

From Bheki Nkosi  
Johannesburg

# Violence on the increase

WHITE-on-black" violence rose by 30 percent in 1990.

This statistic has emerged from research by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro).

It gives the lie to reports that consistently refer to violence in South Africa as "black-on-black".

The rise in cases of "white-on-black" violence has come from a combination of organised attacks by ultra-rightwingers and a continuing disrespect for black human rights in rural areas.

## Murdered

More than 80 cases have been reported since November 1988, when "Wit Wolwe" (White Wolves) extremist Barend Strydom murdered 21 people in cold blood, seven in Pretoria's Strydom Square.

The "Wit Wolwe" subsequently attacked, on two separate occasions, the man who bravely disarmed Strydom, Simon Khorombi Mukhondeletu.

In a similar incident a year later, a member of the neo-fascist Order of

Death group, Cornelius Lottering, told a court which found him guilty of the slow and brutal murder of a black taxi driver, Potoko Makgalemele, that he had done it for "practice".

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While black political activists were being killed, threatened and petrol-bombed on an almost weekly basis during 1990, they are not the only focus of white hatred.

There have been regular attacks on black people, specially children, in the streets and on farms since the Separate Amenities Act was scrapped in October last year. Days after the Act was abolished, three black youths exercised their new right to swim in one Northern Transvaal town's pool.

They were severely assaulted by truncheon-wielding white men who, they

believe, were summoned by the pool superintendent.

One of the youths, Fred Mofokeng, will probably lose the sight of an eye. He says white nurses at the hospital refused to treat him.

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- Near Messina, 10km from the Zim-

babwe border in the far north of northern Transvaal, three black families had to move their children to safety after a white farmer collected nine youths from a primary school and viciously assaulted them in late November.

Six of the children had to be hospitalised for several days and one boy, Alfred Manendhze, could not walk for nearly two weeks after the incident.

- Terminally ill farm labourer Johannes Beukes on a farm near Stellenbosch had just returned from cancer treatment at a hospital when he was beaten with a pickaxe by his enraged boss, Rudolph Rix.

Rix told a court he was angry Beukes had gone straight to bed instead of returning to work.

The farmer was fined R250 for assaulting Beukes, and sentenced to 18 months in jail for beating to death another labourer, Charlie Thompson, who died in hospital two weeks after lapsing into a coma.

Incidents like these are a direct result of apartheid and white supremacy, says

a spokesperson of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac), an organisation working on farm and rural issues.

"Whites and farmers mostly in the outlying towns lack respect for black people because they can get away with it. They feel they own blacks and therefore can do anything they like to them."

Nicro's national marketing manager, Heather Regenass, attributes the increase in white-on-black violence to the easy access whites have to firearms and licences.

In addition, security conditions have worsened since the mass resignation of police because of poor pay during June and July last year.

It also appears that most white South Africans are panicking about the prospect of black majority rule.

A Gallup Poll carried out by Markinor Research Group in November 1990 showed 47 percent of blacks but only 34 percent of whites think 1991 will be better than 1990. Half of the Afrikaans speakers polled believed 1991 will be worse than 1990. — AIA

# SAP has FW in cleft stick

Negotiations won't kick off as long as political violence scars black lives. But the violence can't be contained without effective policing. Proper policing is not possible without a changed face to the so-called forces of law and order, reports Jenny Cargill

THE South African police force has effectively trapped President FW de Klerk in a cleft stick.

Negotiations won't kick off as long as political violence scars black lives. But the violence can't be contained without effective policing. Proper policing is not possible without a changed face to the so-called forces of law and order. But a restructured police force is too politically touchy for the current government to effect on its own.

That is the shorthand of the problem highlighted by Afrikaaner political analysts.

## Antagonists

Few doubt that the more lasting answer to the violence is political rapprochement between the primary antagonists in the violence, the African National Congress (ANC), and the largely Natal-based Inkatha Freedom Party. But neither do they expect a quick solution when Inkatha president Gatsha Mangosutho Buthelezi's hankered-for meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela takes place on January 29.

More immediately, the ANC has put the responsibility for dealing with the violence at the government's feet.

The head of Potchefstroom University's political science department, Professor Pieter Potgieter, agrees police have been backing Inkatha in the township conflicts.

That is enough to make government a key party in violence.

But its responsibility goes beyond that. "The fact is," says Potgieter, "the police have become an illegitimate force."

