

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Act now *L*

THE Democratic Party has probably reached its moment of truth.

The ANC supporters — Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Rob Haswell — have been suspended by the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, because they discussed with the ANC the possibility of joining the organisation and serving it in Parliament.

A fifth MP, Mr Dave Dalling, who is in hospital with heart trouble, identifies himself with the four.

We have speculated on many occasions whether there is a place still for the DP, especially in the new South Africa.

One section wants the party to remain in being, another favours a merger or alliance with the National Party, and the third, represented by those who have been suspended, wants a link-up with the ANC.

Dr De Beer's problem is that these factions are not going to yield to each other's viewpoint.

The ANC faction makes no bones of its pro-ANC stance.

The four — and Mr Dalling, who is married to an ANC member — would be more at home in the ANC than in the DP or in an NP-led centrist party.

Losing the pro-ANC clique would purge the party of an embarrassing group.

However, it is doubtful whether the ANC would want them to sit in Parliament as the first ANC members.

The ANC has been totally opposed to the tricameral Parliament; having MPs representing it in this Parliament would cause a furore in the ANC.

Furthermore, the tricameral Parliament is on its way out and there wouldn't be any advantage in having four or five ANC MPs.

The interim Parliament-constituent assembly would be elected on a proportional representation basis, which would mean that the ANC would have to put the ex-DPs on its list of candidates; we can't see these Johnny-come-latelies being chosen by the ANC in place of ANC stalwarts.

The ex-MPs could sit as Independents during the life of the present Parliament, but if they entered the interim Parliament elections as Independents, they would be eliminated.

That is, of course, the trouble with the Democratic Party itself.

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It has 36 Members of Parliament; it will now lose four or five, bringing it down to 32 or 31. In an election in which Blacks will vote for the first time, the Democratic Party is unlikely to get the minimum number of votes needed for parliamentary representation.

It, too, would most probably be wiped out. If not, its representation in Parliament would be so small that its voice would hardly be heard.

The only real hope for DPs is if State President De Klerk decides on a centrist party, with which the DP could throw in its lot.

Using the same kind of tactics he used in the referendum, Mr De Klerk could sweep up White, Coloured and Indian votes, plus a fair number of Black votes, to challenge the ANC for power.

The case of the four suspended DPs will come before the caucus tomorrow and the national executive on Thursday.

Mr Van Eck, it appears, is expecting to be expelled, saying the way in which the four were suspended, without any charges being put to them, "indicates the relationship of the party towards us is terminal".

We hope they will be expelled, since that would clear the party of its pro-ANC elements.

But the party should at the same time stop shilly shallying about its own future.

If it remains independent, it is doomed; if it joins up with the NP in a centrist party or alliance, it at least has the chance of expressing its liberal values through the one party that can do so.

Not to say where the DP stands can only lead to a further loss of MPs and members.

If it does not make its decision now, the DP will have to merge or form an alliance with the NP later on the NP's terms.

The time to act is, therefore, now.

No solution yet to Codesa impasse

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

No agreement has yet been reached by a specially appointed Codesa technical committee on a transitional executive structure as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa resumes today after the Easter recess.

The eight-man committee was appointed by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements before Codesa started its recess two weeks ago.

A three-man task group comprising Arthur Chaskalson, Fanie van der Merwe and Dawid van Wyk, met yesterday and will report to the technical committee today. The working group will be

meeting only next week.

An impasse developed between the Government and ANC about the powers of the body which would rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The ANC has proposed an Interim Government Council while the Government wants several Preparatory Councils to rule in conjunction with the existing tricameral Parliament.

The differences, however, centre around the powers of a transitional executive body. The ANC has rejected the Government's proposed councils which would have advisory powers only.

The Government wants the ultimate power during the

first phase of the transition to be with the existing Parliament and Cabinet until the election of a transitional government.

The ANC, on the other hand, wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President but proposed that his authority could be exercised only subject to approval of the Interim Government Council.

The two sides also disagree on the decision-making mechanism of an executive structure and on the role of the homelands.

The working group dealing with constitutional principles will also meet today.

● Codesa faces taxing problems — Page 13

Big 3 'used Moria to drum up support'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Although peace was a strong theme at the Zion Christian Church Easter gathering at Moria, political leaders used the opportunity to win support, political analysts said yesterday.

President de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed an estimated 1 million ZCC members on Sunday at the invitation of church leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town said the gathering was a potentially significant support base.

"All three leaders were pitching for support as one would expect them to do," he said.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi made "campaigning speeches", while Mr de Klerk showed more restraint, said Professor Welsh.

Head of the Centre for Social Dynamics at the Human Sciences Research Council Professor Lawrence Schlemmer said the speeches were "very competitive" but the leaders were not necessarily "electioneering".

