports this week has properly been given to the right-wing disruption of a meeting at the University of Pretoria on Monday, preventing ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from speaking. On television, shots of Mandela entering, smiling, clenched fist upraised, were followed by views of punch-ups and the burning of an ANC flag. All who value freedom of speech — and common courtesy — will have been dismayed, while those who regard Mandela as a living icon may have felt mortally offended.

It might be a good idea to step back a little in order to bring the incident into perspective. On October 7, 1986, the renowned and respected Irish academic and politician, Conor Cruise O'Brien, was "forced to surrender the stage" at the University of Cape Town by a crowd of left-wing students of all races. They danced, caused scuffles, shouted slogans and sang freedom songs, and eventually the short programme of lectures O'Brien had been invited to give was cancelled to avert real violence. Censure, apologies, disciplinary action and so on followed, much as it is sure to follow the Pretoria incident.

In 1986 the students were expressing feelings related to the impending anniversary of Sharpeville and to their bitter frustration with the then regime. The feelings expressed in Pretoria this week — possibly aggravated by hardliners from outside the university — stemmed from disillusionment and fear. The white right wing believes itself to have been sold out by a Government it had trusted, and now sees the dreaded swart gevaar as looming larger, closer and infinitely menacing.

One does not have to share these beliefs in order to understand them. Indeed, the point is not that people have beliefs and fears and frustrations that others see as misguided or wrong, nor even that they give vent to them publicly. The point is that they choose to do so, dangerously and violently, in order to prevent a speaker from being heard. When this takes place at a university it destroys the credibility of the institution which, by tradition and by definition, should be a citadel of freedom of thought and of expression where any speaker, of any persuasion and on any subject, has a right to a hearing. It is to be hoped that the ugly fracas at the University of Pretoria will only dent that institution's enlightened image and not destroy it altogether.

South Africa

Witness 1/5/91

by Oscar Dhlomo

The ANC-PAC patriotic front

THE recent agreement between the ANC and the PAC to form a patriotic front is a step in the right direction. As the two oldest liberation movements in the country, the ANC and the PAC owe it to black South Africa to spearhead this initiative. It is still early to assess if the proposed front will have a positive effect on black disunity and political animosity. Properly handled, it has that potential. There are, however, a few thoughts that one hopes the front would do well to consider:

Firstly, it is hoped the front will not multiply our present problems by turning out to be obsessed with the instant exclusion of all political groupings with whom they might not be in agreement on matters of strategy. For instance, I am worried about an uncompromising statement which says all parties that support a

Constituent Assembly would be welcome to join the front. If this means parties that have a problem with the Constituent Assembly (and there are many of them at present, including Inkatha) will automatically exclude themselves, then I suspect the front might turn out to be part of, rather than a solution to, the problem of black disunity.

If on the other hand, the front plans to patiently sell the idea of the Constituent Assembly to those parties that still do not accept it, and take the trouble to find out what problems these parties have in this regard and what alternative suggestions they have, then the front will prosper and gain respect as a bastion of political tolerance and democracy. I pray that the leaders of the front adopt the latter course of action.

Secondly, the front must be commended for its stated objective of achieving unity in action and trying to distil a common approach to the process of political transition we are going through. This unity in action should, however, not be achieved through coercion and intolerance because it would then translate into meek and passive conformity. The front must accept from the very beginning that there are many other ideas floating around in the marketplace on how political transition should be managed in our country. A Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of "first-person-past-the-post majoritarianism" is just one of them.

People and parties with differing ideas are entitled to them and they should not be despised or arbitrarily excluded from the constitutional debate. Many amongst us South Africans can claim to possess theoretical

knowledge of the process of political transition in our country but no-one amongst us can claim to possess the practical experience of political transition. In this regard we are all novices since we have never travelled this constitutional route before.

Finally, I was both disturbed and worried when I recently read an analysis of the implications of the patriotic front in one newspaper. The analyst concerned concluded that the proposed patriotic front was aimed at isolating Dr Buthelezi (and Inkatha) by driving him into Mr de Klerk's and the National Party's ideological camp where he would then be turned into "a Muzorewa of South Africa".

This analysis reminded me that last year, shortly before the outbreak of intergroup violence on the

Witwatersrand, I strongly warned against any political strategy that sought to isolate and discredit Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha. I am therefore surprised that there are analysts who still cherish the view that it is practical politics to do so. I am also surprised that there are people who still believe it is feasible, constructive and fair to want to exclude Buthelezi or anyone with a significant political following from the negotiation table. I would have thought it was by now obvious that Buthelezi will be one of the key players in the negotiations.

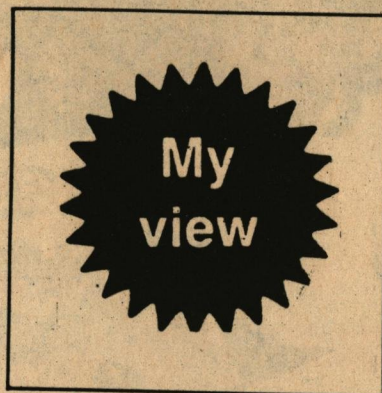
We wish the ANC and the PAC success in their endeavours with the patriotic front. We hope it will be a patriotic front of inclusion and not exclusion. We also hope its basic philosophy will be underpinned by a culture of political tolerance and a yearning for national reconciliation.

Don't abolish the death penalty

ARTICLES in the press and the establishment of a society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty have raised again the issue of capital punishment. That so serious an issue should be reviewed is clearly desirable, especially as to err is human and anything likely to reduce mistakes obligatory. What is unacceptable, especially as senior members of the law are heavily represented, is the lack of a sense of balance which calls for the total abolition of the death penalty and presents evidence only in its favour. It poses the question of what is the primary function of the law. Is it to maintain law and order? Is it to uphold public opinion by polls for and against capital punishment? Is it to oppose laws which may result in judges imposing different sentences (death at discretion)?

If it is to maintain law and order, then the crucial question is: is it a deterrent? This is dismissed with no evidence given in support. The evidence shows capital punishment is not a deterrent. Only those who have never been down into the valley of the shadow can be oblivious of the fact that with few exceptions mankind's primary concern is to stay alive. The supreme value of life is expressed in "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for a friend."

Under a heading "A fate better than death", *Time* (March 4, 1991) describes how men charged with multiple murders who, if convicted, would be sent to the gas chamber in the United States, seek refuge in Canada, where the death penalty was abolished in 1976. The recent article in the *Natal Witness* (March 6) on the behaviour of the convicted during the week preced-



ing the death penalty, although intended to invoke sympathy for abolition of the death penalty, in fact underlines the duress it invokes and its deterrent effect.