This, argues Pretoria political consultant Wim Booysse, is the legacy of apartheid which is responsible for the



TRIGGER-HAPPY? There are signs of a serious government rethink to change the image of its police

spontaneous resurgence of people's courts and defence units to cope with the current violence, both criminal and politically motivated.

The imperfections of these community responses are becoming increasingly obvious. Abuses and ill-handling of problems often undermine the democratic principles on which these community structures are based and at times fuel rather than resolve the violence.

The immediate roots of the Sebokeng massacre earlier this month — in which 35 people were gunned down under AK-47 fire — has been traced to an ill-begotten attempt by the "comrades" of this Vaal Triangle township to rein in some gangsters, who then allegedly elicited support from Inkatha.

The ANC has long given rhetorical support to community defence units. But its December 16 consultative con-

ference proposed more than that, and called for a national structure to actively put these units in place. So far it has yet to appoint this structure, for which government has already signalled its distaste.

Defence units pose some problem for the new political democracy within the ANC. They would necessarily have a military character.

## Tolerance

Added to that, political tolerance could suffer if a community's defence capability is run by one organisation, rather than its being a broadly-based community effort.

But imperfections aside, people's courts and defence units are for the moment the only logical response in a society where there is a breakdown of trust between the police and the com-

munities they are supposed to serve.

It is this problem of illegitimacy which Potgieter argues is "one of the most outstanding factors" facing De Klerk.

"The negotiations process can't start if this is not dealt with," adds Potgieter.

Booyse reckons Pretoria "should be nervous about disciplining its policemen" as a means of bolstering their legitimacy. "There should be a cleansing, but it can't be a warm knife through butter."

Potgieter argues that the necessary changes to South African policing cannot be done by the present government. It needs a "reconstituted government".

It is within this context, he adds, "that an interim government makes sense".

Booyse takes the argument even further, asserting that the police force

needs to be taken out of the hands of politicians in a bid to restructure it.

There are signs of a serious rethink in government on its police, and on some responsibility-sharing with other organisations, but primarily with the ANC.

Some propaganda play has been made of limited cooperation on crime prevention between the Soweto police and ANC-aligned community structures in the township.

The police are also due to unwrap a new manner of operation, and image building would appear to be a priority with the recent appointment of Bureau for Information's Kobus Neethling as "special communications advisor" to Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The touchy question, however, is control — which Pretoria as yet has shown no inclination to relinquish.



16-10-91  
11/11/91

New African 24/01/91

# FW must decide on Vula trialists

By Farouk Chothia

A DURBAN magistrate has asked state president FW de Klerk to speedily decide whether the Operation Vula trialists will be indemnified from prosecution or not.

Magistrate TD Reed made this comment yesterday in the Durban regional court during his ruling on an application made by the trialists for their bail conditions to be relaxed. In his verdict, the magistrate relaxed only one of the three bail conditions.

Reed said it was necessary for the indemnity question to be resolved soon so that the 'defence, the state and this court knows where we stand.'

He said the court had found itself in a 'very unique (and) strange

situation.'

Parliament's decision to 'create a special machinery' to which certain people could apply for indemnity from prosecution, had in this instance, led to a delay in the process of justice, Reed said. State prosecutor Peter Blomkamp earlier argued that the delay was understandable because the government and African National Congress (ANC) had agreed in negotiations that the indemnity applications - of those facing charges of serious offences - would be dealt with last.

Reed took a different view, saying the court could not 'accept' this and believed the trialists application for indemnity should be processed first 'so that the defence, state and this court

knows exactly where we stand.'

Blomkamp had earlier said that indemnity application forms - which were sent to the state's indemnity office in early November and were with a Mr Kleynhans - were not properly filled.

The magistrate ruled that Kleynhans should 'immediately' send the forms to a 'higher authority' which should then decide whether the information given in the forms was sufficient to make a decision.

Nevertheless, Reed adjourned the case to March 25 at Blomkamp's request. Defence counsel Zac Yacoob had opposed Blomkamp's application.

Yacoob had also earlier asked Reed to relax the trialists bail conditions as they were 'strin-

gent.'

Reed agreed to relax one: the condition that the trialists report daily to police. He said he understood this condition was becoming 'burdensome' as the case was dragging on. Now the trialists will have to report each Monday, Wednesday and Saturday to police.

Secondly, Yacoob had asked for the trialists to be allowed to change their residential addresses to avoid possible attacks from 'conservative elements' who, he argued, also exist in the police force. Reed refused to relax this condition saying that the trialists must - if they have not already - 'simply come to terms' with the fact that all political activists carry the 'risk' of being attacked by

their 'enemy.'

