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THE DAILY NEWS

APRIL 20, 1992

Leaders refer to 'cunning and violent' forces against peace initiatives

Daily News Correspondent

PIETERSBURG: Both President F.W. de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi referred during their speeches at Moria to sinister forces they believed were intent on wrecking peace initiatives in South Africa.

"We must realise there are cunning and violent forces at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding. Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace — they want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it", said Mr de Klerk.

"Peace cannot be bought over the counter. It will not happen on its own. We will have to work for it, plan for it, live it," Mr de Klerk added.

Real peace was built on the love of which the Bible spoke, and each man

and woman could make a contribution by speaking out, and convincing others of this truth, Mr de Klerk said. He urged Christians to strengthen their family life, to discipline their children not to participate in unrest and violence, and encouraged his audience to become involved in community projects aimed at involving young people in positive recreation.

Dr Buthelezi addressed the audience as "brothers and sisters in Christ". He suggested the first step towards solving the country's problems was for believers to proclaim the greatness of God, and to give Him his rightful place.

"Violence is not only killing people — it is spreading fear and hatred at the same time. It is as though Satan himself is there next to all those pulling the triggers of AK-47s, pulling the pins out of hand-grenades, and striking matches

to set people alight," Dr Buthelezi claimed.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela was the only speaker at yesterday's peace rally who made a concerted effort to win the support of the one million Church of Zion believers who listened to him.

He referred to various similarities between the ANC and the Zion Christian Church, saying both stood for freedom, tolerance and democracy.

"I come here today as a pilgrim, like many of you, and bring to your church the greetings of the ANC."

The establishment of a constituent assembly had now become a top priority to bring true democracy to the country, Mr Mandela said.

The Star '20-4-92

SACC calls leaders to violence talks

Political Staff

The South African Council of Churches has invited the leaders of the country's major black political formations — including those in the "homelands" — to an "Emergency Summit on Violence" in a bid to find a decisive end to the bloody violence in black townships.

The summit is due to be held in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

A weekend statement by the church body said the meeting was being called in response to "the alarming proportion, as well as the persistence, at which political violence is growing in our country, and the potential for it to spread to hitherto unaffected areas".

Invitations have already been sent to the ANC, IFP, Azapo, PAC, SACP and Cosatu, Nactu and homeland leaders.

The meeting will be co-chaired by SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, Methodist Church president and National Peace Committee deputy chairman Dr Stanley Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Sapa reports that Dr Mogoba has appealed for a national week of prayer from June 1 to June 7 to bring an end to the carnage.

In a statement at the weekend, Dr Mogoba said the senseless killing had to stop and that "peace was the most important factor in our survival".

"Without peace we can forget about Codesa or any other initiative for bringing about a new South Africa or even a new southern Africa."

● Church leaders around the country have been requested to set aside June 5 — the day before Pentecost Sunday — as a national day of prayer and healing when all activity will halt between 11 am and 2 pm.

The initiative emanates from a decision taken at the National Conference of Churches in South Africa in November 1990 at which the Rustenburg Declaration was made.

2 whites burnt to death near FNB stadium

VUYO BAVUMA

Staff Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — Two white men were burnt to death when rampaging youths stoned and set fire to six houses and several cars opposite FNB Stadium during Chris Hani's funeral.

The men, Mr Rudolph Botes, 43, and his friend, known only as "Kleintjies", were trapped when the youths attacked their home.

And Lesotho citizen Mr Elias Moloi, who said he helped Mr Hani escape during the SA Defence Force raid on ANC residences in Maseru in 1982, lost his shack and all his belongings in the fire.

Mr Moloi said his son Charles, 7, was shot in the leg and hand during yesterday's attack.

The charred bodies of Mr Botes and "Kleintjies" were found in the ruins of the house by ambulancemen and police.

A friend of Mr Botes, Mr Grant Arend, who used to live in the house, said he could not believe the lack of respect shown by the arsonists.

"The ANC said it had respect for human life and people's property. This is totally uncalled for," Mr Arend said, shaking his head.

Last week the management of FNB Stadium warned residents in the area about possible danger during the funeral. His friends had failed to take the advice.

He said he was devastated and intended emigrating.

A bitter Mr Moloi said he had lost everything, including R1 600 — two months' disability grant — and a television set.

"I am penniless. This whole thing is senseless," he said.

Mr Moloi described Mr Botes as a peace-loving man and an ANC supporter.

Running gun battles flared between youths and police just before Mr Hani's body was brought into the stadium.

The youths tried to set the nearby Nasrec showground alight, but were repelled by police and soldiers guarding the complex.

Gunshots could be heard from the stadium as the solemn service got under way.

Momberg leads memorial march

Staff Reporters

LOOTING and burning in Cape Town had to be condemned, but "we were lucky that the extent of the damage was not far worse", ANC-aligned MP Jannie Momberg told a meeting in Fish Hoek.

He was speaking at a largely incident-free Hani memorial protest in the heart of Simon's Town constituency yesterday.

Several hundred marchers, led by Mr Momberg, marched from the squatter settlement between Fish Hoek and Kommetjie to the Fish Hoek sportsgrounds.

The marchers, watched from houses by white residents, stuck to the designated route.

Police thanked Mr Momberg and march marshals that the march had been "well-organised".

● ANC supporters held a peaceful placard demonstration in commemoration of Chris Hani in Mowbray yesterday.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

MOURNERS: Simon's Town ANC-aligned MP Jannie Momberg leads Hani mourners through Fish Hoek.

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

THE CITIZEN
20-4-92
X

Codesa meets, but country's burning

WHY are South Africans, who are totally shocked at the continuing violence, being ignored by the government and media?

Although the IFP and the SAP appear to be the chief targets of the ANC, PAC, etc, innocent people are being murdered and women attacked and raped by criminals every day.

Mr De Klerk undertook to restore law and order in South Africa while on his Nigerian visit. We have not seen any visible change in the situation since his return.

Quite the contrary in fact; today the ANC are alleged to have burned down 14 IFP dwellings in Alexandra township.

The government ought to take a serious look at their present bankrupt policies; after all they are responsible for the lives and security of the people of this nation.

It is inconceivable that they sit around in luxury offices convening their Codesa meetings while the country is burning.

Only a state of emergency will bring some semblance of peace, and

afford the security forces of the opportunity to launch a massive operation across the country to seize the thousands of AK-47 assault rifles and arms caches.

All that is happening at present, is that the security forces are battling to put out the fires rather than to take control and restore law and order.

I have only praise for our beleaguered South African police and the SADF. May God be with them and protect them.

AVRIL BUDD

Bryanston

WORLD BRIEFS

■ TODAY'S QUOTE

"The choice of violence as a means of settling disputes between people is always wrong. It must stop."

— Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as he, South Africa President F.W. de Klerk and rival black leader Nelson Mandela called for



Buthelezi

peace during a rare joint appearance at an Easter service attended by a half-million people. It was part of a campaign to gain support for negotiations to end white-minority rule and hold multiracial elections. They appeared at a service held by the Zion Christian Church, which is thought to be the nation's largest black denomination.

— Edited by Wayne Beissert

South African Rivals Call for Halt to the Violence

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

MORIA, South Africa, April 19 — Meeting under a scorching African sun, President F. W. de Klerk and South Africa's two most powerful black leaders came together today to plead for an end to the violence afflicting the country's black townships.

But the leaders used the joint appearance to exchange veiled recriminations and came no closer to agreeing on a solution to the violence.

Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, joined President de Klerk in addressing hundreds of thousands of black followers of the Zion Christian Church at its Easter celebration in the northern Transvaal.

They were invited to appear by the church's leader, Bishop Barnabas E. Lekganyane, who said the Zion Christian Church was "deeply disturbed by the dramatic escalation of violence and intimidation" in recent weeks.

"If angels could descend at this juncture and record statistics, everybody would discern the fact that carnage, riots and instability in South Africa are caused by the leaders as well as the followers," Bishop Lekganyane said in a sermon.

Up to a million or more Zion Christians converge every Easter on the church's headquarters in Moria, whose stony hills and scrub vegetation evoke the Biblical land of Israel. The Zion Christian Church claims five million members across southern Africa who are attracted by the sect's mix of evangelical Christianity and indigenous African tradition. They practice a doc-



The New York Times

South Africa's President and top two black leaders spoke in Moria.

trine of hard work, respect for authority and non-violence, which has left them bystanders and occasionally victims in the township unrest. Though they avoid politics, they represent a potentially powerful electoral bloc once blacks are given the vote.

Consequently, President de Klerk, Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi sometimes sounded like politicians canvassing for support as they sought common cause with the Zion Christians and offered conflicting interpretations, full of religious allusions, of the violence in which 12,000 South Africans have died since 1984.

"Pointing accusing fingers is not going to bring peace," Mr. de Klerk said. "Only if all the leaders make sure that all their followers refrain from violence will we have peace."

Today was the first time that the

three leaders have come together since last Sept. 14, when they signed a national peace accord. In the seven months since, more than 1,000 blacks have been killed in factional fighting, most of it involving supporters of Inkatha against supporters of the congress.

It was unclear whom Mr. de Klerk might have had in mind beyond the African National Congress when he spoke of "cunning and violent forces" uninterested in reconciliation or peace.

"They want power, and they are prepared to do anything to get it," he said. "They use the tools of violence and intimidation when it suits them."

Mr. de Klerk alluded disapprovingly to the congress's strategy of coordinated protests and boycotts to press demands for faster movement to majority rule. He has accused the congress of enforcing its boycotts through intimidation.

'Saying No to Intimidation'

"We also know and believe that Christians must show courage in the face of adversity," the President said. "That also means saying no to intimidation, refusing to be drawn into actions and boycotts with which you do not agree, being prepared to accept risk and putting right that which is wrong."

When his turn came, Mr. Mandela observed that Easter marked the "re-birth of the resurrected Messiah, who without arms, without soldiers, without police or special forces, without hit squads or bands of vigilantes overcame the mightiest state of his time."

Mr. Mandela has repeatedly accused the Government's security forces of abetting violence in the townships. He said the congress was entitled to break laws "when we know in so doing we are being obedient to God."

Chief Buthelezi alluded to the AK-47 assault rifles that are a symbol of the congress's guerrilla wing and to the practice by some congress supporters of "necklacing" opponents by setting afire gasoline-soaked tires around their neck.

"It is as though Satan himself is there next to all those pulling the triggers of AK-47's, pulling the pins out of hand grenades before throwing them and striking matches to set people alight," he said.