An Australian was hanged in Malaysia for bringing in drugs by ship. No further report has there been of any drug smuggling. Police in the UK were unarmed when the death penalty was obligatory for a person killing a policeman — less clear is the significance of the fact that despite world wide antagonism to South Africa, South African Airways has been virtually free of hi-jacking. Is this associated with the death penalty in South Africa? If, as is stated, violence is "invariably a reflection of social and political factors" (*Witness*, March 27), how is it that at the height of apartheid policy there was little violence in the townships and now, since the moratorium on the death penalty last August, violence seems to have increased?

A characteristic of arguments against the death penalty is the indifference to the suffering of the victims and their relatives. No

mention is made of the life-long uncertainty and horror experienced by parents of abducted young girls.

We are told of those going to the gallows being incontinent but not a word of how often this occurs in murdered elderly women. What of girls who have been raped and too disturbed to report the incident but left with a permanent feeling of being unclean that not even three baths a day can erase.

A curious feature is the use of emotional words: dehumanising, debasing, obscene, indecent, lewd, filthy, even by members of the judiciary from whom one might expect "the cold neutrality of an impartial judge".

The fact that there have been rare instances of the death penalty being applied to innocent people is deeply disturbing but there have been instances of reprieve of the death penalty and, after 15 years in prison, the rapist is released only to rape two other girls and murder a third.

Reasons have been given for the death penalty being the greatest deterrent but it is accepted that this does not apply to the crime *passionale*. For punishment to be a deterrent the risk of being apprehended must be reasonably high so the argument that the death penalty has not influenced the incidence of rape may be due to the chances of being apprehended being low. It may also have a considerable element of the crime *passionale*.

The crucial issues are those involving cold blooded murder to silence a witness, or to avoid identification, mass murder by bombs in planes, public buildings, etc., abduction of children, mass drug

peddling and especially township violence. Historically, township violence has similarities with the feud between the MacDonalds and the Campbells and the massacre of Glencoe. Far from, as Mandela and the legal authorities suggest, the cure awaits the introduction of democracy and one man one vote, history shows the birth of democracy evoking massive violence as in the French Revolution and so much so in the American Revolution that Adams had to warn that "revolution cannot subsist on anarchy".

The deterring effect of a punishment will differ in different societies. It is probable that for the death penalty to have its fullest deterrent effect it needs visual impact and, while not advocating a Tyburn or gallows erected at a crossroad, a scientific study could be justified on the effect on township violence and on the frequency of murder of elderly couples living on their own, of a television programme showing the carrying out of the death penalty and identification of the end result and/or a public film presentation in the townships where violence is worst. However unpleasant the idea, "Diseases desperate grown. By desperate appliances are relieved".

However, it would require "the native hue of resolution" and so would be unacceptable to that ir-resolute section of society because "conscience is a coward and those faults it has not strength enough to prevent it, seldom has justice enough to pursue."

• P.M. Smythe is Emeritus Professor of Paediatrics at the University of Natal.

our readers write

7/10/91 11/5/91 Squatters

THIS is an open letter to all ratepayers who are concerned at the devaluation of their properties by the siting of squatters in "secret" designated areas around and in the city.

The manner in which the city council and other so-called experts have elected to tackle this serious problem can only spread alarm to property and land owners who are naturally fearful of the devaluation of possibly their biggest asset — their home.

The known problems being experienced by property owners who have the squatter problem on their doorsteps are well known — one of the worst being that of security.

As these "secret" documents and plans are not readily available, and even the press was not permitted to report on the recent costly conference, I urge that ratepayers contact their associations and not rest until they have been shown the proposed "true" documents (siting, etc) of these squatter camps, so that these may be discussed and evaluated.

It is vital that discussions on such a momentous issue be not left in the hands of a few dogooders at the cost of what are at present stable housing communities. Everybody is entitled to a place in the sun — whatever his colour — but at what cost and at whose cost?

The Pietermaritzburg City Council (from what we can gather) is in a financial crisis but still sees fit to hand over its most important asset — namely its land — for squatting.

In addition, to discuss its plans with a chosen few when the entire issue affects all ratepayers boggles the mind. To think that these are the so-called responsible individuals who are to deal with the squatter problem (in secret) is indeed frightening. I have no objection whatsoever to other races living as my neighbours but I see the squatter problem as one which should be aired openly. The council members have been voted in by us, the ratepayers, and are our *paid* servants. Where are the squatter camps to be. Ratepayers, you have been warned. We demand the truth.

MERCIA WATKINS

Chairman: Housewives' League, P'maritzburg

• Letter shortened — Assistant Editor.

Pensions: KwaZulu threatened

Witness Reporter 11/5/91

SUPREME Court action would be brought against the KwaZulu government to compel pension officials to hand over old age pension application forms irrespective of a KwaZulu citizen's tax status, a Durban Legal Resource Centre (LRC) spokesman said yesterday.

The LRC spokesman said the centre was waiting for a client from the Mpumalanga area to come forward so that the legal action could be instituted.

"The KwaZulu pension official wears two caps. He is not doing anything illegal by asking for the tax laid down in the 1973 Taxation Act — the Act allows for him to collect the tax. It is when the pension official links

the payment of the tax to the old age pension application form that they are doing something wrong," the LRC spokesman said.

He said what the Mpumalanga pension officials were doing was not illegal in terms of any criminal act but unlawful.

He said therefore Supreme Court action would be brought to compel the officials to hand over the application forms.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the KwaZulu department of social welfare and pension, Daan du Plessis, said as far as he was aware a circular asking officials to help old age pensioners with their application forms was issued in 1981.

He said the matter had been referred to the department of justice for investigation.



