

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 474-0128

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party was right to repudiate his official, Mr Musa Myeni, who told reporters on Sunday that Inkatha was preparing to send 100 000 warriors to Soweto unless political violence stopped.

Buthelezi said this was the first he had heard of such a thing and that it had not even been discussed by the IFP's central committee.

Myeni, whose own house was attacked last week, is understandably angry.

But he is a senior member of the IFP and as such should count his words with greater care.

For a man in his position to make such statements at a time like this was, simply, unforgivable.

Whether he likes it or not, many people are scared of Inkatha. Senior members of the organisation should be sensitive to that and behave accordingly.

The violence is not a political tool. It is a horrible disgrace and the sooner it is brought under control the better.

Buthelezi was right to stop his colleague in his tracks.

By contrast, State President FW de Klerk made far more sense than the angry Myeni when he opened the International Pentecostal Church in Zuurbekom.

The clenched fists of violence, said the State President, should be opened up to become working and praying hands.

As a call for peace, things could hardly be put better than that.

SOWETAN yesterday published some of the details of the work of the International Defence and Aid Fund which has, for the past 25 years or so, done so much for those charged in court under apartheid's laws.

The Fund, the brainchild of Canon John Collins of St Paul's Cathedral in London, made tens of millions of rands available for the defence in court of people charged under racist laws and did much to look after their families when they went to jail.

This, truly, was a case of foreign well-wishers putting their money where their mouths were.

Even when it was banned - it was only unbanned last year - the IDAF continued its work, using all sorts of secret channels and methods to get the money into South Africa.

The work that these people did will not be forgotten. Their efforts kept an important part of the flame of resistance alive, even during the darkest days of apartheid.

It is vital to remember, now as times are changing, that even during the worst of times we had good friends.

Please stop the hatred, violence

SIR - I'm deeply worried by what is taking place in South Africa.

Why can't we stop this violence, which has reached epidemic proportions.

What amazes me is that it is only among black people.

So I appeal to black people in every corner of this country to review their ideas towards violence. They must stop killing one another.

Now is the time to come together and fight our common enemy, tribal and racial discrimination.

Let's forget differences and ideologies because these motivate such accurances.

That does not mean we must abandon our political organisations.

We must maintain our identities and use our respective strategies towards a common goal, which is the eradication of apartheid.

Let's have peace before entering a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

We need to end animosity and hatred and strive for peace.

JACOB "TEENAGE"
MAPHOSO
Soweto

Traditional weapons do kill as well

SIR - I have some suggestions on how to stop the ongoing violence in black townships.

Firstly, we must all try to develop a culture of tolerance. We must learn to agree and disagree.

Second, all our political leaders must put their houses in order so as to instil discipline in their members.

Third, the authorities must disarm all groups.

It is nonsense and unacceptable to speak about traditional weapons. The fact about the weapons is that they kill.

Fourth, we must let the police become the peace-keeping body in our community. The more we ignore their commands the more the violence worsens.

It is deceitful and deceptive to say the police side with Inkatha.

Fifth, all political leaders must stop their pugnacious and bellicose manners that incite others to

violence whatever the intention of the speaker might be.

The Government must pass legislation concerning this.

Sixth, all municipalities, city councils, the churches and civic associations must join residents to clean up townships.

Perhaps by so doing our people could regain the self-respect and pride they are losing.

Seventh, all children must return to school. They must stop assaulting teachers.

Eighth, we must all pause to pray not just for our country but for the whole of Africa.

We must stop blaming apartheid for all this.

The new South Africa will not be attained through violence and military actions.

DAVID SYDNEY
LENENG
Tlhabane

CITIZEN 7 MAY 1991

Open letter to the ANC



IT IS necessary to ask whether the ANC is a political party or a terrorist organisation.

In other words, does the ANC seek to take part in the political life of South Africa, playing the game by the democratic rules that characterise the civilised world, or does it have a secret agenda to usurp or seize power for itself by intimidation, trickery and force?

We, Businessmen for Growth and Stability, pose this question **on behalf of all South Africans, of all races**, on the grounds of impressions gained from a document recently released by the ANC entitled "Negotiations and the struggle for a democratic South Africa".

From this document it appears to us that the ANC is not interested in a political settlement, or in sharing power, but that it intends usurping **total political power** in South Africa – and seizing power if the plan to usurp it fails.

The ANC is demanding a constitutional assembly and interim government in a bid to **gain total political power before a constitution has been devised**. This is like asking the selectors to pick a team for a new type of ball game, and for that team to run out onto the field, **before it or its opponents know the rules of the game**.

The purpose of a constitution

The purpose of a civilised constitution is to place power in the hands of the citizens of the country, in such a way that that power can only be used for the benefit of the people **and cannot be misused or abused by those in the seat of government**. (Ask the people of Iraq how they feel about a leader with uncurbed power.)

Like the rules of a new ball game, a constitution must be worked out through discussion around a table by experts **imbued with the good of all the people**, meeting in a calm atmosphere and characterised by a spirit of goodwill and give-and-take. That is our view of how the Founding Fathers of the Nation should set to work.

How the ANC appears to see it

However, instead of co-operating with all other groups in South Africa to speed up the framing of a constitution which is fair to all, the ANC states in its document: "This is the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people." It says further: "Umkhonto we Sizwe must remain in place if we need it".

As we interpret its idea of mass action, the ANC plans to force the constitutional issue through consumer boycotts, stay-away actions and strikes, co-ordinated and executed on the highest possible scale – accompanied by the intimidation of black workers and the ever-present threat of armed action by MK if things do not go entirely the way of the ANC.

Constitution-making under threat

And what is the way in which MK operates? Its actions in the past took the form of planting landmines, the setting of car bombs, the killing of innocent civilians including women and children, and sabotage – in other words, the typical actions of a terrorist group.

Delegates trying to discuss the best future for all South Africans with a pistol cocked in their ears and a landmine under their chairs, would not be able to give South Africans the best possible constitution to leave for our children and our children's children.

Please explain

If our assumptions of the ANC's document are correct, we as businessmen believe that the ANC is not a political party but a terrorist organisation, bringing pressure against the people of South Africa in the guise of a democratic political action and in so doing, destabilising the country.

We trust that the ANC will indicate to the public of South Africa whether our conclusions based on its publication are correct or incorrect.

Businessmen for Growth and Stability

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Significant changes 7 MAY 1991 must take place

I FEEL called upon to respond to the letter written to you by Mr M Maserow and published in The Citizen of 23 April 1991, under the heading, "Where will he find them?"

Mr Maserow alleges that by making what I regard as fully justified demands for meaningful integration of the Black community into the economic structure of the country during the next ten years, I am as biased towards Blacks as Dr Verwoerd was towards Whites.

Does he not realise the inherent danger and gross injustice of perpetrating the existing economic system, in which entrepreneurship and wealth creation is confined to a privileged White minority, that constitutes an ever-diminishing proportion of the country's total population?

It would be highly irresponsible for anybody to suggest that the present imbalance and skewed economic structure should remain unaltered during the next ten years. This would be an obvious recipe for revolution and instability.

In fact, if no significant

progress towards a more equitable system of wealth sharing in the country is made, the case for nationalisation will have been clearly justified.

What South Africa requires and this has nothing to do with ideology, is to create a situation in which South African citizens, irrespective of colour, are given equal opportunity for full participation in the economy.

From time immemorial, the Black people of this country have been subjected to harsh and heartless discriminatory practices, in education, in the economy and in the political sphere.

No section of our population has witnessed the extent of repression to which the Black South Africans have up to now been exposed. Mr Maserow displays profound ignorance or insensitivity in trying to prove how much others have achieved while Blacks have stagnated.

