

# Strike the Zulu and face his wrath — Buthelezi

By Tony Stirling

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"I warned that the targeting of KwaZulu would have tragic consequences. Those consequences are now beginning to emerge," he said.

The Zulu chieftans gathered at Ulundi yesterday particularly to consider the violence sweeping the country.

"We are meeting as the Amakhosi (chiefs) of KwaZulu to state that we will not tolerate attacks on the Zulu nation as such," said Dr Buthelezi.

He said, however, everything had to be done to stamp out ethnicity in politics, but denied that the Zulus were to blame for bringing about the Zulu/Xhosa clashes in the

Transvaal.

He said he had rejected the armed struggle because he knew it would fail and he had rejected sanctions because the people did not want them. He had, however, never vilified or used character assassination against persons such as Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, and his deputy Mr Nelson Mandela. But Mr Mandela had now joined "the game" of dragging his name through the mud.

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world.

It was the ANC which had promoted "killing talk" to further the armed struggle, and when that was patently failing, again to further the so-called peoples' war. In this propaganda he had been singled out as "a snake that had to be hit on the head", he added.

He said these attacks had become increasingly vicious and the "killing talk" had been extended to include Inkatha, and a "final horrible phase" in which KwaZulu was being attacked as KwaZulu.

"Those who demand the disbanding of KwaZulu spurn everything which you, the Amakhosi of

KwaZulu, stand for. They want your roles annihilated," said Dr Buthelezi.

He said he rejected the blame others were attempting to lay at the door of the Zulus for the violence between Zulus and Xhosas in the Transvaal. Zulu chiefs had just returned from the area and would report back on their findings in this regard.

"I call on every one of you as an Inkosi (chief) of KwaZulu to stand up now and to be counted in this hour of the people's need," he said.

"Do not allow anybody to trample on our glorious past. Do not allow anybody to destroy that inner Zulu unity which has always stood the test of time," he said.

The Zulu chiefs owed this to their ancestors, future generations and South Africa. "Let there now be peace," said Dr Buthelezi.

## Zulus and Xhosas will never go to war, says Buthelezi

Political Correspondent

THERE would never be a war between Zulu and Xhosa people, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said in an address to KwaZulu chiefs (amakhosi) yesterday.

The chiefs had met to discuss the political violence.

Dr Buthelezi said it was because Zulus were committed to the new South Africa as South Africans "that we as Zulus will resist any attempt to demolish our unity and to make us feel ashamed of our past."

It was tragic that ethnicity had now entered the scene of political conflict, he said.

"I warned the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and SACP that the attack that was mounted at the beginning of July and the national publicity campaigns which led to the July 2 marches and stay-away action on July 7 would lead to violence. I warned that the targeting of KwaZulu would have tragic consequences. Those consequences are now beginning to emerge."

# 26 Killed, Scores Hurt In Attack Aboard Train In South Africa

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Youths armed with spears and machetes went on a rampage Thursday aboard a black commuter train, hacking to death at least 26 people and injuring about 100 as terrified passengers jumped from speeding coaches.

Police commanders said they did not know who the attackers were, but two officers at the scene said the youths were Zulus. A train conductor said he heard the youths speaking Zulu.

More than 700 people have died since fighting in townships around Johannesburg erupted Aug. 12. The main combatants are Zulus loyal to the conservative Inkatha movement and Xhosas and other blacks supporting the African National Congress.

Fighting elsewhere Thursday left at least 13 other people dead.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu renewed a plea for peace, citing the words of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.



Tutu

we learn to live as brothers and sisters, we will die like fools."

Witnesses at the train station said about 10 black youths, most in their late teens, boarded at the Jeppe Station in Johannesburg and began attacking passengers as the train started moving.

Another gang of men was waiting for the train when it pulled into the next stop, George Goch station, about five minutes later. They began shooting and stabbing the passengers as they tried to flee.

Passengers jumped from the train or tried to hide under seats as the youths stabbed and hacked people in the coaches. The dead included elderly women and men unable to run away.

Bodies littered coach floors, and pools of blood formed along the platform. Scores of screaming passengers pushed and shoved to get off the train as it stopped.

The attackers jumped from the train just before it reached the George Goch station and escaped, witnesses said. The gang waiting on the platform also fled.

Hundreds of heavily armed police and army troops in battle gear cordoned off the area.

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## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

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GOOD heavens. Have you ever seen the kind of violence that is racking not only Reef townships and Soweto but spilling over into central Johannesburg itself?

It is like living in a state of war, with battle communiques coming in all the time.

Police ambushed and killed in Soweto.

Houses set on fire in Tokoza.

Hostels attacked in Vosloorus and hostel dwellers attacking township residents.

Train coaches set on fire.

Train passengers hacked or shot and gunmen spraying death at stations or at taxi ranks.

Pictures of the dead, including horrifying photographs of people set on fire, are commonplace.

Township battlefields . . . Vosloorus, Tokoza, Naledi, Phola Park, Sebokeng, Katlehong . . . are like names out of our own hell.

The stench of death hangs over some areas, with fearful residents cowering behind locked doors, listening to the sounds outside, wondering whether doors will be broken down and they will be the next victims.

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This is the scene in the townships. This is the war between the ANC and Inkatha for supremacy.

This is the Xhosa-Zulu ethnic battleground. Meanwhile, the White Right-wing extremists are active, planting bombs, threatening insurrection.

Some Blacks allege Whites, presumably Right-wingers, are involved in some of the township violence.

But no proof is advanced that they are.

If, however, the rumours prove true, it will add another frightening dimension to the ugly warfare.

Each bomb blast by the Right, however ineffectual at present, since ordinary commercial explosives are used, is another warning of the danger of Right-wing terrorism.

And the chance of civil war, of a White insurrection, is no longer as remote a possibility as it was only a few months ago.

As if all this was not bad enough, the White suburbs in Johannesburg and elsewhere find Whites increasingly under attack by robbers, housebreakers, car thieves and hijackers.

People live in fear of robbers who break into homes, kill householders or rape women

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style, putting bank staff and clients at risk. Nobody feels safe, not even those who build high walls and install elaborate radio-to-base systems that provide an armed response.

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Is this what life in South Africa has become? Is this a foretaste of what life will be like in the new South Africa?

And to add to the gloom, business confidence is at rock bottom because of the township war, stayaways, strikes and increasing militancy of Black unions.

What is happening cannot be allowed to go on. The violence in the township must be ended before it becomes outright warfare.

The responsibility is not just that of the government and its security forces; the ANC and Inkatha must declare peace now.

The protection of the people of cities and towns must be a priority, even if more troops have to be sent to the townships to free policemen for normal law enforcement.

Finally, the Black unions must adopt a more responsible policy — Cosatu (can you believe it?) plans another mass stayaway — if using the unions for political purposes does not wreck chances of economic recovery.

Let there be no mistake about one thing: There is no way in which a new South Africa can be born with any hope of success while there is all the ghastly violence, murder and mayhem and labour upheavals that are ruining this country.

# Death appeal of Umkhonto men succeeds

BLOEMFONTEIN.

— The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein — in its first judgment in terms of the amended provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act in regard to the death sentence — has allowed the appeal of three self-proclaimed members of Umkhonto we Sizwe against the four-way death sentence they received for four murders.

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Jabu Obed Masina, Frans Ting-Ting Msango and Neo Griffith Potsane were sentenced by Mr Justice M C de Klerk in the Delmas Circuit Court on April 27, 1989.

They were guilty of the murder of Det-Sgt Orphan "Hluhi" Chapi in Soweto in 1978; the killing of a former KaNgwane Minister, Mr David Lukhele and his sister-in-law Mrs Elizabeth Dlodlu in 1986; and the killing of a Mamelodi policeman, Const Sinki Vuma in 1986.

They and Joseph Makhura were also imprisoned for 25 years for multiple counts of at-

tempted murder, when 17 people were injured in a limpet-mine blast at a bus stop at Silverton in 1986 and for a landmine explosion at Soshanguve when a road grader was damaged on a road used mainly by military vehicles.

Masina, Msango and Potsane were also imprisoned for 10 years (concurrent) for the attempted murder of Mrs Elizabeth Lukhele.

Mr Justice Friedman (acting judge of appeal) said with regard to the aggravating and mitigating factors, he did not consider the death sentence was the proper sen-

tence in this case.

With regard to the serious nature of the four murders, however, a substantial period of imprisonment was clearly warranted. A proper sentence, in the judge's view, would be one of 25 years imprisonment for each of the murders.

However, the cumulative effect of such sentences and those which the men are at present serving, rendered it necessary to order that the sentences imposed for each murder should run concurrently with their present sentences.

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Mr Justice Smalberger, Mr Justice Milne and Mr Justice Eksteen concurred.

Mr Justice Friedman said that in a careful and well-considered judgment, Mr Justice de Klerk made a number of findings based on the appellants' statements and confessions and in the light of all the evidence before the court. This included that of police witnesses who testified to the modus operandi of the African National Congress.

These were summarised that the appellants believed themselves to be soldiers, generally under the command of their leaders in the ANC, fighting a war of liberation for their people.

They were highly trained members of MK. They were indoctrinated, while being trained, to believe that their actions and conduct of this nature were fully justified and necessary. — Sapa.

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## 'Ethnic fights presage coming power struggle'

Citizen Reporter

THE continuing bloody ethnic conflicts were but a small foretaste of the bitter power struggle that would develop in the new South Africa, according to Professor Alkmar Swart, chairman of the Boere-Vryheidsbeweging (BVB).

Prof Swart, leader of the group which broke away from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging over the leadership of Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said that making the different population forces live in a unitary state, as was envisaged in a new South Africa, was a certain recipe for power struggles, unrest and ultimately a civil war.

The violence taking

place in the country called for a solution which would offer peace and security and could only be achieved by separating and freeing the various peoples in the country through partition.

The Boer nation would have to move away from proximity development and quickly develop and apply its own Christian education system would be based on Calvinist and Protestant principles as a counter to the integrated education, which would be promoted in the school models announced this week.

Dealing with other aspects, Prof Swart said in a statement the BVB was also aware of irregularities in the handling of detainees. While it rejected

senseless violence, it demanded that detainees be treated fairly and justly — and either charged or freed.

He said the police were at present performing an extremely dangerous task with great distinction in the face of vilification and denigration by "anti-Christian revolutionary forces".

It was "scandalous" that the ANC, who were the instigators of lawlessness, should presume to criticise the effectiveness of police actions.

The National Party government was also not blameless for the flare-up of unrest among Afrikaners (Boere), and the fact that people were using illegal methods out of desperation.

# 'Bloodiest violence' has left 757 dead

By Sapa, Michele Vermaak and Antoinette Hoffman

AT least 757 people have died on the Reef since the outbreak of the bloodiest violence seen in the townships for more than a decade.

This figure includes 27 killed in the Denver train massacre last night, when more than 130 people were injured.

Scores of shacks were razed to the ground in Tokoza and Phola Park yesterday, and more bodies were discovered in Sowe-

to, Vosloorus and Sebong.