THE NATAL

MERCURY

Taking the big risk

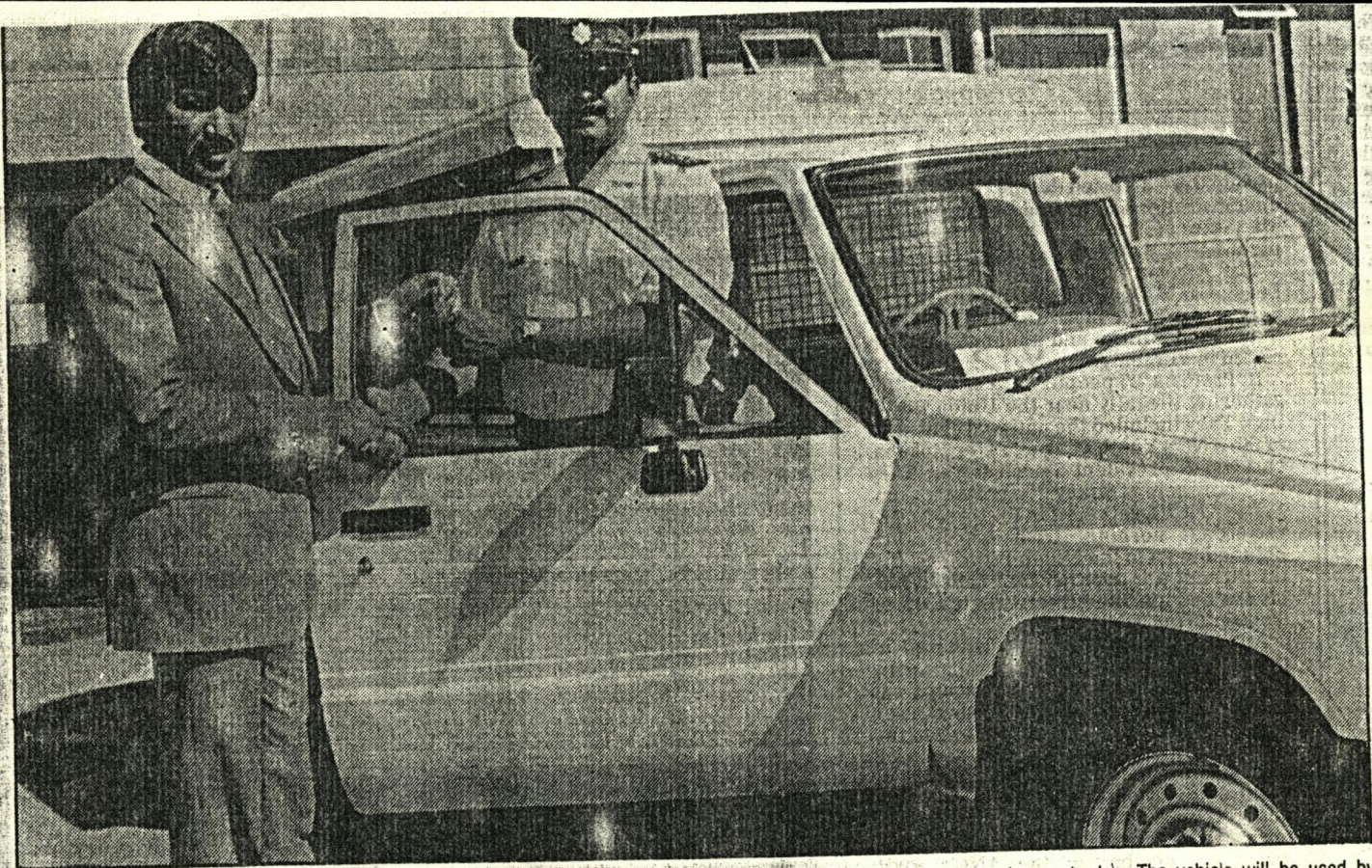
THE PUBLIC is in such a state of agitation and alarm, and the level of violence so serious, that there must be considerable doubt whether President de Klerk can fully succeed with the new initiatives he announced during discussion of his Vote in Parliament this week.

The plan he announced to establish two new funding schemes to address the underlying causes of chronic violence, and to assist the victims of violence, will win the approval of anxious Western countries eager to follow up the lifting of sanctions with the infusion of new funds into South Africa to bolster stability. But they will have their doubts also, because there is no commitment yet from the ANC to make common cause with the Government in bringing an end to violence.

Rightly, President de Klerk warned that the culture of violence is leading to a polarisation that could end in civil war. Premeditated killings of horrendous brutality are taking place in black townships. The Soweto killings following the Khumalo funeral last weekend served to show red-banded impis rampaging with weapons that could hardly be described as 'cultural', and with the police unwilling or unable to stop them.

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi must accept President de Klerk's call for an urgent meeting. The sale of strategic oil stockpiles — risky while reform is not complete — must be given the best chance of boosting the living standards of the poor by creating job opportunities, while the Social Emergency Aid Fund must be allowed to heal the suffering of the thousands of victims of violence.

Without participation and support across the political spectrum, there is a danger that even these constructive measures will be too late and will go to waste. But South Africa cannot afford to allow them to fail.



Litty Nehru (MP for Newholmes) handed over a vehicle to Captain Hariram Badul of the Mountain Rise police station yesterday. The vehicle will be used by reservists for neighbourhood watch patrol.

NATAL WITNESS 1 MAY 1991 State attempts to exploit Winnie, Sisulu feud

JOHANNESBURG — The State yesterday attempted to use the long-standing feud between senior ANC members Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela to destroy the alibi proffered by the latter in defence of the kidnap and assault charges she faces.

State advocate Jan Swanepoel told the Rand Supreme Court attempts had been made to call Sisulu as a State witness to testify in the trial in which Mandela, John Morgan and Xoliswa Falati have

pleaded not guilty to charges of kidnap and assault.

Uncontested evidence is that child-activist Stompie Seipei and three other youths were removed from the Orlando West Methodist Church manse on the night of December 29, 1988, and were taken to Mandela's Diepkloof house where they were beaten with sjamboks, apparently because they refused to admit conducting homosexual relationships with a white priest.

Part of Mandela's alibi was that

she had taken another youth, Katiza Cebekhulu, to the Soweto surgery of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat on the afternoon of December 29, 1988, and thereafter left for Brandfort in the Orange Free State.

Swanepoel on Tuesday said his intention was to call Sisulu, who was Asvat's assistant at the time, to support a visiting card which suggested Cebekhulu had consulted the doctor on December 30, and not on December 29 as had been claimed by Mandela.

Swanepoel however closed the State's case without following through with his intention to call Sisulu. He said he had been unable to extract a response from her lawyer, Pricilla Jana.

Sisulu thwarted Mandela's chances of becoming the ANC Women's League national president at the weekend, when she stepped down from the contest and successfully urged members to vote for the other candidate, Gertrude Shope.

Disrupted meeting: stern action threatened

PRETORIA — The University of Pretoria would take stern action against students and outside persons responsible for the "chaos" at Monday's campus meeting that was to have been addressed by Nelson Mandela, the university's Bureau for Public Relations said yesterday.

The university had taken immediate steps to identify those responsible.

All student activities with a political connotation have been

suspended up to and including May 31 to enable the authorities to set up measures to prevent a recurrence of the incident.

The university hoped to create an opportunity as soon as possible at which Mandela could state his point of view on the campus.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday criticised the students' denial of the right of free speech to Mandela as a thoroughly disgraceful episode.

