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Sun Times 21/6/92

The 'dog' bites back

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been following with some amusement the dispute over whether the SACP's Moses Mayekiso called him a "dog" or a "doll" during a speech in Washington.

At a recent Capitol Hill reception in his honour, the chief bounded up to our man in Washington in high good humour and introduced himself as "the dog Buthelezi".

Asked what he thought about the epithet, he replied, "I think it is better to be called a dog than a doll." After all, he explained, some dogs did have noble qualities.

Can we expect a further clarification from Mayekiso to the effect that what he really meant to call Buthelezi was a doe?



Who cares when blacks kill blacks?

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH 21-6-92

THAT is how democracy begins in Africa: in intimidation. It not only begins that way but carries on that way, and, after a little while, ends that way. Apartheid cannot be blamed for last week's massacre in Soweto. The bloodshed had nothing to do with the struggle between black and white. It was democracy's dirty work; African democracy's dirty work. In Africa he who intimidates best, ie worst, wins elections. From the way the massacre was reported in this country one rather got the impression that it was the last murderous fling of a slain white dragon's tail, a throwback to the bad old days. Nothing could be further from the truth. It was a bloody portent, a bitter foretaste of things to come.

It was also a portent of how horrors of that kind will be reported in the Western media in the future. Imagine what would be happening this Sunday if the victims of last week's massacre had been murdered by a white tribe instead of by a black tribe. After the Sharpeville massacre Western front pages were full of the story for weeks and Trafalgar Square packed with protesters outside South Africa House, some of whom remained there for many years.

The name Sharpeville, along with Amritsar, still rings round the world. Last week's massacre, however, is already forgotten. Nobody much cares about what blacks do to blacks. Did we hear from Bishop Huddleston last week or from Nadine Gordimer or from all the other anti-apartheid campaigners? If we did it was very muted, a faraway cry from those clarion calls that used to reverberate all the way to Stockholm,

where the Nobel peace committee dwells.

This is not to say that Bishop Huddleston, Nadine Gordimer *et al* do not care about what blacks do to blacks. Of course they care. But it does not make them angry; it does not make them hate. What gave such a fierce resonance to white protests about South African massacres in the bad old days was not so much love of blacks as hatred of Boers. To say that the liberal conscience's much vaunted and honoured compassion for the blacks was a mask for this hatred of the Boers would be excessively unkind. But most certainly the hatred fired the compassion, put the tiger in the tank, so to speak, and now that the hatred is no longer burning so strongly it will not be long before the compassion also goes cold. South African democracy will certainly mean more rather than less black blood spilt. Where there will be a massive reduction is in the number of protest marches in the capital cities of the West.

Fewer protest marches, less attention from the liberal conscience, but not necessarily less attention from those concerned about geopolitical developments. South Africa is not like the other countries of Africa. Somebody once described Russia as "Upper Volta with rockets". That description could one day apply with much more deadly accuracy to South Africa. One cannot be certain, of course. It could be that the white-built economy will collapse pretty well at once after the blacks take over. Except that the blacks are not going to be allowed to take over all at once.

So possibly the economy will not collapse. Possibly South Africa will prosper under democracy, at



**PEREGRINE
WORTHORNE**

any rate for a time, with Western banks only too happy to pour in money. In that event — with money plentiful for the purchase of rockets — how long will it be before some black leader starts dreaming mad dreams — or not so mad — of empire? In terms of relative African power, South Africa is a colossus: a potential nuclear colossus. What will there be to stop a South African version of Idi Amin or of Emperor Bokassa not only dreaming about conquest but doing something about it? Democracy!

Possibly this sounds excessively Cassandra-like. Just as in the 16th century people put their trust in princes — *vide* poor Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII — so now, in the 20th century, they put their trust in democracy. Democracies are assumed to be peaceful, to settle disputes by the ballot box, not the bullet; to prefer commerce to war. Thus that massacre was seen last week as an aberration; or at worst an inevitable and even healthy birth-pang that will produce in the end an infant black democracy.