AK-47-toting gunmen attacked the Diepkloof Police Station in Soweto at 9 pm yesterday, police said.

Police returned fire, police liaison officer Lt Govindsamy Mariemuthoo told Sapa.

He could not confirm any casualties or damages.

The official death toll on the East Rand since Monday has rocketed to 99, after police picked up several bodies yesterday in the aftermath of one of the bloodiest nights since

the outbreak of violence in the area.

The unofficial death-count has reached well over 100.

Most of the dead were stabbed and/or knifed to death, according to police liaison officer Captain Henriette Bester.

She confirmed seven bodies were picked up in Tokoza yesterday. This official count conflicts with Sapa's earlier account that 12 mutilated bodies were lying outside the Tokoza Police Station yesterday.

Tokoza Police Station commander Capt S P Funani had confirmed the bodies had been brought in during the day.

Capt Bester said another body was found in Vosloorus yesterday.

The threat of further violence also simmered on the horizon as thousands of residents in Katlehong and Tokoza faced a bleak weekend, due to a decision by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to cut off electricity supplies.

The head of the SAP media liaison division in Pretoria, Major-General Herman Stadler, told Sapa yesterday that from August 1 to September 10, 530 people had died in unrest in townships on the Witwatersrand and 78 in Soweto.

In Natal townships, which many consider to be war zones, 90 people died over the same period.

Since Monday, September 10, 99 people have died on the East Rand and 24 in Soweto, bringing the total for the Reef since August 1 to 731.

Gen Stadler emphasised that the figures were not "100 percent" accurate.

The death toll in Soweto since last Thursday rose to 67 yesterday after four more bodies were discovered during the afternoon, police confirmed.

Most of the victims were either stabbed or knifed to death, according to Soweto police liaison officer Colonel Tienie

Halgryn. The bodies of the victims were being kept at the Diepkloof State Mortuary, he added.

Col Halgryn said the situation in Soweto yesterday evening was quiet.

Earlier, security forces used rubber bullets and teargas to disperse youths armed with stones and petrol bombs, he said.

Four policemen, have died in attacks in Soweto during the past two days.

Capt Bester said that seven bodies had been found in Tokoza and one at Vosloorus after overnight violence on Wednesday night.

No incidents had been reported, but streets were still blocked with barricades and the situation was extremely tense.

Seven people died and about 400 shacks were destroyed in the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp bordering Tokoza when residents, police and Inkatha members clashed on Wednesday night.

Residents claimed yesterday that police bussed in the attackers who were mostly Inkatha members

from the Umsheyaazafe hostel, who had attacked them.

They also claimed that a White man, on which a SAP badge was found, had been killed and that a number of White men with blacked-out faces and stockings pulled over their heads dressed in plain clothes had assisted the attackers.

Capt Bester denied that police had been involved in the attack and added that any such claims backed by proof would be investigated. The seven men who died were all Black, she said.

Meanwhile in Phola Park yesterday morning, armoured police vehicles patrolled the smouldering camp from which hundreds of refugees streamed to the St Paul, the Apostle Catholic Church in the nearby Edenpark, in the aftermath of the violence.

"Oh my God, oh my God," a man cried sitting next to a gutted home.

# 'Bloodiest violence'

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An injured woman waits for assistance from paramedics at Denver Station yesterday evening after the attack on commuters left 20 dead and 71 injured.

14 September 1990

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## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

14 Sept. 1990

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Houses set on fire in Tokoza.

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This is the Xhosa-Zulu ethnic battleground. Meanwhile, the White Right-wing extremists are active, planting bombs, threatening insurrection.

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But no proof is advanced that they are.

If, however, the rumours prove true, it will add another frightening dimension to the ugly warfare.

Each bomb blast by the Right, however ineffectual at present, since ordinary commercial explosives are used, is another warning of the danger of Right-wing terrorism.

And the chance of civil war, of a White insurrection, is no longer as remote a possibility as it was only a few months ago.

As if all this was not bad enough, the White suburbs in Johannesburg and elsewhere find Whites increasingly under attack by robbers, housebreakers, car thieves and hijackers.

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# TRAIN MASSACRE

Citizen

14 Sept. 1990



ABOVE: Paramedics and riot police attend to several of the injured people on the platform of the Denver station after a gang armed with AK-47 rifles and pangas attacked commuters. BELOW: A wounded man receives treatment.

● Picture by Neville Petersen

# 26 die, 100 hurt

By Deborah Fine,  
Rohan Minogue and  
Sapa

TWO gangs of unidentified Black assailants armed with guns and pangas shot or hacked at least 26 Black commuters to death and wounded 100 others on a Johannesburg train last night.

One of the gangs had boarded an East-bound train at Jeppe Station shortly before 6 pm during the evening rush-hour. They began their attack as the train passed through George Goch Station, hacking and shooting their way through three carriages, police said.

Terrified commuters scrambled off the train at



TO PAGE 2

# 26 killed in train massacre

## FROM PAGE 1

Denver Station to find the second gang awaiting them on the platform.

The two gangs then fled.

Police said the death toll was expected to rise as they and members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) combed the tracks in search of more victims.

Some commuters died or were injured when they were thrown off the moving train by the attackers, or jumped in panic.

"We heard shots at George Goch Station — and we wanted get off, but couldn't. People said Zulus with guns and pangas were killing people on the train. When it stopped here, we all tried to run off the train, but the men shot at us and hit us with pangas as we tried to run away," said a shocked woman at Denver Station.

A man who sustained a head injury when he tried to jump from the train as it slowed down at the station, said he believed members of Inkatha were responsible for the attack. "The people shooting us were Zulus. They are from the hostels. They wanted to kill us all," he said.

Others said they did

not know who was responsible for the attack.

At the scene, paramedics tended to those most seriously injured, while heavily armed contingents of riot and traffic police patrolled the area with dogs, and prevented traffic from reaching the station.

Eleven ambulances were seen on the road, while two helicopters circled above.

At least 15 people with less serious injuries were sitting huddled together on the road, bleeding and shaken after the ordeal.

A woman who had been shot in the stomach and chest died as paramedics desperately attempted to give her cardiac resuscitation.

As The Citizen team climbed the steep embankment from the Main Reef Road to the platform, a visibly shocked traffic policeman said: "Don't go there — you don't want to see the slaughter".

Uninjured commuters were seen carrying the wounded on their backs along the railway track, while paramedics battled to carry the seriously wounded on stretchers down the embankment to the road.

Riot police also patrolled the railway track, shouting at the media several times to leave the area because they believed shooting was still occurring.

A reporter of The Citizen was warned to lie down on the ground near the platform to avoid being stoned as a second train moved through the station.

A crying youth shouted: "Come and see the shame!"

"How can they do this? How can men armed with

guns and other weapons attack praying women. See the shame!" he called.

A number of handbags and parcels lay strewn on the blood-spattered platform, where jackets covered the faces of five bodies lying on the concrete.

Another five bodies, four women and a man, were seen lying in the stationary train.

Paramedics were seen attending to about 10 seriously wounded commuters on the platform.

A man with a serious head wound lay bleeding on the concrete as another passenger held up a drip in his arm and continuously wiped the blood from his head. The

wounded man was still clutching his kitbag and a packet of cigarettes.

Similar scenes took place at George Goch Station.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Colonel Frans Malherbe, last night condemned the attack, adding that police had no idea as to the motive behind the massacre.

He confirmed several 38 cartridges were found on the train. He said no arrests had yet been made.

A spokeswoman for the Johannesburg Hospital said 29 people had been admitted to the hospital, one of whom had been dead on arrival.

Eight people were in a

critical condition, 10 were seriously injured, while the condition of others was satisfactory, she said.

Nine people required emergency surgery.

A doctor at the hospital said the injured were being treated for gunshot and stab wounds, and for injuries "consistent with falling off a train".

A spokesman for the Hillbrow Hospital confirmed 21 people were admitted to the hospital, three of whom were serious.

Eighteen people were in a satisfactory condition.

Others were taken to the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto.



An injured woman is assisted by two uninjured passengers at Denver Station yesterday evening.

London

## The Daily Telegraph

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### Downward spiral

**W**ITH most eyes on the Gulf, there is understandable feeling that what seems to be a lesser crisis in South Africa must be allowed to take its course. We need to be aware, however, that this course of events now imperils the programme of reform which the world has been demanding. If deaths from violence, amounting to 700 in the past month, continue on such a scale, Mr de Klerk's steps towards constitutional reform will flag and fail. Mr Mandela, while refusing to meet Chief Buthelezi to discuss the violence, will come under increasing pressure to call off the ceasefire, which is a condition of further progress, and respond to appeals from the African National Congress for arms with which to continue the battle against known, and unknown, enemies. South Africa's downward spiral will continue.

At one point Mr Mandela accuses the South African police and armed forces of partiality, or siding with Buthelezi's Inkatha. This week he is calling for them to step in and restore order. South Africa's ministers are entitled to point to a certain inconsistency in what Mr Mandela says. They are also entitled to claim that the police alone cannot halt the violence. Police can put a temporary lid on it, but against the factions involved they have no power but fire-power, which vastly increases tension. Mr R. F. "Pik" Botha is appealing to the United Nations to step in. He wants the UN to be instrumental in bringing Mandela and Buthelezi together.

His appeal will be of no avail. Yet a question does now arise which the outside world is called upon to answer. For a quarter of a century it has exerted increasing pressure on South Africa to move towards Mr de Klerk's current objectives. Granted preoccupation with the Gulf, it cannot now wholly detach itself from the process it has brought about. There is need to draw a sharp distinction between those of the outside world who believe South Africa has brought these misfortunes on itself and must bear the full consequences, and those who desire to see the emergence of a new South Africa which could be beneficial to that sorely tried continent. Those who seek the second and better outcome cannot afford to stand idly by. Much of the outside world has lately been glad to welcome what Mr Mandela had to say. It is time for some of his former hosts to brush his ear.

N. Mercury

14 Sept 1990

# 'One settler

N. Mercury

## one bullet'

14 Sept. 1990

## say students

## at PAC talk

Mercury Reporter

'ONE settler, one bullet,' chanted students at a Pan Africanist Congress meeting addressed by the organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, at the University of Durban-Westville yesterday.

2 am LATEST

De Klerk

promises

crackdown

By Ormande Pollok

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—President de Klerk has promised to crack down on the current wave of violence and it seems that a reimposition of the state of emergency cannot be excluded.

An important initiative to stop the bloodshed in the Vaal triangle and in Natal is scheduled for next week.

Mr de Klerk's warning came early today after a top level meeting yesterday between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok and the ANC in Pretoria.

If it means the reimposition of the state of emergency it could seriously affect Mr de Klerk's talks with President Bush in Washington on September 24.

There is concern within the government at the inability of the ANC and Inkatha leadership to control their warring factions.

'Every time a settler is killed an African is liberated,' a student leader, introducing Mr Alexander, said to tumultuous applause.

More than 500 students packed the lecture theatre to hear the organisation's stance on political negotiations.