8 Shot Dead in Sharpeville

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, April 19 (AP) — Eight people were shot dead today at a house in the Sharpeville black township the police said.

Capt. Piet van Deventer said unidentified attackers armed with assault rifles and handguns had entered a house in the township south of Johannesburg, ordered the occupants into a bedroom and opened fire. Four men and four women were slain, and one person was wounded, he said.

African National Congress officials said the victims were supporters of the group.

The police said two other people had been killed in attacks in Sharpeville and Evaton Township.

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ANC seeks urgent talks over slayings

SHARPEVILLE—The African National Congress is to seek an urgent meeting with Minister of Police HERNUS KRIEL to discuss the murder of eight ANC members who were yesterday gunned down in their home in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging.

According to witnesses, five armed men arrived in a car and entered the home of the Lefhiedi family at 2 45am after shooting out the windows.

Seven of the eight who were killed, including a six-year-old child, were related. Residents and family said they were well-known ANC members.

There was one survivor, a 19-year-old woman relative, who was slightly wounded.

Local ANC chairman SIZA RANI said that according to the survivor the attackers

claimed they were from the KwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijlpark, a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC would not, however, blame any organisation or persons for the attack until investigations had been completed.

At least one AK-47 rifle and a number of handguns were used in the killing, according to police.

As many as four more people, including two members of the ANC Youth League, were killed in separate incidents in Sharpeville and nearby Evaton overnight.

The latest killings brought the Easter toll of weekend violence to more than 20 by last night.

Mrs Winnie Mandela led a delegation to the scene of the mass murder in Sharpeville. She is a member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as an executive of

the ANC's Women's League and of the ANC's PWV region.

A crowd of about 300, mainly youths, greeted her warmly on her arrival.

Mrs Mandela was taken inside the house and shown the bedroom where all eight victims had been gunned down.

She spoke to friends and relatives, while women mourners from a local church sang and addressed the packed house.

"Please do not take the law into your hands," Mrs Mandela later urged the crowd outside the Lefhiedi home.

"Your leaders will attend to this matter."

Local ANC leaders insisted the police had been told several times about threats against the Lefhiedi family.

When the police left the Lefhiedi home yesterday they were stoned by a mob, said police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer. — (Sapa)

Political leaders in call for peace

NATAL MERCURY
20-4-92

PIETERSBURG—A blow for peace was struck yesterday at Moria near Pietersburg, when President de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi unconditionally committed themselves to do everything in their power to end violence, and to move speedily towards a widely acceptable political settlement.

The three leaders were welcomed by more than a million members of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at a huge peace rally at the hillside headquarters of the church,

Mercury Correspondent

40 km east of Pietersburg.

Each of them brought his own unique style to the proceedings. But in each case, the end result was the same, a resounding yes vote for peace by perhaps the most representative audience any speaker could wish for.

No fewer than five languages (English, Zulu, Northern Sotho, Venda and Damarra) were used during the rally, to cater for church-goers who came from every part of southern Africa. This illustrated the fact that the ZCC has cut across all ethnic barriers in its spectacular growth to become Africa's largest indigenous church.

The rally was the first occasion on which the three

political leaders had appeared together, since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

There was a roar of approval when the ANC and Inkatha leaders embraced one another, and when Mr de Klerk joined them in waving to the vast audience which stretched down the hillside as far as the eye could see.

A formidable public address system carried the messages of peace across an area of about 10 square kilometres, and a long stream of traffic banked up on the main Pietersburg-Tzaneen road to watch the event.

The occasion was enhanced by the presence of many doves in and around the church headquarters, thus giving a symbolic theme of

peace to the gathering.

Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, leader of the ZCC, who had declared yesterday a day of peace, received the greatest ovation of all when he arrived, leading his impressive brass band to the rostrum. The crowds responded loudly to his traditional Easter message, thus underlining his important position as one of the country's most influential black leaders.

With the aroma of grilling beef and mutton in the air, and some rousing singing from mass choirs, the gathering had all the ingredients of a true festival of peace, even more so when thousands knelt in the dust and prayed together for peace and reconciliation.

8 die as gunmen attack Sharpeville home

By Brian Sokutu

Easter turned tragic yesterday for the Lefhiedi family when unknown gunmen shot dead eight people, including a child and a family friend, at their home in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging.

Elias Lefhiedi (46), his wife Johanna (41), son Wesie (15), daughter Jostine (19), Mr Lefhiedi's sisters-in-law Manoi Makhaketsa (41) and Musetsi Moisi (15), Selinah Thakgudi, and a friend, Japhta Vilaka (19), were butchered by five men armed with AK-47s, according to ANC branch chairman Siza Rani.

He said the men drove a Mazda 323.

The killings took place at about 2.45 am.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said police had no evidence that the killings were politically motivated.

Addressing a press conference with ANC leaders at the Lefhiedi home, Mr Rani said the men broke the kitchen window, fired several

shots, waited to see if there was any retaliation, and then burst into the kitchen.

Mr Rani said: "Three men went to the main bedroom, while others remained in the kitchen. They demanded arms and money which the family did not have, threatening to kill everyone.

"They then shoved them into the children's bedroom, raped one of the women before beginning to shoot. And when one of the killers ran out of bullets, he went outside to refill the magazine."

He said the survivors of the attack, one of whom police said was wounded in the arm, were missing.

A heartbroken Albinas Lefhiedi, Elias' brother, said he felt "terrible" because they had buried his brother's son, Rangoane (26), only three months ago. An Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, he died in what police said was a shootout with terrorists.

"I was shocked when I arrived at the house at about 4 am after being telephoned by Father David Dinkebogile of the Anglican Church. In

the children's bedroom I found my brother and the bodies of six other people sprayed with bullets. We found another body in the lounge," said Mr Lefhiedi.

Also speaking at the press conference, ANC NEC member Winnie Mandela, launched a scathing attack on the police and the Government for "failing to act" although the ANC had "reported the family's harassment earlier to local police".

She said the attack was "a well-orchestrated pattern" aimed at weakening the ANC, and was committed by "those who do not want to see peace".

"These killings must stop. That religious meeting addressed by leaders in Moria is meaningless if the Government continues to kill people," she said.

The township killings, she said, could affect the negotiation process.

ANC PWV region deputy chairman Bavumile Vilaka-

● To Page 3 ■



Distraught . . . Albinas Lefhiedi (left) tells ANC leaders Floyd Mashele and Winnie Mandela how his brother and his family were killed. Picture: Karen Fletcher

Great news for soccer fans. Win a trip to Britain to see the English FA Cup Final at Wembley next month — Page 6.

Big three share peace platform

Natal witnesses
20 April 1992



MORIA — South Africa's three main political leaders called for peace and an end to violence when they addressed a vast multitude of black Christians at Moria in the northern Transvaal yesterday.

Their pleas came as fighting marred the Easter weekend not only in South Africa — where gunmen herded a Sharpeville family into a room and shot dead eight of them (see page 3) — but in Yugoslavia, part of the former Soviet Union and the Philippines.

President F.W. de Klerk, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi all yesterday addressed the annual Zion Christian Church gathering at the invitation of ZCC leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane.

Buthelezi and Mandela exchanged pleasantries on the stage, but the three leaders and their parties sat separated by empty chairs. The audience, put by some estimates at close to a million, listened to the speeches through stacks of loudspeakers.

De Klerk, speaking last, said South Africans should join hands and work for peace as never before. He warned there are "cunning and violent forces" at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding.

"Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace. They want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it. They use the tools of violence and intimidation when it suits them," De Klerk said.

Buthelezi, speaking first, said the IFP will re-dedicate itself to work against violence and to bring peace to the country.

"On no single occasion have I ever sat down, either by myself or in the company of IFP leaders, to even contemplate the use of violence," Buthelezi said.

He added he had never made any decision to use violence for political purposes.

"I know of no IFP meeting being held anywhere, at any time, that has planned the use of violence or made decisions to use violence. Violence is hideous. It is wrong. It must stop."

Mandela criticised the government's past failures to accept the ANC's hand of friendship during the ANC's search for peace.

Pope's plea to heal world

See page 7

He was concerned by the ongoing violence by faceless killers.

"Violence is the main obstacle to a truly democratic South Africa. We appeal to you all to work and pray for peace."

The country should move as speedily as possible to an elected constituent assembly, Mandela said.

The right to religious freedom is one of the ANC's main principles.

"No government has the right to prescribe religious observance to citizens of this country," he said.

Lekganyane delivered the closing address, another impassioned plea for an end to violence, before the masses started their homeward trek that will continue until today.

Political analyst Alf Stadler, commenting on the three leaders' speeches yesterday, said they are all "flirting" for votes among the ZCC, whose membership is larger than any political party.

Stadler believes De Klerk might find fertile ground in the movement for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond whites.

The ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while the IFP is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders, he said.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding the ZCC is "important in the new South Africa".

Members of the South African Defence Force stationed at Moria yesterday ordered a helicopter carrying reporters from Radio 702 not to land on the church's premises.

SADF personnel were providing security for the church gathering, and government officials later said the airspace above Moria was closed to private traffic for the day. — Sapa.

Wolpe victim of US bantustan policy

NATAL
MERCURY

20-4-92

CONGRESSMAN Howard Wolpe, implacable foe of apartheid, has been forced out of office at least in part by America's own bantustan policy, otherwise known as the Voting Rights Act.

Because of population shifts detected by the 1990 census, Wolpe's state, Michigan, lost two seats in the House of Representatives and had to be re-delimited in time for this year's elections. Two of the surviving 16 seats were sacrosanct, even though both had suffered significant population hemorrhages over the past decade. These were the state's two black majority districts. A provision of the Voting Rights Act prohibits the elimination or dilution of such constituencies. This increased the amount of surgery that had to be done elsewhere.

In the final plan approved by the courts last month, Wolpe found his district had been hacked around beyond all recognition.

Although it had always been heavily Republican, the left-of-centre Democrat had survived through energetic constituent service. Now he would be forced to present himself to an even heavier concentration of Republicans.

He looked at his chances and promptly announced his retirement.

He has not chosen to blame the Voting Rights Act for his demise. It is, after all, one of the great pillars of American civil

rights law. The irony is that were the South African Government to propose legislation similar to the Act as it now stands and is interpreted, Wolpe would undoubtedly be among the first criticise the Government for attempting to entrench racial privilege.