De Beer said it would be quite

wrong, however, to suggest the students' act was unique.

"Liberalism always suffers when this sort of Nazi behaviour takes place," he said.

The Conservative Party has warned the university authorities not to take action against right-wing students who prevented Mandela from speaking saying it would make the Tukkies campus a lead political battleground in future.

The CP praised the students for demonstrating their opinion of

Mandela's "aggressive plan" to subject whites in South Africa to black majority rule.

At the request of supporters, the party had agreed to set up a fund for any students prosecuted.

At Randse Afrikaans University in Johannesburg yesterday, a publicised meeting, which was to have been addressed by Penuel Maduna, a member of the ANC's legal and constitutional committee, failed to take off when Maduna did not turn up. — Sapa.

ANC strongly opposed to FW's proposed troika

CAPE TOWN — The ANC executive remains strongly opposed to any "troika" arrangement involving its deputy President Nelson Mandela, President F.W. de Klerk and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This has cast serious doubt on the likelihood that Mandela will heed De Klerk's call in an Parliament on Monday, for him to join the State President and Buthelezi to address violence.

The organisation has also met

De Klerk's call for a national summit on violence with a counter-proposal that such a summit be called by an independent body or person.

The counter is seen as a viable alternative to the initial outright rejection of the summit and leaves a door open for De Klerk to reach a compromise.

"President De Klerk is seen as a party to the conflict and he cannot call such a conference," said ANC National Executive Committee

member, Aziz Pahad, yesterday.

"Our supporters will just see it (De Klerk's May 24 and 25 summit) as a diversionary tactic," he said.

De Klerk's resurrection of the three-leader formula, created the impression that he had strong reasons for expecting Mandela's agreement. He nevertheless presented the invitation in a morally compelling package which, if rejected, may still cost the ANC local and international sympathy.

Indications are, however, that

the ANC leadership's decision-making is now more firmly directed by the dictates of political survival at its July congress.

The approval of its grassroots support overrules any international considerations and the NEC feels it can no longer be seen to blindly follow the lead De Klerk has thus far so obviously retained.

The "troika" with Buthelezi is regarded as a political deathtrap for the leadership under present circumstances. — Sapa.

Enigma 1/5/91

Mandela warns of mass action

THE African National Congress National Executive Committee would respond to the failure of the government to meet the midnight expiry of yesterday's deadline for the release of political prisoners, says ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Speaking at a public meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall last night, he said State President De Klerk had failed to meet the deadline and would face mass action to win the prisoners' freedom.

"There remain very large numbers of prisoners in jail who ought to have been released.

"I can state emphatically that we find this failure of the government totally unacceptable. We sympathise with and support any action, including hunger strikes, that prisoners may undertake to demand their release."

Mr Mandela said the government was provoking mass action by failing to live up to its agreement to free all prisoners.

"The enforcement of this agreement is not up to De Klerk alone... the people have power and will use it to show there is a peace process," he said.

Mr Mandela, who has threatened to break off power-sharing talks with the government unless it

acts to halt township violence by May 9, also complained of lack of action to end the bloodshed.

"It is alarming that we should learn of new assassination plots at a time when this criminal activity is supposed to have been brought to an end," he said.

Mr Mandela further rejected an invitation from Mr De Klerk on Monday to join him and KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in talks on ending the violence. "The suggestion... is merely a smoke-screen," he said to loud cheers. "I will not be part of that troika." — Sapa-Renter.

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NATAL WITNESS

1 MAY 1991

Police issue weapons warning

JOHANNESBURG — Police have issued a stern warning on the carrying of dangerous weapons during today's May Day celebrations in Soweto, where 28 people have been killed in unrest-related violence since Sunday.

Colonel Jac de Vries, regional liaison officer for the Soweto police, also warned the dusk-to-dawn curfew in Soweto would be strictly enforced from last night to avert bloodshed during the celebrations.

Police would also confiscate all "non-traditional weapons" before today's ANC-SACP-Cosatu rally at Orlando Stadium, he said.

"No person will be permitted to

board any train whilst carrying dangerous weapons, and dangerous weapons will also not be allowed to be taken into the stadium," he said.

Police reinforcements had been brought into Soweto.

De Vries also urged political leaders to ensure their supporters were peaceful during and after scheduled celebrations.

The discovery of a further six bodies at Dobsonville Hostel early yesterday brought to 28 the number of people who died in unrest-related violence in Soweto since the start of the weekend, he said.

All six of the dead appeared to be hostel dwellers.

He confirmed that police had fired birdshot, rubber bullets and teargas during yesterday afternoon's large-scale confrontation between Dobsonville Hostel dwellers and surrounding residents.

He described the confrontation as "an all-out battle" but said there had been no casualties.

In Alexandra township, where unknown groups of attackers roamed the streets at the weekend, the death toll stood at 32 last night, a police spokesman said. However, he added the township was "all quiet".

Ten people have been killed in unrest-related incidents around

the country since Monday.

Police also used birdshot and teargas to disperse about 3 000 protesters outside the Diepkloof Police Station yesterday afternoon, police confirmed.

The group, who marched on the police station to present a protest note to the commanding officer, apparently set a police vehicle alight after slashing its tyres.

Police said that the township was quiet last night, but reinforcements had been sent to the area in anticipation of violence that could erupt today.

Elsewhere through Monday night, police found the bodies of two men, one with hack wounds

and the other with hack and stab wounds, in Daveyton near Benoni.

At Zuba, Umkomaas, a man was injured when a group of unknown gunmen fired several rounds at him. At Bruntville, Mooi River, a man and a 13-year-old girl were injured when two youths looking for firearms, entered a classroom on Monday.

The looting of shops, setting vehicles alight and stone-throwing incidents were reported from Katlehong on the East Rand, and a house was set alight in Thokoza near Alberton.

In Vosloorus, near Boksburg and Tembisa near Kempton Park, vehicles were set alight. — Sapa.