According to Mr Alexander, recent Press reports indicating the organisation had accepted the Government's invitation to participate in negotiations 'are incorrect'.

'The Government is holding our members as hostages and not as prisoners in order to force us to the negotiating table. But only terrorists take hostages, and we don't talk to terrorists,' he said.

Mr Alexander also stated that the PAC was entirely opposed to minority group protection, as the organisation did not believe in the racial classifications which gave rise to minority groups.

'There is only one race, the human race,' he said.

He said that in instituting negotiations the Government had spoken about the expansion of democracy, 'but how can they expand something they don't have?' He said the PAC would continue the armed struggle until wealth and power were transferred to the 'people'.

# 7 000 firearms lost in S A last year

MORE than 7 000 guns were lost last year and 1 500 people were arrested for possessing stolen arms, the chairman of the South African Gun Owners Association (SAGA), Mr John Welch, said yesterday.

Addressing a regional meeting in Durban last night, Mr Welch said statistics for 1989 showed that 7 760 guns were stolen and only 3 658 of them were recovered last year.

He said 2 880 050 guns were legally owned and during the 12 months, 2 192 people were arrested for unlawful possession of firearms.

Speaking on the safe keeping of weapons, competency tests and constitutional rights, Mr Welch said the Amendment Act of 1988 dealing with safe keeping devices had not come into effect because the regulations hadn't yet been defined.

## Mercury Reporter

'Saga has been approached to make recommendations in this regard and we have pointed out that although it might be easy to define gun safes, it is not as easy to define safe keeping devices,' he said.

'Until such time as the regulations prescribing safe keeping devices are published the limitation of 12 fire-

arms a person will remain.'

Mr Welch said the regulations concerning competency tests had also not yet been drafted.

'We have suggested the applicant rather than the weapon should be licenced and this recommendation has been accepted by the police.'

However, Mr Welch said no matter how the police went about licencing the applicant,

whatever tests they could prescribe would never cover all the problems.

'Although we would prefer people to be psychologically tested as well, we know it will not be practical.'

Addressing the matter of constitutional rights, he said all basic human rights should be protected in the new political dispensation everyone was talking about.

# ANC men win death sentence appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN—The Appeal Court here, in its first judgment in terms of the amended provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act in regard to the death sentence, has allowed the appeal of three self-proclaimed members of Umkhonto we Sizwe against the four-way death sentence they received for four murders.

Yesterday the court substituted imprisonment of 25 years on each of the murder counts and ordered these sentences be served concurrently with the effective imprisonment of 25 years they are serving on other counts.

Jabu Obed Masina, Frans Ting-Ting Msango and Neo Griffith Potsane were sentenced by Mr Justice MC de Klerk in the Delmas Circuit Court on April 27, 1989.

They were guilty of the murder of Det. Sgt. Orphan 'Hluhi' Chapi in Soweto in 1978; the killing of a former KaNgwane minister, Mr David Lukhele and his sister-in-law Mrs Elizabeth Dlodlu in 1986; and the killing of a Mamelodi policeman, Const Sinki Vuma, in 1986.

They and Joseph Makhura were also imprisoned for 25 years for multiple counts of attempted murder, when 17 people were injured in a limpet-mine blast at a bus stop at Silverton in 1986 and for a landmine explosion at Soshanguve when a road grader was damaged on a road used mainly by military vehicles.

Masina, Msango and Potsane were also imprisoned for 10 years (concurrent) for the attempted murder of Mrs Elizabeth

Lukhele

Mr Justice Friedman (acting Judge of appeal) said when regard was had to the aggravating and mitigating factors, he did not consider the death sentence was the proper sentence in this case.

When regard was had to the serious nature of the four murders, however, a substantial period of imprisonment was clearly warranted. A proper sentence, in the Judge's view, would be one of 25 years imprisonment for each of the murders.

However, the cumulative effect of such sentences and those which the men are at present serving, rendered it necessary to order that the sentences imposed for each murder should run concurrently with their present sentences.

## Zulu king blames ANC 'and allies' for violence

### Mercury Reporter

I MUST say as King of the Zulus that I hold the ANC and its Cosatu, UDF and South African Communist Party allies responsible for the violence that is flaring in so many parts of KwaZulu, Natal and Transvaal, King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday.

The Zulu King was addressing a gathering of traditional chiefs in Ulundi.

King Goodwill told the chiefs to 'stand up and be counted in looking after my people. My people are being assailed. My people are being attacked because they are my people.'

At the same meeting, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi said ethnicity had entered political conflict and Zulu people were being targeted for political attack.

The Zulu nation would not tolerate any attacks.

He threatened that the targeting of KwaZulu would have tragic consequences and now they were beginning to emerge.

'We must do everything we can do to stamp out ethnicity in politics wherever it occurs,' he said.

NATAL MERCURY

14 SEPT. 1990

N. Mercury 14 Sept. 1990

## **Protest marches**

IT WASN'T all that long ago that political protesters marching without permission would have invited baton charges, water cannons and the painful application of authoritarian quirks. That has all changed since February 2 and protest marches have allowed people to give vent to their grievances, and given the lie to Mr Nelson Mandela's assertion that any political demonstration is regarded by the police and army as 'a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way'.

Not all marches have been without incident. The Sebokeng march earlier this year which left 18 people dead and 281 injured and

which drew severe censure of the police by Mr Justice R J Goldstone, was also found to have been negligently and irresponsibly organised.

We accept that properly controlled marches are a visible expression of a new public-spiritedness and desire to highlight social and political imperfections. But we question, as Government spokesmen are increasingly doing, whether some marches serve any purpose except to inflame emotions, and whether in fact Mr Mandela and other black leaders are doing enough to control their people and helping to restore peace and stability.

THE NATAL

# MERCURY

14 Sept 1990

## A TASTE OF HANI

THE GROWING ambiguity and absurdity of the ANC's position as it calls for peace while beating war drums cannot be sustained or endured much longer if negotiations are to stay on track.

The militant posturings of Chris Hani, Harry Gwala and Winnie Mandela can perhaps be dismissed as vestiges of revolutionary romanticism about the 'armed struggle'. But when Nelson Mandela himself, all in the same breath, makes blatantly untrue statements about the general police attitude towards blacks, marches and demonstrations, calls on the Government to use the 'full might' of the police and the army to stop the killing in the townships, and talks about arming ANC supporters for self-defence if it doesn't, it is time to get some straight answers to some straight questions.

His words are at best irresponsible, at worst inflammatory, and in any event devious. The question is, are they deliberately so, or is he just confused by a flood of events beyond his control?

When the ANC sits down to negotiate, it brings with it a lot of historical communist baggage which it must now either dump overboard or lay on the table for public Customs inspection so that we can all see what it may be up to.

The SACP-dominated executive of the ANC is no doubt well versed in the classic communist negotiating strategy of 'fight and talk', set out by Lenin and tactically perfected by Leon Trotsky.

ANC president Oliver Tambo left no doubt about that in an interview with the Zimbabwe Herald on February 4, 1985: 'In any case if there were any talks and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle, we would simply carry on.'

Will deputy president Mandela now publicly repudiate president Tambo? Or is the carnage and turmoil we are seeing in Natal and on the East Rand simply the logical continuation of that policy by the ANC's obedient 'foot soldiers'?

In exile the ANC spelled out in detail what it meant by the armed struggle. It does not make pretty reading, and to keep the temperature down we won't repeat it here. But the police and the army were targetted as 'the enemy', and Inkatha branded as sell-outs and stooges. And ceasefire or not, the police are under fire in the townships and accused of siding with Inkatha.

The ANC repeatedly called for the townships to be made ungovernable. On the East Rand it now has ungovernable townships — for which it blames Inkatha and the Government's lack of will to quell the violence by force.

If Mr Mandela wants the Government to use whatever degree of force is necessary to stop the violence — and it can be done at a price — he must make it clear at the start what he will agree to and what he won't.

The ANC cannot simultaneously (a) stigmatise the security forces as the enemy in what Mr Hani calls 'a state of undeclared war' (b) demand that these same forces be used to end the violence, and (c) put out the word (MK chief of staff Chris Hani again) that it is 'our duty now to mobilise the masses and reconsider our strategies'.

The armed struggle, the so-called 'Hani option', is no option at all and should be dropped from the ANC's vocabulary. At the same time the Government must act swiftly to uncover and remove any possible grounds for the accusation that it is not in full control of a loyal and disciplined security force.

14 Sept 1990

★ ★ TODAY Friday September 14 1990 15

**WORLD Today**

LOTTERY OF DEATH: Angry mobs hack a taxi driver to death after mistakenly guessing he was a Zulu

Today  
14/9/90  
London

# ONE MORE FATAL MISTAKE IN LAND CRYING FOR PEACE

A TAXI driver is hacked to death in the dust, the latest innocent victim of South Africa's township war.

He was singled out simply because his killers mistakenly thought he was a Zulu.

A further 55 blacks were shot, stabbed or burnt to death in renewed fighting between Nelson Mandela's ANC supporters and the Zulu Inkatha movement. In just five weeks, nearly

by RODNEY PINDER

800 people have been killed in a senseless war that threatens all hopes of a democratic South Africa.

When Mandela was triumphantly released in February after 27 years in prison and began negotiating equal rights for blacks with President F.W. de Klerk, the collapse of apartheid and the end of guerrilla war had seemed imminent. Now Foreign Minister P.W. Botha has called on the United Nations to urge the warring black factions to hold their own peace talks.

Mandela claims this would be tantamount to allowing Inkatha to shoot its way into reform negotiations.

## Scared

His pleas for peace after an emergency meeting with de Klerk seem to have been ignored, but some argue that people are too scared and see attack as the best form of defence.

The violence is likely to escalate after thousands of township homes had electricity supplies cut because blacks had withheld payments to back political demands.

The Sowetan newspaper, the biggest black daily, said: "Residents fear they will now be subjected to even more indiscriminate attacks in the dark. It is such fear that breeds panic and who knows what will happen next?"

Anti-apartheid campaigners fear authorities are also aggravating violence by taking tough action on rent arrears.

## 13 killed in train attack

THIRTEEN people were killed on a train yesterday when a gang armed with guns and knives attacked fellow travellers.

Police feared more bodies would be found as they searched the track, near Johannesburg.

Hospitals were inundated by more than 100 other victims, some with serious bullet or stab wounds.

One passenger said: "I jumped for my life from the train with dozens of other people while it was still moving."

Helicopters and ambulances with sirens screaming converged on the train. Bloodied passengers stumbled down an embankment to the ambulances.

The attack was similar to the one in which

on trains and buses during South African's month-old township war.

It was the third random shooting in just over a week.

On Wednesday, four gunmen in a minibus roared through Johannesburg, killing two blacks waiting at a taxi queue and another standing outside a workers' hostel.

## Appeal

Last week, four blacks were killed and five wounded when unknown assailants fired a hail of bullets at a taxi rank outside the city railway station.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in a television appeal for an end to the violence: "Unless we learn to live together like brothers and sisters we will die together like fools."