Not that the Government would actually be doing anything of the kind. To the contrary, as we shall see, it would be marginalising the white minority and securing its political impotence. Indeed, if anyone in South Africa were to see merit in American practice, it might logically be the more absolutist elements of the ANC and PAC.

The Voting Rights Act began life in 1965 as a genuinely heroic attempt to stop southern racists blocking black access to the polls by means of discriminatory tests and other chicanery.

Its key clause read: "No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the US to vote on account of race or colour."

It also contained three "emergency" provisions that were to lapse after five years unless renewed. The first outlawed literacy tests and like devices in jurisdictions where they had been used and voter turnout had been less than 50% in 1964 — in other words, the South.

The second mandated that all elections in those jurisdictions be overseen by federal examiners. The third required that all offending — "covered" — state and local governments submit any changes in their voting procedures to Washington for "pre-clearance" by the Justice Department.

In 1970, when the Act came up for renewal, the Nixon Administration at first moved to roll back the level of federal intervention in the South, hoping thereby to increase Republican support in what was then a traditional Democratic Party stronghold. When this would not fly in Congress, Nixon sought to remove the special stigma the law attached to the region by broadening its scope to the entire country.

In addition, the literacy test-low turnout standard was applied to the 1968 elections, with the result that a number of non-southern jurisdictions — including New York city and parts of California — suddenly found themselves "covered" as well.

The reach of the Act was broadened again in 1975. In spite of little evidence that Hispanics were being systematically disfranchised, amendments were adopted extending legal protections to Hispanic and other "language" minorities. At the same time, "coverage" and "pre-clearance" continued. What had started out as a short-term expedient to

deal with a set of specific and odious practices was becoming ever more firmly entrenched.

However, it was not only the number of "protected" groups and "covered" jurisdictions that was growing. Also expanding were the definitions of voting rights and their abridgement — and with them the grounds on which electoral practices could be challenged in the courts or by the Justice Department.

In 1980, the Supreme Court seemed to set a limit. It ruled that a plaintiff must prove discriminatory intent — in other words that the authors of a challenged system had at some point deliberately instituted procedures or delimited election districts in the conscious hope of diluting minority voting power. This was effectively overridden when Congress renewed and further amended the Act in 1982. The test, the lawmakers decided, should not be intent, but result.

In determining whether the Act had been violated the courts and the Justice Department were to consider "the extent to which members of a protected class have been elected into office in the State or political sub-division" under examination. Recognising the implications, Congress added the proviso "that nothing in this section establishes a right to have members of a protected class elected in numbers equal to their proportion in the population".

Unfortunately, these were weasel words inserted to mollify critics and forestall constitutional scrutiny. Proportional representation, which the Supreme Court has consistently held cannot be a constitutional standard for electoral systems, may not have been the intent, but it was certainly the effect.

The Justice Department, armed with its pre-clearance powers, and the courts have construed Congress's will as meaning that the aspiration, if not result, of any delimitation plan — whether it be for the election of Congressmen, city councillors, local judges or county commissioners — must be the return of a racially proportionate number of office-holders.

The only way the political mapmakers can meet this requirement, the Justice Department has ruled, is by creating "safe legislative seats corresponding to a minority's share of the population". A "safe seat" is defined by the Department as "one with 65% minority voters and with no strong white candidate".

The reason for defining a minority-majority at 65% rather than 51% is based on a stereotype of low minority registration and turnout.

One result is that a lot of voting maps, already distorted by good, old-fashioned, partisan gerrymandering, have come to resemble a cross between Ror-

schach tests and Bophuthatswana. In fact, the only topological difference between some minority-majority districts and the homeland is that the districts have somehow to be encompassed by one boundary. The results can be seen in North Carolina whose 1st Congressional District comprises two mangled squid at opposite ends of the state connected by a sort of Berlin corridor.

Bad art is not the only problem, however. Hived off into their own little bantustans, minority voters become irrelevant to majority politicians to whom

they may neither grant nor deny their vote. To be sure, they may have more representatives of their own ethnic background at the state house or in Congress, but more is still a minority — and, worse, a minority amid a majority whose only obligation is to a majority electorate.

Conservative Republicans, who do not expect to get many minority votes at the best of times, are entirely happy with the way the Act is being implemented, especially when it means that opponents like Howard Wolpe lose their seats.

Happy too are the elite civil rights groups whose leaders benefit from the safe seat quota. As for ordinary black, Hispanic and other minority voters, they as usual haven't been given much of a choice.

They have been placed in their little boxes, out of sight and out of mind.

Cyril Ramaphosa is proof that nice guys can come first. As a union leader he set South Africa on the road to freedom. As ANC Secretary-General can he now make it to the very top?

Cyril, the likeable liberator

AS NELSON Mandela made the tragic announcement last week of the break-up of his marriage eyes would have flicked nervously away from the sight of him battling to hold back his tears to scan the ANC conference room for a successor. Because if, as is generally reckoned, the collapse of a marriage is one of life's more ageing experiences, there cannot be much time left, at least in terms of an active political life, for an ANC president taking this sort of strain at the age of 73. After flicking over the likes of his deputy, Walter Sisulu (aged 80) and chairman Oliver Tambo (75 and recovering from a stroke) the eyes would inevitably settle with a certain relief on the handsome and dapper figure of Cyril Ramaphosa.

A few months ago one might have added the adjective "slim", but the burdens of office have weighed heavily on Cyril since his election last year as Secretary-General of the ANC. Standing five feet 10 inches tall, the 90 kilograms he carries have become something of a problem for him.

But for all that he remains the Cyril we always knew so well. One might refer to him as "Comrade Cyril" for the sake of formality, but always it is Cyril — a mark of the affection in which he is held. Occasionally the likes of the Daily Telegraph try to mythologise him with labels like the "Black Prince", but the name does not quite fit — although that is not to detract from the man's fighting qualities.

Cyril in fact is the sort of man who would appeal to Telegraph readers, in much the same way as he has always been liked by at least the more sophisticated of his long-standing opponents in the Chamber of Mines — the umbrella body representing the country's mining houses. Recently he was to be seen (at least by those with access to such privileged facilities) on the Sabi escarpment in the Eastern Transvaal, fly-fishing comfortably with the head of the Anglo American Corporation's Gold and Uranium Division, Clem Sunter.

He sometimes confides that fishing is a fantasy he has nursed — along with a passion for powerful cars — since childhood, although in Soweto there was little opportunity — its single river, the Klip, was usually dry.

Cyril was born in 1952, the son of a policeman — an irony in the light of his subsequent

career. More appropriately he was the grandson of a miner who lived in what is now known as the "Independent" homeland of Venda, far away in the Northern Transvaal. His grandfather would spend six months of every year working at the "big hole" — the giant diamond mine — in Kimberley; three more months walking there and another three months walking home again.

His father retired from the police force prematurely. That was in 1976, after Cyril had been held for six months at John Vorster Square police station in the aftermath of the June 16 uprising. On his release the children ganged up on the old man, Samuel, persuading him that it was time the family ended any identification with the forces of the State.

It was not Cyril's first involvement in politics, or experience of a prison cell. Two years earlier, while studying for a law degree at the "bush" University of the North, he had been chairman of the South African Student's Organisation (SASO) and the Student Christian Movement. After arranging a pro-Frelimo rally on the campus, he was held at Pretoria Central Prison for 11 months under the Terrorism Act.

On his release he threw himself into the activities of the Black People's Convention. The early involvement in the black consciousness movement — as opposed to the multi-racial "congress" tradition represented by the ANC — was largely due to the fact that they were the only political groupings effectively organising among blacks at the time.

THE VISIONARY Steve Biko was the leader and Cyril idolised him. At the time of his murder Biko was said to have been moving towards a rapprochement with the exiled liberation movements. It was a line which Cyril eventually followed, although it was not until 1986 that he was to join the ANC underground.

In the meantime he had completed his degree by correspondence with the University of South Africa and joined the legal department of the Council of Unions of South Africa — a labour federation allied with the Black People's Convention — in 1981. The following year CUSA launched the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) and at the age of 30 Cyril suddenly found himself on the road to power as general secretary.

Initially, at least, white South

The Baudia
Cordon



Bank robbery, murder bid 20-4-92

14 years' jail for Mwasa, PAC man

By Deborah Fine

THE general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), Sithembale Khala (35), was sentenced on Thursday in the Rand Supreme Court to an effective 14 years' imprisonment for robbing a Johannesburg bank and attempting to murder a policeman.

"Had it not been for this offence, you would have been regarded as a man to be admired, an example to the young. I am sorry to see you standing where you are, and I am deeply disappointed by a person with such great potential throwing away his career in the manner you did," Mr Justice L le Grange told Khala before passing sentence.

Mr Justice le Grange found Khala — who is also a prominent Sharpeville Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member — guilty of robbing the Fox Street Branch of Nedbank, together with several accomplices, on March 28 1990, and

accordingly sentenced him to 14 years' imprisonment.

The judge also found Khala guilty, by common purpose, of attempting to murder Constable Theodore Piro, of the John Vorster Square Robbery Reaction Unit, in a gun battle after the robbery, and sentenced him to five years' imprisonment, to run concurrently with the robbery sentence.

Khala, who was wounded in the abdomen and leg during the gun battle, was acquitted on two charges of robbery with aggravating circumstances, two counts of attempted murder and charges of illegally pos-

sessing a firearm and ammunition.

"The interest you show in various social and political organisations shows that you may be a man of ideals, and that you practise, possibly, altruism," said the judge.

"You had great potential as long as you stuck to the honest and honourable road. I really don't know why you did what you did. I don't know what moved you to rob a bank."

Although Mr Justice le Grange found Khala to be a "composed" witness, he said the trade unionist's evidence contained many contradictions and inconsistencies.

Bizarre

He rejected as "strange and bizarre" Khala's testimony that he had been abducted by a group of armed robbers from the basement of the Johannesburg Sun Hotel and forced at gunpoint to drive the getaway vehicle.

He said it was unlikely that robbers who had clearly planned a crime with detailed attention to every aspect of it would force a stranger to drive their getaway vehicle, knowing they could not depend on his loyalty and that he could "sabotage the whole expedition if he got the opportunity".

"Would an intelligent band of robbers have chosen a busy parking area for a kidnapping expedition?"

Mr Justice Le Grange said the manner in which Khala had driven after the robbery and the "tortuous route" he had taken were more consistent with

a driver who had voluntarily taken part in the robbery.