Fair Play

1 May 1991

by

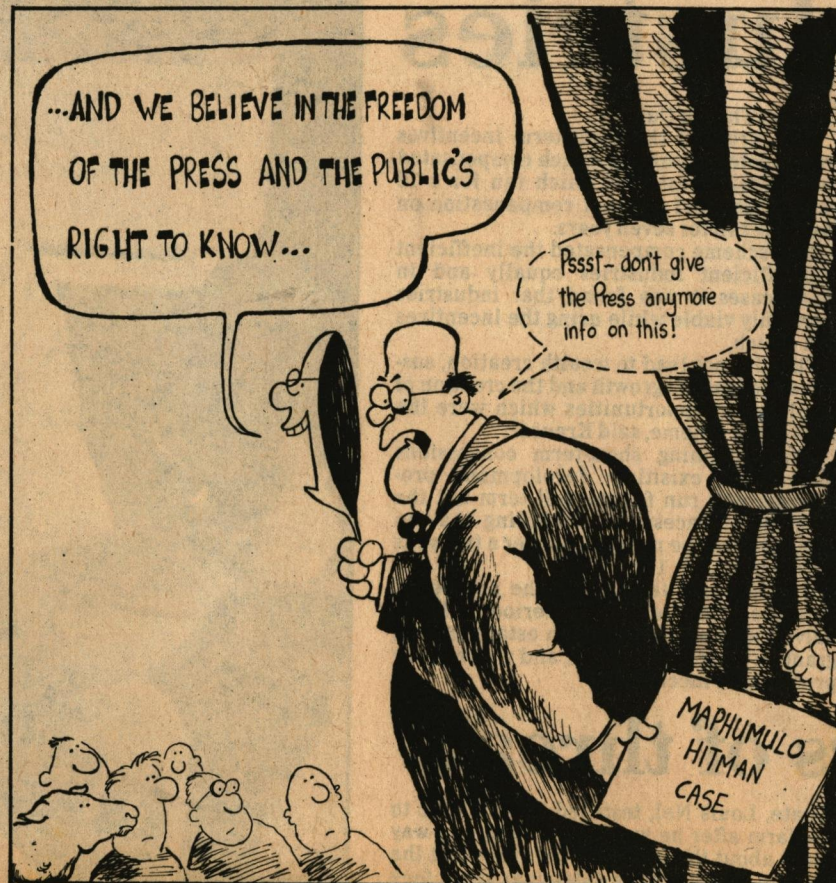
The Madlala allegations

LAST week's startling claims by Siphso Madlala about the assassination of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo highlighted sharp differences between the press and politicians about the use of information.

The *Natal Witness* went out on a limb, despite pressure from senior policemen, to publicise revelations of apparently major proportions. The courts will probably decide whether Madlala's claims about a security force "hitsquad" are true. But his statement was important enough for a special police investigation team to be dispatched from Pretoria; for search warrants to be issued and people interrogated; and for senior politicians to raise the issue in Parliament.

In the midst of all this, with public interest aroused, a local MP announces — "off the record" of course — that he has an agreement with the ministry of law and order not to talk to the press. This is confirmed by a virtual clamming up by all sides involved.

To journalists this is unacceptable. For politicians, police chiefs and lawyers to conspire in withholding information is unlikely to be in the public interest. People have a right to know about progress of investigations into these disturbing stories of politically motivated murder. Journalists have a duty to keep



them informed, but politicians seem unable to resist the temptation to manage the news. These secret pacts, involving people who wanted the original story published, interfere both with the people's right to know and with the job of journalists.

The story also revealed different values applied by other news organisations. People who rely solely on

the SABC for knowledge of current events could hardly have known on Friday that such a potentially big story had broken. The only reference I detected was a minor mention in the lunchtime news about "a newspaper" (the unnamed *Witness*) not telling police where to find Madlala.

★ ★ ★

Reader K. Bromley reckons he's caught out the *Witness* on a grammatical point, but I am not so sure. Picking up on S. de Waal's joke last week about Afrikaners having problems with singular and plural — as in "please miss, the one are a bull" — he detects a similar mistake in a front-page story.

"Parking for 178 cars and a petrol

THE MADLALA ALLEGATIONS

station are planned," said the report. Turn that around, says Bromley, and it reads, "Parking are planned for 178 cars and petrol station."

No. There are two subjects: "parking" and "petrol station". It is therefore correct to use the plural "are". Perhaps the adjectival phrase "for 178 cars" adds to the confusion, and perhaps the whole thing could have been phrased more elegantly, but it's not necessarily wrong. Yes, there are other possible interpretations, but please don't send them in. Any contrary opinion will end up in the rubbish bin. As Bromley says, it makes one realise how tricky the English language are.

There are countless pitfalls simply waiting for reporters to stumble along. Many a scribe has written that so-and-so "was sentenced to 25 years in the supreme court in Pietermaritzburg". Imagine a poor soul languishing in court for a quarter of a century.

★ ★ ★

Almost a year after the *Witness* decided to drop honorifics, F.B. Smith weighs in with this letter:

"I notice you persist in omitting titles (Mr, Miss, Prof, etc) in reference to persons, despite opposition thereto, and not a single word in support. I cannot understand why, as I am sure most of your readers find it completely unacceptable. Do you not read other newspapers? If you did, you have seen that no other newspaper uses this form of address. I really find this lack of common courtesy impolite, if not downright offensive, and I am sure most readers of the *Witness*, or any other person for that matter, will agree. Would you, for example, refer to President de

Klerk as "De Klerk" when speaking to a party of VIPs? I am sure you would not. Why then do it in the written language?"

Firstly, several publications, most notably *Business Day*, the *Financial Mail*, and *Finance Week*, do not use honorifics. Secondly, the *Witness* has been at pains to point out that the practice is not intended to be discourteous or offensive. Rather, it is a reflection of an egalitarian trend in society.

Comparisons between the written and spoken word are not helpful. You do not go around calling people "Dear Sir". Similarly, whatever courtesies one may extend in personal encounters cannot easily be translated into print in a newspaper without causing offence as disparities become obvious. Many political figures like to be known as Doctor, Comrade or Nkosi, and it is not always obvious why these appellations should apply. A close study of SA newspapers shows several anomalies which reveal lack of clarity about the correct use of titles.

In these circumstances it seems sensible to treat people equally by dispensing with honorifics.

★ ★ ★

Here's a true story. A Pietermaritzburg reader noted with concern that a book he borrowed from the library bore a nasty tea stain. Upon returning it, he pointed out: "This book is dirty."

To which the librarian replied stiffly: "Your reading habits are no concern of mine."

• If you have a complaint about the editorial content of *The Natal Witness*, write to FAIR PLAY, Editorial Department, Box 362, Pietermaritzburg, 3200.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London

'Unita ivory paid to SADF for aid' claim

N MERCURY
1 MAY 1991

A LLEGATIONS of South African Defence Force involvement in illegal ivory trading are made in a book, *To Save an Elephant*, launched in London this week.

According to the book, the SADF gave military aid to Unita in Angola and was paid for that aid in poached ivory.

Written by two investigators from the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA), Allan Thornton and Dave Currey, the book traces the laundering of illegal ivory in the Middle East and other areas.