Today  
14/9/92  
London

# Thousands flee as violence rages through the townships

From GAVIN BELL IN JOHANNESBURG

AFTER the killing and the panic comes the exodus. In the classic pattern of warfare, thousands of homeless refugees are streaming from strife-torn black townships and inundating emergency relief centres in churches and hospitals around Johannesburg.

With the death toll mounting and fighting spilling into the city centre, about 6,000 people from three townships and a razed squatter camp have been given temporary refuge at the Natal-spruit hospital in a southern suburb.

About 1,000 more were in a Roman Catholic church, where the parish priest said people were jammed "body to body, wall to wall". The sick and injured were being treated by two Dominican sisters from a nearby clinic. Hilary Wiles, a social worker at the church, said: "This is a disaster. Can't anyone stop this madness?"

Before last night's attack on a commuter train in Johannesburg police had estimated that at least

160 people have been killed, about half of them in Soweto, in the past week, with an unknown number of injured and homeless.

Late on Wednesday night, Johannesburg's central business district was also tainted by violence. Four black men in a minibus opened fire with automatic rifles and pistols on bystanders. Three people were killed and at least eight wounded. A police spokesman said: "It is highly unlikely the victims had anything in common. It was just senseless, random shooting."

In Soweto, the casualties included a black police constable who was on duty at a railway station when three men approached him. One shot him between the eyes at point-blank range. A policeman guarding municipal offices nearby died after being shot in the back.

With Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, refusing to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, attitudes on both sides are hardening. Chris Hani, the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Sizwe, gave a warning that his organisation could not stand by for much longer and watch "the killing of our people".

Describing the conflict as an undeclared war, Mr Hani said: "We have a historical obligation to defend our people. Our duty now is to mobilise the masses and reconsider our strategies." Similar sentiments were expressed by Chief Buthelezi in an address to Zulu chiefs in KwaZulu, their tribal homeland.

Reminding them of their duties as descendants of Zulu warrior stock, he said: "We will not tolerate attacks on the Zulu nation ... we will not be annihilated as a people."

Accusing the ANC and its allies of instigating the fighting, he concluded: "I call on every one of you as an *inkosi* (chief) of KwaZulu to stand up now and be counted in this hour of the people's need. Do not allow anybody to destroy Zulu unity,

which has always stood the test of time. We owe this not only to our ancestors, but also to future generations."

Political rhetoric is of little comfort to those caught in the crossfire. Zakes Tulelo, a refugee, stopped a reporter in Natal-spruit hospital and asked: "Do you know Mandela and (President) de Klerk?" he asked. "Because if you do, You must tell them to come here and see this. Do they think life is all right like this?"

Victims of the fighting yesterday demanded guns when they met Winnie Mandela. At Natal-spruit hospital, filled with scores of casualties and thousands of refugees, and at Phola Park squatter camp near by, residents told Mrs Mandela they needed weapons to defend themselves. "Tell Mr Mandela he must send arms now," one woman yelled.

● **NEW YORK:** Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the secretary-general of the United Nations, said he was concerned about allegations that elements of the South African security forces were responsible for some of the violence. "This is all the more disturbing since the effective discharge of their responsibilities requires that they carry with them public trust and confidence," he said.

Alluding to violence in black townships the secretary-general expressed "a profound sense of anguish and deep concern" and said it could tear the fragile fabric of understanding that had begun to be woven. All parties should contribute to the creation of an atmosphere where negotiations could take place unhindered by fear, he said. (Reuters)



Tribal warfare: Xhosa men in Tokoza beat

## Husband's win in frozen embryo case

Washington — A Tennessee court yesterday granted a divorced couple joint custody of seven frozen embryos (Susan Ellicott writes). The ex-husband won his appeal against a ruling that gave his former wife temporary custody of the eggs he fertilised.

Mary Sue Davis Stowe and Junior Davis placed the embryos in cold storage in 1988 while undergoing *in vitro* fertilisation treatment, but later separated. An appeals judge ruled that it was as unacceptable for Mr Davis to become a father against his will as it would be for Mrs Stowe to have the fertilised ova implanted against her will.

## Garrison rescue

Colombo — More than 350 Sri Lankan troops stormed ashore from rubber dinghies yesterday, to kill more than 100 Tamil rebels while rescuing a garrison besieged in a colonial fort at Jaffna since June, military sources said. As well as the rebels 12 members of the government force were killed in the first wave of fighting, officials said. (Reuters)

## Nuclear plant fire

Moscow — An explosion and fire at a nuclear fuel production plant in the Soviet Far East injured several people and threatened to contaminate air and water, Tass reported. The blast on Wednesday in Kazakhstan sent gas clouds over a region near the Mongolian and Chinese borders. (Reuters)

## Albanians killed

Belgrade — Yugoslavia's troubled Kosovo region looked set for renewed violence as the Serbian police killed two Albanians during a raid on two villages. At the same time, outlawed Albanian parliamentarians met at a secret venue to announce the region's unofficial secession from Serbia.

## Coup allegations

Port-of-Spain — Alleged leaders of a July coup attempt against Trinidad's government were herded into a steel cage in a makeshift court and charged with treason and murder. The 19 members of the radical black Muslim sect Jamaat Al Muslimeen, together with 95 other sect members still to be arraigned, face the death penalty if convicted. (Reuters)

## Germany and good neighbour

From

THE West German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, yesterday followed up his triumphal signing of the treaty on the restoration of German sovereignty by initialling with Eduard Shevardnadze, his Soviet opposite number, a 20-year agreement strengthening political relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.

The treaty, long sought by Moscow, includes a mutual non-aggression clause, with each side pledging not to attack the other, not to support an attack by anyone else and to settle any disputes by peaceful means.

Entitled the "Treaty on Good

Neighbourhood Co-operation between the immutable borders of reinforcing Germany's the treaty sign

A separate the protection and other S German terms have been d recent month German acc Soviet territory. Both countries reduce weapons to promote on co-operation

## Moscow eases for foreign fi

From MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

THE Soviet Union is to pass a law permitting wholly owned foreign companies to operate on Soviet territory for the first time. The news was announced yesterday by President Gorbachev during a three-hour meeting with a delegation of American businessmen, led by the US commerce secretary, Robert Mosbacher.

The delegation has spent the past four days in the Soviet Union discussing investment and trade opportunities. Mr Mosbacher has also raised the question of overdue Soviet payments to US companies. He noted that the outstanding amount, which once stood at \$200,000 (£105,000), was now below \$100,000. A key section of his official statement on the visit, however, reads: "We discussed the problem of Soviet payments in arrears to US companies ... I stressed that expansion of trade hinges on resolution of this problem and that Soviet organisations will have to provide financial assurance to US companies in future contracts."

The Soviet Union has had acute difficulties with its balance of payments in recent months, with many countries, including West Germany, Finland and India,

complaining i existent paym

In a sepa radical Soviet person of Pre adviser, Nikol back against government ye the-scenes disa final draft of a reform program

Mr Petrakov Moscow the programme for sh big subsidies hyper-inflation group's money correct.

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● **Direct ties:** Russian. Fed said yesterday bypassing Mos ing direct ec Britain during with Douglas secretary. Mr comment. (Re

# Tension rises after Inkatha rally go-ahead

Daily News Reporters

AFRICAN National Congress members in the Ndwedwe area north of Durban have condemned a magistrate's decision to allow an Inkatha recruitment rally on Sunday, saying they fear the rally could lead to an outbreak of political violence.

People have begun to leave the Ndwedwe area already to seek shelter elsewhere in advance of the rally.

There are also Inkatha rallies in the Empanjeni area this weekend, which could prove a test for the peace accord that was signed recently.

Mr Roy Ainslie, the Democratic Party's regional director, to whom people from Ndwedwe have turned for help, has discussed the Ndwedwe rally with the local security forces. They have promised to stand by. The area is policed by KwaZulu Police.

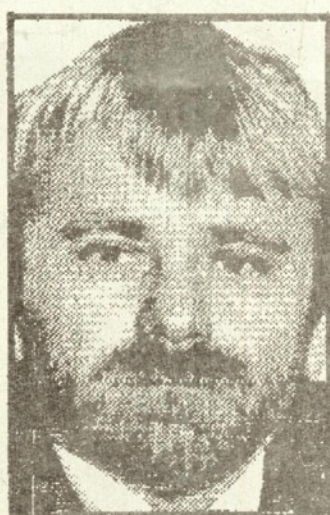
"We appeal for calm and restraint," Mr Ainslie said.

The DP's unrest monitoring team will be at the rally.

Political rivalries in Ndwedwe turned violent from February with attacks on opponents. While there was much disagreement on who started the violence, people began to leave the area in fear of their lives.

In recent weeks, men claiming to be Inkatha leaders, often coming from outside areas, have put about a warning that everybody in Ndwedwe had to join Inkatha by September 16 and every area had to send delegates to the rally. They have warned that action would be taken against non-Inkatha people after this.

Mr Ainslie said the situation in Ndwedwe was very tense. The army



Roy Ainslie

and the police had been escorting people back to their homes to retrieve some of their possessions. But security forces did not have vehicles to ferry goods and commercial removers were too scared to operate in Ndwedwe.

Mr Ainslie said that after the 19-year-old son of one Ndwedwe family had joined the ANC and left home, the rest of the family joined Inkatha to try to escape reprisals from Inkatha. However, people claiming to be Inkatha members gave the family 14 days to get the ANC activist back home, he alleged.

When the 14 days were up, assailants went to the house and attacked the family.

The family were then given two days to get the son home, or else they would be killed. The family then fled in fear, but in their haste they left behind a 12-year-old girl. Mr Ainslie said police had given one member of the family an escort to go back to look for her.

The police have been given a list of names of people claiming to be Inkatha members and allegedly causing trouble.

"The police say they cannot act unless charges are laid and they have formal affidavits. But people are simply

too terrified to do this," Mr Ainslie said.

Neutral people in Ndwedwe are pinning their hopes on the fact that an Inkatha rally was held near Tongaat last week and ended peacefully.

Inkatha leaders in Ulundi and Durban have not responded to invitations to put their side of the story. The ANC have criticised the decision by a magistrate to allow Inkatha to hold their rally in the present climate. Previously, rallies have often been followed by clashes between opposing political groups and attacks on neutrals.

Mr Thulani Nxumalo, a local ANC leader, said yesterday that Inkatha bands had threatened youths who refused to join their organisation.

As many as 250 youths had fled the area rather than comply. In retaliation, Inkatha members had allegedly wrecked homes and threatened people, Mr Nxumalo said. About 50 local families had abandoned their homes and become refugees because of the alleged intimidation.

The attacks have left the entire area extremely tense. Incidents allegedly often occur at night.

Mr Phembokwakhe Mobonambi said his family was driven from their home last Monday by Inkatha members while he was away. His sister feared the band would return on Sunday.

There was talk among ANC supporters of a pre-emptive strike against local Inkatha members, Mr Nxumalo said.

Mr Nxumalo, in conjunction with ANC southern Natal convener Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, had hoped to meet local ANC members yesterday to forestall pre-emptive attacks, but Mr Lekota remained in Durban.