To believe that is another triumph of hope over experience. So

far, freedom and democracy have served Africa ill, the ills being limited only by lack of resources — Volta without rockets. There have been plenty of civil wars, dreadful famines, forced migrations — horrors of that kind — but nothing much to worry Western chancelleries as against Western consciences. South Africa, however, does not lack resources to shake the world. If the African experience of democracy runs according to par there, it could easily produce horrors that one day may threaten — as Saddam Hussein was thought to threaten — the new world order.

Forty years ago, when liberals were as optimistic about the fruits of freedom and democracy in the Middle East as they are now about their fruits in South Africa, it would have seemed inconceivable that one day, not so long distant, Iraq would be strong enough to require the combined might of the Western world to defeat her armies and even then not her leader. Westerners like the great Elie Kedourie who did predict the dangers were condemned as Cassandras. Conventional Western wisdom simply refused to comprehend the ugliness, brutality, cynicism and sheer evil of Arab politics — a miscalculation not quite as costly and disastrous as the one made of the evils of Hitler but almost of that order of magnitude.

Could we be making a similar mistake about South Africa? Here I feel bound to enter a caveat. My pessimism could well be a form of wishful thinking. For ashamed as I am to admit it, the spectacle of Bishop Huddleston, Nadine Gordimer *et al* having to admit that black democracy was worse than white autocracy would give me enormous pleasure, as would their

discomfiture if it ever became the West's duty to act the world policeman there as it has had to do in Iraq.

This is the trouble with polemical journalism. One becomes less concerned to be right than to prove the other fellow wrong; less concerned to defend the truth than to castigate error. Infuriated and maddened by the facile optimism of columnists in the *Guardian* and the *Observer*, one tries to redress the balance with an equally facile pessimism; and because those same columnists can see no evil in the blacks, one retaliates by seeing no good. In other words I may be exaggerating the dangers facing South Africa so as eventually to have more dirt in which to rub liberal noses. Nor does the problem end there. For once having gone into print with an alarmist prophesy one cannot wait to see events confirm it.

Having issued this warning, however, let me return to the fray. The end of white supremacy in South Africa should not be seen only as a blessed liberation. It should also be seen as a more dangerous kind of liberation; the kind that takes place when a genie is let out of the bottle. To date, that genie, when let out of earlier African bottles, has had a wickedly murderous record. But these have been midget, and therefore relatively harmless, genies. The one about to be released in South Africa will be a giant with potentialities for causing mayhem on a monumental scale.

Last week's massacre was part of an electoral campaign that has not yet even begun, a mere flexing of black democratic muscle. Wait until the curtain goes up properly and the tragedy begins in deadly earnest.

De Klerk's Visit to Massacre Site Brings New Eruption of Violence

By BILL KELLER
Special to The New York Times

BOIPATONG, South Africa, June 20 — President F. W. de Klerk ventured into this bitter black township today in a show of concern for victims of a massacre on Wednesday, but was chased away by angry residents, leaving behind an ugly mood that soon exploded into more violence.

About 90 minutes after Mr. de Klerk's motorcade fled before residents blaming him for the Wednesday violence, police officers fired assault rifles into a hostile crowd in a skirmish over the body of a man shot by the police a short time earlier. The number of casualties was not immediately known.

Mr. de Klerk's visit, the first by a South African President to one of the country's many scenes of black bloodshed, was intended to repair the deteriorating credibility of the Government as it tries to negotiate a peaceful transition from apartheid to a nonracial state.

Instead, the day left the black townships more volatile than before, and widened the gulf between the white

Government and the African National Congress, the foremost representative of blacks in the talks on South African's future.

A television cameraman who filmed the shooting today said at least 15 people fell under fire, but he could not say whether any were killed. The police said later that their rifles had been loaded with birdshot and rubber bullets.

In the Wednesday night assault, at least 40 people, many of them women and children, were shot, stabbed or hacked to death. Witnesses contend that the assault was carried out from a nearby hostel by Zulu supporters of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party who were working in league with the South African police. The official count has grown as wounded victims have died in the hospital.