The judge said that while he had taken Khala's "prominent status in society" into account, as well as the fact that the trade unionist was still undergoing medical treatment as a result of the gunshot wounds, he had no choice but to impose "a stiff sentence".

He said there was a "disturbing prevalence of armed robberies in Johannesburg", and that the court "must not do anything to let the public gain the idea that robbery is a profitable occupation and not a serious crime".

"It is a terrible crime to commit, and there will be a public outcry if I don't impose a sentence that fits the crime. But I shall temper my judgment with mercy."

Mr Justice Le Grange gave Khala leave to appeal against the conviction and the sentence, and granted him bail of R30 000 pending leave to appeal.

Mr B Sheer represented the State and Mr A J Bam appeared for Khala.

Boesak break-up reports: Allan silent

CAPE TOWN. — Dr Allan Boesak is still lying low following reports last week of the break-up of his 14-month marriage to SABC journalist, Elna.

Dr Boesak's former wife of 21 years, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, could not be reached for comment yesterday about a suggestion in a Sunday newspaper that she and Dr Boesak are to re-marry.

Elna flew to relatives in Pretoria last week, as the

news of the break-up of her marriage made headlines.

She is reportedly devastated after a telephone call from Dr Boesak during a recent visit to Canada, when he told her he wanted a divorce.

Elna spent the Easter weekend celebrating the fifth birthday of her son, John, at the Pretoria home of her sister, Mrs Kobie Lingender.

Citizen 20-4-92

LEADERS IN NEW CALL FOR PEACE

MORIA. — South Africa's three main political leaders called for peace and an end to violence when they addressed a vast multitude of Black Christians at Moria in the Northern Transvaal yesterday.

State President De Klerk, African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been invited to address the annual Zion Christian Church gathering by the ZCC's leader, Bishop Barnabas Lakganyane.

Mr De Klerk was accompanied by his wife, Marike, and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, to the dustbowl church headquarters in the mountains outside Pietersburg.

Mr De Klerk, speaking

last, said South Africans should clasp hands and work for peace as never before.

"Speeches and peace accords alone cannot make peace happen, there where violence rules at the moment.

"No, we will have to work for it, plan for it, live it," Mr De Klerk said.

He warned that there were cunning and violent forces at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding.

"Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace.

"They want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it. They use the tools of violence and intimidation when it suits them," said Mr De Klerk.

Mr Buthelezi, speaking last, said the IFP would dedicate itself to work against violence and to bring peace to the country.

"On no single occasion have I ever sat down, either by myself or in the company of IFP leaders, even contemplate the use of violence," he said.

He added he had never made any decision to use violence for political purposes.

"I know of no IFP meeting being held anywhere,

at any time, that has planned the use of violence or made decisions to use violence.

"Violence is hideous. It is wrong. It must stop."

Mr Mandela criticised

the government's past failures to accept the ANC's hand of friendship during the ANC's search for peace.

He was concerned by the ongoing violence by

faceless killers.

"Violence, that is wrecking our country and tearing communities apart, is a scourge that must be ended now.

— Sapa.

Four IFP members murdered, two wounded

FOUR members of the Inkhatha Freedom Party were murdered and two other IFP supporters injured in four separate attacks in the Transvaal and Natal since last Sunday, the IFP claimed yesterday.

The wife of one of the murder victims died, presumably of a heart attack, as she saw her husband gunned down.

IFP spokeswoman Suzanne Vos told Sapa IFP Youth Brigade chairman Mr Chris Ngwenya was shot and killed in Wesseltown near Ermelo in the

south-eastern Transvaal on Sunday.

He was murdered in a street near his home by unknown assailants, and his wife who was with him at the time collapsed and died, possibly of a heart attack.

Another woman who was with the Ngwenya couple was also shot. She is being treated in the Ermelo hospital. Her name is not yet known.

Ms Vos said Mr Mgwenya appeared before the

Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Pretoria last Thursday. He gave evidence on the alleged activities of the Black Cat gang.

Later on Sunday another IFP member, Mrs Christina Khabe, was attacked and killed at her home in Wesseltown.

On Monday IFP member Mrs Makhozana Letshuli was shot dead by an unidentified gang at the Sonkoba reserve in Ndedwe, near Verulam. Her 15-year-old daughter

was injured in the attack.

On Tuesday night another IFP branch chairman, Mr Tobias Madlose, of Nyaninga, near Pietermaritzburg, and his daughter were at his home.

"This brings the number of IFP office bearers and supporters who have been assassinated these past four years to at least 200," Ms Vos said.

Police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said Mr Mdallase and his 21-year-old daughter Thembisile were killed when their homestead was attacked by gunmen.

A KwaZulu Police special constable who was guarding Mr Mdallase's home was injured in the 10 pm attack.

Capt Budhram said weapons used in the incident included 9 mm pistols, R-1 rifles, shotguns and petrol bombs.

Police have arrested one person in connection with the killings.

In a separate incident on Tuesday, a road worker was killed at Imbali's Stage Two when he was shot by unidentified gunmen.

Four men approached the worker and asked for a cigarette. They then opened fire, killing him instantly.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet yesterday called on the Goldstone Commission of Enquiry to intervene, and urgently probe the systematic and relentless campaign to assassinate IFP leadership.

Since last Sunday four members of the IFP have been murdered and two other IFP supporters injured in four separate attacks in the Transvaal and Natal.

Mr Tillet said that it was clear that Mr Mdallase was murdered solely for his political affiliation.
— Sapa.

Guilty of murdering farmer's wife (71)

Citizen Reporter

ONE of three men charged with the double murder of an elderly couple on their Fochville farm last year, was convicted yesterday of the murder of one of the victims, the 71-year-old Mrs Maria Martina Olivier.

James Mokoena (27), of Evaton, Sebokeng, was found not guilty of the

Mrs Olivier was found to have suffocated after a rag was rammed down her throat as a gag, held in place with a necktie.

In convicting Mokoena of her murder, Mr Justice M J Strydom, said Mokoena had, on his own version, participated in events leading to Mrs Olivier's death.

The implicit danger of

cause, after Mr Olivier was attacked and killed by one of the accused, Mokoena and Tshabalala went ahead with their planned robbery, which indicated that they were reconciled to the fact of Mr Olivier's death.

However, the judge said Mokoena and Tshabalala had to be acquitted of the murder of Mr Olivier.

Witzen w-4-92

Peace in the dusty valley

MORIA. — South Africa's three most important political leaders yesterday had the unusual experience of seeing a million people gathering peacefully in one hot, dusty valley.

Moria Zion City outside Pietersburg was abuzz at the weekend with its Easter weekend celebrations, and helicopters dipped in and out to convey the main speakers and other VIPs, including two homeland leaders.

Hundreds of thousands of people sat on the slopes of the natural amphitheatre to listen to speeches amplified by stacks of loudspeakers.

Traffic officers brought in a convoy of almost 100 journalists covering the event. For many it was a first experience of Moria at Easter, seeing how a vast number of people camping in the open cope.

At the entrance to the grounds, vendors sell everything from sugar cane to programmes for the meeting.

The only thing missing

as far as reporters were concerned were telephone lines. ZCC officials denied reporters access to the few telephones on the premises, and journalists and photographers had to rush off as early as possible to file their stories and get their photographs developed.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela evoked cheers when he waved to the crowd from the stage, and he was soon joined by the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr De Klerk arrived in a Defence Force helicopter, accompanied by his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Mr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela exchanged pleasantries on the stage, but the three leaders and their parties sat separated by empty chairs, not exactly a picture of a brotherly commitment to a peaceful alliance.

Mr De Klerk spoke about unnamed "cunning and violent forces", while Mr Mandela criticised the

government's past misdeeds.

Their speeches contained nothing surprising, and reports of the day could easily have been written in advance.

As many as 10 percent of the country's future voters could have been in the crowd, but it is unlikely anyone left with altered perceptions.

The ZCC is a conservative church. Mr Mandela lauded the church's role in trade unionism, and said many ANC members were ZCC followers.

The ZCC propagates an Africanised version of Christianity, forbidding the use of alcohol or cigarettes and sanctioning polygamy.

The uniformed masses on Sunday sat separated by gender during the speeches.

After spending three days in the sun with the most modest of facilities, they warmly greeted the White journalists who had come to see how they practise their religion.

Soon, they will all have a vote in their pockets. Judging by yesterday, they will be votes for moderation. — Sapa.

8 shot dead in Sharpeville

By Sapa and Kevin Flynn

SHARPEVILLE. — The African National Congress is to seek an urgent meeting with Minister of Police Mr Hernus Kriel, to discuss the murder of eight alleged ANC members who were gunned down in their

home in Sharpeville near Vereeniging early yesterday.

According to witnesses, five armed men arrived in a Mazda car and entered the home of the Lefhiedi family at 2.45 am after shooting out the windows.

Seven of the eight who were killed, including a six-year-old child, were

related. Residents and family said they were well-known ANC members.

There was one survivor, a 19-year-old woman relative, who was slightly wounded, police said.

Local ANC chairman Mr Siza Rani, said, according to the survivor,

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8 shot dead in Sharpeville

FROM PAGE 1

the attackers claimed they were from the KwaMada-la Hostel in Vanderbijlpark, a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC would not, however, blame any organisation or persons for the attack until investigations had been completed.

At least one AK-47 rifle and a number of handguns were used in the killing, according to police.

As many as four more people, including two members of the ANC Youth League, were killed in separate incidents in Sharpeville and nearby Evaton overnight.

The latest killings brought the Easter toll of weekend violence to more than 20 by last night.

Mrs Winnie Mandela led a delegation to the

scene of the mass murder in Sharpeville yesterday. She is a member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as an executive of the ANC's Women's League and of the ANC's PWV region.

A crowd of about 300, mainly youths, greeted her warmly on her arrival at midday.

Mrs Mandela was taken inside the house, and shown the bedroom where all eight the victims had been gunned down.

She spoke to friends and relatives, while women mourners from a local church sang and addressed the packed house.

"Please do not take the law into your hands," Mrs Mandela later urged the crowd outside the Lefhiedi home.

"Your leaders will attend to this matter. We are going to be with you right through this ordeal."

Local ANC leaders insisted the police had been told on a number of occasions in the past months about threats against the Lefhiedi family.

The assistant general secretary of the ANC in the PWV region, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, said the ANC would seek a meeting with Mr Kriel and make submissions to the Goldstone Commission on violence.