If Mr Maserow has a vision for South Africa, he must agree that during the next ten years significant changes in the economic restructuring of our country's economy must

take place.

Towards this end, I believe it is more prudent to set realistic and achievable targets than not to do so.

I maintain that a 30 percent participation on boards of companies, 40 percent in shareholding, 50 percent as suppliers and 60 percent top management of companies in ten years is a realistic and achievable target where people are properly motivated, trained and given the opportunity to develop.

I do not suggest that we should allocate positions to Blacks purely on the basis of their colour. They must, like everybody else, acquire positions on merit.

What the country has not done in the past is to provide adequate scope for training and participation by Blacks in the economy. This is where we must concentrate our efforts in the future to ensure the growth and prosperity of South Africa.

S M MOTSUENYANE
President:
National African
Federated Chamber
of Commerce and
Industry

Soshanguve

Viljoen condemns 'nit-picking' over talks

CAPE TOWN — Government was definitely proceeding with its summit on violence next Friday, with or without the ANC, Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen said last night.

Viljoen told a news conference there were enough important representatives from a wide spectrum of political organisations to make the summit succeed.

Yesterday, chances of government and the ANC agreeing on the controversial summit appeared small, as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated his organisation would not attend a government-convened conference.

Taking a hard line, Viljoen said the ANC

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

was "nit-picking" about President F W de Klerk having publicly initiated the summit without prior consultation with the ANC. However, the chairmanship and the agenda were open for discussion.

ANC sources present at last week's meeting between De Klerk and Mandela have said they could not sell this compromise to their national executive committee (NEC) without a ban on cultural weapons, particularly spears.

Viljoen also indicated government would attend a conference on violence or-

ganised by the churches at some future date after next week's summit.

He said he had attended De Klerk's meeting with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tuesday where progress on banning assegais had been made. But De Klerk would not respond to ultimatums and had stated he needed to enter full consultations prior to taking any steps on the assegai issue.

Meanwhile, Buthelezi said last night weapons of the kind the ANC held both inside and outside SA, particularly AK-47s, were the principal killing weapons in SA townships.

□ To Page 2

Viljoen

Speaking at the SA Institute of Mechanical Engineers' general meeting last night, Buthelezi said reliable research showed that over 80% of all deaths in the current violence resulted from AK-47s, pistols and other weaponry.

Of the remaining 20%, spears played a negligible role.

"One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted with serious drug abuse problems. One does not call for the banning of matches when you are campaigning against smoking.

"The ANC's call for the banning of cul-

tural weapons is of this order," Buthelezi said.

In another development, an extended ANC NEC, which will include representatives from alliance partners, takes form today to discuss government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

The ultimatum was unofficially extended by a week after the meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

The issue of cultural weapons will also feature high on the agenda at the 140-strong Inkatha central committee meeting, which is due to take place in Ulundi tomorrow.

□ From Page 1

7/5/91
Thursday's
child

Thursday's child, according to the old rhyme, has far to go. Let's hope that the ANC's ultimatum to the Government to break off the talks by Thursday, May 9, unless President de Klerk takes adequate steps to "address" the violence, does not spawn a monster that could yet destroy South Africa.

That monster is the prospect of even more bloodshed. Although Nelson Mandela now says that the intention of the ultimatum to President de Klerk in the ANC's open letter of April 15 was not, in fact, to destroy the negotiation process but rather to focus the attention of the authorities on the mayhem in the townships, a suspension of talks by the ANC now would have profound effects nationally and internationally.

Overseas it would be the front page lead story in every newspaper from Tokyo to Timbuktu, crushing foreign investor confidence. At home an ANC pullout from talks would, as senior South African newsman Joe Latakomo warned at Harvard recently, convey a message to the youth and the people in the streets that the organisation was going back to the days of fighting. "It will be an invitation to violence rather than putting a stop to it," he said. In other words the violence will get worse if the ANC acts on its Thursday ultimatum.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, judging from his weekend statements, is expecting the worst. He obviously believes the ANC has painted itself into a corner with an ultimatum, the conditions of which it knows would have been politically impossible for De Klerk to satisfy. He anticipates the ANC will break off talks and return to the streets. That is why he is mobilising. Inkatha says it will deploy 250 000 heavily armed men on the Reef and has warned the ANC to stop the violence within seven days "or else".

The police, especially black police who are caught in the middle, have started raiding Inkatha hostels in search of weapons. Buthelezi has seized on this perfectly proper police action as a pretext to threaten not to attend De Klerk's peace conference, promising a show of force through the streets of Johannesburg instead. Meanwhile the South African Defence Force is still heavily deployed throughout the country in a bid to keep the peace.

With the country poised to slide into a much more dangerous phase in the transition process to democracy, De Klerk's most testing time of leadership still lies ahead.

Buthelezi rejects call for Zulu 'invasion'

By KATHLEEN BARNES in Johannesburg and AFP

THE leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, denounced yesterday as "dangerous" apparent plans by his organisation to send 100,000 armed warriors into Soweto.

The Zulu chief was responding to an ultimatum issued earlier by a member of Inkatha's central committee, Mr Musa Myeni, that the African National Congress must stop township violence within seven days or 100,000 warriors would "keep the peace" in Soweto.

Mr Myeni, speaking before Chief Buthelezi at a rally in Bekkersdaal, said 150,000 other Inkatha fighters were prepared to go into Johannesburg and the white suburbs if the violence spilled out of the townships.

Township residents phoned radio talk shows in Johannesburg last night, expressing their terror of an Inkatha invasion.

Negotiations threatened

Chief Buthelezi also threatened to pull out of the South African Government's peace process and warned he might withdraw from a floundering government-initiated summit conference on violence.

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, has indicated he will not attend the talks scheduled for May 24 and 25, labelling them a "smoke-screen" for what he claims is reluctance by the President, Mr De Klerk, to crush the violence.

Chief Buthelezi turned the tables on his rivals in the ANC yesterday by accusing them of collusion with police in raids on migrant workers hostels at the weekend. The raids were designed to confiscate weapons from Inkatha-dominated areas.

"What use is there attending a conference if the South African Government is backing ANC propaganda that Inkatha is the instigator of the violence?" Chief Buthelezi asked.

The fact that ANC lawyers and officials accompanied police during the raids showed that the ANC was

"riding on the back of the police to bring Inkatha into disrepute".

"The Zulus will not stand for this kind of treatment."

"I announce today that I am making a personal protest to (Mr De Klerk)."

"I also announce that I am now reserving my position about whether or not I attend the (May 24-25 summit)."

He also criticised a decision by the Minister for Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to order police to confiscate battle-axes and spears from Inkatha supporters.

While he had no objection to police confiscating lethal weapons, he said, spears and battle-axes were "traditional weapons" of the Zulu people.

To protest against the decision, he and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini would lead a march in Johannesburg on May 26 where they would carry spears and battle-axes, Chief Buthelezi said.

He called on the Government to search the homes and offices of senior ANC members for weapons.

He told a cheering crowd of 4000 spear-waving Inkatha members: "The violence that we suffer is a consequence of the ANC's call to make South Africa ungovernable."

The ANC accused Inkatha last week of assisting the Government in plans to destabilise black communities and assassinate ANC leaders.

Four people were killed in Bekkersdaal at the end of the Inkatha rally.

Rampaging Inkatha members have frequently touched off township violence at the end of their gatherings.

Township violence claimed 29 more lives yesterday, continuing the escalating violence in the remaining days before the ANC's May 9 deadline for the Government to meet its demands.

The deaths raised the toll for the weekend to at least 52 with scores injured, police said.

Mr Mandela has issued increasingly strident statements about his determination to withdraw from the peace process if the ANC deadline is not met.