The speeches were "relatively light on self-congratulation but heavy on warnings".

Violence

Professor Robert Shrire of the University of Cape Town agreed with Professor Welsh that the three leaders were campaigning for support.

But he added: "The body language was not very collegial and in that sense they did the predictable thing".

"The bottom-line in a political vacuum with an illegitimate government, is that supporters (of political groups) will use violence if they think it will benefit them," said Professor Shrire.

The major loser in the violence was Mr de Klerk because he had the most to lose, he said.

The analysts, however, disagreed on whether Bishop Lekganyane had emerged as a potential broker in the negotiation process after inviting the three leaders.

Professor Welsh said that "willy nilly" the bishop had emerged as a significant broker — a position which would be hard to reconcile with the church's traditional avoidance of politics.

Professor Shrire disagreed, saying the bishop had not emerged as a broker because the bottom-line was whether he could deliver the votes.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said before the gathering that it would help to end the violence if the leaders clearly told their followers that each organisation had the right to exist and to promote their aims peacefully.

Codesa faces taxing problems

STAR

21 April 1992

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IF CODESA does not set up a commission on tax reform now the first fully elected government will live to regret this omission, predicts Dennis Davis, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University.

Professor Davis, a tax law specialist, insists: "What we should be doing over the next nine months to a year — instead of wasting time — is get a group of the best people in the country, put them in a room and throw away the key. And say to them, 'We're not letting you out until such time as you actually come up with a new tax proposal'."

The commission should not only address the challenge of funding various levels of government. It should inquire how a future government could grasp the opportunity "to use fiscal policy to influence economic objectives".

Professor Davis argues that it is possible to have a tax system that contributes both to redistribution of resources and economic growth.

He foresees that Codesa could create a multiparty tax commission, drawing in vital players such as the union federations and SACOB. A future government would be free to utilise or reject the recom-

There is lots of latitude for restructuring taxes. The challenge is to get the process moving, Professor Dennis Davis tells JO-ANNE COLLINGE.

mendations, but the commission itself would have legitimacy, he submits.

Professor Davis challenges the International Monetary Fund contention that the individual tax burden on white South Africans is high compared to other middle-income countries — and the implication that there is little scope for restructuring.

In the middle income bracket personal taxes are certainly high, he concedes. But he adds that the IMF failed to compare the tax burden of the top income quintile in South Africa with the same stratum elsewhere. On this basis, South Africans were certainly not highly taxed.

In other words, Professor Davis believes that tax commission would have plenty of scope to recommend change and suggests that they try out the following ideas:

● That a package of capital taxes — including a low-rate annual wealth tax; a capital transfer tax; and a considerably increased tax on estates — be instituted.

"Capital taxes don't raise masses of money," Professor

Davis allows. "VAT is budgeted to bring in more than R20 billion — you could expect a proper estate duty to bring in perhaps R1 billion or R1,5 billion."

But the significance of capital taxes is that they would attack an imbalance in personal taxation.

Professor Davis allows that rate of capital taxation is a sensitive issue. "The real question that you've got to weigh up is how much can you tax people without capital flight. And that's my fear. Not that a wealth tax shouldn't be considered — of course it should as part of the package. But clearly while one can raise quite a few more billion rand both in estate duties and wealth tax, there is a limit."

In France, he points out, individuals with net assets exceeding 4,1 million francs pay 0,5 percent annually. The rate rises to a maximum of 1,5 percent for citizens with more than 40 million francs.

In Switzerland wealth tax which is locally levied varies from 0,1 percent to 0,6 percent, applicable to those with

net assets exceeding 500 000 Swiss Francs.

● That specific tax exemptions — especially in relation to wealth tax — can be used to influence investment patterns.

"You could have a range of exemptions in which the simple holding of shares in the stock exchange would be taxed, but investment in a manufacturing business would be totally exempt."

Professor Davis recommends that South Africa take a look at the Pacific Rim. "These countries asked, 'Where is our comparative advantage?' and then poured tax incentives into that area. We have done the opposite — no incentives."

● That an annual tax on agricultural land be considered. "The Development Bank of Southern Africa says if we had land tax on rural land, at a 2 percent rate it could only bring in about R500 million a year."

"But research elsewhere suggests that the impact of such a tax is that it can actually influence patterns of land tenure. That's the interesting thing."

● That company taxes could actually be reduced "because we do want to win foreign investment. At the moment we've got a tax of 48 c in the rand and we don't get anywhere near it. If you look at some of the big corporates, they are just not paying tax."

"Subject to investigation, we should be lowering company rates to between 35 c and 40 c in the rand and making damn certain that we get all of that. That would give justification for capital taxes — if you lowered the company rate so you couldn't be accused of messing up business activity, but you hit individual accumulators of wealth to some extent."