They tell how, as their investigations intensified in the period leading up to the key Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) meeting in Lausanne in October, 1989 — where trading in ivory was finally outlawed — they were convinced a South African agent was following them.

Apart from illegal trading, the book also looks at attempts to convince CITES not to ban ivory trading — and the key role in this played by the southern African states, in particular Zimbabwe.

One chapter refers to a series of meetings the EIA had with South African contacts.

'They had told us that the major South African ivory dealer was a Chinese man called Pong. He was said to have worked out a deal with the South African security agencies whereby he arranged sanction-busting imports.

'In return the security agencies turned a blind eye to Pong's ivory and rhino horn dealings,' the book claims.

It records that in 1987, American environmentalist Craig Van Note testified to the US Congress about the involvement of South African Defence Force personnel in ivory and rhino horn smuggling.

Further EIA research, says the book, showed there was 'no doubt of the truth of his allegations. The information, much of it published in South African newspapers, exposed a major network of ivory smugglers working from South Africa, with the obvious connivance of the South African Defence Force'.

There had been many seizures of illegal ivory in South Africa, the book said, adding that 'the most startling claim that Craig Van Note had made during his testimony was that when the South African Defence Force gave military aid — weapons, ammunition and so on — to the anti-government forces of Unita in Angola, that aid was paid for in poached ivory'.

'The civil war in Angola, and also in Mozambique, provided perfect cover for ivory smuggling. Zimbabwean troops were stationed in Mo-

zambique and were also accused of being involved in dealing. There was no doubt that a lot of ivory was moving out of Mozambique into South Africa and out through its ports.'

The book also tells of a meeting with 'Donald', a mysterious member of an anti-poaching unit based in southern Africa and London, funded by wealthy philanthropists intent on saving elephant and rhino. Most of its 60 or so members were former SAS members.

'He let us look through documents on illegal ivory and rhino horn traders in the whole of southern Africa, with details of their transactions, shipping agents and business contacts.

'Some of what he said, including the involvement of the security forces, simply reinforced what we had already discovered, but a lot of it gave fresh insights into the way ivory poaching related to southern African politics ...

'Among other things, Donald's unit had discovered a North Korean involvement in the rhino horn and poached ivory trade within southern Africa. Donald claimed that his discoveries had been passed on to the governments of all the southern African countries concerned, but no action had been taken.

'The case against these countries was building up steadily. In the face of all our evidence how could they possibly continue to maintain that they were managing their elephant populations satisfactorily?'

Mr Thornton said he addressed a Press conference before the October 1989 CITES meeting where the ban on ivory trade was adopted, in which he made a strong attack on South Africa.

Thereafter, the EIA phone was 'red-hot that week with calls from people with deep Afrikaner voices asking: "Are you Allan Thornton?". Although some of them were journalists, others were menacingly anonymous.'

As the date for the meeting approached, ivory prices on the world market dropped and violence behind the scenes erupted. This included 'another ivory dealer connected to one of the big syndicates was found murdered in his car in South Africa'.

A London Sunday Times reporter who was to publish the exposé, Brian Jackman, claims in the book that he was followed by a South African agent.

The man, who wore 'those special shoes you can buy in South Africa for bush-trekking', had followed him after a visit to the EIA offices.

Mr Jackman told Mr Thornton: 'Seriously, you should be careful. The Sunday Times people in South Africa told us that the security services there are very concerned about what EIA's report will reveal. The apartment of our Johannesburg correspondent was turned over very badly. Everything was smashed up. The paper's even arranged to have security guards for me and for my family. So watch out.'

The book concludes by saying that South Africa was expected to file reservations to the CITES ban — which it did earlier this month — urging that controlled trade in ivory be allowed.

South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi and Zambia also intended auctioning their ivory stocks to 'Asian dealers in countries not signatory to CITES like Taiwan and Korea.

'And Zimbabwe and Botswana have recently announced their intention to kill thousands of elephants in a political move apparently aimed at pressuring the world to reopen the ivory trade.

'In response, we are continuing our investigations into illegal ivory trading and EIA is preparing for a second offensive. There is still a serious threat to Africa's remaining elephant herds. The ivory trade is ailing, but we need to administer the *coup de grace*.

'Everything we have discovered in our investigations confirms that no other outcome is acceptable if, ultimately, we are to save the elephants.'

● *To Save an Elephant*, by Allan Thornton and Dave Currey, is published by Doubleday.

CATHERINE BOND reports from Lusaka on moves to oust 'KK'

Zambia's locust years

THE more I see of him, the more I think of him as a very lonely man' ... a Zambian academic's comment about Dr Kenneth Kaunda sums up the predicament of a president who, after more than 26 years in power, has grown isolated from his people's wishes and impervious to opposition demands to step down.

If Zambia's political temperature stays the same until parliamentary and presidential elections are held before the end of the year, one of Africa's best-known independence leaders is on his way out.

But Dr Kaunda, father of the nation and 67 years old this week, does not want to go.

'I don't think it's anything as mundane as having his books looked at,' said Mr Guy Scott, agricultural spokesman for the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). 'Maybe he does believe he's sent by God to rule this place.'

Beside one of Lusaka's main highways is a portrait of the man once fondly known by his peaceful people as 'KK', painted wearing traditional garb outside the city council offices, the guardian of civic services that no longer exist.

But even a personality cult built up over a quarter of a

century can collapse when half Zambia's 8 000 000 million people live in low-grade townships on the edges of cities, and well-attended opposition rallies hear vengeful rhetoric about 'chasing' Dr Kaunda away from Zambia and forcing him to leave his 'luggages' behind.

It is hard to assess the worth of these 'luggages' but the figure most commonly bandied about in Lusaka as the total overseas wealth allegedly accumulated by some senior officials of Dr Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party, is about \$4 billion (R11 billion) — equivalent to more than half Zambia's \$7 billion (R19 billion) foreign debt.

The MMD is said to be thinking of applying for a court injunction in Britain to stop a UK-registered holding company from disposing of its assets before Zambia's multi-party elections, the first since 1968.

Dr Kaunda faces calls within his own party to allow a younger candidate to lead the Unip into the poll. Mr Enoch Kavindele, nominated central committee member and self-made millionaire, fancies himself as a potential leader.

Surrounded by photographs of his children at public school in England and a bizarre collection of game trophies — including a sable

antelope's head and a warthog — and empty fish tanks in his Lusaka office, Mr Kavindele aired the frustrations of the young and professional in the Unip.

'Kaunda's explanation is that the economy's in a bad state and to retire would be cowardice,' said the 41-year-old Mr Kavindele. 'He had wanted to stay for another seven years. We said four, but even that is too long.'