Mr De Klerk warned last week that the violence had brought South Africa to the brink of civil war.



South African riot police open fire during clashes between rival ANC and Inkatha supporters on Sunday.

By ROSS DUNN,
Johannesburg, Monday

7/5/91
Inkatha officials in Soweto are sticking by their threat to deploy 100,000 Zulu warriors in the township by next Sunday despite being rebuked by their own leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Musa Myeni, an Inkatha organiser for the Transvaal, today repeated the warning made at a rally in Bekkersdaal township yesterday.

The split between Mr Myeni and Chief Buthelezi emerged after the rally when they argued the issue in front of reporters.

Chief Buthelezi described such talk as "dangerous" and said it left

Soweto fears Zulu 'invasion'

Inkatha vulnerable to criticism because it was opposed to the use of private armies. The statements, he said, would undermine Inkatha's attack on the African National Congress for forming township defence units.

But Mr Myeni again said that if the ANC did not end the violence by Sunday the deployment of 100,000 men would go ahead. His outburst follows a hand grenade attack on his Soweto home on Thursday night.

At least 44 people have been killed since Friday — including 21 in the past 24 hours — in some of the bloodiest clashes in months between the ANC and Inkatha in black townships around Johannesburg.

Meanwhile, a white policeman in Soweto has been suspended for "jokingly" suggesting to Inkatha supporters that he did not mind if they killed the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The footage was captured by an international television crew and showed Inkatha supporters laughing at the remarks. It was damaging evidence of claims that police are siding with the Zulu-based organisation in the township violence.

Mabuza remains tight-lipped about his plans for the future

BUSINESS DAY

7 MAY 1991

THEO RAWANA

TWO months after resigning as KaNgwane chief minister, that enigma among southern African politicians, Enos Mabuza, still refuses to be drawn on his future plans.

However, one thing is certain; he will not go the way of Oscar Dhlomo or Van Zyl Slabbert. That is, not in the immediate future.

Interviewed in Johannesburg last week, Mabuza said he had a high regard for and supported the two leaders' principles. "I commend them on their stand. Their institutions have a role to play as we need to develop a culture of democracy in SA. But I am not going to start another institute. Maybe in two or three months I will be thinking about what to do."

His two forerunners, in leaving parliamentary/legislative assembly politics, went on to play different broader roles in the political arena. Former Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Van Zyl Slabbert formed the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) and Dhlomo left the Kwazulu legislative assembly and Inkatha to establish the Institute for Multiparty Democracy. A former headmaster and inspector of schools, he added: "I am an experienced teacher, and I have led people politically. So I will see what options there are and exercise my discretion. But I can assure you political involvement is not in my immediate plans — I am not looking at a politi-



● MABUZA

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

cal role." However, he still admits to "maintaining ties" with the ANC.

To complete his break with the homeland's politics, Mabuza last Monday formally resigned as president of the Inyandza National Movement, a party he had founded and led for 13 years.

He said from the time he took the reins as KaNgwane leader, he had always seen the homelands as tempo-

rary structures. "We evolved a mission statement that hinged around two basic commitments.

"The first was the socio-economic upliftment of our people; most of whom had been forcibly removed from their traditional areas of residence and resettled in what is today known as KaNgwane. The second was the determination to strive for a government by consent of all the governed, in a truly just society."

He felt he had served his brief.

Mabuza maintained ties with the ANC throughout his leadership of KaNgwane, and was one of the first leaders to visit the organisation in Lusaka in 1986.

"At the outset Inyandza adopted a multifaceted approach based on working within an apartheid-created structure while sharing the traditional, non-violent principles and goals of the exiled liberation movements.

Mabuza said his service as a schools inspector might have called for misplaced expectations when he entered politics in 1977.

"Having been a civil servant, there were those who expected me to toe Pretoria's line and help to promote the homeland policy to its logical conclusion — independence."

When he rejected independence and spurned incorporation into Swaziland he earned the wrath of central government. "Our budgetary allocation was and has remained minimal and is clearly aimed at perpetuating the underdevelopment of KaNgwane," he says.

LITTLE noticed in the audience at last week's House Africa sub-committee show on SA was Denis Goldberg, the Operation Mayibuye explosives expert, Rivonia trialist and SACP stalwart.

He arrived with the ANC's chief US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, who made sure he was introduced personally to the panel's chairman, congressman Mervyn Dymally. Goldberg had the dishevelled air of a slightly embarrassing relative, and observed proceedings with a look of benign amusement.

No doubt he was there in a strictly tourist capacity, having just happened to be in town that day. No doubt, too, the coincidence between his presence and the US Communist Party-sponsored American tour of his comrade, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, was just that: a coincidence. Spring is the best time of year to visit the US and, besides, the sanctions debate is starting to come to a head.

The general consensus is that the hearing went well for Pretoria. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen defended, with unusual vigour, the proposition that President FW de Klerk had managed to satisfy three of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's (CAAA's) five conditions.

Cohen also strongly implied that the administration expected the remaining two to be fulfilled shortly, triggering termination of the Act's sanctions and also the related Rangel Amendment which denies American companies credit against their US taxes for taxes paid in SA.

The only bad news was that, in order to retain "continued leverage", the US would continue to oppose SA access to IMF facilities as required by the Gramm Amendment. However, officials suggested this was not quite as depressing as it sounded.

For political reasons unrelated to SA, the argument runs, Gramm has to appear sacrosanct for the time being. The administration is asking for a major replenishment of its contribution to the IMF and the World

Wheels falling off, but US sanctions bus is rolling on

BUSINESS DAY 7 MAY 1991

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Bank this year. Tampering with Gramm could bring opposition to the replenishment to critical mass. Once congress has voted the money, the issue will be revisited in line with the administration's commitment to promoting SA's economic growth.

Looked at solely from the perspective of sanctions and how long it will be before the US brings its policy into line with the rest of the world, including most of Africa, the administration's performance must be judged encouraging. Cohen will not, apparently, be counselling President George Bush to niggle over the outstanding CAAA conditions, the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

If South Africans cannot agree among themselves that the relevant "prisoners of conscience" have been freed, Cohen said he was prepared to "examine each case based on our own criteria" — criteria rather narrower than those already agreed to by the ANC and government. A political prisoner, as officially defined in the State Department's annual human rights report, is a person "imprisoned for essentially political beliefs or non-violent acts of expression or dissent, regardless of

the actual charge".

As for the repeal of the two laws, Cohen opined that this was well in hand.

It is also noteworthy that he chose to remind the panel of why the CAAA had been passed in the first place — to "promote a process of change and negotiations", not to dictate an outcome. The Act "wisely recognised that once the transition process got well under way, renewed external contacts, trade and communication would play a vital role in encouraging progress and laying a sound economic basis for renewed growth in post-apartheid SA".

There can be little doubt that on present trends, Bush will move to lift the Act's sanctions as soon — early July, perhaps — as he has a defensible case that the conditions have been met. As devoutly as that is to be wished, the immediate effects on SA's economy will be negligible. More important, at the outset anyway, will be the political signal. Bush will be granting the US's formal stamp of approval to the path down which De Klerk has chosen to proceed. This, rather than any economic

benefit that might accrue to SA, is the critical issue.

Sanctions, as Hani pointed out here last week, can be maintained on a de facto basis by mob rule at home. "What businessman, American, European or Russian, will invest in a country where there is no social order?" The MK chief asked, adding that he meant to see to it that there was no such order.

His remarks in private sessions with "hardline anti-apartheid people", as he calls them, have been scarcely more reassuring. He has reportedly indicated that the ANC, or at least his faction of the ANC/SACP alliance, has no real interest in negotiation and remains committed to outright seizure of power.