● That VAT be radically restructured. "It seems to me you can render VAT into a very effective progressive indirect tax by having a rate of say 15 to 17 percent for all items, save for absolute essentials — such as medical care and basic foods — which should be zero-rated, and another in-between category — which should go at about 5 percent."

This three-tier system might actually realise more VAT than the present system and allow a lowering of the marginal rate of income tax. □

Rally brings new hope, says paper

By Alan Robinson
Star Bureau

LONDON — The coming together as Christians of F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi at an Easter rally has great symbolic significance.

And their common appeal for peace brings new hope to a country that is being transformed, says the Daily Mail yesterday in a remarkably upbeat leading article on South Africa.

The Mail says: "Progress towards democracy in South Africa in the last year or so has been astonishing. Apartheid has been abolished and negotiations between political leaders about arrangements for the country's first non-racial elections are well advanced.

"Unfortunately, escalating communal violence in the townships threatens to blight these prospects for the peaceful transfer of power.

"Yet an Easter rally of the African Zion Christian Church brings new hope. For it has united President de Klerk on the same platform with Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi ... in a common appeal for peace."

Glimpse of 'other face of SA' amazes foreign press

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The overwhelming spirit of goodwill which marked Sunday's "Day of Peace" rally at Morija, where political leaders addressed more than 1 million Zion Christian Church members, has amazed foreign media representatives.

Being accustomed to the violence frequently associated with large gatherings in urban townships, the sight of masses of people, representing at least nine ethnic groups, kneeling in prayer, and then cheering the messages of peace delivered by President F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, prompted an American journalist to describe the scene as "the other face of South Africa nobody knows about".

"This is unreal" said an Associated Press photographer, as he went about his task of documenting the event for international agencies.

Certainly, it was interesting to see the enthusiasm with

which the arrival of all three leaders was greeted, with Mr Mandela, if anyone, evoking the most tumultuous applause.

Each of the speakers brought their own unique style to the proceedings. Mr de Klerk adopted a logical approach, Chief Buthelezi appealed to the emotions of his audience, while Mr Mandela used the occasion as a political platform.

Telling the vast crowd that peace could not be bought over the counter, and would require hard work, Mr de Klerk also suggested a few practical guidelines to promote peace.

Ashamed

He encouraged the people to strengthen their family life, to discipline their children not to participate in violence and to become involved in community projects aimed at promoting positive recreation for young people.

Chief Buthelezi used a very self-effacing approach, saying he sometimes felt deeply ashamed of being a black South

African, when reviewing the country-wide violence.

"I today again, in front of this vast congregation, not only declare my faith in God and my commitment as a Christian, but I stand before you and rededicate myself and my party to work against violence and to bring peace to our country."

Mr Mandela focused on the various injustices of the past, and committed the ANC to the safeguarding of religious freedom in a future dispensation. But he was careful to point out that the price to be paid for real peace would be the establishment of true democracy.

When it was all over, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane delivered his traditional Easter message, and the cheer that went up left no doubt as to where the loyalties of this particular audience really lay.

It was clear that the bishop was perhaps more influential in his own back yard than any of the leaders who preceded him on the rostrum.

Prayers fail to put end to slaughter

The Star Tuesday April 21 1992

Staff Reporters

While political leaders pleaded and multitudes prayed for peace at Moria in the northern Transvaal at the weekend, 28 people died in unrest-related incidents.

Four policemen were killed and six injured during seven separate attacks on members of the SAP during the same period. (See accompanying story.)

In the latest attacks, four houses in Sharpeville were petrol bombed early yesterday morning.

A young Sharpeville man was stoned and necklaced when he and a friend were approached by a group of men while walking in the street yesterday afternoon.

Captain Piet van Deventer of the Vaal Triangle police said Ben Khambula (20) of Sharpeville and a friend were attacked by the men at about 3m. The friend managed to escape.

An 18-year-old youth was fatally wounded and a 17-year-old girl was hurt when two gunmen switched off an Evaton hall's electricity supply and then stood in the building's doorway shooting at random.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said a group of people were watching a film inside the hall in Wright Street at about 2am yesterday. The generator outside the hall was switched off and two men, one armed with an AK-47 rifle and the other with a 9mm pistol opened fire.

Lucky Melloa of Molepe Street, Zone Six, Extension One in Sebokeng, was fatally shot in the chest. Mpuse Tsabalala of Wright Street was shot in the left leg.

Also yesterday, police scouted several firearms and arrested four men at the Seb Hostel.

Soweto police were shot at by a group of people when they went to a scene near a garage in Meadowlands, Zone 1, to investigate the murder of a middle-aged man yesterday.