When the police left the Lefhiedi home at 7.40 am yesterday they were stoned by a mob which had collected outside, police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said.

The police vehicle was damaged, but there were no injuries.

In a separate incident, the ANC said the charred bodies of two of its Evaton Youth League mem-

bers, who were allegedly kidnapped on Friday, were found there yesterday.

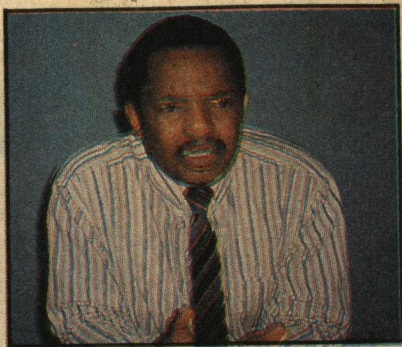
Also in Evaton, a gang broke into a house and ordered the occupants to lie down while they ransacked it. A shot was fired and a 29-year-old man, Mr Johannes Sam, was killed, Capt van Deventer said.

In Sharpeville, the body of David Thinane was found on a street yesterday morning. He had bullet wounds in his back and head.

In another incident, the body of an unidentified Black man was found in Sebokeng near Vereeniging at about 7.30 am on Saturday. Capt Van Deventer said the man had been shot in the head with an AK 47 rifle.

He added that Sharpeville was tense but quiet later yesterday.

Torture allegations surface again to torment the ANC



PATRICK "Terror" Lekota.

PAT Hlongwane claims to have once been a prisoner of the African National Congress, jailed for five years because he was suspected of being a spy for the South African government.

Mr Hlongwane said he left South Africa in 1986 to clarify with the ANC accusations that he was a State spy. At the time he was national organiser for the Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation.

He said the ANC responded brutally, refusing to believe that he was not a State agent, imprisoning him in Angola and Uganda and torturing him.

Mr Hlongwane now heads the Returned Exiles Committee and is pressing for an invitation to present the case of his members to Codesa. His demands have been supported by the German International Society for Human Rights and the Inkatha Freedom Party Sandton chairman, Dr Ed Bernard.

Pat Hlongwane says hundreds of former ANC prisoners are now at the mercy of the organisation and that an investigation into their claims is vital to expose the ANC.

In his affidavit he said that the ANC has destroyed him politically, physically and emotionally and that he wants the organisation to pay for the five years he has been behind bars.

In August last year, Mr Hlongwane and 31 other ANC prisoners returned to South Africa where they detailed their lives in detention in the prison camps of the ANC.

Not long after their return, senior ANC members met the group, all labelled State security spies, and a veil of silence was dropped on the issue.

The ANC has since appointed a commission of inquiry, headed by an advocate, Louis Skweyiya, to investigate the allegations and hear evidence from the returned exiles.

LIKE a ghost that will not be put to rest, allegations that the African National Congress tortured its prisoners in its prison camps continue to resurface to haunt it. A group of former members of the ANC, who call themselves the Returned Exiles Committee, is now demanding that Codesa investigates their grievances. Daily News Political Reporter **VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU** investigates

The committee also includes prominent mediator Charles Nupen and a senior member of the ANC legal department, Miss Brigitte Mabandla.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has confirmed that certain members of the organisation were guilty of committing crimes against its political prisoners in exile and has given an assurance that the ANC will co-operate fully in the investigation.

However, the exiles' committee insists that the ANC is trying to sweep the issue under the carpet.

Mr Hlongwane said the commission

set up by the ANC was insufficient, that an independent inquiry would avoid a situation where the ANC hides the findings of its commission.

A senior national executive member of the ANC, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, disputes this.

Mr Lekota said the ANC has never hidden the fact that it did have prisoners in exile.

"It has also been said by Nelson Mandela that sometimes these prisoners were treated harshly. But it is not true that the ANC is sweeping this under the carpet.

"The allegations are being fully investigated and I am sure that the national executive committee will find it necessary to make public the findings of the Commission of Inquiry."

Mr Lekota added that those former prisoners who are levelling the accusations against the ANC had notorious records as State spies. Also much of their information was suspect.

Mr Hlongwane and members of the Returned Exiles' Committee have been using a newsletter published by the Aida Parker Foundation carrying pictures and information about former Umkhonto we Sizwe and ANC members allegedly killed or assaulted by the ANC, to emphasise their claims.

Mr Lekota said that many of those named in the newsletter were alive and in South Africa.

Others, he said, were abroad studying under the auspices of the ANC.

"It must be understood though that some of our cadres did die in exile. They fought the liberation wars in Angola and Mozambique and some lives were lost. But it is not true that the ANC deliberately killed its cadres. A large number of our cadres died at the hands of the South African Government in raids on our camps."

The exiles' committee says the ANC is so determined to avoid the ugly truth of its prison camps being revealed that they are refusing access to these camps to the International Red Cross.

Exile Marc Henzelin said last month that while the ANC has invited them to investigate the allegations, access to the camps have been denied.

In reply, Mr Lekota said it was up to the countries concerned to determine access to the camps by outsiders.

The commission on inquiry began its sittings in Johannesburg on March 25.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has given an assurance that the findings of the commission will be made public.

8 die as gunmen attack Sharpeville home

By Brian Sokutu

Easter turned tragic yesterday for the Lefhiedi family when unknown gunmen shot dead eight people, including a child and a family friend, at their home in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging.

Elias Lefhiedi (46), his wife Johanna (41), son Wes-sie (15), daughter Jostine (19), Mr Lefhiedi's sisters-in-law Manoi Makhaketsa (41) and Musetsi Moisi (15), Selinah Thakgudi, and a friend, Japhta Vilaka (19), were butchered by five men armed with AK-47s, according to ANC branch chairman Siza Rani.

He said the men drove a Mazda 323.

The killings took place at about 2.45 am.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said police had no evidence that the killings were politically motivated.

Addressing a press conference with ANC leaders at the Lefhiedi home, Mr Rani said the men broke the kitchen window, fired several

shots, waited to see if there was any retaliation, and then burst into the kitchen.

Mr Rani said: "Three men went to the main bedroom, while others remained in the kitchen. They demanded arms and money which the family did not have, threatening to kill everyone.

"They then shoved them into the children's bedroom, raped one of the women before beginning to shoot. And when one of the killers ran out of bullets, he went outside to refill the magazine."

He said the survivors of the attack, one of whom police said was wounded in the arm, were missing.

A heartbroken Albinas Lefhiedi, Elias' brother, said he felt "terrible" because they had buried his brother's son, Rangoane (26), only three months ago. An Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, he died in what police said was a shootout with terrorists.

"I was shocked when I arrived at the house at about 4 am after being telephoned by Father David Dinkebogile of the Anglican Church. In

the children's bedroom I found my brother and bodies of six other people, sprayed with bullets. We found another body in the lounge," said Mr Lefhiedi.

Also speaking at the press conference, ANC NEC member Winnie Mandela, launched a scathing attack on the police and the Government for "failing to act" although the ANC had "reported the family's harassment earlier to local police".

She said the attack was "a well-orchestrated pattern" aimed at weakening the ANC, and was committed by "those who do not want to see peace".

"These killings must stop. That religious meeting addressed by leaders in Moria is meaningless if the Government continues to kill people," she said.

The township killings, she said, could affect the negotiation process.

ANC PWV region deputy chairman Bavumile Vilakazi, said his organisation would soon meet Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel over the Sharpeville shooting.

Captain Deventer said that a group of between four and five gunmen entered house 8 023 in the township early yesterday.

They ordered all nine occupants — four men and five women — to lie down on the floor in one room and then started shooting at them with an AK-47 and possibly also with handguns.

Captain van Deventer said he had no knowledge of the alleged intimidation of the family.

Sapa reports that when



Distraught . . . Albinas Lefhiedi (left) tells ANC leaders Floyd Mashele and Winnie Mandela how his brother and his family were killed. Picture: Karen Fletcher

the police left the Lefhiedi home yesterday they were stoned by a mob.

The ANC said the charred bodies of two of

its Evaton Youth League members, who were allegedly kidnapped on Friday, were found there yesterday.

Four more people, including the two members of the ANC Youth League, were killed in separate incidents in Sharpeville and Evaton overnight.

The killings brought the toll of Easter weekend violence to more than 20 by last night.

● In other unrest incidents in the Vaal Triangle yesterday, the body of David Thinané (28) of Sharpeville, was found.

The bodies of two unidentified necklaced men were found at Saturday night next to the Cardoville road, near De Deur.

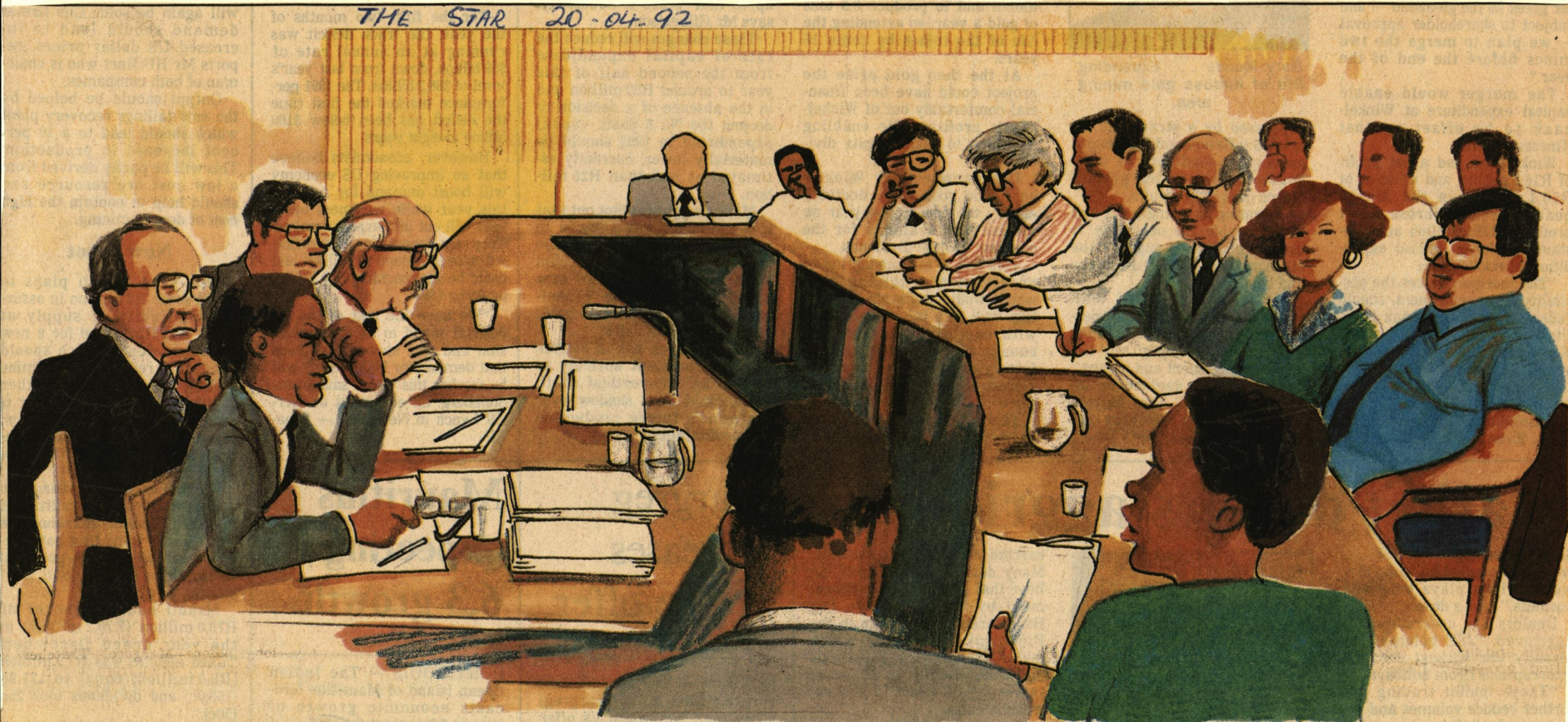
A body was found in the veld near Kwaggastroom Station in Sebokeng on Saturday.