The African National Congress has long accused the police of instigating township violence and of helping In-

katha in a campaign to destabilize the black opposition movement.

A stone-faced Mr. de Klerk stared out of the back window of his silver-gray BMW as his motorcade crawled under heavy police escort down Bakoena Street, which divides Boipatong's tiny brick bungalows from the corrugated sheds of the Slovo Park squatter camp.

"To hell with de Klerk — go away, go away!" chanted a throng of several hundred people, kept back from Mr. de Klerk's caravan by guards on foot carrying machine guns.

His car stopped at one point in the midst of Wednesday's killing zone, and security men pushed back the crowd as if the President was preparing to get out. But after surveying the surging, shouting crowd, and perhaps noticing that some teen-agers were clutching rocks, Mr. de Klerk and his entourage sped out of the township as police vehicles moved in to cut off the crowd.

As they chased the President's entourage down the dusty streets and out of the township, young men in the crowd shouted, "Shoot! Shoot!" and the anti-colonial slogan of the militant Pan-Africanist Congress: "One settler! One bullet!"

Mr. de Klerk was untouched during his 15-minute visit, but the South African Press Association later said that one member of his entourage, the local parliamentary representative, Koos Van Der Merwe, had been struck on the

head by a rock when he stepped out of his car.

After the President's departure, police armored vehicles roared through the seething township in a show of strength, while firebrands from the Pan-Africanist Congress, a smaller and less compromising rival to the African National Congress, rallied the young crowd.

According to police accounts, the subsequent violence began when they shot down a township resident seen chasing another with a machete. The police and residents began quarreling over custody of the body, and the argument rapidly intensified.

Siphiwo Ralo, a cameraman for CBS television, said police officers fired a rifle round into the ground, then knelt in a line and began firing their assault rifles at random into the crowd.

The police said they opened fire using birdshot and rubber bullets after one of their men was shot in the hand. Pan-Africanist Congress leaders who were present charged that at least three people were killed by the gunfire.

The Boipatong massacre curdled Mr. de Klerk's already souring relations with the African National Congress. The congress today issued a statement condemning his visit as "a cynical public relations exercise."

Mr. de Klerk had made rare visits to black townships before today and had generally been well received. But in Boipatong he saw little but the angry crowds and the backs of his security men.

Presidential aides said he had planned to meet with families of Wednesday's victims and to hold a news conference in the township, but

these plans were dropped when security men saw the mood of the crowd.

At a news conference in the police station at nearby Vereeniging immediately after his visit, Mr. de Klerk said he was shocked at his treatment and charged that the rebuff had been a "very efficiently planned."

Asked about charges of police complicity in the massacre, Mr. de Klerk said: "I reject that allegation with utter contempt. If any evidence comes to the fore, we will act."

Police Search Hostel

This morning, police officers searched the Kwamadala Hostel, a steelworkers' residence and stronghold of Zulu-based Inkatha in Vander-

bijlpark, which Boipatong residents contend was the staging area for the massacre. Police officers said they had taken statements and confiscated a number of so-called traditional weapons, like spears and clubs. No arrests were made.

Residents of Boipatong say about 200 warriors from the hostel, which is less than a mile away, swept through the township, hacking and shooting their victims while police supervised and assisted.

The police have strongly denied playing a role in the massacre, but have yet to give an account of their own activities in the township that night. Inkatha leaders have denied sanctioning the massacre, although they did not rule out the possibility that rogue members of the party were involved.

A judicial commission on violence headed by Supreme Court Justice Richard Goldstone, a forum widely respected by rival black factions as well as whites, has promised at least a preliminary inquiry into the massacre. The commission's involvement appeared to raise hopes of a credible explanation of the massacre, which could reduce tensions and allow the talks on the country's future to progress.

Yogin Devan

A UNIQUE Natal resort, the Lilani hot springs hydro near Greytown, is now a derelict wreck begging for a cure.