Zulus and Xhosas will never go to war, says Buthelezi

Political Correspondent

THERE would never be a war between Zulu and Xhosa people, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said in an address to KwaZulu chiefs (amak-hosi) yesterday.

The chiefs had met to discuss the political violence.

Dr Buthelezi said it was because Zulus were committed to the new South Africa as South Africans "that we as Zulus will resist any attempt to demolish our unity and to make us feel ashamed of our past."

It was tragic that ethnicity had now entered the scene of political conflict, he said.

"I warned the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and SACP that the attack that was mounted at the beginning of July and the national publicity campaigns which led to the July 2 marches and stay-away action on July 7 would lead to violence. I warned that the targeting of KwaZulu would have tragic consequences. Those consequences are now beginning to emerge."

Daily News 14/9/90

**COMMENT****A burden shared**

**A**S THE township death toll mounts, the violence now spreading to the cities has become a process. It will probably require a process, not an event or a pronouncement, to end what is becoming mindless, undirected slaughter.

That process will have to involve the police, and possibly elements of the army. It will have to involve the politicians. Above all, it must involve local communities and their leaders. It is the ordinary people in the townships who are suffering, terrorised and subject to savage murder; anyone seeking to restore peace would be unwise not to consult them.

We do not have all the facts, nor do we have the security appraisals available to government. However, if President de Klerk is not to abdicate, nor declare martial law and send in the troops, and if Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not meet and anyway may be ignored, then other means must be considered to end the killings. One possibility for government is to start from the bottom, meeting people and leaders in areas of recent violence, seeking their advice on how to end it and their endorsement for subsequent actions.

If the Minister of Law and Order, or his new replacement, were to go each morning to areas ravaged the previous night, he would find people whose homes have been destroyed, their lives shattered and their loved ones killed or injured. Their views on what caused that incident would

matter; so would their opinions, expressed through acknowledged leaders, on what needs to be done.

Government is already trying to involve Mandela and Buthelezi in a quest for measures which may stop the slaughter. The ANC and Inkatha may not be directing the violence, but their followers are involved and their leaders can contribute to eventual peace. As this may ultimately involve stern measures and a suspension of civil liberties, those measures are more likely to succeed if Mandela and Buthelezi give their public backing to what government and township residents believe is the right course of action.

A swift crackdown would certainly involve widespread detentions; it would probably also mean a curfew which would take some deaths to enforce. If township residents supported the detention of troublemakers, and helped point them out, would Mandela and Buthelezi back this? Would they agree to detention camps, not prisons, inspected by churchmen, human rights organisations or even the United Nations? Would they agree to a curfew, and to curfew-breakers being shot if they could not be apprehended?

President de Klerk is answerable, to this country and to the international community, for the steps he takes to ensure the safety of law-abiding citizens and restore civil authority. His decisions are difficult enough; they will have more chance of success, and involve less loss of life, if they are supported by senior politicians and local leaders.

**K**ATLEHONG, Tuesday 11pm: — The comrades, barely visible in the thick, smoky haze, were patrolling on sentry duty in front of the makeshift barricade.

One, a panga strapped to his belt, held a petrol bomb. The other five carried an assortment of axes, knives and so-called traditional weapons.

"Halt!" one shouted as we approached. We were ordered out the car, frisked and told to open the bonnet and boot. As they searched, the leader, wearing a green canvas jacket with ANC badges, repeatedly instructed his colleagues: "Discipline comrades, discipline."

Steve, who lives in Vosloorus, was with me. We were going through Katlehong, Thokoza and then Vosloorus before I took Steve home.

**T**he "comrades" instructed us to switch on the hazard lights and drive at walking pace while two of them jogged in front of us through a succession of barricades, each guarded by armed men.

All the while we were being shouted at to slow down by groups of residents in front gardens; their weapons included sticks, knives and axes.

Two other cars ahead of us, one a taxi, were getting the same treatment.

A yellow police van drove up. The police, too, were stopped but not searched. They did not confiscate the array of weapons the comrades and residents were carrying but drove quietly through barricaded roads to the police station.

The comrades allowed us to go as far as the police station and said it was impossible to go further. The next barricade was shoulder high with a collection of boulders, freshly cut trees, skips and rocks — with a green flashing light on the top.

The front gate leading to the charge office of the police station

# When night falls, *Business Day* 14 Sept. 1990 townships bow to the rule of violence

**Reporter BILLY PADDOCK compares two nights in the townships — one spent with a resident and the other with a police patrol**

was chained and, according to the sergeant, now stays that way. The only entrance was down a side road marked "No entry. Police vehicles only".

In the charge office 10 policemen were standing around with rifles. Heavy gunfire could be heard and they said a lot of fighting was going

on inside the township, near the hostels — later it was established that more than 40 people died during the night's clashes.

Asked why they were not out there trying to prevent the fighting, one said: "We are not going in there with those" — pointing to police vans in the yard. "There is no protection and we are scared."

He added, however, there were four Casspirs patrolling the township.

From Katlehong we tried to get to Natalspruit Hospital; the road was impassable and the comrades were getting increasingly hostile, demanding petrol for petrol bombs. We left the way we had come.

At Thokoza police station, which we reached via Alberton, there were also numerous policemen inside the station. Huge barricades made the township impenetrable. In the distance the orange glow of burning houses could be seen.

Vosloorus was also heavily barricaded but Steve led us down a backstreet and then cross-country. Through the coal fire smoke we saw a huge crowd of people with weapons silhouetted against the lights of a women's hostel. We left.

We were eventually stopped by a group of armed men. They were aghast that we had managed to get into the township. I was told to get out fast.

On Wednesday night I went back into Vosloorus, this time with the police riot unit. Maj Hein Killian said the situation was far worse than on the previous night.

The radio crackled with a report of a petrol bomb landing inside a Casspir. No one was hurt. Another report told of a huge group of armed men singing and marching near the hostels in Thokoza.

The high point lighting in Vosloorus went out. The police reacted immediately; apparently the lights are tampered with at the poles and as soon as they go out the attacks start.

"Oh God! Let's get inside because now the shots will start and we are going to get it," Lt Louis Buys said. A short while later the lights came on again — there were no shots.

**K**illian said police did not normally patrol the township at night. "We use Casspirs at static posts in front and near the hostels mainly." Then those posts radioed in.

"There is a huge fire in squatter camp Phola Park in Thokoza ... There are about 5 000 people, mainly women and children, converging on Natalspruit Hospital."

Killian dispatched two Casspirs from the base with 12 men in each to help the two Casspirs in Thokoza. I

was allowed to go with them.

At Phola Park, half the camp was blazing. "Ah! It's bring and braai," said the young national servicemen seconded to the SAP as they loaded their shotguns with birdshot.

The Casspirs' searchlights picked out a group, 700 men at the police estimate, wearing white headbands and wielding an assortment of weapons. Others stopped their looting and burning to join the mob. Many in the front sat down on their haunches.

There were now three Casspirs and a squat armoured car at the scene.

The mob were not ordered to drop their weapons and no attempt was made to disarm them.

A policeman shouted an abusive order to leave. As some started moving off, another policeman fired birdshot at them; a mad rush ensued as they fled into the night.

After circling the camp again, we pursued the mob across the road. Teargas was fired and, as they ran from that, the warrant officer shouted: "Not teargas. Shoot the bastards." Shotguns roared all around me.

"Warrant (officer) ... there's someone out there with a gun," one policeman shouted above the deafening firing. As we drove around we saw people hiding in the grass. They were briefly interrogated from the Casspir, disarmed and told to leave.

We found one dead person in open ground — he had been badly hacked.

We went past the Catholic church where hundreds of women and children, who had fled Phola Park, were gathered in the grounds. Others had gone to Natalspruit Hospital.

At the Thokoza police station, ambulances were loading the injured who had been brought there. One told me "the Zulus" arrived and attacked them in the camp. The warrant officer, carrying boxes of shotgun shells, said the injured claimed white men with blackened faces had led the attack. "It's the same old story we hear." All the injured I saw had stab wounds.

We went to the hostels, where inmates looking out of windows were told to go to bed. Around the block, we saw a group of men gathered with sticks and spears; they were shot at from the moving vehicle as we returned to the squatter camp. Sporadic shots were fired at people breaking windows and doors, or removing articles from squatter huts.

In Thokoza we found another person with half his face hacked away and a huge gaping wound in his side. He breathed once every 15 seconds. When the ambulance came they said he was dead.

Back at the riot unit base in Vosloorus, the warrant officer asked his men if they had enjoyed themselves. A chorus of affirmations — 20 boxes of birdshot, 50 cartridges to a box, had been used.

I did not feel afraid or vulnerable while I was with the police. The Caspir is wonderful protection. However, I felt deeply troubled; there was too much "fun", no arrests and little attempt to exercise the law by confiscating dangerous weapons.

When police arrived at a clash, with groups fighting or where squatters were attacked, they would fire birdshot, rubber bullets and teargas into the distant crowd, and then hare off to another conflict where they would fire off another salvo.

They would return to the first scene 15 minutes later and shoot at any group still gathered there.

Two nights in the township, one with a resident and the other with police, left me emotionally exhausted. For residents, it is like that all night, every night.

# A decade of independence

IT must be thirty years since I first visited Salisbury, as the city was once known. In those days the downtown area was very white: at least people with white skins

directed the traffic, served in shops, and sat behind desks in official-looking buildings. Now — ten years after the same city became Harare — people with black skins are about their nation's business.

The northern suburbs — streets still leafy green — bask in the bright spring sunshine. Security around the houses is tight but the gardens remain well-tended, neat. Resplendent in mid-cycle, the Erythrina — as it has done for decades — projects the brightest of crimson flowers against the blue African sky. Not surprisingly, the racially demeaning "kafferboom" is now known as the monkey tree.

Everything — and yet nothing — seems to have changed across the Limpopo. While the smells and scenery are untouched by a decade of independence, things are very different on the streets of the capital. At the fringes of the hotel — a good place to tap a city's pulse — both taxis and their drivers look worn. Interestingly, no hawkers are to be seen; only heavy pedestrian traffic moving in all directions.

At nightfall scores of street girls emerged from the shadows. HIV positive figures have reached alarming proportions in Zimbabwe, but denied access to scarce resources, many of the city's unemployed must reckon that the risk of Aids is one worth running.

Are whites also being drawn into the emerging underclass? Perhaps, so. I saw a threadbare youth crossing Samora Machel Avenue late one afternoon. On first glance, surely a drifter or dope-head from Europe or the States? But his dress betrayed

him. The veldskoen was tied in the defiantly Rhodesian fashion: laced to the top, no socks. And the word "Gatoma" woven on the front of the shabby charcoal jersey.

The cars, as they once were, are no longer exclusively of British manufacture. A surprising number of them are flashy, many bearing diplomatic plates. But owning a vehicle is a taxing experience: expensive to buy, costly to maintain and easily stolen. Most of Harare's burghers, it seems, never get near to travelling in a motor car. Their daily ritual begins long before dawn when ageing buses crank their way from the "high density" suburbs to a giant bus station near the city centre.