The opposition fears that Dr Kaunda will stop the elections by engineering a coup and invoking another state of emergency. Last week he closed the University of Zambia, claiming an uprising had been planned.

The Zambians are the first to admit that they have messed things up. 'A quarter of a century has been wasted, so it requires another quarter of a century to pull things together,' Mr Kavindele said.

'We are of the view that President Kaunda is linked with socialism. Zambia is worse off now than at independence. In short, the economic policies have failed.'

Cairo Road, Lusaka's main street, has changed little in 10 or 20 years. But in spite of Zambians' moans about how their country — once richer than South Africa — has deteriorated, it does not look as

bad as Tanzania, Uganda, some of the West African states or even urban parts of Kenya.

Ironically, after years of Dr Kaunda urging European nations to maintain sanctions against South Africa, it is towards that country that Zambians are looking for economic redemption.

Mr Frederick Chiluba, the MMD president, is open on the subject. 'Don't tell me South Africa doesn't trade with Zambia; it does,' he said, adding that about three-quarters of the machinery for Zambia's copper mines, which produce most of the country's foreign exchange, comes from the white-ruled state.

The reintroduction of pluralism in Zambia has also drawn the country's small white community into politics for the first time in years. 'It's the first time I've heard white people here talk about politics since I was about 10,' a young farmer said.

Opinions are divided on which party is best-equipped to turn Zambia's dire economy around. But the prospect of ending one-party dictatorship brings hope.

'Any change,' said an Asian businessman, 'is better than none.' — (The Daily Telegraph)

STAR 1/5/91

Carnage at Soweto hostel

By Monica Oosterbroek

Violent clashes between hostel dwellers and residents of Dobsonville in Soweto have left six people dead and several seriously injured.

Residents said the fighting began early yesterday morning when Inkatha supporters living in the hostel allegedly murdered six non-Zulus at the hostel.

While hundreds of Inkatha men wearing red headbands and armed with traditional weapons chanted war songs and marched inside the perimeter

of the hostel at dawn, a mob of residents gathered on a soccer field across the road.

A large police contingent was unable to prevent a revenge attack on the hostel just after midday.

Police said residents opened fire on about 40 Inkatha supporters, seriously injuring three people.

Soweto police liaison officer Colonel Tienie Hulgryn persuaded representatives from both sides, including the ANC's media officer Saki Macozoma, to meet in the hostel for peace talks in the afternoon.

During peace talks, residents

wearing white headbands sneaked through a back entrance into the hostel and opened fire on police and Inkatha members.

An Inkatha man was seriously injured when he was hacked several times in the head.

Police used birdshot and teargas to separate the fighters and restore peace.

Razor wire was erected around the hostel, and the remaining Inkatha hostel dwellers were taken away for the night to prevent further clashes.

Mr Macozoma said the peace talks had been promising, despite the attack.

Police warn on curfew, weapons

Police have issued a warning about carrying dangerous weapons during today's May Day celebrations in Soweto, where 28 people have been killed in violence since Sunday.

Colonel Jac de Vries warned that the dusk-to-dawn curfew would be strictly enforced.

Police would confiscate all "non-traditional weapons" before today's ANC/SACP/Cosatu rally at Orlando Stadium.

In Alexandra, police found the body of a man with hack wounds on Monday night, bringing to 33 the number of people killed there since Friday.

1/5) 91
STAR

Vlok announces steps to curb growing crime rate

The Government accepted its responsibility to the right to life and property of all and had decided on a number of steps to curb the crime rate, because crime was an issue of concern to all South Africans, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate on a question from Tony Leon (DP Houghton), he said steps included:

- Increasing the SAP's manpower.
- Expanding the police reserve force.
- Making policemen more "visible".
- Consigning national servicemen to help.
- Introducing a computer system linking police stations in Johannesburg's northern suburbs and the Sandton fire station.

Mr Leon said there were few issues which muted the House's 178 MPs as "revulsion for the ongoing crime rate and the seeming inability of the police to put an end to it".

"The people of South Africa are angry and they have had enough: crime sweeps through our suburbs like a juggernaut. It engulfs all in its wake ... it is tearing the fabric of South Africa apart."

Mr Leon said the police could not deal with many of the causes of crime, "but they can



Tony Leon ... the people of South Africa are angry.

and must deal with the interdiction, detection and combating of such crime ... the job of this Minister is to put a visible, armed and massive police presence on the streets of our suburbs".

Mootman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said it was clear Mr Leon was concerned about crime in the "rich man's suburbs".

The DP had shown it did not really care about the poor man in South Africa.

Mr Vlok said the SAP was using all its resources "to the utmost" to control crime at an acceptable level to all.

Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said people were angry with the police for failing to deal with crime.

The Cape Peninsula had be-

Parliament

1991



come the crime capital of the world, he said.

In any civilised society the police stood between ordinary members of the community and criminals.

The DP believed "(in returning) to the old-fashioned concept of the bobby on the beat".

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) said the steps announced by Mr Vlok were inadequate.

The people of Johannesburg's northern suburbs were a "community living under siege".

There were simply not enough policemen on the beat.

Mr Vlok said he had no argument with members' arguments — that was why the Government had provided funds for 10 000 extra policemen last year.

The SAP would do all in its power to combat crime, but South Africans were living in a society in which not all had respect for others' possessions.

He appealed for one voice to go out from the chamber that the police and public should co-operate in such fields as Crime Watch — Sapa.

naam van Mandela" as reported.

FW must admit he can't govern, and get out: ANC

Citizen Reporter

PRESIDENT De Klerk must acknowledge he could no longer govern the country and must get out, ANC representative, Mr Tokya Sexwele, told a crowd of about 350 University of the Witwatersrand students, yesterday, at a mass meeting to ex-

press their disgust at the violence plaguing the country.

The group later marched to the Hillbrow police station to deliver an open letter addressed to President De Klerk demanding an end to violence, alleged police partiality, immediate release of all political prisoners and indemnity for all political prisoners.

Mr Sexwele said "any head of state in De Klerk's position would have resigned. He must step down as head of state and admit that he cannot control the violence."

He said Mr De Klerk must "get the hell out of that office. In all the deaths that there have been De Klerk has not once sent a letter of condolence to any of the families of those killed".

He added that as the April 30 deadline neared, the country saw Mr De Klerk go to foreign lands "to go and lie as usual".

Hours before the deadline for the release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiles, Mr Sexwele said the ANC had a grave responsibility to decide "where to go from here. The ANC carries the responsibility to end or continue the negotiating process".