Whether or not the outside world continues its sanctions is of little consequence to such a project, since sanctions can be homemade. Far more important is the attitude of the international community to the process De Klerk and more moderate elements in the ANC have agreed to embark upon. If the US and other powers remain indifferent or even hesitant about the legitimacy of the process, the more space the maximalists will have within which to work at its destruction.

For this reason, the rhetoric of the

US sanctions lobby, much of it ANC-inspired, remains troubling, the imminent demise of sanctions notwithstanding. To make their case, Randall Robinson and his cohorts in the Congressional Black Caucus must whittle away at the premise on which sanctions are being lifted worldwide: namely that De Klerk is sincere in his desire to break with the past and that the means he has chosen are legitimate.

Because the sanctioners are losing their principal battle (and source of employment), it is tempting to dismiss what they have to say. When Robinson told the panel about the "complicity of SA government agencies in the horrendous violence now unleashed in SA" or contended that there was no "evidence to suggest that the De Klerk government is prepared to grant black South Africans the pure and basic democratic right to cast a vote", it was easy to groan.

Likewise, one had to stifle a yawn when Gay MacDougall of the US Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law argued that "in assessing good faith, the government's actions to date must be scrutinised more closely. . . . What emerges is a consistent pattern of half measures and broken promises, endless tactical stonewalling, creating and exploiting loopholes, unilateral actions and constant shifting of goalposts".

Though they may no longer impede the end of sanctions, such statements — especially when accompanied by TV pictures of a white policeman suggesting to a Zulu streetfighter that he murder Nelson Mandela — are resonant. The speakers do retain sufficient clout to keep the US body politic on edge as to Pretoria's true intentions and thus to provide cover should the Hanis succeed in derailing negotiations.

Put another way, sanctions may be coming off but De Klerk is still far from achieving the kind of international political support that would permit him to deal effectively with concerted subversion without setting back Pretoria's credibility by 10 years. One wonders whether Goldberg got the point.

Winnie fabricated alibi, says State

By Stephane Bothma

MRS Winnie Mandela had given false evidence and fabricated an alibi, the state argued in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, asking that she be found guilty as charged on four counts of abduction and four of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

She had been party to the common purpose of abducting and assaulting four youths, and had not only participated in the assaults, but played a leading role, the court heard.

"Her false evidence and alibi strengthens the state case," said Mr Jan Swanepoel SC in the state's closing argument.

Mr Swanepoel argued before Mr Justice M S Stegmann that Mrs Mandela's evidence had been unsatisfactory in general, and that her evidence about her alibi had been particularly unsatisfactory and improbable. It had been contradicted in many respects by the evidence of two key defence witnesses

"Her version that she was on her way to Brandfort when the assaults occurred, should be rejected as false."

The state submitted that the 56-year-old Mrs Mandela had been party to the common purpose of abducting and assaulting Kenneth Kgase, Pelo Mekgwe, Thabiso Mono and Stompie Seipei, who was later found murdered, on December 29, 1988.

He said as far as the assessment of the evidence

in the case was concerned, the court should give regard to the cumulative effect of the evidence. It would be wrong to isolate each piece of evidence and test it by the test of reasonable doubt.

"The State has to prove the guilt of the accused beyond reasonable doubt. This does not mean, however, that it should be proved beyond all doubt," he said.

Mr Swanepoel told the court that the fact that Mrs Mandela had failed to disclose her alibi — of being in Brandfort at the time of the alleged crimes — before her trial started in February was, in the circumstances of the case, a significant factor.

Any reasonable person in Mrs Mandela's position would have disclosed an alibi, he said, and added that Mrs Mandela had no satisfactory explanation for not doing so.

"The allegations of her involvement in kidnappings, assaults and murder appeared in the national and international media and she was, in her own words, hounded by the media. She could easily have silenced her critics by merely saying she had been in Brandfort at the time."

Crisis

According to Mr Swanepoel, Mrs Mandela's actions after December 29, 1988, had been inconsistent with the actions of a person who had played no part in the assaults or abductions and she could not explain her actions, or inaction, satisfactorily.

He referred to her evidence that she had not,

even after being informed by a "Crisis Committee" about the allegations of her involvement in the alleged crimes, made enquiries about the four alleged victims and had not bothered to speak to two of them who had still been living on her premises.

He added that Mrs Mandela had taken no action after the visit by the "Crisis Committee", had made no arrangements for Mono and Mekgwe to be medically examined despite allegations of serious assaults on them.

Mr Swanepoel told the court that Mrs Mandela's reason for visiting Brandfort — to attend a social project meeting regarding a day-care centre on December 30, 1988 — was improbable.

In her evidence in chief and under cross-examination, Mrs Mandela had given three different versions of when she had first learnt that the four youths had been assaulted by Mandela football club coach, Jerry Richardson, and other youths living on her property, Mr Swanepoel said.

He further argued that Stompie had been abducted and assaulted because he was regarded as an informer who had "sold out comrades" and collaborated with the police.

"There is clearly no other reason why Stompie should have been as-



WINNIE MANDELA, wife of African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, arrives at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday where she faces charges of kidnap and assault.

saulted and later killed," he said, adding that Mrs Mandela's claim that she had never heard rumours about Stompie being a "sell-out" could not be true.

It was submitted that the main reason why Kgase, Mono and Mekgwe had been abducted had been the belief that they were involved in homosexual activities at the Soweto Methodist Church, from where they had been taken against their will, or that they had knowledge of such activities.

Mr Swanepoel asked Mr Justice Stegmann to accept the evidence of Mono, who had been "a good witness".

The state conceded that

Kgase's evidence was unsatisfactory in many respects, and that he had lied about certain matters. "however, this does not mean that his evidence should be rejected," Mr Swanepoel said.

His evidence might be accepted where it was corroborated, either by other credible evidence or by the probabilities.

Mr Chris van Vuuren, also for the state, asked the court to reject the evidence of Mrs Nora Moahloli, a witness called by the defence to corroborate Mrs Mandela's alibi.

He argued that Mrs Moahloli had contradicted herself on several issues and had also contradicted the evidence

of Mrs Mandela and that of the second defence witness, Mr Thabo Motau, who claimed he had driven Mrs Mandela to Brandfort on December 29 1988.

Mr Van Vuuren also asked that Mr Motau's evidence be rejected.

"He had a good reason or motive to give evidence in support of Mrs Mandela's defence. He described her as his benefactor," Mr Van Vuuren argued, adding that Mr Motau had been an uncooperative witness who had evaded questions and failed to give straightforward answers to clear and easy questions.

Argument by the state continues today.

The Star Tuesday May 7 1991

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The Star 7 May 91

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inning of township bloodshed last August. Since then, the
Picture: Reuter

an Inkatha attack on April 13.

● Alexandra residents' claims that police protected attacking Inkatha hostel-dwellers from counter-attacks on March 11, firing teargas at the gathering residents.

Yet another trend lies in the apparent failure by the police to respond adequately to warnings of Inkatha attacks.

● On March 27, 15 people were gunned down during a vigil in Alexandra. Police agreed they were alerted to the possibility of an attack on mourners, but said they left the area after seeing no sign of anything unusual.

● On January 12 last year, 39 people were killed in Sebokeng at another vigil. The ANC claimed it had asked for police

protection, which did not materialise. Police said they offered protection but were asked to leave by the ANC mourners.

● On July 22 last year, 24 people were killed after an Inkatha rally in Sebokeng. The ANC and law firm Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom said police were warned weeks before of rumours of an attack. Police had replied that it was a Zulu custom to attend meetings with traditional weapons.

● On July 25 last year, police were apparently warned of an attack that day on train passengers in Soweto. Lawyers who faxed the Ministry of Law and Order said they received a reply two days after the attack.