Captain Joseph Ngobeni of the Soweto police said an unidentified man had been stabbed and then set alight by a group of men at about 3.15 pm.

Police arrived at the scene and were shot at by gunmen in

a crowd of bystanders. They did not return fire, but the wheel of their vehicle, a Nyala, was struck.

Nine people were killed and six were wounded on Easter Sunday, police said.

In the worst attack, eight people were shot dead and one was injured in an attack on a Sharpeville house early on Sunday morning.

Residents and family members said the victims were well-known ANC members.

In a separate incident, a man with bullet wounds in the head and neck was found in a Sharpeville street on Sunday morning.

In Alexandra, two women and a man sustained stab wounds during an attack by a group of men.

In another incident, a man was killed when five men opened fire on him. In a third incident, one man was killed and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by a group of men armed with firearms and knives.

A savage revenge attacks took place at Magabeni, near Umkomaas, following an attack on a group on Saturday where a man was shot.

Early on Sunday morning the group that was attacked retaliated and two women and a man were fatally wounded. Another woman sustained bullet wounds.

Eleven men were arrested by police in connection with the attacks.

Police seized 11 homemade firearms of different calibres, two AK-47s, two .303 rifles and a 9mm pistol as well as a large quantity of ammunition.

Also on Sunday, police discovered the body of a black man with stab and bullet wounds in the area.

On the same day in Tokoza, near Alberton, police discovered the body of a black man with bullet wounds.

Police also discovered the body of a man with bullet wounds in Katlehong.

In Soweto, two black men were arrested after shots were fired at a police patrol. The police seized firearms.

In Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, the body of a man was found with bullet wounds in his head.

Early on Friday, three people were killed after two attacks on police in the Power Park squatter camp in Orlando, Soweto.

Eight people were arrested.

12

The Star Tuesday April 21 1992

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Find a place for the king

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI and the IFP still insist that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, should head a separate delegation at Codesa. Chief Buthelezi, conveniently forgetting his earlier view that the "king should be above politics", may be seeking to strengthen his hand.

Nelson Mandela, apparently fearful that the monarch has been misinformed about and is therefore hostile to the ANC, wants to meet King Zwelithini to assure him that the ANC is not anti-Zulu. But, political manoeuvring aside, there are good reasons why the IFP demand should be met.

One, clearly, is that the participation of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP may well be dependent on the king's acceptance by Codesa as head of a separate delegation. Another is that, as a matter of principle, Codesa should be as inclusive as possible.

A third reason is that one of the issues before Codesa is whether the new constitution should include special representation for traditional leaders. If the future of traditional leaders is at stake, King Zwelithini, as hereditary ruler of the Zulus, should be there.

By the same logic, paramount chiefs should be given the option of heading delegations to Codesa. If they choose to exercise the option, their delegations should be the same size as King Zwelithini's. The idea of determining the size of the delegation according to size of the traditional leader's fief runs counter to Codesa's ground rules.

There, the principle of parity prevails! Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party — to cite one example — has the same number of representatives as the ANC. But that does not matter as Codesa functions on a basis of consensus rather than by majority vote.

DAVID GREYBE, of Sapa, reports

NATAL MERCURY 21-04-92

Winnie Mandela hits out at Govt over violence

WINNIE MANDELA is clearly not prepared to bow out of the political limelight, and has hit back with an attack against the Government over the issue of violence and the future of Codesa.

In the first interview since what has been dubbed "Winnie's worst week in her life", she was in fighting mood, and reminded people she is still an elected member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as on the executive of both the ANC's Women's League and PWV region.

She stuck to her public statement that the allegations against her were false and were aimed at dividing and weakening the ANC. "We are certainly not going to keep on calling on our people to continue talking to a government that is killing our people," Mrs Mandela told Sapa.

"How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence?"

"Either they stop the violence or we stop talking."

She accused the Government of shifting the goalposts in the negotiation process when it said recently there could be no interim government while violence continued.

"We are in no position to stop the violence because we are not the perpetrators . . .

"The Government says there will be no interim government while there's violence but in fact it is the Government itself that's fanning the violence.

"They have threatened the peace process sufficiently for the leadership of the ANC to take a very strong position."

The ANC regarded as "most irresponsible"

the Government's demand that Umkhonto we Sizwe disband and hand over its arm caches. Such statements were "totally premature".

"MK will never be disbanded," Mrs Mandela said. "It is the future democratic army of this country.

"By making that call they are simply infuriating people because the people now feel they are defenceless.

"The idea is to confuse the masses so as to make the ANC leadership appear as if it has compromised the position of MK."

Mrs Mandela said she was not in a position as an individual to discuss what action the ANC would take or was contemplating taking in light of her accusations.

"That will be a decision of the national executive. But of course we all have these very

and Codesa

very serious concerns."