Our conference, which met initially in the university's council chamber, deliberated on "Zimbabwe's first decade of independence: lessons for South Africa and Namibia". If, indeed, there are lessons to be learnt, the university seems a good place to start. The opening speaker was the principal, a gentle UCT and Dundee educated lawyer. He told us that the university has "very few white students: most chose to complete their training in South Africa".

In this there is a lesson: unlike the former Rhodesia (and the present Zimbabwe), South Africa's whites have no convenient escape hatch — no South Africa — close at hand. Surely this means that it will be costly to avoid the impact of the deep-seated changes which will come to the country's higher education.

Our hosts impressed upon us the necessity to bridge the gap between the rich and the

poor. Reconciliation — the cornerstone of President Mugabe's policy — has not, they argued, enabled the redistribution of wealth. All the indicators suggested that the income gap — already estimated to be 40:1 — will widen.

The long-term implications of this trend and the lessons for South Africa seem perfectly obvious: the question, of course, is what can be done about it? In South Africa, nationalisation (as a means to redistribute wealth) has been suggested. In Zimbabwe, this route was never tried; the Government did, however, use other mechanisms in an effort to reallocate resources; as a result, income taxes soared and the bureaucracy became enmeshed in the economic process.

Now, it seems, these policies have lost their appeal. There are even suggestions that in order to foster necessary foreign investment, taxes in Zimbabwe might fall. In addition, the new trade liberalisation proposals promise to remove the dull hand of bureaucracy from this crucial area of economic policy.

But it may be necessary to redistribute land. For ten years, the Zimbabwe Government has presided over an agricultural revolution in peasant farming, particularly in the north-east. However, the sequence is near an end: demands on the land have amplified calls for its redistribution. Not surprisingly, the well-entrenched commercial farming sector have howled in protest.

Regardless of their importance, these debates have been overshadowed by President

Mugabe's plans for a one-party state. Most — no, all — Zimbabweans at conference were opposed to this idea but believed that their countrymen would overwhelmingly support the president if he called for a referendum on the issue.

Why is Mugabe so keen to have a one-party system? The most convincing answer came from a diplomatic source who argued that Mugabe's elevation to the presidency has isolated him from public opinion. But why would they support him in a referendum? Well, my source intimated, he remained the hero of the revolution.

But for all his personal isolation and uneven economic policy, Robert Mugabe has achieved much in the past decade. By keeping as many whites in the Government as possible, he has forged a creative partnership.

On the other hand, the Zimbabweans were near dismissive of this feat. For them, the importance of Mugabe's policy of reconciliation was the ending of the formal enmity between the Shona and Matabele which almost destroyed Zimbabwe's prospects for peace and security in the years immediately after independence.

This may be the most important lesson for South Africa of Zimbabwe's independence. As we daily count the tragic toll in our townships, might we not be witnessing our version of the intense bloodletting which occurred in Matabeleland between 1980 and 1986?

• Professor Peter Vale is Director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

## Buthelezi deplores ethnicity

IT was tragic that ethnicity had now entered political conflict and the Zulu people were being targeted for political attack, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Addressing a gathering of KwaZulu chiefs, he said the Zulu nation would not tolerate attacks on it.

He said he had warned that the targeting of KwaZulu would have tragic consequences and now they were beginning to emerge.

"We must do everything we can do to stamp out ethnicity in politics wherever it occurs. We did not bring about

the Xhosa/Zulu conflicts in the Transvaal which have so marred black politics there in recent weeks.

"If you look through everything I have said about the ANC during the last decade and a half of Inkatha's existence, you will find that on no occasion have I stooped to character assassination or mudslinging."

Buthelezi said he had simply claimed his right to democratic opposition.

He said he objected to ANC propaganda which not only attacked what the Inkatha Freedom Party does, but also attacked him personally. — Sapa.

## Violence in Grahamstown

GRAHAMSTOWN — Violence erupted in Grahamstown this week after private contractors for the Rini Township Council tore down about 20 squatter shacks which had been erected on vacant plots in protest against overcrowding and high rents.

The Eastern Cape's police spokesman, Major Bill Dennis, confirmed the private firm's workers were attacked on Wednesday by a crowd with stones and petrol-bombs. Police dispersed the group with teargas.

An unknown number of people were injured and four municipal vehicles were gutted. — Sapa.

## Jeppe MP offers reward

JOHANNESBURG — Hennie Bekker, MP for Jeppe, has announced a R1 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the persons responsible for the murder spree on innocent bystanders on Wednesday evening in his ward.

Bekker yesterday described the murders as "cowardly and insane".

Three people were killed and at least 13 wounded when four men fired AK47's and 9 mm pistols indiscriminately.

Bekker expressed sympathy with the families of the deceased and wished the injured survivors "strength". He called on businessmen to start a fund from which rewards can be offered to trace perpetrators of such deeds. — Sapa.

# SA in an undeclared war — Hani

UMTATA — South Africa was in a state of undeclared war, ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said in Umtata this week.

Speaking at a memorial service on Wednesday for Transkei victims of unrest on the Reef, he said blacks had no right to mourn for those who had died.

"Our duty now is to mobilise the masses and reconsider our strategies," he said.

Hani said that Inkatha, acting on its own, had no capacity to "wage such a violence" on the Reef.

He said it was now clear that the hostels on the Reef had been converted into strongholds to fight "this undeclared war". The ANC would not stand by for a long time watching the "killing of our people".

"We have a historical obligation to defend our people," he added.

The president of the ANC's Women's League, Albertina Sisulu, speaking at the same service, recalled what she saw at the Merafe station in Soweto.

She blamed the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for being used as a cover for the perpetrators of recent violence.

"People are being killed and the Government is doing nothing about it. Is the Government still in control of the security forces?" she asked. "If not, they must tell us."

She added: "This is the time for us to defend ourselves."

A senior speaker for the PAC, M. Manqangwana, was booed and jeered by the crowd after he posed a question as to what should come first — the black people's unity or negotiations.

He left the podium without completing his speech. — Sapa.

## The Natal Witness

# The UN and SA

Last month Archbishop Tutu suggested that, as a means of ending the violence in the townships, an international UN force similar to that in pre-independence Namibia should be deployed in trouble-spots in South Africa.

The minister of foreign affairs has now suggested, in a letter to the secretary-general of the United Nations, that he should initiate an appeal by the international community to Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces to end the bloodshed. While Pik Botha and the Government have always been vigorously opposed to any UN intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs, it is obvious from this latest approach to Perez De Cuellar that the Government's stance is changing. This is a significant and praiseworthy development. It means that, instead of the rigid and obstructionist attitude adopted by former South African heads of state, there is great flexibility and diplomatic finesse in the conduct of our international relations.

The mounting toll in the internecine violence cannot be tolerated any longer. If the Government's impartiality in its attempts to stop this feuding is being called into question, then the appeal to the UN secretary-general for a non-partisan unit to help deal with the situation should be promptly heeded.

26 killed, 130 injured in multiple,  
random attacks

# Massacre on

JOHANNESBURG — In what was perhaps the most gruesome random attack in the last month, 26 people were murdered and 130 injured when six youths boarded a train at Jeppe station east of Johannesburg at about 6 pm last night — and ran through several coaches, shooting and hacking commuters.

Passengers screamed in terror and leapt out of the moving train's windows as they sought refuge — even at the cost of breaking limbs and sustaining other serious injuries.

According to some eyewitnesses, another group of killers embarked at the Benrose station and joined the slaughter.

By 9.15 pm police said 26 bodies had been counted with more than 100 being rushed by helicopter and ambulances to the Johannesburg General and Hillbrow hospitals.

"We have so far counted 26 dead and well over 100 wounded or injured. But,

police and paramedics are still on the scene, searching for more victims of the killings. It is likely the death toll will rise with the discovery of more bodies," police said.

Victims described the scene as horrific.

Bodies were strewn along three railway stations, blood was spattered on tracks linking Denver with Benrose stations and the moans and groans of unfound victims could still be heard in bush and scrub along the line.

Spokesmen at the two receiving hospitals said patients had been admitted with bullet wounds, stab wounds and various broken limbs. Most were in a state of shock and panic.

"We are receiving people virtually every minute. People are shocked and have been weeping. Many can't even talk," said a nurse at Hillbrow hospital.

Condemnation of the "Denver" massacre came swiftly.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok expressed shock and revulsion and pledged the police would do everything in their power to apprehend the culprits.

On hearing the news, ANC publicity official Saki Macozoma said he would travel immediately to the scene to conduct a personal inspection.

The incident follows a similar one last Thursday when five people were killed and 14 injured when two men opened fire on a crowd at the entrance to the Jeppe railway station in Johannesburg.

Police said the two walked up to the crowd and opened fire, apparently without reason, with two handguns. They managed to escape before the police arrived.

Meanwhile, intense bursts of violence continued yesterday on the Rand with scores of shacks razed to the ground in Thokoza and Phola Park and more bodies discovered in Soweto, Vosloorus and Sebokeng.

The threat of further violence also simmered on the horizon as thousands of residents in Kaitleng and Thokoza faced a bleak weekend due to a decision by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to cut off electricity supplies.

The bloody week of violence on the East Rand and Soweto has left at least 159 people dead and hundreds injured and homeless.

Police report that 63 people have died in Soweto since last Thursday and 96 in East Rand townships since Sunday night.

Hundreds of homes have been razed to the ground. Property and vehicles worth thousands of rands have been destroyed or stolen.

Residents and African National Congress supporters remain convinced the police are assisting hostel inmates and Inkatha members in the township war.

# train

• Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini and Transkei President Tutor Ndamase will be among a group of chiefs to visit the Transvaal this weekend, to plead for peace.

Zwelithini made the announcement that he would be going on the peace mission in Ulundi yesterday, when he addressed a meeting of chiefs from the KwaZulu region. — Sapa.

## ANC, SAP in joint inspection

by CARMEL RICKARD

AFTER the gruesome murder of a teenage boy in Ndwedwe outside Durban on Wednesday, the police and the ANC have made a joint inspection of the area — the first trip of its kind.

ANC southern Natal convenor Terror Lekota visited the district yesterday with SAP riot unit captain Vernon Hunter.

Lekota was following up the murder on Wednesday mid-morning of No Mthiyane, killed allegedly in view of

witnesses who claim the seven killers were members of Inkatha.

Mthiyane's body was mutilated and various parts including the veins of an arm were removed, apparently for mutilation purposes.

Yesterday's inspection was the first joint visit to the area since an agreement was finalised to establish joint unrest monitoring operations between the ANC and the SAP.

Lekota said a full-time defence force presence was needed in the area.

## Union leaders meet minister

PRETORIA — Minister of Manpower Eli Louw met representatives of Cosatu, Nactu and Saccola in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

A spokesman from the Manpower Department said discussions included the National Manpower Commission's recommendations about Cosatu, Nactu and Saccola's demands.