An overall trend in reports

spanning months is that of township residents' consistent complaint of the police siding with Inkatha. Seldom have there been reports from Inkatha supporters alleging that police are partial to the ANC.

In situations where Inkatha has apparently not been a factor, but where police have been faced by groups of township residents, police reaction has, on at least three notable occasions, been reprehensible.

Commissions of inquiry have followed 13 killings in Daveyton on March 24; 42 deaths in Sebokeng on September 4 last year; and the well-known killings in Sebokeng on March 26 last year which led to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

Although the investigation into the Daveyton shootings is still being conducted, judges found in the other two incidents that police were unjustifiable in firing at township residents.

But, despite the portrayal of police partiality by those on the ground as well as in the ANC leadership, the SAP has denied siding with Inkatha.

"The police, to the best of its ability, acts absolutely impartially at all times and under all circumstances," said Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order.

"There can be no question of allowing anyone to attack others at will. It would, in any case, be completely counter-productive for the police either to support or allow violence in any form as, by its very nature, violence gains a momentum of its own and is then exceedingly difficult to stop.

"It is also farcical to accuse the police of aiding and abetting violence when the force is only too aware of the damage done to economic prospects, and it feels only too keenly the negative effects, including immense adverse publicity.

"Many policemen have lost their lives trying to keep fighting groups apart. Also, where possible, both sides involved in the fighting have been disarmed," Captain Kotze said. □

No decision on impis - Buthelezi

Sowetan 7 May 1991

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the Inkatha Freedom Party has made no decision regarding the deployment of 100 000 fighters to end township violence.

The IFP president yesterday renounced a claim by Inkatha central committee member and Transvaal leader Mr Musa Myeni that the organisation would import about 100 000 fighters from Natal to the Transvaal if factional violence did not end within seven days.

Myeni said this at the weekend when he spoke to journalists at Bekkersdal shortly before Buthelezi addressed an IFP rally in the township.

Buthelezi said Myeni was not making the statement on behalf of the central committee.

"No such decision has been formally made and the IFP central committee has not received any indication that such a decision could be in the making.

"The question of sending people to the Transvaal to quell violence has never crossed my mind and it has not yet been discussed by the central committee.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

"Neither did the IFP's Transvaal leadership make such a decision.

"I am not aware that there has been a decision at the Transvaal level about this," said Buthelezi, emphasising that the central committee of the IFP was the only authentic executive arm which made and ratified decisions.

Merciless attacks

However, he said: "I understand the Transvaal leadership's anxiety and anger at the merciless attacks which have been directed at IFP structures and its members.

"I can understand the anger of IFP leaders, who, like me, are saying enough is enough, and who are at the receiving end of the violence.

"Mr Musa Myeni's anguished call for the ending of violence and his statement must be understood for what it was - a cry for help and a cry that enough is enough," Buthelezi said.

Black leaders dodging violence issue, says Dhlomo

7/5/84
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BLACK leaders appeared to be dodging the issue when it came to violence, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said last night.

"There is a growing perception that our leaders are either deceiving the world by condemning violence in public and condoning it in pri-

Political Staff

vate, or that they are simply powerless to stop it," he told a Democratic Party meeting in Cape Town.

"There is also a growing perception that they might be using violence to score political points and entrench their political positions," he said.

Dr Dhlomo said he had no evidence that a 'third force', if one existed, was being aided and abetted by the Government.

But he said he was becoming increasingly worried by the Government's 'characteristic sluggish reaction to calls on it to seriously investigate allegations about third forces,

death squads, police partiality and favouritism'.

Dr Dhlomo, a former Inkatha secretary general, said that one of the most tragic developments was that violence was taking place mainly among supporters of Inkatha and the ANC.

There were 'no angels in this violence', he said.

Inkatha Natal witnesses supporters May 1991 attacked on buses — IFP

Witness Reporter

TWO buses carrying Inkatha supporters were attacked in two separate incidents on Monday, resulting in two people being injured, the Inkatha Freedom Party has claimed.

In a press statement, the IFP stated that a bus carrying people to work from Mpande was attacked by gunmen and an Inkatha member, Phulani Dladla, was admitted to Edendale Hospital with gunshot wounds.

Later that day, the IFP claimed, a bus heading for Ngoedomhlope was shot at Thulani's garage and Frank Dlamini — also an Inkatha member — was wounded.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram could not confirm these incidents yesterday, but said an Inkatha headman, Chief Zwelabantu Iphraim Ngubane (53), was shot dead in Mpanda township near Edendale on Monday.

The IFP said it was concerned that the attacks come at a time when the peace accord reached between the IFP and the ANC was under great strain and they do not contribute towards building a climate of peace in Natal.

The IFP Youth Brigade called on the ANC Midlands leadership to condemn "these senseless attacks".

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member David Ntombela condemned Monday's bus attacks, adding that "as usual" the attackers were aware that there were Inkatha supporters on the bus.

Mandla Buthelezi, spokesman for the IFP Youth Brigade said: "It is necessary that the ANC take immediate action to prevent the escalation of conflict in these areas and undertake a grassroots campaign to inform their members of the peace accord."

Chairman of the ANC Midlands region, Harry Gwala, yesterday described the statement as "provocative".

"I am surprised these people make no mention of the assassination of Derrick Majola and his wife and they say nothing about the killings in Gezabuso or the attacks in Maqongqo," Gwala said.

He said he had recently received a letter from Chief Minister Buthelezi which contained serious allegations about the ANC.

"I haven't even replied because it was so insulting and I wouldn't be able to restrain myself."

The IFP also claimed three houses at Ekwazini "were attacked by comrades" yesterday, and three people killed.

IFP central committee member Senzo Mfayela described the attacks as "senseless acts of violence directed against Inkatha".

In an unrelated incident yesterday morning, he said, six IFP members on their way to work from Magabheni were ambushed.

As they stopped their car at a barricade, a petrol bomb was thrown at them. Five of the men managed to flee from the burning car but the driver, a "Mr Mabhidha" was burnt to death, he added. — Sapa.

The Star 7 May, 91

Those innocent words that can cause such offence

IN times of tension the slightest word, however innocently intended, can cause offence. No one has better reason to know this than someone who works in the media.

Two readers have raised queries about words and phrases used by The Star in its reports.

DP Makhodu of Selby criticises the newspaper for using "euphemisms" in reporting violence. By way of example, he quotes "traditional weapons", "blunt instrument" and "alleged sharp instrument". He sees this as an attempt to avoid putting the blame for violence "where it truly belongs".

What Mr Makhodu overlooks, I am afraid, is that in confused situations it is often difficult, if not impossible, for reporters to judge offhand where the blame "truly belongs". Only when completely sure of his facts — and that does apply sometimes — should a reporter make a judgment of that kind, and then not in deliberately inflammatory terms.

To those with strong views on either side of the conflict this may seem evasive, even timorous. But it is hard to see how a newspaper that claims to "tell it like it is"

and not to mix facts with comment could operate differently.

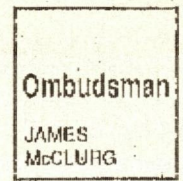
He refers to a caption on May 8, showing a man with a panga at an Inkatha rally (described beforehand as a peace rally). The caption ran: "Traditional weapon? ... An Inkatha supporter brandishes a panga at a peace rally in Soweto yesterday."

Mr Makhodu has a point in querying if peace rally was the right description of the event as it materialised. But why, I wonder, does he give the writer no credit for calling attention to the nature of the weapon and inviting readers to judge if that was the kind of "traditional weapon" one would expect to see at a peace rally?

□ □ □

AS most readers no doubt know, it is The Star's policy not to specify the race of people mentioned in news stories except where necessary for a full understanding of the story. This policy is not without its critics and it has been known to produce anomalies. Nevertheless, I believe it to be unsalable in principle.