the Star

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Seeking the truth . . . the Goldstone committee of inquiry sitting in Pretoria (from left) Seun Mashidi, Judge Richard Goldstone, Gert Steyn (shirt-sleeves) and Niel Rossouw. (Foreground) interpreter Simon Skosana, witness Alfred Masango. (Right) David Soggot, SC (striped shirt), and other members of various legal teams.

Illustration: Nicky Taylor

On the road to ruin

THE STAR 20.04.92

Hazard lights are flashing after reports on the poor state of South African roads. PAULA FRAY reports that the local industry is calling for the reinstatement of the dedicated road fund.

EARLY THIS year, Transvaal administrator Danie Hough said the alarming damage done to the country's road network would render it totally unusable within five to 10 years.

He was not alone.

Last year Southern African Bitumen and Tar Association (Sabita) executive director Piet Myburgh warned that South Africa's road system, seen as the backbone of the economy, would need about R5,5 billion just to get the network into an acceptable condition.

"Government is preoccupied with social spending and still does not realise that a well-maintained road system is vital to solving these social problems," said Mr Myburgh.

One way provincial administrations intend countering the crisis is by concentrating on cutting down on overloading. The CSIR has calculated that 16 percent of all carriers overloaded their vehicles.

According to Mr Hough, a heavy vehicle with double the legal load causes the same damage as 75 000 cars. Statistics show that overloaded heavy

vehicles accounted for 58 percent of maintainence. Eliminating overloading would save Transvaal taxpayers up to R63 million a year, he said.

According to SA Roads Federation president Mike Withers, South Africa's roads are reaching such a state of disrepair that they will either have to be completely rebuilt or downgraded to Third World gravel standards.

"It is clear that only the reinstatement of dedicated road funds can stave off a very serious situation that will affect every individual as transport costs rise and as cars are damaged," said Mr Withers.

"Under the current arrangement, whereby ad hoc allocations are made, it is impossible to properly plan the conservation of roads.

"The time is rapidly approaching when the less costly restorative options of maintainence will fall away and the only

ones left will be complete reconstruction or downgrading to gravel."

Provincial administrators last week released figures which back up the concern expressed in the industry.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is closing all but four of its road construction units because of lack of funds. Simultaneously, a number of additional traffic officers' posts have been approved, subject to the availability of funds, according to the TPA's MEC for roads, Ahmed Arbee.

During a debate on the Transvaal budget, Mr Arbee said the extra officers should help reduce the high accident rate and combat vehicle overloading — responsible for more than half the damage to roads. Increased traffic fines, announced in February, should also help reduce the accident rate.

Natal's MEC Peter Miller said insufficient funds for main-

tenance, let alone improvement, had led to a crisis in Natal's road network.

Mr Miller said the funding decline of the past few years would continue and virtually all road maintenance would cease in the next few years. Most of Natal's major roads were constructed in the '60s and '70s and now need urgent repair.

In the Cape four major tenders for repairing main roads, worth R26,08 million, have been cancelled, and repairs have been limited to resealing road surfaces to extend serviceability for another five years. About 65 percent of the 17 000 km tarred roads in the province are more than 15 years old.

At the current rate of repairs of about 100 km a year, it should take 60 years to fix roads built more than 25 years ago.

These revelations emerged as South Africa's role in the transport industry in southern Africa came under international focus

at a National African Federated Transport Organisation (Nafto) conference in Johannesburg.

This, Nafto's third annual general meeting, entitled "Opportunities and Challenges facing the new South Africa: The Role of Transport in Economic Empowerment", focused on the mobility needs of people in post apartheid South Africa.

Eastern and Southern African States Preferential Trade Area secretary general Bingu Wa Mutharikasaid, in a statement read on his behalf, said it was a recognised fact that transport and the communications sector was one area which ideally lent itself to regional integration — "not only because it transcends all national boundaries, but also because profitability and optimal use of transport can only be achieved within a wider market of co-operation".

He outlined the following possible areas of co-operation be-

tween PTA member states and South Africa:

- The harmonisation of road freight rates and axle load standards; harmonisation of railway tariffs, free movement of wagons and rolling stock across national boundaries and co-operation in the rehabilitation and/or construction of existing and/or missing railway lines.

- The operation of joint shipping lines.

- Co-operation in all air transport matters.

- Co-operation towards the expansion of telecommunication services and in the transfer of technology and skills.

Eastern and Southern African Management Institute Dr Kasuku Mutukwa of Zambia said the earlier economic performance of sub-Saharan Africa, particularly its transport sector, left much to be desired.

"This has ... been partly caused by apartheid and its destruction of economic and social infrastructure, especially transport networks in the SADCC sub-region," said Dr Mutukwa. □



STAR 20-4-92

Multitudes . . . the ZCC faithful who flocked to Moria at the weekend line the hills to hear their leader's Easter message.

Picture: Alf Khumalo

Mandela crisis body denies any cover-up

Staff Reporter

As fresh doubts were cast this weekend on Winnie Mandela's alibi that she was in Brandfort on the night when several youths were assaulted in her home, the Mandela Crisis Committee (MCC) rejected statements that it had attempted to cover up facts related to the deaths of Stompie Seipei and Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

In a statement, the MCC said it wished to place on record that at no stage was an attempt ever made to "contemplate conniving at any 'covering up' of facts related to the deaths" of Stompie and Dr Asvat.

The Azanian People's Organisation last week called on the members of the MCC to "come out clean" on what they knew about the murders.

In response, the MCC said: "It is regrettable that some organisations have elected to deal with these matters (including the speculation about the role played by the then Mandela Crisis Committee) through the media rather than approaching us directly."

The MCC maintained that the main thrust of its involvement

in the Stompie affair was "to ensure that the young men were not deprived of their liberty".

The committee members said they were not as such "investigating crime" as the matter would correctly be investigated by the police.

"After the young men had left the Mandela home in Diepkloof we saw no role for ourselves. We assumed that the young men would themselves assist the relevant authorities when the investigations were conducted," the committee said.

Lied

The last two weeks have seen a spate of fresh allegations regarding Winnie Mandela's alleged involvement in the assault on Stompie and his group and the murder of Dr Asvat who was health officer of Azapo.

At the centre of the damaging evidence against the fallen "mother of the nation" is Xoliswa Falati, who threatened at the weekend to drop a bombshell "which will drive the final nail into Winnie's coffin".

Falati and another co-accused, John Morgan, have stated recently that they lied in court to protect Winnie Mandela.

Both now maintain she was at her home on the night of the vicious assaults on Stompie and his "comrades" — effectively casting serious doubts on her alibi that she was away at the time.

Statements this weekend by Winnie Mandela's key defence witness have also lent some credence to Falati and Morgan's allegations.

Despite testifying in court that Winnie Mandela was in Brandfort on the night of the assault, Nora Moahloli said this weekend she "could not remember" the day and date on which the ANC's leader's wife had been there.

The Star tried unsuccessfully to reach Falati yesterday to establish what the "bombshell" is she intends disclosing.

Winnie Mandela yesterday continued to do her political work unhindered, despite the growing allegations against her.

She addressed a press conference in Sharpeville after eight people were killed in the area following renewed political violence in the Vaal Triangle township.

On Friday, she led a delegation of the ANC's PWV region to the Power Park squatter camp, outside Orlando in Soweto, after residents had allegedly clashed with police.

PIETERSBURG — F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, speaking to Zion Christian Church members in Moria yesterday, unconditionally committed themselves to doing everything in their power to end violence and to move speedily towards a widely acceptable political settlement.

The three leaders were enthusiastically welcomed by more than a million members of the ZCC at a huge peace rally at the hillside headquarters of the church, 40 km east of Pietersburg.

The rally was the first occasion on which the three have appeared together since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

President de Klerk arrived in a Defence Force helicopter, accompanied by his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

There was a roar of approval when the ANC and Inkatha leaders embraced one another, and when Mr de Klerk joined them in waving to the vast audience which stretched down the hillside as far as the eye could see.

Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela exchanged pleasantries on the stage, but the three leaders and their parties sat separated by empty chairs.

Both Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi referred, during their speeches, to sinister forces they believed were intent on wrecking peace initiatives in South Africa.

"We must realise there are cunning and violent forces at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding. Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace — they want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it", said Mr de Klerk.

"Peace cannot be bought over the counter. It will not happen on its own. We will have to work for it, plan for it, live it," he added.

Real peace was built on the love of which the Bible spoke, and each man and woman could make a contribution by speaking out and convincing others of this truth, Mr de Klerk said.

Dr Buthelezi addressed the audience as "brothers and sisters in Christ". He suggested the first step towards solving the country's problems was for believers to proclaim the greatness of God, and to give Him His rightful place.

The next step was for everyone to confess their sins and seek forgiveness from those who had been wronged. He said he had learned at his mother's knee that prayer really worked, and that was why he was prepared to pray with other believers for peace.