Thirdly, Yacoob had asked for the bail condition that the trialists be restricted to a specific magisterial district be lifted.

Reed said this condition was not a 'hardship.' However, if the any of the trialists wanted to move out a magisterial district, they could do so after seeking permission.

The nine accused in the trial are facing charges of attempting to violently overthrow the state through a plot known as 'Operation Vula.' They are Sipiwe Nyanda (40), Mac Maharaj (65), Raymond Lalla (32), Catherine Mvelase (25), Dipak Patel (26), Billy Nair (60), Susanna Tshabalala (30), Pravin Gordhan (41) and Anesh Sankar (22).



SINCE March 1990, there appeared to have been a decrease in the violence in the greater Durban and coastal areas, according to figures compiled by Idasa. The Black Sash recorded 63 deaths in November last year compared to 200 in November 1989.

The decline in deaths had more to do with the violence shifting to rural areas where deaths and other effects go unnoticed, rather than a dramatic decline in violence. The conditions which started the violence are still there.

The decline in the number of deaths indicates that there has been a definite decline in the urban and some of the coastal areas, where monitors were able to record figures.

This is probably due to two key factors. Firstly, the ANC has effectively consolidated its support in these areas, pushing Inkatha inland towards the rural areas, and secondly, people are tired of fighting a war that has gone on for more than six years — either as aggressors or as defenders.

### Accord

The peace accord seems to be less and less effective in the Umfolozi area. In December last year three students were killed in Ndabayakhe, and the ANC has not managed to get permission to hold meetings in the three townships around Empangeni.

Something needs to be done or people will lose faith in any peace process with Inkatha.

As the ANC swung into gear and branches were launched in their Southern Natal region, a clear trend that usually led to conflict emerged.

Within two weeks of a branch being launched, Inkatha would plan and carry out a meeting in the same area. My assessment is that Inkatha has very little support in most of the urban areas.

Therefore, because Inkatha could not muster support for a meeting in the

# More than words needed to end war

*South Jan 24 TO 30 1991*

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi are finally meeting next week to discuss the conflict between the organisations. But it will take more than a meeting of the leaders to stop the war and the violent society it created, explains **Steve Collins** of the Community Conflict Monitoring Service of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa)



Gatsha Buthelezi

area where the ANC branch had been launched, it would have to bring outside supporters into the area.

The clearest example of this was the Inkatha rally at the Wema hostel in November last year. The vast majority of the rally-goers came from other areas, mainly Lindelani and the KwaMashu hostels.

At that rally, the ANC chairperson for the Wema branch was assaulted, two people were killed and several children assaulted at the Umgeni station as the Inkatha members went home.

When Inkatha attempted to hold a meeting at Bester's, there were no deaths, but a full-scale war could have occurred.

Inkatha had no venue, public address system or agenda for a meeting. Even the police I spoke to said Inkatha should



Nelson Mandela

not have come to the area as they had very little support.

An ANC branch had been launched the week before, and it was only through the intervention of monitors and police that the day ended relatively peacefully.

There were several other occurrences which echo this trend and point to a concerted campaign by Inkatha to use "freedom of association and assembly" as a way of trying to win black support in the urban areas.

In KwaMashu, the hostels proved to be a constant source of harassment to the residents in B, C and D sections next to the hostels. Hostel residents forcing other residents into joining Inkatha marches have become a regular Sunday occurrence.

During the first half of last year the

small township of Hambanathi faced continuous harassment from men in the local hostel. After several deaths resulted, the harassment was resolved when the township demanded that the hostel be closed and turned into family flat units.

Since then there have been few problems.

Unfortunately, the rest of Natal and the Reef did not learn from their experience.

It is clear that most hostel dwellers find themselves in vulnerable positions and fall prey to the hostel hierarchies.

### Disturbing

Over the last six months of last year, one of the most disturbing developments has been the emergence of violence that is not directly political in origin or does not result from a clash of organisations or ideologies. But these conflicts would not have resulted in violence had it not been for the war that has consumed Natal.

The conflicts include a taxi war which left dozens dead and six houses burnt and criminal gangs — who used to be called "com-totsis" and now call themselves names such as "real comrades" — who have terrorised the communities of the South coast.

An ANC organiser commented on the connection between this violence, saying that, once the ANC had consolidated the area and removed the common enemy, comrades began fighting among themselves.

It is necessary to address the boredom of unemployment, the psychological scars and war mentality that fighting a civil war has left among our youth.