A more subtle criticism than most has come from Joseph Steel-



Ombudsman
JAMES
McCLURG



man. He detects "blatant racism" in cases where the race of a white person is not reported because, as he interprets the omission, a white skin, as opposed to a black or brown one, has come to be regarded as "normal".

He quotes a Star poster: "Man kills black 'for practice'", which called attention to a story about a white man who tried out his marksmanship on a black man in preparation for further exploits. He objects to the way "man" and "black" were counterpoised, saying it shows the writer "clearly considers them two distinct categories".

While I do not believe that inference to be justified, I agree that the poster would have been more in keeping with The Star's policy had it read, "White (or white man) kills black for practice."

However, I would be unhappy to see too many posters of that kind, whoever the aggressor or victim.

Mr Steelman also quotes The Star's political correspondent, Peter Fabricius, on President de Klerk's decision to commute the death sentences on Barend Strydom and Robert McBride: "McBride detonated a car bomb which killed three women ... Strydom killed a black squatter ... And then murdered seven more blacks."

I cannot discern any hidden racism. The race of Strydom's victims was relevant because his was essentially a racially motivated crime. On the other hand, although McBride planted his bomb in an area much frequented by whites, his bomb could easily have killed or injured blacks. The race of the women was not essential to this story.

□ □ □

James Clarke, The Star's environmental specialist, bears an honoured name among those concerned about the environment.

Strange, therefore, that a doubt has been cast, even briefly, on his attitude towards the proposed

mining of titanium at St Lucia.

It arose in some minds when he reported in the Saturday Star of March 23 that three environmentalists had decided that, with St Lucia in its present parlous state, its future would probably be brighter if the titanium mining company, Richards Bay Minerals, assumed responsibility for it — "provided the environmental impacts are tolerable".

WJ Hazewindus, of Horizon Ridge, said Clarke's article was "erroneous and misleading".

From my inquiries it appeared Clarke had correctly quoted two of the environmentalists — Barry Clements (who is now in charge of the mining company's public relations) and the director of the Endangered Wildlife Trust, Dr John Ledger. However, the third man, Keith Cooper, whom Clarke had quoted at second hand, turned out to be implacably opposed to the project.

Next came a suggestion by a Natal conservationist that a "massive disinformation programme" was under way to win acceptance for mining at St Lucia.

In his column, Greenpiece, in the Saturday Star, on April 20,

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Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

The Star 7 May 91

Stop all this war talk

IT IS easy to understand people's need for protection against rampant violence, which the SAP seems hard-pressed to provide. The several versions of "self-defence units" lately proposed by organisations as diverse as CAST, the Blanke Vryheidsbeweging, the Transvaal Agricultural Union and the SACP may seem to offer some sort of relief. But no one should expect them, nor Inkatha's promise to introduce thousands of vigilantes into the townships, to provide a solution.

Such units will be expected to owe strict allegiance to particular constituencies which openly regard rival groupings as "the enemy". In such an atmosphere of confrontation they cannot be expected to refrain from violence as and when they feel the need. Some, especially on the Right, openly admit this.

Nor are these organisations properly selective about whom they recruit. In many cases anyone is free to join. Farmers in the northern Transvaal are even reported to be willing to arm children for their defence units. The risks are obvious. People not properly prepared for the dangers of urban conflict are unpredictable and are often more of a menace than a help.

In fact, none of these units is prepared to make known what training will be given. All that is ever divulged are vague references to "weapons training, martial arts and physical drill". But there are no specifics, which leaves an uncomfortable suspicion that training will be minimal.

All these deficiencies were cited against the SAP's "kitskonstabels", who were bitterly criticised for not maintaining law and order properly and for abusing their authority — by some of the very organisations which are today proposing self-defence units.

Things are becoming desperate in the townships, and self-defence units, as proposed, will not make the conditions any easier. The same applies to Inkatha if it goes ahead with its threat to move in 100 000 fighting men if the ANC does not meet its demand to end the violence within a week. Inkatha's call is mischievous in the extreme. The ANC by itself cannot stop the bloodshed any more than the IFP can. All Inkatha will be doing is adding a new dimension to the violence.

The militant rhetoric must be abandoned. Violence will never provide a solution to violence.

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OPINION

The Star 7 May 91

Patrick Laurence looks at the tribal factor in township violence

Ethnic thread in tangled fabric

ZULUS are attacked "just because they are Zulu people", Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi declares of the latest violence in Soweto.

It is a matter of ongoing and even acrimonious debate whether Chief Buthelezi is sombrely warning his tribal kinsmen on the reality of anti-Zulu hostility, or whether he is expediently trying to drive Zulus into the IFP.

Either way his accusation against African National Congress forces underlines once again that there is an ineradicable tribal dimension to the fighting.

Yet there is a curious reluctance in radical and even liberal circles to recognise the power of tribalism or, to use a more respectable term, ethno-nationalism, as a factor in the intra-black conflict.

Tribalism, like apartheid, is a dirty word in South Africa. Tribalism is a label of abuse, used to hang around the necks of political foes or rival political organisations.

It is associated with bigotry and often serves as a synonym for collaborator. The link between apartheid and tribalism has been built up over more than four decades.

The legacy of apartheid lives on in the midst of President de Klerk's attempts to discard the past and exorcise racist laws from the statute book. He has reserved — or wants to reserve — places at the negotiating table for leaders of the 10 black "nation states" recognised under the Bantu Self Government Act, an archetypal apartheid law.

His strategy is seen by supra-tribal movements, primarily the African National Congress, as a shrewd manoeuvre to deploy tribalism to weaken their influence.

Thus when tribalism surfaces in the political arena, it is seen as the product of sinister divide-and-rule machinations by Mr de Klerk's security forces. Marxist theory, with its emphasis on class interests, is often used to explain tribalism away or, at least, downplay it.

Marxism, influencing the ANC's ideological outlook via its alliance partner, the South African Communist Party, blurs reality. The reluctance to comprehend fully the failure of the socialist economic system is matched by disinclination to recognise the power of ethnicity.

The rise of ethnically based nationalisms in the Baltic states, and

the prevalence of inter-ethnic conflict in vast areas of the Soviet Union, is often glossed over.

Closer to home, the intra-black violence which has swept through black townships around Johannesburg since August last year, claiming at least 1 000 lives, is not regarded as intrinsically tribal: it is perceived as the product of a sinister strategy by a state-linked "third force" aimed at weakening the ANC.

An ANC discussion paper on the violence draws attention to the calculated revival of tribally based political parties in the "homelands" as the prospect of all-party talks on a new constitution becomes more tangible.

But the conflict in townships around Johannesburg has an unmistakable tribal colouring. At its blood-stained cutting edge, it has pitted Zulu migrant workers, proclaiming loyalty to the IFP, against Xhosa-speaking people.

Men have been slain because of their tribal affinity. Ideological loyalty has been immaterial. Tribal tensions are unfortunately and perhaps reluctantly fuelled by structural factors.

The IFP started life as a specifically Zulu movement but has since undergone two important

changes: first it opened its ranks to all blacks and then, only last year, it invited people of all races to join. But even after its latest metamorphosis Inkatha remains — for the time being, at any rate — a predominantly Zulu organisation.

The ANC is a supra-tribal organisation with a long and proud record of non-racialism. But most of its important national posts are occupied by Xhosas.

Its president, deputy president, secretary-general, international affairs supremo and information chief are all Xhosas. So, too, is the chief of staff of its underground army, Chris Hani. Its effective leader and deputy president, Nelson Mandela, is a member of a royal Xhosa family. The two strongest contenders to succeed him are Xhosas, Mr Hani and Thabo Mbeki.