The bottom line was that the Government did not want Codesa 2 to take place as scheduled on May 15 and 16.

"We are quite aware of the fact that the Government is trying to sabotage Codesa 2, and that it is trying to sabotage us reaching the interim government stage.

"These are attempts to cling to power, and it is quite clear the National Party is not prepared to relinquish power.

"The very fact that they should still imagine themselves having sole power to decide who will be partner to a power-sharing arrangement is indicative of a government that is not prepared to relinquish power.

"They don't have that right anymore." — Sapa

'Drumming out' was example to today's SADF

As a recruit to the South African Air Force early in World War 2, one of the most impressive parades I attended was one at Roberts (now Voortrekker) Heights, to be witness to the "drumming out of the army" of a quartermaster sergeant who had been court-martialled for malfeasance.

A hollow square of other ranks was formed with officers in front; the evil-doer was marched on under escort; his crime read out by the Adjutant-General. Then the Regimental Sergeant-Major ceremoniously stripped him of his badges of rank, his regimental insignia and the buttons of his tunic; all the time to the sound of the muffled drums of the garrison... evidence of the shame that he had brought on a proud service.

Doubtless this vivid example of the expectations of conduct of members of the South African Defence Force, and the penalties for failure, contributed to the exemplary conduct of South Africans of all ranks in their

upholding of the honour of their units in their fighting progress through Abyssinia, North Africa, Italy and in other operations during the convulsions of World War 2.

It must be galling for those who survived to note, in recent years, not only the decline in standards of behaviour of the troops, but the condoning of such lowered standards by the officers responsible for their maintenance. The bland acceptance by them of the conduct of 32 Battalion at Phola Park, of which there is indisputable evidence of barbaric assaults on innocent persons (The Star, April 10), display a level of malfeasance far in excess of the misappropriation of a few army stores.

Voltaire noted, of dereliction of duty, that "In England it is thought well to kill an admiral from time to time to encourage the others". The court-martial of the officers concerned in this event would have a salutary effect on the whole SADF.

Jack Curtis

Norwood

Codesa favouring Reds

Nelson Mandela says that once democracy is in place, the ANC/SACP alliance will fall away. Chris Hani says the same thing in a different way: The ANC will stay in power until the Communist Party takes over. Thus the ANC is a front for the Communist Party.

Codesa, well loaded in favour of the communists, is providing a perfect opportunity for establishing a Marxist government through the interim government, in which it hopes to be the senior partner. Inkatha will be

sidelined. Many of the leading men in the ANC/SACP are hardline communists committed to retribution and redistribution.

Communist strategy demands that communists "must march through the institutions", so apart from some of the clergy and Cosatu, there are a whole series of subsidiary organisations and structures which serve the communist purpose in the educational field.

Gwen Baragwanath
Lydenburg

Why a defence force at all?

On April 13 you published a report on the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe which outlined very reasonably and rationally the reasons for integration.

However, I want to ask the question: Why do we need a defence force at all; whom are we going to defend ourselves against?

I can understand the argument for retaining a small force to assist with civilian

disasters, such as earthquakes, sea and mountain rescues, and to keep some sort of coastal patrol to protect our fishing waters, but what are we going to do with the size of force we have today?

Does it mean that there are still plans for military opportunism and destabilisation?

Gill de Vlieg

Craighall Park

Violence caused by hostels

As a young African man I am disturbed by the escalation of violence.

The violence in the townships and in trains is caused by hostels... Zulu migrant workers living in the slum township hostels. They are allowed by the Government, the SAP and the SADF to carry dangerous weapons in public.

The Government does not want to destroy the hostels. Inkatha members in the hostels have lots of guns and handgrenades and kill innocent people.

I'm worried about the way in which the SAP and SADF are operating around the PWV area and in Natal and failing to stop violence. I

think the hit squad still exists.

The SAP and SADF know that Inkatha members are killing innocent commuters in trains, and they are the main creators of this black-on-black violence. In the trains these thugs use handgrenades, pangas, knobkerries, spears, sticks, guns, umbrellas, etc.

The SAP and SADF do their job in the wrong way. The present defence force and police force must be dissolved to pave the way for the true democratic force.

However they are quick to arrest blacks who are implicated in the killings of a white person, as at Natal spruit school and in the Free State.

Inkatha supporters are escorted by the SA Police along the streets of townships when they go to their meetings or rallies. More often than that, when they return from their meetings there is horror and bloodshed.

ANC members also go to meetings and but they do so peacefully, without weapons in their hands. When they return from their meetings or peace marches, there is no bloodshed, looting, etc.

But when Inkatha return from their meetings innocent people are being killed. Throughout the black townships even a three-year-old child knows that if you talk of Inkatha you are talking of killers and looters.