Bought by the Department of Bantu Development and then turned over to the KwaZulu government as a resort for blacks in apartheid's heyday, the resort is now looking for entrepreneurs to come forward and develop the site.

The Working Group on Tourism Development in KwaZulu has invited the private sector to submit proposals ranging from the refurbishment of the existing buildings to the establishment of an all-new resort.

Lilani Hydro is situated about 100km north of Pietermaritzburg and was built in 1906. For many years it was a retreat for rich people intent on a weekend away from the cities.

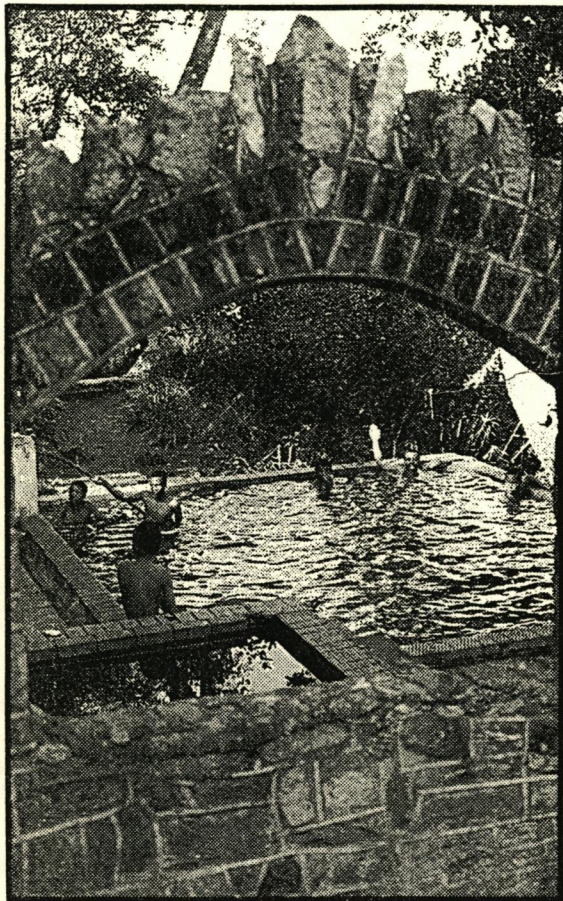
When the resort opened at the turn of the century, the sulphur baths and radium pool which are acclaimed as being comparable with Europe's best were in great demand by the sick and ailing from all over the country.

However, since the '60s, the Lilani Hydro complex which nestles below a deeply-wooded escarpment, has fallen into a serious state of disrepair.

Lilani is said to have been discovered by the Voortrekkers and was developed by a succession of farming figures. The property, which includes the hotel and special bath houses, was bought by the government in 1965 to be turned into a resort for blacks but this plan did not materialise.

Since then nature has taken its toll on the old buildings. The main hotel block is merely a shell, open to wind and weather and slowly decaying.

The springs at Lilani are reputed to have fantastic healing properties. When the resort and sanatorium opened, nursing staff used to provide hot mud baths as well as steam and heat baths. The curative properties of the mud from the radium pool were reputed



One of the pools at the Lilani Hydro resort.

to have brought relief to numerous sufferers of rheumatism and eczema.

But in recent times Lilani has become some kind of a tranquilliser for a younger set which enjoys spending a weekend swimming nude in the hot springs.

Caretaker James Mthembu, who lives at Lilani, sweeps the rooms and keeps thieves and tramps away from the empty hotel which is almost ghostly in its desolation.

For a fee of R5 which Mr Mthembu is supposed to collect, you can drive your car into the mysterious environs of the hotel and spend the day there.

For R10 you may camp overnight on the property, building fires in the deserted courtyards and sleeping in one of the rooms. There is no piped water, electricity or telephone. A small shop sells basic foods.

On weekdays the springs are used by the locals.

"I have no control over them. There is no way I can extract R5 from these people," said Mr Mthembu.

When the Sunday Tribune visited Lilani this week, a dozen local women were gathered on the hotel verandah, exchanging stories as they lazily brushed away the flies which settled on their faces.