Xhosa pre-eminence in the ANC's top leadership is matched by the small number of Zulus in its upper ranks. One of the few prominent Zulus on the ANC national executive is Jacob Zuma, the ANC intelligence chief.

The imbalance — the more than 6 million Zulus constitute the biggest ethnic group in South Africa — explains why some Zulus are

suspicious of the ANC as "a Xhosa organisation".

The ethnic skewing of Inkatha generally and the ANC at leadership level means that Inkatha-ANC rivalry tends all too easily to degenerate into inter-tribal animosity. Rhetorical statements occasionally resonate with tribal undertones or even overtones.

Thus, where the ANC has specifically demanded the dissolution of the KwaZulu police and the dismantling of the KwaZulu "bantustan", it has a cosy relationship with the leader of the Xhosa "bantustan", Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa. The contrast has been noted by Inkatha leaders and interpreted as evidence of tribal bias against the Zulu people.

In moments of stress Chief Buthelezi has deployed the language of tribalism. Thus he has accused the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of being a "spear thrust into the heart of the Zulu nation".

But it is as misleading to magnify tribalism as it is to deny its existence. Tribalism or ethno-nationalism is an important element in the conflict, one which may be particularly amenable to manipulation by the security forces. But, in the end, it is only one of several

factors in a complex political equation.

In Natal the savage conflict between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists has been intra-Zulu. The divide has been ideological, not tribal.

In the Transvaal there has been a class factor in the conflict. The Zulu fighters with their distinctive red bandanas, have been drawn largely from the ranks of migrant workers living in the hostels.

Armed with their "traditional weapons", they have fought savage battles while some of their Zulu kinsmen, living permanently in the townships, have either been neutral or have even sided with ANC forces.

After the ANC's national conference in July, and the infusion of "new blood" from the men who manned the front ranks of the United Democratic Front during the 1980s, the ANC will almost certainly reflect a more balanced ethnic mix.

Inkatha, too, is broadening its ethnic and racial base and, according to its spokesmen, is now recruiting Xhosas in the eastern Cape, Tswanas in the western Transvaal and whites all over South Africa. □

The Star 7 May, 91

Question mark over top-level meeting

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Despite frantic behind the scenes efforts there was no clarity whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk would meet today to try to head off the looming breakdown in negotiations on Thursday.

Government sources were also unable to confirm that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would also meet Mr de Klerk separately in Cape Town today.

ANC sources in Cape Town were adamant today that Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk would not be meeting despite the very confident reports in local papers and on SABCTV.

The reports appeared to be based on suggestions that the ANC NEC meeting in Johannesburg yesterday had reached agreement to reconsider some of its seven demands for Government action on violence.

Reconsider

However there are also deep concerns in the ANC that Mr Mandela would suffer loss to his prestige if he were to be seen to be making concessions if the seven demands on violence are not met.

The ANC's national executive committee reportedly agreed, at a meeting yesterday, that if the Government met the three core demands, the ANC would reconsider its threat to pull out of talks.

The demands were:

- Legislation to outlaw the carrying of "traditional" weapons.
- Firm steps by the Government to phase out the single-sex hostels.
- Satisfactory assurances by the Government that police would act impartially in the violence.

Although the Government has gone some way to addressing these three demands, the ANC is apparently not yet satisfied.

Another important subject on the agenda of any meeting is the proposal by church leaders to host a summit on violence.

The ANC has already declined an invitation to attend the summit on violence which Mr de Klerk has arranged for May 24 and 25 but is willing to attend one organised by the churches.

Government sources are, however, pessimistic about the chances of a compromise as they say plans for Mr de Klerk's summit are too advanced to be cancelled.

11 die in attacks by gunmen in Tembisa

By Guy Jepson

Eleven people were shot dead in two attacks at Tembisa near Kempton Park yesterday.

Police are investigating the possibility that the same unidentified gunmen who ambushed a bus near a Vusi Musi section hostel late yesterday afternoon may have later attacked residents in nearby Umthambeka section.

The bus was ambushed near the Snowflake hostel at about 4.30 pm. Six men died in the shooting. A seventh was injured.

Between 8.30 and 9.15 pm, unknown men in a minibus shot at residents in Umthambeka section, killing four men and a woman, and injuring two men.

Police said they were investigating "unsubstantiated reports" that five to seven gunmen boarded the bus and opened fire after one attacker fired at the bus driver, forcing him to stop the vehicle and flee.

Police found the bodies of six men in the bus outside the Snowflake hostel. Spent AK-47, shotgun and 9 mm pistol rounds were found.

Police received a report of the bus attack at 4.30 pm and cordoned off the area, but the attackers had escaped.

A seventh man who had been shot and injured was later found in the area by police. He told them he had been aboard the bus at the time of the attack.

"As far as we know, only seven passengers were on the bus," police said.

Referring to last night's attack in the Umthambeka section, police said they believed a minibus hijacked earlier in the evening had been used to transport the killers.

"They allegedly drove around firing at people from the minibus."

He said the killings appeared to have been random, but those killed and wounded were mainly Xhosa-speaking.

Squatters cower in fear

27 more killed in 24 hours

By Monica Oosterbroek

Faction fighting took the lives of another 27 people in unrest-related incidents in the past 24 hours as the bloody conflict continues throughout the country.

The death toll since May Day now stands at 129, with 70 killed in war-torn Soweto.

Five people died in an attack on a bakkie in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, when a group of armed men appeared in the middle of Linden Reef Road in the township and opened fire on the vehicle.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said four were killed in the rain of bullets when they tried to run to safety, and a man was seriously injured.

One of the men who had stayed in the bakkie was burnt to death when the vehicle caught alight.

In a separate incident, a man with serious stab wounds was found by police in Kagiso.

The body of a man with stab and hack wounds was found at Bekkersdal near Westonaria.

In the Chicken Farm squatter area in Pimville, at least four people died when unknown gunmen opened fire on residents at around midnight last night.

Residents said the attackers arrived in minibuses. Armed with AK-47 rifles and R1 shotguns, they fired for about 15 minutes, and then disappeared.

Eleven people died on the East Rand yesterday.

In Natal, six people had died since yesterday morning, police reported.

Three people were killed in a bus ambush at Table Mountain near Maritzburg and 35 people were injured. Two women died instantly and the third died in hospital late yesterday.

Police said the bus was petrol-bombed by attackers at 6 am. Police found R4 rifle and AK-45 cartridges at the scene.

At Qinabathi in Port Shepstone police found the bodies of two men.

At Wembezi in Estcourt, unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at two men, fatally wounding one.

● More reports — Page 2

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

Brinkmanship

EVENTS have taken an ominous turn with Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi signalling that he might withdraw from multi-party talks aimed at ending violence and one of his lieutenants threatening — unless the African National Congress ends violence countrywide — to send a quarter of a million warriors to the Witwatersrand.

The latter is probably logistically impossible, but the threat alone is enough to inflame passions and increase anxieties in communities which have already been stirred into dangerous ferment. The threat is one of full-scale war and it should be unequivocally repudiated by the leadership.

Dr Buthelezi's withdrawal from the multi-party talks on violence would be a pity, though if the ANC also refused to participate — as it has sig-

nalled — the talks would be meaningless and Inkatha would be open to a repetition of the accusation of collusion with the Government.

The indications are that both the ANC and Inkatha are losing control of their constituencies on the Witwatersrand, and that they could be painting themselves into corners. The likely outcome of continued political violence would be massive intervention by the military — as a peacekeeping force and to the relief of the outside world and the communities themselves.

Such an outcome would seriously detract from the credibility of both the ANC and Inkatha.

Meanwhile, both sides are indulging in dangerous brinkmanship which can only increase the suffering of the ordinary people they claim to represent.