The Government is busy telling the world that the ANC and MK people are keeping their AK-47s. But at the same time Inkatha's thugs attack innocent people overnight and in trains and funerals using AK-47s, shotguns, R-1s, handgrenades, pangas, spears, etc.

The only thing that can stop the violence in our country is to call in a United Nations Peace Keeping Force. They won't take sides; they should disarm Inkatha of their traditional weapons, shotguns, handgrenades, AK-47s, etc. and the ANC of their AK-47s. And there will be peace.

Sipho M Kubheka

Glenhazel

Big Three's peace call

THE BIG THREE of South African politics — Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — used their appearance before the weekend's mass gathering of the Zion Christian Church to commendable effect by together putting out a powerful call for an end to violence.

Many who have seen the signing of the National Peace Accord, when similar appeals were made by the three leaders, will wonder whether there is any chance of such public calls from them still having any positive effect. Cynics might even argue that, given the occasion, it probably was to their respective political advantage to put their differences aside for the moment and rather beat the peace drum.

Of course, being a religious gathering, they were probably speaking to the converted. But given the nature and the extraordinary size of their audience, and the extensive reporting of their speeches by the media, is it too much to hope that their combined peace message will also have a ripple effect into communities tormented by violence and perhaps reach into the hearts and minds of some of those behind it?

Not much is clear about the causes of violence and in many cases even who the perpetrators are. But Mr de Klerk and Dr Buthelezi are probably right in suggesting it is the work of sinister forces out to destroy the initiatives of those working for peace. For that reason the importance cannot be underestimated of the leaders of the major political parties — whatever their political disagreements — standing publicly united on the need for peace.

To whichever party or parties power passes, the future holds no hope for this country as long as violence remains as prominent a feature of our transition as it presently is. That much must be clear to every party aiming for a return to stable government and economic growth.

STAR 21/4/92.

Winnie Mandela is clearly not prepared to bow out of the political limelight, and has hit back with an attack against the Government over the issue of violence and the future of Codesa.

As allegations against her mounted in the press at the weekend, the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela visited strife-torn townships.

It was Soweto on Saturday, and then Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, yesterday where eight ANC members were shot dead.

"We are certainly not going to keep on calling on our people to continue talking to a government that is killing our people," Mrs Mandela said in an interview with Sapa.

"How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence? Either they stop the violence or we stop talking."

After visiting the troubled Vaal Triangle township yesterday, Mrs Mandela gave her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst

week in her life" — a week in which she and her husband separated and during which one-time friends made a string of serious allegations against her.

Mrs Mandela was in a fighting mood, and — as she reminded an enthusiastic crowd earlier in Sharpeville — she is still an elected member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as on the executive of both the ANC's Women's League and PWV region.

She stuck to her public statement last week — made when she quit as head of the ANC's Social Welfare Department — that the allegations against her were false and were aimed at dividing the ANC. She maintained her innocence and said there was an appeal pending regarding charges of kidnap and accessory to assault.

Mrs Mandela added that she expected the allegations to continue but was sure they would fail to destroy her or to divide the ANC.

"Unfortunately I'm unable

In her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst week in her life", Winnie Mandela was in a fighting mood. She said the Government's failure to deal effectively with violence may force the ANC to question involvement in negotiations.

to talk to you outside of that statement," she said.

She accused the Government of shifting the goalposts in the negotiation process when it said recently there could be no interim government while violence continued.

"We are in no position to stop the violence because we are not the perpetrators of this violence.

"The Government says there will be no interim government while there's violence, but in fact it is the Government itself that's fanning the violence in the country," she charged.

"They are forcing us into a position where we will have to rethink continuing with the present talks."

The ongoing violence against ANC members and supporters at grassroots level was aimed at demoralising the organisation's supporters.

"Being associated with the ANC at present spells one's death warrant. How can we enter elections if the people are dying every day?

"The Government's insincerity and dishonesty in dealing with the issue of the violence is going to have to force us to go back to original positions and question the whole concept again," Mrs Mandela said.

"They (the Government) have threatened the peace process sufficiently for the leadership of the ANC to take a very strong position."

The ANC regarded as "most irresponsible" the Gov-

ernment's demand that the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), disband and hand over its arms caches. Such statements were "totally premature".

"MK will never be disbanded," Mrs Mandela said. "It is the future democratic army of this country.

"By making that call they are simply infuriating people on the ground because the people now feel they are defenceless and that if MK had not been called upon to suspend armed action, then they would have had proper defence.

"The idea is to confuse the masses so as to make the (ANC) leadership appear as if it has compromised the position of MK."

By trying to create a rift within the ANC the Government was attempting to weaken the ANC's position in the negotiation process, Mrs Mandela said.