The narrow road to Lilani can make one nervous because of the hairpin bends but it is perfectly safe if you take it easy. After rains, the road is impassable for several days because little streams cross the road.

You travel alternatively out on to the spurs of the mountain and then back into the cool depths of the forest under the towering krantzies. Far above you, numerous waterfalls can be seen tumbling over the edge of the escarpment, only to vaporise before completing the descent.

Lilani is also noted for its abundant bird life, flowers and features to interest the amateur geologist.

Interested parties wishing to submit development proposals should contact Mrs Hazel on (031) 9071055 for more details.

JUNE 21, 1992

Hot springs hydro a derelict wreck begging for a cure

Top class holiday *Mr. Mkwana* resort planned in Greytown area

Daily News Reporter

ONE of Southern Africa's most enchanting areas, Lilani near Greytown, has been earmarked for development as a premier holiday resort.

The Working Group on Tourism Development in KwaZulu is set to invite the private sector to submit development proposals for the revitalisation of a deserted hotel and rondavel resort, first established early this century, according to a spokesman.

Boasting hot springs comparable with the best of Europe, Lilani is situated 160 kilometres from Durban and nestles below a deeply wooded escarpment.

The spokesman said there were a number of hot springs close to the now-deserted hotel, including the Sulphur Springs and the Radium Pool. These mineral springs had been favourably compared with the spas of Europe and were set in an area described as one of the most enchanting and nostalgic spots in Southern Africa.

The picturesque and undisturbed surrounds combine to offer a bird-watcher's paradise and a photographer's dream. The dramatically steep terrain clothed in forests and natural bush makes this an ideal area for many outdoor activities, including hiking and horse-riding.

The spokesman said the proposals for the development of the site might range from a refurbishment of the existing early-century buildings to the establishment of an all-new resort.

He said Lilani was one of the 35 tourism projects in the KwaZulu development pipeline.

Interested parties wishing to submit development proposals should contact Mrs Hazel on telephone 907-1055 before June 15 for more details.

Sun Star 21/6/92

Sympathy visit ends in chaos

■ **Pent-up fury:** President de Klerk's short visit to Boipatong in the Vaal yesterday lit a tinder box of anger in the small strife-torn township that ended with at least two people dead and 29 wounded.

BY INSIGHT TEAM

AN ATTEMPT by State President F W de Klerk to demonstrate sympathy for grieving Boipatong ended in disaster — for him and the community.

While De Klerk, speaking in the police riot unit headquarters in Vereeniging, was saying he was "shocked" by his reception in the township, policemen were opening fire on the crowd.

De Klerk's car never stopped in Boipatong. His visit lasted less than 15 minutes, but it lit a tinder box of anger

that ended with at least two people dead and 29 wounded.

He was hounded out of the township by thousands of furious residents.

Minutes before warning that the authorities would have to "look beyond present measures to maintain law and order", De Klerk was told of the first killing.

"We will not allow this country to fall into a state of anarchy," he said, adding: "It would be a sorry day if we were forced to go back to that, having come so near to an important breakthrough at Codesa 2."

Law and Order Ministry senior spokesman Major-General Leon Mellet described the running, rolling riot around President de Klerk's motorcade as "chaos".

Barely had the president and his entourage driven into the dusty streets of Boipatong in their bullet-proof limousines — and escorted by a phalanx of about a dozen Casspir and Nyala armoured troop carriers — than crowds

of people gathered to curse him.

Carrying placards saying: "To Hell With De Klerk And Your IFP Murderers (Dog)", "De Klerk, Kill Apartheid Not Us", and "De Klerk Go Away", crowds jostled in around his car, clearly worrying his close security guards and policemen, many of whom were armed with R4 assault rifles.

When it became clear that the State President could not even set foot outside his vehicle, the convoy headed out of the township with crowds singing and swearing in pursuit.

He said at a media conference after the abortive visit that he could not believe the outburst was spontaneous.