"Violence is not only killing people — it is spreading fear and hatred at the same time. It is as though Satan himself is there next to all those pulling the triggers of AK-47s, pulling the pins out of hand grenades and striking matches to set people alight," Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr Mandela made the most overt effort to win the support of the congregation.

He referred to various similarities between the ANC and the ZCC, saying both stood for freedom, tolerance and democracy.

"I come here today as a pilgrim, like many of you, and bring to your church the greetings of the ANC — peace be with you," he said to loud applause.

He referred to the injustices of the past, and said the establishing of a constituent assembly had now become a top priority in order to bring true democracy to the country.

Mr Mandela reaffirmed his view that all people were created in the image of God, and declared that all South Africans, whether they were Jews, Hindus, Muslims or Christians, had a right to worship God.

He said the bond between the ANC and the ZCC was great when one realised that many leaders of the organisation he led were also members of the ZCC.

"You will remain in our prayers, as we believe we will be in yours," he told Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, leader of the church.

Bishop Lekganyane, who had declared yesterday a day of peace, received the greatest ovation of all when he arrived, leading his impressive brass band.

Members of the South African Defence Force stationed at the ZCC's headquarters at Moria yesterday ordered a helicopter carrying reporters from Radio 702 not to land on church premises.

Government officials later said the airspace above Moria was closed to private traffic for the day.

Five languages (English, Zulu, Northern Sotho, Venda and Damara) were used to cater for the visitors who came from every part of southern Africa.

With the aroma of grilling beef and mutton in the air, and some rousing singing from mass choirs, the gathering had all the ingredients of a true festival of peace, even more so when thousands knelt in the dust and prayed.

Media outraged at Sisulu subpoena

By Brian Sokutu

Media groups are outraged at the issuing of a subpoena against New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and political correspondent Enoch Sithole, forcing the newspaper to reveal its sources alleging police involvement in the western Transvaal taxi feud.

The subpoena, issued by Klerksdorp police, was served on the two journalists under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

It followed New Nation's publication of an article in February which quoted a source claiming that police were biased in the taxi feuding between two taxi organisations — the Itereleng Long Distance Taxi Association and the Jouberton Main Line Express.

Some policemen "became interested parties in the conflict" because they owned taxis, alleged the source in the New Nation report.

Mr Sisulu and Mr Sithole face a jail sentence should they refuse to identify their sources.

"The editor would not have made it available to police because this is not an ordinary crime but political violence," reacted Campaign for Open Media chairman, Raymond Louw.

He called on police to



Subpoenaed ... New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.

withdraw the subpoena.

In its response, the South African Union of Journalists said it was "appalled" at the police action. Said SAUJ general secretary Karen Stander: "The press is once more dragged in, to do the job of policemen."

"We find this move inexplicable when the Section and its use against journalists is currently being reviewed by the Ministry of Justice, and when there have been indications that the Section will be amended," said Ms Stander.

The International Federation of Journalists has commended the refusal by the two journalists to disclose their sources, said the organisation's South African projects co-ordinator Jeanette Minnie. Forcing journalists to disclose sources severely curtailed the free flow of information, she said.

In from the cold — but it's chilly for exiles at home

Many returned exiles are qualified or skilled in various crafts. They are struggling to make ends meet. PEARL MAJOLA found they do not want pity, they want jobs.

SBUSISO Mazibuko was a third-year BA administration degree student at the University of Zululand when he gave up everything and went into exile in 1984. He was 22.

He returned in June with a wife and child; now they are expecting a second one.

By December all the excitement of returning home had subsided. It was time for Mr Mazibuko to face up to the reality that he had a family to feed and no job.

He rented a stall at the Market Theatre flea market. He now sells handicrafts and leather jackets and bags which he imports from Madagascar.

While in exile he worked for Radio Freedom in Madagascar.

"We were getting an allowance and not a salary, so I could not save," he explained.

"When we returned we relied on the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation grant, which was then R700 spread over two months.

"My wife and I saved what we could from the grant to rent the stall and buy the goods. But that was not enough capital to get the business going properly.

"We no longer qualify for the grant and from what we make we must eat, pay rent, clothe ourselves and the child, pay maternity fees for my wife and still buy stock," he said.

According to Mr Mazibuko, banks and other funding institutions have not been helpful.

"The rate of unemployment is high among the exiles despite our skills, because of employer attitudes. They see us as communists and a threat to stability in their companies," he said.

Siza Nxasana is a highly qualified and experienced welder, trained in East Germany.

Since he returned last year, he has looked for work in vain and, as his grant approaches an end, his only hope is the loan he might get from the NCCR to start a business of his own.

He is married to another returned exile and they have a seven-year-old daughter.

"The NCCR grant is too little for me to look after my family and my mother, whose pension was suddenly stopped for no reason last September."

"Now I am proposing a project for a small welding business which will help me make a living. Otherwise my family is going to starve."

"As soon as I returned, I looked for work. It has been a problem because I have a certificate from a college in the German Democratic Republic and I was using a different name then. To change that I have to send it back to Germany. The biggest problem is that the country is now the Republic of Germany," he said.

Tshidi Majela has been luckier. After 16 years in exile, he has an impressive curriculum vitae, speaks more than 12 languages and found a job only a month after he returned last year.

Mr Majela is the communications development officer for the Education Opportunities Council.

He was in his matriculation year when he left the country in 1976. A few months later he was sent to a school of diplomacy in Romania.

Mr Majela (37) worked in Cuba in 1978 and served as general secretary of the ANC's youth wing until 1981, when he went to Tanzania to study journalism. He worked for The Chronicle in Zimbabwe for a year.

After graduating he enrolled for a degree in political and public administration in Zimbabwe. He completed an honours degree and achieved an MA in development communication and journalism in the United States.

He worked for the Drug Control Policy in Washington DC, and for Africare. He was also staff assistant to the ANC mission in the United States.

"Through a programme called Career Development Institute, with which I worked while in Washington, I networked with many South African organisations like the EOC.

"I sympathise with fellow comrades who are struggling to get jobs. Some of them are highly qualified and should have no problem finding work if it were not for the attitude of some whites. The majority of them still live in the 'old' South Africa," he said. □

The Star 20/4/92

SADF cold-shoulders army integration talk

By Brendan Seery

As the debate about the future of the SADF heats up, a serving senior German army staff officer will address a conference in Pretoria this week about the lessons learnt from integrating former East German forces into the West German army.

Ironically, though, the people who will be most affected by the integration process here — the senior hierarchy of the SADF — will not be there on Thursday to hear Colonel Klaus Abel talk about how the Germans overcame their problems.

It is understood that the top command of the SADF has issued orders banning its officers from attending the conference, which is being hosted jointly by the local Institute for Defence Politics and the German Hanns Seidel Foundation.

Conference organiser Dr Jakkie Cilliers confirmed he had sent more than 400 invitations to SADF officers, but there had been no positive replies.

The Pretoria conference is expected to be attended by a number of representatives of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and will be addressed by Professor Kadar Asmal, one of the ANC's

top constitutional experts.

One of the other speakers, Professor Deon Poonie of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Unisa, is a brigadier in the SADF's Citizen Force.

The SADF last week refused to send any representatives to a conference in Umtata which dealt with integration of the armed forces, and which was attended by members of MK, as well as cadres from the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The SADF said it had not been given sufficient notice about the conference, but the military attache at the South African embassy in Umtata did attend the debates.

Colonel Abel, who is the Director of Armed Forces Civic Education in the German Ministry of Defence, will be in South Africa with the permission of his own ministry and the German Foreign Ministry.

There is more irony in the fact that, among proposals for a new Code of Conduct for the SADF, much has been drawn from the German Bundeswehr's concept of "citizen in uniform", which was applied in re-orientating East German troops away from their Warsaw Pact doctrines.

The Star 20/4/92

Peace force possible for SA if parties agree — UN

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — The deployment of United Nations peacekeepers in South Africa during a post-apartheid transition would pose few problems for the world body as long as there was general agreement on the project — and the needed cash.

But in expressing that view, Marrack Goulding, head of the UN department dealing with peacekeeping, emphasised that the question had not yet been discussed with him.

He was responding in a televised interview to reports that Nelson Mandela wanted UN "Blue Helmets" dispatched to South Africa.

"He has not been in touch with me, so I am not sure what the request would be," Mr Goulding said.

But he added that "one of the good things about" UN peacekeeping operations was that they were "infinitely flexible".

The only limits were that the parties involved must approve

the deployment of UN troops and that the General Assembly agree on financing.

All of the 13 current UN operations are mired in debt and one of the oldest — the Cyprus force established in 1964 — is to be withdrawn at the end of the year if there are no signs of progress towards a solution of the bitter dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Professing ignorance of Mr Mandela's proposals, Mr Goulding would say only that he assumed the ANC leader sought a UN role in the implementation of a political settlement in South Africa.

"If I say anything more, I am sure I am going to be breaking somebody's eggs," he added cryptically — having already declined to disclose what contingency plans for future peacekeeping his department has under review.

Mr Goulding is a former British ambassador to Angola who knows southern Africa well. He is one of only a few under secretaries-general to have survived a recent restructuring of the secretariat by the new UN Chief, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The Star 20/4/92

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Staff Reporter

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① The Star 20/4/92

Sinister forces are at work, huge crowd at Moria warned

Big 3 in strong peace plea

By Dirk Nel
and Sapa

PIETERSBURG — F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, speaking to Zion Christian Church members in Moria yesterday, unconditionally committed themselves to doing everything in their power to end violence and to moving speedily towards a widely acceptable political settlement.

ZCC leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane also made an impassioned plea for an end to violence, which he blamed on political leaders and their supporters.

"If angels could descend at this juncture and record statistics, everybody would discern the fact that carnage, riots and instability in South Africa are caused by the leaders, as well as their followers allowing their emotions to control them instead of them controlling their emotions," Bishop Lekganyane said.

President de Klerk, and the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders were enthusiastically welcomed by a crowd estimated at more than a million members of the ZCC at a huge peace rally at the hillside headquarters of the church, 40 km east of Pietersburg.

The rally was the first occasion on which the three have appeared together since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

Mr de Klerk arrived in a Defence Force helicopter, accompanied by his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister P W Botha.

There was a roar of approval when Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi embraced one another, and when Mr de Klerk joined them in waving to the vast audience which stretched down the hillside as far as the eye could see.