Its demands concerning MK and an end to violence before interim rule were "stumbling blocks ... they're trying to stall the forward

movement of Codesa".

Mrs Mandela said she was not in a position as an individual to discuss what action the ANC would take or was contemplating taking in light of her accusations.

"That will be a decision of the national executive. But of course we all have these very very serious concerns."

The bottom line was that the Government did not want Codesa 2 to take place as scheduled on May 15 and 16, Mrs Mandela added.

"We are quite aware of the fact that the Government is trying to sabotage Codesa 2, and that it is trying to sabotage us reaching the interim government stage.

"These are attempts to cling to power," Mrs Mandela said.

"The very fact that they should still imagine themselves having sole power to decide who will be partner to a power-sharing arrangement is indicative of a government that is not prepared to relinquish power.

"They don't have that right any more." — Sapa.

Helping hand for all the black consumers

STAR

21 April 1992

X

TIMELY AID

Ever wondered who to turn to when those goods or services received just don't come up to scratch?

The past year has seen a marked increase in consumer awareness and activities. Several new consumer organisations have sprung up in the wake of the huge outcry around Value Added Tax. But, most consumer organisations are still tackling basic consumer problems.

Consumer Trends will be running a series every Tuesday to highlight the roles played by the various consumer groups as well as to help members of the public make an informed choice about which group to join, and which to approach for help.

Today **PAULA FRAY** focuses on the National Black Consumers' Union and its feisty president, Nonia Ramphomane.

TOMORROW

Nuns, female students, woman prisoners, sisters, and mothers and daughters have often remarked on the unusual menstrual synchrony that seems to develop within their communities.

IN its small city offices near Johannesburg's Park Station, the National Black Consumers' Union keeps its doors open for those consumers who are often unable to write or call major consumer organisations.

The union was started in March 1984, and sees its main aim as educating and assisting those consumers regarded as the most vulnerable — the unsophisticated and, often, illiterate, and to mobilise them as an effective pressure group, says president Nonia Ramphomane.

But education is two-fold: "Consumers need to know their rights ... and their responsibilities," adds Mrs Ramphomane.

To reach these goals, the union holds workshops and seminars around pertinent issues of the day.

Some of its future plans include workshops on tax laws and how these affect African culture.

"In the African culture it is traditional to take over your sister's children when she dies. However, you don't get a tax rebate for this as they are not adopted," she explained.

Her organisation hopes political changes will also take this into account.

The union investigates consumer problems — most of which centre around housing and hire purchase.



The logo of the National Black Consumers' Union.

"The consumers we deal with are different from those belonging to other organisations as many are illiterate and get to know us through the churches, women's organisations and stokvels," says Mrs Ramphomane.

"Because of their illiteracy they are the most vulnerable consumers. Salesmen can easily take advantage of them and often they sign contracts which are binding and which they do not always understand."

She lists the case of the consumer who started paying less than his contract's stipulated monthly payments and was confused about why he still owed more than the initial cost after interest was added on.

Then there was the elderly widow who was conned into paying off her late (adult) daughter's hire purchase agreement.

"Consumers by and large, not just in the black commu-

nity, don't know their rights," says Mrs Ramphomane. Education is thus a major thrust of their work.

The union also helps establish co-operatives — whereby members buy in bulk to save — to assist during the present economic climate, and go some way towards alleviating the effects of the recession, and skyrocketing prices.

Despite the name (essential to put black consumers at ease and to target the needy group, says Mrs Ramphomane), the National Black Consumers' Union does assist consumers of all races.

"I don't think the name was a mistake. It (the union) was meant to address black problems; consumers feel at home with us. But we don't just handle black problems. We will assist any consumer of any race who comes to us with problems."

Members of the public can join by paying a R25 annual fee. Group membership of national organisations is R100 a year; regional bodies pay R50 and small organisations pay R25.

In exchange, the union offers pamphlets and information as well as workshops presented by experts on a wide range of subjects.

But talk money and the union begins to list the

projects they would like to tackle, but cannot afford.

"Because of lack of funds we don't have a monthly newsletter but do have publications on various issues. We are restricted by lack of money.

"Although there has been interest in establishing offices in the Free State and the Cape after recent workshops there, this has been restrained. We are not subsidised by the Government."

Mrs Ramphomane lists the union's fight against hydroquinone — used in skin lighteners — as its major achievement: "We initiated it at the start and took it right up to the Department of Health."

Another notch on their success pole has been the large number of workshops held as well as their recent project to promote breast feeding.

The union sees its future work as continuing with co-operatives as a way to build up the economy while making the best of a "small pay packet".

Mrs Ramphomane has a dream: "I dream that in the 'new' South Africa, consumers will be a major pressure group on government watching food prices, new products and the quality of products."