Communists in the ANC

IT IS NOT altogether surprising that three-quarters of the inner council members of the ANC are apparently also members of the Communist Party. The Soviet Union was the ANC's principal sponsor for so long that it would have been normal to expect at least lip-service support. But that was before the unfolding of abundant evidence that communism had failed completely in Eastern Europe.

The ANC will probably have a leading role to play in the future government of this country. If the reported strength of communist representation is true, it is likely to depress many people, not the least of whom are the entrepreneurs and investors whom South Africa so desperately needs if we are to have any real hope of ending poverty and unemployment.

7/5/91

No plan to send Zulus to Soweto

IRVIN SITHOLE

Daily News Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party central committee had not taken any formal decision to send 100 000 fighters to protect people against violence in the Transvaal, says KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the party.

He described the call made by an Inkatha central committee member and head of its public relations and international affairs department, Mr Musa Myeni, as "a cry for help", which should be understood for what it was.

Meanwhile, Mr Myeni yesterday denied that he ever said the 100 000 people

to be deployed in Soweto would be imported from outside the Transvaal, saying there were many people in Soweto who wanted to protect the whole community and not just Inkatha members.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Dr Buthelezi said Mr Myeni did not make the statement on behalf of the Inkatha central committee as "no decision has been made as yet to take such action".

He agreed that Mr Myeni did say IFP Transvaal leaders had decided they would import 100 000 fighters to quell the violence in the Transvaal.

"I understand the Transvaal leadership's anxiety and anger at the merciless attacks which have been directed at IFP structures and its members.

"I can understand the anger of IFP leaders in the Transvaal who, like me, are saying enough is enough, and who are at the receiving end of the violence."

Dr Buthelezi said the IFP's Transvaal leaders had not made the decision to import 100 000 fighters to put an end to violence.

He said no such decision had been formally made and the IFP central committee had not received any indication that such a decision could be in the making.

On reports that he was reconsidering whether to attend the summit conference called by President F.W. de Klerk, he said he did not issue an ultimatum.

"I said I might not be able to attend the conference called for by the Government if the Government is giving credibility to the ANC's hideous condemnation of the IFP as the cause of political violence in the Transvaal."

He said the question would be submitted to the IFP's central committee for consideration on May 18.

Neither the "revolutionary ANC" nor the Government could eradicate violence. That would come about "when the Government, the IFP and the ANC come together do deal with violence in an ongoing campaign to shame it out of existence".

Mr Myeni yesterday denied having used the word "import", saying that if Inkatha wanted to stamp out violence in the Transvaal it could do so by using the people in Soweto.

He denied he said people would be imported from Natal and said Natal had its own problems.

"We are under pressure from people who are tired of being attacked while they were not fighting," he said.

Daily News

7/5/91

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The Star 7 May 91
SAP to be restructured - Vlok

The SAP is being restructured in preparation for a new South Africa and to provide a better service to all the people of the country, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in Parliament yesterday.

"We are already preparing the police force for a new South Africa," he said.

Introducing the debate on the police budget vote, he said the country had already been divided into 11 districts to bring policing "closer to the people".

The force had been restructured into four arms to make it more effective.

The incorporation of the Special Branch into the CID on April 1 would strengthen its crime-fighting operation.

A division responsible for more visible policing would incorporate both the uniformed and operation branches. Emphasis would be

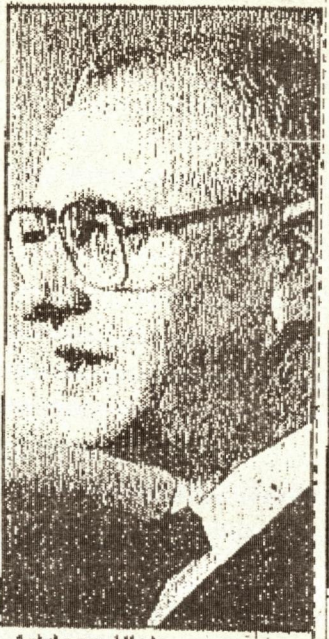
on crime prevention.

A division of human resource management would deal with training, development and personnel management. With the restructuring, the police would:

- Be thoroughly apolitical, but protect accepted democratic principles and value systems, and be loyal to the government of the day.
- Serve everyone.
- Be an institution which offered equality of opportunity based on merit to all members in terms of capability, talent and qualifications.

Mr Vlok said organisations which were waging a propaganda campaign against the SAP should desist, as the attempt to discredit the police would not improve their political positions.

Mr Vlok said 120 policemen had died in the performance of their duties in the past year. — Sapa.



Adriaan Vlok ... propaganda campaign against the SAP must stop.

given hamburgers and soft- police budget debate. — Sapa.

The Times
7/5/91 London

Scramble to stop Soweto 'army'

From GAVIN BELL
IN JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH Africa's political leaders are scrambling to convene urgent peace talks after a senior official of the Inkatha Freedom party threatened to deploy 100,000 armed men in Soweto to confront African National Congress supporters. Musa Myeni, an Inkatha central committee member, said on Sunday that the fighters would be called up unless the ANC halted political violence in black townships nationally within a week. He said 150,000 more men were standing by to reinforce Johannesburg and its suburbs. "So far we have not directed our forces to unleash their power, but we will do so in the interest of peace. We want to watch if the ANC and the Communist party continue with the present violence. We are giving them seven days from today."

Mr Myeni's ultimatum, three weeks after the ANC confirmed plans to create armed defense units in the townships, appeared to bring the conflict to the brink of full-scale civil war. An ANC spokesman said the Inkatha threat was impractical and dangerous.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, said in a statement yesterday that Inkatha had made no formal decision to create an armed force in Soweto.

Township killings flare again

JOHANNESBURG (AP, Reuter) — Police said yesterday that at least 62 people had been killed in fighting in black townships over the weekend in some of the bloodiest clashes in months between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Zulu Inkatha movement. At least 29 people were killed during the previous 24 hours — most of them around Johannesburg. In Tembisa township outside Johannesburg, up to eight black gunmen ambushed a bus and shot dead six blacks yesterday, the police said.

The ANC, meanwhile, rejected suggestions that Nelson Mandela, the deputy president, and other ANC leaders might join the cabi-

net to end a mounting political crisis between the government and the black opposition group. Saki Macozoma, of the ANC, said they were not willing to serve under President FW de Klerk and wanted a transitional government. Press reports said Mr de Klerk might offer Mr Mandela and others cabinet posts.

The ANC has threatened to suspend talks on sharing power if Mr de Klerk does not meet its demands to end violence in the townships by Thursday. The demands include the dismissal of Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, and Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, and disbanding security units accused of

helping to inflame the unrest. Mr de Klerk has rejected the demands, but said he is trying to find a compromise.

The crisis deepened with the threat by the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to boycott a proposed peace conference because of what he called police collusion with the ANC. Mr de Klerk has called a multi-party conference for 24-25 May, which the ANC has said it will boycott, but which Chief Buthelezi initially said he would attend.

Another Inkatha official, Musa Myeni, warned that Inkatha would send 100,000 armed members into Soweto if the ANC failed to halt clashes in the township.

Six die in bus ambush

By Christopher Munton in Johannesburg

GUNMEN ambushed a bus and shot dead six blacks yesterday in a township north-east of Johannesburg. One of the black attackers dropped the bus in Tembisa township by shooting at the driver, police said. Then up to seven more blacks boarded the bus and opened fire with AK-47 rifles, shotguns and pistols.

The killings raised the number of dead in township violence in the last six days to 108. Most were killed in clashes between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom party led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Earlier, Chief Buthelezi had called on all Zulus in the Transvaal to join him in a march through Johannesburg

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