Both Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi referred, during their speeches, to sinister forces they believed were intent on wrecking peace initiatives.

"We must realise there are cunning and violent forces at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding. Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace — they want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it", said Mr de Klerk.

Real peace was built on the love of which the Bible spoke, and each man and woman could make a contribution by speaking out and convincing others of this truth.

Dr Buthelezi addressed the audience as "brothers and sisters in Christ". He suggested the first step towards solving the country's problems was for believers to proclaim the greatness of God, and to give Him His rightful place.

The next step was for everyone to confess their sins and seek forgiveness from those who had been wronged. He said he had learned at his mother's knee that prayer really worked, and that was why he was prepared to pray with other believers for peace.

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He referred to various similarities between the ANC and the ZCC, saying both stood for freedom, tolerance and democracy.

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The Star 20/4/92

Big 3 in peace plea

● From Page 1

pilgrim, like many of you, and bring to your church the greetings of the ANC — peace be with you," he said to loud applause.

He referred to the injustices of the past, and said the establishing of a constituent assembly had now become a top priority in order to bring about true democracy.

He said the bond between the ANC and the ZCC was great when one realised that many leaders of the organisation he led were also members of the ZCC.

Bishop Lekganyane received the greatest ovation of all. Speaking immediately after the three political leaders, he said the church had invited them and "others who failed to attend" to help stem the violence.

"Our mobilisation is a call to fight against, and to stop the spilling of blood and tormentation, and also to pray for peace."

Bishop Lekganyane, who rarely comments on political issues, told the three leaders: "We have invited you here today to join in prayer and pray for you that when you address (supporters), God may penetrate their hearts so that they show respect and obedience which enhance discipline which is one of the ways to end carnage."

Members of the SADF yesterday ordered a helicopter carrying Radio 702 reporters not to land on church premises.

Government officials said the air space above Moria was closed to private traffic for the day.

The Citizen 20/4/92

Man wounded, 2 held by police in Soweto

Citizen Reporter

A MAN was seriously injured and two were arrested in isolated unrest-related incidents in Soweto yesterday.

Soweto police liaison officer, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, said an 18-year-old man was seriously injured when a group of unknown gunmen opened fire on him, hitting him in the chest and back, near the Meadowlands Hostel at

about noon yesterday.

He said no arrests had yet been made.

In a separate incident, at about 3.16 pm yesterday, police managed to arrest two men after they opened fire on a police Casspir while driving past it.

One of the men was found in possession of a 22 Beretta with two rounds of ammunition and the other had a homemade weapon with

one round of 9 mm ammunition.

Capt Ngobeni said nobody was injured when an explosion reportedly destroyed room 587 at the Meadowlands Hostel at about 3.40 pm yesterday.

The blast followed a similar explosion in room 586. Commercial explosives were used in both explosions, he said.

The Star 20/4/92

Curious clues to the Inkatha conundrum

A man found with a pistol and machine gun tells the Goldstone Inquiry into violence he was only going to buy shoes, writes PETER WELLMAN.

THE GOLDSTONE inquiry into violence unfolds in a chatty way, like someone reading a good thriller.

Everyone stands when Judge Richard Goldstone and his three committee members walk in, but the advocates are in shirt-sleeves even though the air conditioning works briskly.

There are ashtrays but there is no smoking — only plenty of water and glasses on the long desks in the NGK Synod building in Pretoria.

The commissioners are seated imposingly behind a higher

desk but no one calls the judge "Your Lordship" — here he is the chairman of a committee of inquiry, set up by the commission he also chairs, into political violence.

The atmosphere may be informal but the business is serious, and fascinating. Is it true that the SADF trained Inkatha members to use AK-47s, and are they now Inkatha hitmen, as alleged by the Weekly Mail?

David Soggot, SC, leading a legal team representing the ANC, SA Communist Party, Cosatu, the Weekly Mail and

others, cross-questions a witness, and one exchange is a gem: "Why did you go out on the day in question with a machine gun in your briefcase and a pistol in your belt?"

"People knew I had the (machine-gun) in the briefcase, and the pistol was to stop it being stolen," is the reply.

Mr Soggot remonstrated gently: "But you were just going to buy a pair of shoes."

Then the rougher side of what the Goldstone commission is about gradually emerges. The witness, awaiting trial for mur-

der, and implicated in another three, said he did not feel safe because people know he was a KwaZulu policeman.

The witness apparently had two names: Alfred Masango and Vela Mchunu.

Mr Soggot's questioning lasted all morning and by lunchtime, when the committee adjourned until June 1, he seemed satisfied he had obtained evidence that after six-months' training in the Caprivi Strip, Inkatha members were paid by Inkatha and operated in groups back in Natal.

The issue of remuneration emerged when the judge said: "How did you get paid while you were at Hammarsdale?"

"We were taken by vehicle to the Inkatha office in Ulundi."

"How much?"

"R400 plus rent."

The paymaster, he said, was "Mashobane" ... a clan name for M Z Khumalo, a personal aide to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The witness, who said various members of the ex-trainees were today in the KwaZulu police force, said he had been a

special constable and agreed his KZP identity card was a fake.

When his group returned to Natal they were armed and received instructions almost daily. There were several other highlights last week, such as when the witness described death threats against his group if they told others about their training.

The inquiry has been briefly adjourned because Judge Goldstone has other commission business to deal with before a month on the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein during May. □

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OVERSEAS NEWS 9

Mandela accuses security forces

FROM RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

WINNIE Mandela made it clear yesterday that she will not be silenced politically. The estranged wife of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, went to the notorious township of Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg, after the murder of eight people there and accused the security forces of complicity.

"From the beginning of this religious weekend," she said, "we have been running around collecting the corpses of our people." The Easter weekend, she declared, was being "exploited by forces who don't want peace". At least 20 people have been killed in political violence in the black townships of the Johannesburg region since Good Friday.

In the Sharpeville killings, five men with rifles and pistols, burst into a home before dawn yesterday and killed four men, three women and a child, aged 6, after herding them into a bedroom and ordering them to lie down. A teenager was only slightly wounded and escaped to tell the police what had happened. The police arrived three hours later.

Mrs Mandela said that sec-

urity forces had been harassing the family, all local ANC activists, since December. Local ANC leaders said that the gunmen were from a nearby hostel which was a stronghold of the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Sharpeville killings came only hours before President de Klerk, Mr Mandela, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, appeared on a joint platform for the first time since they signed a national peace accord last September to appeal for an end to violence. The leaders were guest speakers at the annual Easter gathering of the Zion Christian church, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs.

Up to one million of the church's five million members made the pilgrimage to its headquarters near Pietersburg, in the northern Transvaal. The last outsider to address the gathering was Pieter Botha, the former president, in 1985.

Mrs Mandela is today due to address a rally in the Natal midlands, the most volatile area in years of violence that has claimed thousands of lives.

The Times
20/4/92
London



Speaking out: Winnie Mandela in Sharpeville yesterday accused security forces of complicity in the killings of eight people in the township

INTERNATIONAL ★★★



SA leaders preach to

From John Carlin
in Zion City Moria

ria, 220 miles north of Johannesburg, is to the ZCC's 2 million devotees what the Vatican is to Roman Catholics.

At least a quarter of the faithful can be relied upon every Easter Sunday to make the pilgrimage to this dusty mountainside – set in an uncannily biblical landscape – from every corner of South Africa.

The ZCC is by far the largest of South Africa's 4,000 independent African churches. It is also arguably the most conservative, eschewing - in contrast to the liberation-aligned Anglican and Methodist churches - any party political affiliation.

Successfully blending African and Christian traditions, the ZCC frowns on alcohol and tobacco (the white man's curses), embraces polygamy and witchcraft, rejects any notion of women assuming ecclesiastical office, and has a fabulously wealthy leader who, half-tribal chieftain and half-pope, demands meek and unquestioning tribute from his flock.

Extraordinarily disciplined and regimented in contrast to the average ANC rally, the half million all wore uniform of one sort or another — some wore khaki, some bellboy green and gold brocade, some green hats and blue shirts. Over an area more than a mile square, all stood silently to attention, demarcated in groups according to sex and uniform colour, as their leaders spoke.

The reason why it was politically imperative for Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi each to come and deliver their own sermons on the morning yesterday was that they were presented with the opportunity to parade themselves before a massive sample of the black floating voter population.

If, as is widely anticipated, South Africa's first all-race elections take place within a year, then here was the territory in dispute. Which was why, to 50 or so journalists who made the trip, the critical political moment in the proceedings was the reaction of the crowd the moment each descended from the cars and stepped up to the platform.

Invisible clapmeters registered, by consensus, eight out of 10 for Mr Madala, six for Mr de Klerk and one for

the floating faithful

Chief Buthelezi, whose rural Zulu constituency was only marginally represented here. To an audience the majority of whom barely speak English, whose political literacy is minimal, the contents of the three leaders' speeches were largely incomprehensible.

Chief Buthelezi, who spoke first, sought to compensate for his lack of popularity by speaking in the language of a Christian preacher. "Go out into the world when you leave this place," he urged, "and take Christ with you."

With rare modesty, he used the word "Christ" almost as often as the first person singular in his hurried 20-minute address. He lost most of his audience when he started drawing analogies between himself, Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi, and almost certainly

defeated all but a handful with a thinly veiled analogy between Satan and Mr Mandela's African National Congress.

Mr Mandela, the next to speak, looked surprisingly radiant, given his marital burdens. But his more overt political message, hard as he tried to draw analogies between Christ's mission and the anti-apartheid struggle, was at times almost embarrassingly out of place.

He repeated the call he is forever making before his own supporters for an elected constituent assembly — a concept as alien to the traditionalist ZCC faithful as women's liberation. His talk of "faceless killers" in the army's "covert special forces" who are engineering township violence was only marginally less baffling.

Mr de Klerk's appeal was better bal-

anced. Addressing his "fellow Christians", evidently what he was trying to do was resurrect a political idea which harsh reality has largely buried in the past year, namely to lay the foundation for a "Christian Democratic Alliance" of what he would call "reasonable South Africans" who together would defeat the ANC at the polls.

But he did not lay on his Christianity as thickly as Chief Buthelezi, nor did he go overboard on the politics, allowing himself merely a dig or two at the ANC's inclination to push blacks into strikes and demonstrations. His final thought — "Above all, let us pray every day to our Lord and Saviour to deliver us from violence" — was exactly the uncomplicated, familiar sort of message the audience had come to hear.

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