Former Conservative Party MP Koos van der Merwe, who was travelling in the same car as Ministers Gerrit Viljoen and Hernus Kriel, at one stage got out briefly, but hurriedly ducked back inside as the mood of the people got uglier.

'Propaganda'

While speaking about the "propaganda war" against the police, De Klerk told reporters that the policeman accompanying him through Boipatong had "acted with great restraint".

After his car sped out of the township the anger evaporated, the placards were dropped, the barricades rolled away, and Boipatong went back to almost normal.

But across the township, on the southern end, another drama had begun... tense policemen, angry residents, over-excited children, confused grandmothers, shouting, toyi-toying, slogans and eventually gunfire.

A smaller anti-De Klerk march was being dispersed by a police Nyala riot vehicle. As the crowd turned a police man stood up out of a hatch and fired at a man about 80 metres away. He fell on his face in the dust.

When a Sunday Star reporter reached the man there was a machete next to the body.

Residents, accusing police of planting the weapon, demanded access to the body and demanded that the vehicle commander arrest the man who had fired. The crowds grew and taunted the police who gathered nervously

near their vehicle.

There was more shouting, taunting, undisguised rage. Women bared their breasts to try and embarrass the policemen out of the way so they could get to the dead man in the veld.

And then the gunfire, and the silence, and weeping, fear and incredulity as journalists, who had dropped to the ground as police fired over their heads, slowly, shakily picked themselves up from the dirt.

Some tried to comfort the wounded while others shouted at the police not to open fire again.

ANC outrage

"Please don't shoot! Please don't shoot! Please don't shoot again."

But it was too late in Boipatong. The ANC has condemned the shootings with "outrage and disgust" and has launched a bitter personal attack on De Klerk.

"De Klerk's visit today is an indication that he is appallingly insensitive to the grief our people are feeling at this stage, and we hold him personally responsible for the events at Boipatong and the persons who have been killed by the SAP," a spokesman said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit the township today.

Lt Colonel Dave Bruce, liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said police had reacted when they saw a man start hacking another resident. Police warned the man and he turned on one of the policemen, the policeman fired in self defence killing him.

He said: "Another person was killed but we are sure that it was not as a result of police action. The police had strict instructions not to fire, their guns were loaded with buckshot."

Colonel Bruce said the whole incident started when a resident tried to disarm a policeman, the policeman fired a shot into the ground which started the shooting.

He said: "The policemen were acting in the face of severe provocation. Women were spitting at them and baring their breasts, and only minutes before they had been fired upon by members of a nearby hostel."

Sunday Star 21/6/92

CROWD FURY drives State President out of massacre township

Police open fire as FW flees Boipatong

By JOVIAL RANTAO
and PETA THORNYCROFT

POLICE opened fire on an angry crowd at Boipatong yesterday about an hour after President F W de Klerk had been chased out of the township.

Two people were killed and 29 injured, but police said their fire had killed only one person.

The shooting took place in the full glare of the international press just an hour after the crowd had forced President De Klerk to leave. The con-

frontation sparked off by President de Klerk's visit to the township, where 39 people were massacred three days ago, erupted after a man of about 40 was shot in the neck and fell, dead, on to a field on the south edge of the township.

The police cordoned off the angry residents and refused to let them move towards the body, despite pleas from officials of the ANC and PAC.

A mortuary van arrived to pick up the dead body, but the crowd surrounded it, preventing the police from removing a stretcher.

A plainclothes policeman fired into the

ground, then without warning there was a volley of automatic fire from a line of policemen who had dropped on to one knee to shoot.

In the chaos of the next few seconds, township residents, who had been taunting the police, fled screaming.

A senior police officer shouted into the silence following the rapid fire shooting: "Moenie sonder bevel skiet nie." (Don't shoot without instruction.)

But it was too late for at least one man. His eyes closed, he gurgled for a few minutes, and then died.

► Full report — Page 24

OPENING FIRE . . .
police fire on fleeing protesters yesterday after a visit of sympathy by President De Klerk was aborted when angry blacks cursed De Klerk and forced him to leave the township. PICTURE: GREG MATHROVICH, AP