Cosatu's general-secretary, Jay Naidoo, Andre Lamprecht, Anton Roodt and Bobby Godsell from Saccola and the general-secretary from Nactu, Cunningham Negakana, were part of the delegation.

The definition of an unfair labour practice and representation in the Industrial Appeal Court were among the main points of discussion. — Sapa.

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DAILY NEWS 15/09/90

## Worrall in call for a 'Save South Africa Summit' to end black violence

MARTIN CHALLENGOR  
Political Correspondent

ALL political, religious and industrial leaders should be summoned to a "Save South Africa Summit" hosted by President de Klerk to tackle the rampant violence, Dr Denis Worrall, MP said yesterday.

President de Klerk has said that he would next week announce further steps to combat the violence, and that all people desiring peace must stand together.

Dr Worrall said explaining incidents like the shootings on the Johannesburg trains in terms of socio-economic conditions "are in my opinion completely off the mark".

"This is not simply an inter-ethnic conflict. The fact is that this is cold-blooded murder, calculated to create mayhem and chaos. It is a conscious plan attempting to destabilise the situation."

Dr Worrall said the only people who benefited from the atrocities were the extreme right

who were out to discredit President de Klerk, and create a climate favourable to a coup, and the extreme left who were out to discredit the negotiation process and to seize power by revolution.

Dr Worrall urged President de Klerk to call the "Save South Africa Summit" by bringing together all political leaders, particularly those who disagreed with each other, religious leaders, and the captains of commerce and industry to discuss the situation, to take a stand on the violence, and to decide on further steps.

This was not a time for posturing or worrying specifically about one's position in the negotiation process, Dr Worrall said. The very real present political differences between political leaders would fade into insignificance if the violence continued, he said.

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## Witnesses claim white man died

JOHANNESBURG — A white man who was part of an Inkatha group which allegedly attacked Phola Park squatter camp on Wednesday night, was killed in the fighting, according to local residents.

All the squatter camp residents spoken to yesterday had the same story: About 8 pm on Wednesday a group of over 100 people attacked the settlement. Most were Inkatha, from UmsheyaSAFE hostel, recognisable by their white bandannas. Among them were a number of white men with blacked-out faces or wearing stockings pulled over their heads. They were in plain clothes, but the squatters are convinced they were police. An SAP badge was found on the dead man, they claimed. The police had removed the body early yesterday.

"The State is supplying the guys of KwaZulu with weapons," one resident claimed. Police denied the claims. — Sapa.

## Treurnicht warns of rising 'white tide'

JOHANNESBURG — A tide of white nationalism was rising and would eventually sweep President F.W. de Klerk from power because he had turned his back on his people, the leader of the Conservative Party, Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Treurnicht was addressing the first political meeting in the run-up to the by-election in the Randburg constituency in November. The seat fell vacant after the Democratic Party's Wynand Malan announced his retirement from politics in June.

"We reject the notion of being ruled by a black majority," Treurnicht told an enthusiastic crowd of several hundred people.

Treurnicht said De Klerk had gone overseas to gain the support and confidence of the international community, but had done so at the expense of the freedom of his people. — Sapa.

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## Tough warning from FW after late night session **LATEST**

PRETORIA — State President F.W. de Klerk warned in a late night statement last night that perpetrators of violence would be firmly dealt with and appealed to those who desired peace to stand together to counter violence.

He said that earlier this week, steps had been initiated to bring the situation in the country under control.

"These steps will supplement the comprehensive measures already taken.

"An announcement regarding further

steps will be made next week," the statement said.

The violence of the past week — "in which many people have lost their lives" — had brought the country "to an unfortunate turning point", according to the President. — Sapa.

## More controversy in Jamile's trial

by ALFRED KGATLE

THE trial of KwaZulu deputy cabinet minister Samuel Bhekisizwe Jamile was adjourned for the second time yesterday due to controversy over statements allegedly made by a state witness to the security police.

The hearing was adjourned after the state objected to an application by counsel for Jamile, Gideon Scheltema, to cross-examine witness Cecil Kwazi Mbanjwa on a statement he allegedly made to the SAP security branch while in detention.

Scheltema contended that the statement was relevant to the case as it could prove that Mbanjwa was lying in his testimony to the court. The statement allegedly contains details of Mbanjwa's participation on the attack of Jamile's driver Khohlwangifile "Twist" Ngema by the "comrades".

The state contended that the statement was irrelevant and would only re-

sult in unnecessary delay to the trial. Mr Justice Mitchell adjourned the hearing until 17 September to give Mbanjwa a chance to read the statement before being cross-examined on it.

Yesterday was Mbanjwa's fifth day testifying in the Supreme Court in College Road where Jamile and Msizi Jethro Hlope are charged with five counts of murder, seven of attempted murder and three of inciting people to commit murder.

On Wednesday the court took an early adjournment after it emerged that counsel for Hlope, Colin Steyn, was cross-examining Mbanjwa on another statement which he had allegedly made while he was detained under the state of emergency.

The judge ask the commissioner of the police to investigate how a "privileged" document had come to be in the hands of the defence counsel.



● Wrecked . . . a child stands outside a shack destroyed in fierce overnight fighting between black factions in Tokoza township, outside Johannesburg.

# Mandela peace pleas ignored

JOHANNESBURG, Thurs. — Nelson Mandela's pleas for township calm have fallen on deaf ears, with another eruption of violence boosting the recent death toll to well over 700.

Police reported a series of vicious attacks last night in townships around Johannesburg, while in the centre of the city four youths armed with AK-47 automatic rifles shot dead three people and wounded at least four more before escaping in a minibus.

It was the second random attack in a week.

Last Thursday, five blacks died and 14 were wounded when a gunman opened fire at point-black range on a taxi queue outside a Johannesburg railway station.

A police spokesman said violence had erupted yesterday between gangs of black youths in the



● Nelson Mandela . . . plea for calm.

Tladi district of Soweto, scene of some of the most vicious fighting in recent weeks.

In other townships, residents put up barricades to prevent attacks by gangs believed to be supporters of Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which is engaged in a brutal war in the townships with members of Mr Mandela's African National Congress.

East of Johannesburg, a commuter train was ambushed by a group of black youths, Katlehong resident Muzi Mango told

the South African Press Association.

"I heard a lot of gunshots after the youths stopped the train, and then screaming as people fled from the coaches," Mango said.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha called on the United Nations for international help to end the black township violence, which threatens talks on political reform in South Africa.

He said foreign pressure could help to put pressure on Mr Mandela to meet Mr Buthelezi for peace talks. Mr Mandela has so far refused, saying this would be tantamount to giving in to Inkatha's tactics of violence.

ANC military chief Chris Hani said South Africa was in a state of undeclared war and urged his fellow ANC leaders to reconsider suspension of the armed struggle against Pretoria.

— REUTER

# Deepening Despair: Growing Violence Among Blacks In South Africa Is Putting Heat on Nelson Mandela

*Continued From First Page*

inquiry ruled that police were "unjustified" in opening fire with live ammunition on a crowd 30 yards away during the first Sebokeng massacre on March 26.

Less than a week after that report was made public, the army opened fire in Sebokeng on Sept. 4.

Also, eyewitness reports of the presence of masked whites in the hostel battle has fueled suspicions that certain elements of the white right wing are stirring up black animosities to derail the government-ANC negotiations over a new constitution and black-white power sharing.



*Mangosuthu Buthelezi*

The ugly appearance of black factional fighting, which has crippled much of the rest of Africa, is also undermining the efforts of the government to interest foreign investors in a post-apartheid South Africa. Mr. de Klerk will be promoting his reforms when he visits Washington later this month, but, as he recently told South African businessmen, "There can be no real reform before stability."

The greatest damage, though, has fallen on the ANC and on the slender shoulders of the 72-year-old Mr. Mandela. The unceasing violence, which spreads like an infectious plague from one township to another in the Johannesburg area, has exposed the ANC's leadership weaknesses as it emerges from 30 years of exile and makes the transition from liberation movement to political party.

And Mr. Mandela's inability so far to defuse the factional fighting has disappointed those who expected him to act more like a statesman than an ANC cadre. Commentators here note that his refusal to meet with Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as long as Inkatha "perpetuates violence" is precisely the argument the government used in refusing to negotiate with the ANC for three decades.

While the ANC's hierarchy has become a partner with the government in shaping the country's future, grass-roots supporters are still pursuing the ANC's revolutionary strategy of making the country ungovernable through strikes, boycotts and mass protest. In Sebokeng, for instance, youth leaders still refer to different sectors of the township by their revolutionary nicknames: Beirut, Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Palestine, Libya, Moscow.

## Youths Ignore Mandela

Although relative calm returned to the hostel area—dubbed Vietnam—after Mr. Mandela's visit, youths spent the next few days roaming the Beirut section, blocking the streets with boulders, hijacking cars and inviting several clashes with police, who were quick to unleash tear gas. The youths pointedly ignored Mr. Mandela's instruction to return to school.

"Give us MK," says a teenager wearing a floppy "Coke is it" hat. He is sitting on one of the boulders blocking the road. "Give us Hani." Chris Hani, the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, is particularly popular among the youth.

The wave of violence began after the ANC suspended its armed struggle on Aug. 6 in return for an agreement with the government on the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners. But as the killings mounted, so did dissatisfaction and misunderstanding over the suspension. "A desperate call for arms became deafening," says the ANC's discussion paper. Some ANC officials, it notes, have been reluctant to speak in the areas of unrest because they had no answer to this demand.

"Generally speaking, the vision of unbreakable strength [the ANC] had nurtured and earned over the years was dented," says the paper. "Instead, people felt the ANC was displaying political paralysis and had fallen prey to de Klerk's sweet talk."

## Xhosa vs. Zulu

Also dented is the ANC's decades-long struggle to overcome the country's ethnic differences exacerbated by the government's policies of racial segregation.

Although the ANC's membership includes blacks from all the main tribes, as well as whites, Indians and coloreds (people of mixed race), the top leadership is

predominantly Xhosa-speaking. The Xhosa image became more accentuated during the 30 years of banning as the ANC became personified by the jailed Mr. Mandela, who is a Xhosa.

Thus, when Inkatha, which is overwhelmingly Zulu, clashes with the ANC, political differences are reduced, in many minds, to a Zulu-Xhosa tribal war. Inkatha pamphlets urge Zulus to resist Xhosa domination in any new government; ANC supporters vow to "kill the Zulus."

Andrew Mapheto, an official in the ANC's Johannesburg office who wrote the discussion paper, says he was once almost attacked because he was driving a car with license plates from Natal province, the home of the Zulus. He also tells of two Zulu children who were killed when the family home was bombed. On the day of the funeral, taxi drivers refused to transport the mourners and local youths said

the cemetery wasn't open to Zulus. The family was told to bury their dead in kwa-Zulu, the Zulu homeland.

Sebokeng and the surrounding black townships of what is known as the Vaal Triangle have contributed two generations of anti-apartheid martyrs. It was in neighboring Sharpeville, in 1960, that police opened fire on a large group of demonstrators. Later that year the ANC was banned and Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed.