The violence has reached the scale where it is more than the conflict between Inkatha, the state and progressive forces. One of the worst aspects of this violence is that nobody owns it.

To try and solve the violence means relying on the security forces.

At times they are involved and their intervention can often offer only short-term solutions.

The clashes between tribal structures and progressive organisations in the rural areas worsened last year.

During Inkatha/ANC clashes, when chiefs mobilised support to stop any ANC activity, the state invariably sided with the tribal authorities.

### Improvement

This has meant that the rural areas have become "no go" areas for the ANC.

There appears to have been a slight improvement in security force behaviour, but there are still constant allegations of harassment and — in some cases — even torture by the SA Defence Force.

The SADF has also assisted in the demolition of shacks on the North Coast and in KwaDabeka.

Areas where development has taken place, or is planned, show a rise in conflict potential.

The tensions over which supporters' areas would be upgraded recently caused conflict in Mpumalanga and Bester's.

The KwaZulu police were a problem throughout last year. An executive member of the ANC in Umlazi was killed, allegedly by the KwaZulu police. The SAP claim they have no jurisdiction to investigate murders when the ZP refuse to do so.

It is going to take more than a meeting of the leaders to stop this war and the violent society it has created.

The questions of tribal structures, rehabilitation, dangerous weapons, unemployment, hostel organisation and the creation of a truly fair justice system and police force are but a few issues which will need to be addressed.



# Zulu prince loses case of water supply

*SOWETAN*  
31 JANUARY 1991

PRINCE Israel Mcwayzeni Zulu, uncle of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, who alleged his water supply was summarily cut off because of his allegiance to the African National Congress, has had his application to have the supply restored dismissed by a Supreme Court judge.

Prince Zulu brought the application last year against the KwaZulu Government Minister and Secretary of Works, alleging his water supply was cut as "a direct consequence of my resigning from the KwaZulu Legislative Assmbly and public support for the ANC."

## Resigned

Prince Zulu had regularly attended sessions of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly since its inception as the official representavie of King Zwelethini. However, due to his "disillusionment" with the KwaZulu government, he resigned and switched support to the ANC.

In January 1990, the free water supply to the prince's home at the Nxangphilile royal residence at Nongoma was cut.

The Minister of Works said in reply that the water supply was stopped because it was a surplus one and the demand for water from the royal complex had increased which used up the surplus.

In his judgement handed down this week, Mr Justice Thirion said in his opinion the KwaZulu Gpvernment had "exceeded its powers" by supplyin free water to the prince.

## Illegal

Although he had not been able to find out what privileges the Zulu king was entitled to, the termination of the water supply to the prince by the KwaZulu government would "simply be putting an end to an illegality," the judge said.

If the court ordered the reconnection of the water supply it would be compelling the KwaZulu Government to commit an illegality, the judge said, and he dismissed the case. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

# Why do you make Inkatha a pariah?

*SOWETAN*  
24 JANUARY 1991

SIR - It is with a heavy and a puzzled mind that I have to write to you about your editorial of Monday November 26 1990.

Briefly, you stated that there should be a closer relationship between the ANC, PAC and Azapo, or, as you put it: "Organisations with a similar outlook".

Then in a type of unintelligible hieroglyphics you state on the one hand that "this does not mean that Inkatha should be excluded" and,

on the other, that to include it "at this stage" would not lead to a "meaningful relationship".

Now, Sir, before I even comment on your reasons for declaring Inkatha a pariah, I want to ask, with tears in my eyes, how do you achieve black unity between black organisations by declaring in advance that other black organisations should be excluded?

Your reasons for wanting Inkatha out are, to say

the least, completely way out!

Inter alia you state, as a fact, that Inkatha believes in group rights. Where on earth did you get that one from?

Lest other poor mortals like myself be misled I deny emphatically and authoritatively that Inkatha believes in group rights...Inkatha rejects constitutionally sanctioned or protected group rights.

The second stated cause of your revulsion is apparently because Inkatha does not support sanctions and the armed struggle. But then in the same breath you state "whether these strategies are justified or not is not the issue".

So what is the issue? Just naked hatred?

These things must be explained, Sir, they cannot just be left hanging.

I hold no brief for anyone else that you seek to exclude from your projected camaraderie. I do wish to say, however, that

either you want black unity or you don't.

You can't have your cake and eat it, no picking and choosing.

Incidentally what was all this much vaunted Nation Building about? **DENNIS MADIDE**  
Inkatha Central Committee,  
Ulundi.



From Bheki Nkosi  
Johannesburg

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