He said the violence that plagued the country immediately after the signing of the peace

Citizen
1/5/91

'Warlord seen at beerhall killings, but not arrested'

STAR

26/5/91

Peta Thornycroft

BATTLE—SCARRED hostel residents in Sebokeng say police failed to arrest an "Inkatha warlord" who they believe was one of three men responsible for the deaths of 13 people at a beerhall on Thursday night.

And as tension mounts around Sebokeng's KwaMadala hostel which belongs to Iscor, and is reportedly occupied by many unemployed men, Cosatu has issued a warning that it will hold Iscor and the SAP "civilly and criminally responsible" if there is another attack on its members by inmates from KwaMadala Hostel.

Late yesterday the police announced that they had arrested four men in connection with the beerhall massacre in which five people were killed, and eight more died later of their injuries. The police say two masked men entered the beerhalls and fired AK-47s into the crowd. Two AK-47s have been recovered.

Mr Neil Coleman, information officer for Cosatu, said yesterday: "We once again warn the Government and the management of Iscor who owns the hostel that we will hold them responsible both criminally and civilly for any further attacks which are launched from this hostel of death.

"We believe there are weapons in there and unemployed men who are trained as vigilantes, and who have no right to live in that hostel, ready to act at any moment.

"We have instructed our lawyers to demand that the Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order search this hostel, and we demand that the Iscor management immediately evict the vigilantes who have no right to be staying on this property."

The man accused by Sebokeng residents of taking part in the beerhall shoot-out is one of the accused in last September's massacre in Sebokeng which left more than 20 people dead and is out on bail. He is known as an Inkatha warlord in the township and is resident in KwaMadala.

Residents near the beerhall say that both they and the police clearly saw the man in the area shortly after the beerhall tragedy.

KwaMadala hostel was for a long time uninhabited. However it is the property of Iscor, and only its workers are supposed to live there.

A spokesman for the SAP yesterday said it was difficult to comment on this case "off the cuff, as Iscor is also involved.

"We were given the registration number of the vehicle involved, we traced it, stopped it and searched it. The police found nothing to permit us to detain the man for further questioning. We call on anyone who can make a positive identification on the beerhall case to come forward."

● Yesterday Sebokeng and Evaton were declared unrest areas. Seven men, all Zulus were arrested at Kwesine hostel in Katlehong early yesterday in connection with possession of weapons and ammunition.

Rattling of the assegais at peace

SUNDAY TIMES

David Breier

Political Correspondent

FOR a peace summit there was so much assegai-rattling that some delegates may have wondered if they were at the right conference.

Not that anybody actually brandished a cultural weapon at this week's conference on violence and intimidation convened in Pretoria by State President F W de Klerk.

But there was enough tough talking, especially by Inkatha, to give some of the 250 delegates the impression they were at a party rally rather than a peace summit.

In the absence of the African National Congress, both Inkatha and Government speakers were at pains to stress how they were not out to score points off the ANC. But delegates were taken aback at the orgy of ANC-bashing that followed.

"We come from warrior stock and the whole world must believe me that if the Zulu leadership of today issued the commands to set the Zulu nation at war with any organisation, that organisation would not last for long," said King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus.

"Zulus have used their warrior might to strengthen their action through peaceful means," he added enigmatically.

King Goodwill said if attacks against KwaZulu did not stop, "the killings will not stop".

And he demanded a "national apology" from those who called KwaZulu a product of apartheid.

His uncle, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, was slightly more restrained in his verbal attack on the ANC.

"I have not come here to score points off the ANC or off any political party," said Chief Buthelezi.

But he proceeded to accuse the ANC and its deputy president Nelson Mandela of "killing talks".

"Of course the IFP was drawn into violence. No organisation of human beings could suffer that kind of attack without anger, without retaliation, without pre-emptive violence and without blood feud violence and without revenge violence taking place," Chief Buthelezi said.

But he did suggest that a "Peace Secretariat" be set up to include "additional partners who are not present here today".

Mr de Klerk, the convenor of the conference, also managed to get in his dig at absent groups.

"Those who should be here, but who chose to play a political game



REPRESENTING THE RIGHT ... AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche; and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

concerning this conference, are inhibiting ... hope," he said, adding that "this is not the time to be small-minded or to play politics".

After the Government and IFP heavyweights had fired their broadsides at absentees, lesser delegates were left wondering about the purpose of the conference.

John Hall of the SA Chamber of Business appeared mystified by "the sabre-rattling I heard."

And Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said he much regretted "the extent to which the platform was being used to bash certain organisations".

Brian Currin, director of Law-

yers for Human Rights, said debate had been counterproductive and had alienated people and caused rifts.

He suggested the summit shift its theme from bashing those who did not come here.

And when Mr Currin presented alternative views on the causes and solutions on violence, he was subjected to mocking laughter from many of the previously well-behaved delegates.

His account of attacks on Swanieville squatters was mocked, as was his suggestion for a United Nations peacekeeping presence — and a completely new South African peacekeeping force representing

all political groups.

"People can laugh. I could laugh at you, but I did not, when you had a chance to speak," an angry Mr Currin retorted.

But Mr Currin was not alone in his call for an impartial new peacekeeping force following allegations of "State violence".

The DP suggested that returning ANC and PAC combatants be offered jobs in the SA Defence Force and SA Police.

And Mervyn Frost, a Natal University political scientist, proposed an interim security council representing all major political group-

indaba

ings, to determine internal security policy — especially with regard to policing.

He also backed the DP suggestions for all-party monitoring groups.

But suggestions such as his were lost in the welter of attacks on ANC forces which boycotted the peace summit on the grounds that it had been unilaterally convened by the Government.

John Mavuso, the Transvaal MEC and leader of the National Forum, thanked King Goodwill for his forthright talk, saying: "We have been brought up in the culture of talking openly and honestly."

Asked about the sabre-rattling statements at the peace conference, Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen said: "It shows what kind of problem we have to deal with."

Dr Viljoen said that academics and church ministers had encountered "tough politicians with deep-seated interests".

But with a church-sponsored peace conference including the Government, the IFP and the ANC becoming a distinct possibility, a repeat performance of this week's rhetoric might have the opposite effect, several of the more cynical delegates suggested.

Compared to some of the war talk at the conference, Afrikaner weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche sounded moderate, fresh from his latest exploits against Ventersdorp squatters.

Mr TerreBlanche said the Zulus and the Boere should have their own ground if there was ever to be peace.

Rattling of the assegais
at peace in Olaba.

And he blamed communists for stirring up the trouble.

As Government delegates tried to grapple with the complex causes of violence, they might have longed for the old days when they too thought things were so simple.