## Police Open Fire

In 1984, a protest against township living conditions and black local government was met by police fire, triggering a nationwide wave of unrest and repression that led to the state of emergency and the intensification of international economic sanctions against Pretoria.

This year, on March 26, a few weeks before the first-ever talks between the gov-

September 14-1990

ernment and the ANC, Sebokeng residents were again marching in protest against township conditions when police again opened fire. More than a dozen people were killed and 281 injured, many of them shot in the back.

Mr. Mandela rushed to Sebokeng and the ANC postponed the start of negotiations, demanding an independent commission to investigate police actions. It was that commission which labeled the police shooting "unjustified."

On July 22, following an Inkatha rally to whip up support in a solidly ANC area, Inkatha supporters armed with traditional Zulu weapons such as spears and machetes clashed with hostel residents, who are mostly Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana. Dozens were killed and injured, and the small number of Zulus who were living in the hostels were forced out.

#### Suspicion of 'Connivance'

Until then, residents of the hostels say, the various tribes had gotten along fine. After the clash, the crowded 16-to-a-room hostels were filled with mistrust and tension.

This set the stage for the Sept. 4 pre-

dawn attack. The night before, the police patrol that had been on duty around the hostel since the earlier fighting was removed. This, the ANC alleges, allowed Inkatha supporters to enter the hostel. Mr. Mandela says that these circumstances, together with witness accounts of white men fighting alongside the Zulus that night, arouse the suspicion "of connivance between the police and Inkatha." Both Inkatha and the police vehemently deny this and reject claims they work in concert.

In order to defuse the tribal aspects of the fighting, which the ANC says only helps those who want to see apartheid entrenched, Mr. Mandela told the residents of Sebokeng that they mustn't blame Inkatha alone. Revenge against Zulus, he said, would play into the hands of "right-wing" elements who want to see blacks fighting blacks. He told the people to silence their calls for weapons, because arms would only give the police and army more reason to shoot.

Still, tension blanketed the township. Despite Mr. Mandela's assurances that he would hold the government responsible for the killings, the fear of a fourth massacre loomed.

"Most of our people accept what comrade Mandela says, but they are very angry and afraid," says Maurice More, the 25-year-old president of the local South African Youth Congress branch, which is allied with the ANC.

The telephone in his township office rings. A colleague says police and army vans have been seen making their way to Sebokeng. "Those of us who are activists are forced to be vigilant, alert," says Mr. More, turning to look out the window. "You never know what will happen."

Over in "Beirut," the township's militant teenagers are manning their roadblocks, making sure nobody who doesn't belong here gets through. Police and army vehicles occasionally roll over the boulders, lobbing tear gas cannisters along the way. The youths scatter. Five minutes later, they are back, checking the traffic.

Tear gas lingers over the Central Methodist Church, located in the middle of Beirut. "One morning we'll wake up and some of them will be dead," Joel January, the church secretary, says of the youths. "I tell you, this is no life. It isn't what we expected a couple of months ago."

16/1/4

## UDF attacks power cuts on the East Rand

THE UDF has attacked the decision to cut off electricity to Katlehong and Tokoza from yesterday.

The UDF's Mr Ronnie Mamoepe called on the Transvaal Provincial Administration to

"immediately withdraw this decision before it is too late to contemplate the disastrous consequences for the East Rand in view of the violence sweeping the townships".

This step would only serve the interests of those who wish to perpetuate violence under the cover of darkness, the UDF spokesman said.

"At a time when the

country is seeking ways and means of addressing this violence, we perceive this move by the TPA as a creation of a climate which is conducive for the escalation of violence and must be condemned," he said.

The UDF noted that the TPA should learn from its experience with the Soweto People's Delegation - which resulted in the resolution of the rent boycott.

"High-handed methods can never resolve matters but on the contrary, discussions and debates will yield an everlasting solution to this crisis," the statement added. - Sapa.

Friday 14 September 1990

THE CITIZEN

# Armed struggle: joint ANC-govt report ready

By Tony Stirling

THE joint government-ANC working group dealing with all aspects of the suspension of the armed struggle has completed its first report.

This was confirmed in a brief joint statement by the government and ANC delegations at the end of the second meeting of the

group in Pretoria yesterday.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, it was agreed that an initial report of the working group would be submitted to the government and the ANC lead-

ership by Saturday.

The scheduled meeting of the group for earlier this week was postponed because the leader of the South African delegation, Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order,

as well as a number of the ANC delegates, were attending talks at the Union Buildings with Mr F W de Klerk, on the violence in Natal and the Transvaal.

There was no indication in yesterday's brief statement of what had been discussed, and what aspects were covered in the report.

However, it is believed that the report does not go much beyond defining the armed struggle and related matters, as referred to in the Pretoria Minute.

The government delegation is believed to have had its full complement of six at the meeting, but sources said the ANC had four of its six delegates, who were not named.

The sources did confirm, however, that the leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Chris Hani, who is chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was absent.

Following confirmation that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had earlier this week been asked by the ANC to reconsider the non-renewal of Mr Hani's temporary immunity against prosecution, there was no indication of any decision in this regard.

16/11/11

## Deepening Despair

### Rising Black Violence In South Africa Puts Mandela on the Spot

Some in ANC Want to Fight,  
But He Fears Bloodshed  
Could Set Back Reforms  
Hacked and Shot in a Massacre

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
SEBOKENG, South Africa—One by one, the men from the cinderblock hostels step forward under the towering bluegum tree to bear witness to the slaughter of the night before.

It was 2:30 in the morning, they all say, when gunshots and explosions shattered their sleep in the wretched dormitories that house South Africa's migrant workers. A large man called Oupa says a bullet ricocheted off his metal door. When he opened it, he saw black men with red headbands, allegedly members of Inkatha, a Zulu-based political organization, rampaging with spears, machetes, guns and grenades.

An old man with a limp tells of peeking through a window and seeing a white man on horseback firing a rifle in all directions. A younger resident describes how the sun rose to reveal two dozen corpses. Some were horribly disfigured by machete blows to the face, he says. Others were both hacked and shot. As the men regrouped to confront their attackers, government



on them. Eleven more hostel residents fell dead.

Anger surrounds the bluegum tree. Where, the men ask, was their organization, the African National Congress? Where was the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or MK? As ANC leader Nelson Mandela stood before them later that horrible day, they begged for weapons. They wanted revenge.

Instead, Mr. Mandela, himself boiling with anger after seeing a man's brain spilling out of a crushed skull at the morgue, appealed for calm. The savage fighting, which has left over 700 blacks dead in the past month—including more than 20 killed yesterday in an attack on a train in Johannesburg—has bloodied his own prestige and that of the other major peace brokers, the government and Inkatha. And it has staggered the negotiations he has delicately nurtured with President F.W. de Klerk.

The ANC, Mr. Mandela explained to the vengeful men, had suspended its armed struggle. He had no arms to give them. Trust him, he pleaded. Trust the ANC.

But trust is a fleeting thing in South Africa these days. For the third time this year, the mortuary and hospital of Sebokeng are full. March 26, July 22, Sept. 4—three "massacres," as the residents here say, when the main road of this blighted black township south of Johannesburg became slick with blood. For the third time, Mr. Mandela came to visit and reassure. For the third time, the people, weary of battle, listened to their beloved leader and wanted to believe.

"Yes, we will trust Nelson—for now," says Petrus Dzanebe. But he now sleeps in his clothes, he confesses, and with one eye open. "We live in fear," he says, "that this will happen again, at any time."

Should it, local ANC officials fear that Mr. Mandela couldn't dare return to Sebokeng without weapons. Earlier this week, even Mr. Mandela himself said the grass-roots call for armed protection is growing too strong to resist for much longer.



F.W. de Klerk

Mr. Mandela, who has been a free man for seven months after 27 years in prison, faces a dilemma of Gorbachevian proportion: Wildly popular abroad, he is desperately struggling to control the tumultuous course of change at home.

Where optimism for a "new" South Africa once flourished following his release in February, dark despair now reigns.

"We don't know where we are going," says Phineas Mthimkhulu, a Methodist minister who dodged several bullets while assisting the injured during the hostel massacre. "Are we going up or down, left or right?" He shrugs. "Who knows anymore?"

Even the ANC, in an internal paper analyzing the violence, expresses doubt. "We need to ask if South Africans are ready to move in the direction of a new society. Are we ready to think in a new way? Is it possible for us to talk of a new South Africa or is it yet too early?"

Few have remained unscathed by the violence. Inkatha, the conservative, capitalist antithesis of the socialist-oriented ANC, can no longer profess its peaceful innocence after more than 100 supporters, including its regional leader, were arrested during the Sept. 4 hostel fight.

And the claims of propriety and impartiality by the security forces—who deny ANC charges that they aid Inkatha—are sounding ever more hollow after a judicial

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inquiry ruled that police were "unjustified" in opening fire with live ammunition on a crowd 30 yards away during the first Sebokeng massacre on March 26.

Less than a week after that report was made public, the army opened fired in Sebokeng on Sept. 4.

Also, eyewitness reports of the presence of masked whites in the hostel battle has fueled suspicions that certain elements of the white right wing are stirring up black animosities to derail the government-ANC negotiations over a new constitution and black-white power sharing.

The ugly appear-



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

ance of black factional fighting, which has crippled much of the rest of Africa, is also undermining the efforts of the government to interest foreign investors in a post-apartheid South Africa. Mr. de Klerk will be promoting his reforms when he visits Washington later this month, but, as he recently told South African businessmen, "There can be no real reform before stability."

The greatest damage, though, has fallen on the ANC and on the slender shoulders of the 72-year-old Mr. Mandela. The unceasing violence, which spreads like an infectious plague from one township to another in the Johannesburg area, has exposed the ANC's leadership weaknesses as it emerges from 30 years of exile and makes the transition from liberation movement to political party.

And Mr. Mandela's inability so far to defuse the factional fighting has disappointed those who expected him to act more like a statesman than an ANC cadre. Commentators here note that his refusal to meet with Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as long as Inkatha "perpetuates violence" is precisely the argument the government used in refusing to negotiate with the ANC for three decades.

While the ANC's hierarchy has become a partner with the government in shaping the country's future, grass-roots supporters are still pursuing the ANC's revolutionary strategy of making the country ungovernable through strikes, boycotts and mass protest. In Sebokeng, for instance, youth leaders still refer to different sectors of the township by their revolutionary nicknames: Beirut, Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Palestine, Libya, Moscow.

#### Youths Ignore Mandela

Although relative calm returned to the hostel area—dubbed Vietnam—after Mr. Mandela's visit, youths spent the next few days roaming the Beirut section, blocking the streets with boulders, hijacking cars and inviting several clashes with police, who were quick to unleash tear gas. The youths pointedly ignored Mr. Mandela's instruction to return to school.

"Give us MK," says a tenn-ager wearing a floppy "Coke is it" hat. He is sitting on one of the boulders blocking the road. "Give us Hani." Chris Hani, the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, is particularly popular among the youth.