● Consumers can telephone the National Black Consumers' Union on (011) 337-6210/1 or call at 215 Bree Street, 211 Connaught Mansions, Johannesburg.

'Some SAP members reject outside help'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) says it is hampered in implementing the aims of the National Peace Accord by the negative attitude of some members of the South African Police to "outsiders" assisting them.

"One of the essential elements of the National Peace Accord is the impartiality of the police and their willingness to accept help from organisations and individuals working in various communities," the IBIIR report for March records.

"Our experience is that we have been unable to assist members of the SAP to the best of our abilities due to their negative attitude towards 'outsiders' assisting them."

Police repeatedly used the media to encourage witnesses to come forward and assist with investigations, the IBIIR report observes. "When attempts are made to facilitate this, we often find ourselves arrested or accused of tampering with or changing statements."

Captain Steve van Rooyen of the police division of public relations reserved comment on the allegations, saying he would like to see the full IBIIR report before responding.

The following examples of friction between board members and the SAP are cited in the report:

● An IBIIR researcher involved in investigating the shooting of an ANC member in Sharpeville was allegedly "accused by a member of the SAP, in front of an Inkatha Freedom Party hos-

tel, of being involved in the burning down of IFP houses in the area".

● During the course of the Goldstone Commission hearing on Tokoza, an IBIIR researcher was accused by counsel for the SAP of telling witnesses not to co-operate with the police. The report states that this researcher was persistently followed by two white men in a minibus while she was taking statements from potential witnesses.

● At Carletonville, where the IBIIR has assisted a police investigation of alleged torture and extra-judicial executions by the Welverdiend unrest unit, no fewer than nine people who participated in the investigation or who laid a complaint against local policemen were arrested and/or charged in a court of law.

"To date two people have had their charges withdrawn following a recommendation by the Attorney-General, two were acquitted and one was discharged following the presentation of the State's case."

The IBIIR report states that Carletonville residents are beginning to ask what is the price of co-operating with the investigation. "Witnesses have been threatened and warned that they are 'not far off from the mortuary'."

The board's researcher and the local ANC chairman were told that a certain suspended policeman had plans to eliminate them as they were the cause of the suspensions of members of the force, the report claims.

4 policemen die, 6 hurt in Easter unrest

Crime Staff

Four policemen were killed and six were injured in unrest-related incidents at the weekend.

One policeman was killed on Friday when he tried to arrest two men fighting in Soweto. A man has been arrested in connection with the incident.

Another policeman was shot dead while patrolling Power Park squatter camp in Orlando, Soweto, on Friday afternoon.

In a police follow-up operation, two men were shot dead and eight were arrested.

A 24-year-old policeman from Phola Park in the East Rand was shot dead while trying to apprehend a suspect.

A man who was armed with an AK-47 rifle jumped out from behind a house and shot him in the head.

Five policemen were injured in a handgrenade attack in White City, Soweto, on Friday.

The men were patrolling and saw two suspects, one armed with an AK-47 rifle. As the patrol car approached them, the gunman threw the handgrenade at the police.

A policeman was shot dead while chasing a gang of car thieves in Umlazi outside Durban on Sunday. Police said that Constable Bonginkosi Bhengu, who was off-duty at the time, and SH Dlamini were walking to their car when they noticed a gang tampering with it.

The policemen chased after the men and in the dark one of the men fired a shot, killing Constable Bhengu.

Winnie Mandela resigns as ANC welfare post

JOHANNESBURG — Winnie Mandela — claiming persistent allegations against her are aimed at derailing the African National Congress's task of ending apartheid — resigned as head of the social welfare department yesterday.

Mandela retains her position as a member of the National Executive Committee. The resignation becomes effective when a successor is appointed.

The ANC's "Shadow Cabinet", the National Working Committee, responded to the resignation by applauding Mandela's initiative in attempting to safeguard the best interests of the movement.

Stressing the ANC did not request her resignation, the NWC statement, signed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, said Mandela's "outstanding contribution to the struggle" is still valued.

She paused several times when overcome by emotion, thanking all who had stood by her "in these trying times" and "during the long years of struggle. I say to my people: I love them all and the struggle continues. The step I am taking is not because of the false allegation being made against me but because of the devotion that I have for the ANC and my family."

"I have taken this step because I consider it to be in the best interest of the ANC whose cause and politics I will support until the end of my life," she said. Mandela said she had contemplated quitting her job "on more than one occasion in the past", but had been dissuaded from doing so by top ANC members and friends. Referring to published allegations of criminality made by her co-accused in the kidnapping and assault trial under appeal, Mandela stated: "False allegations have been made against me. I have always maintained my innocence and there is an appeal pending." — Sapa.

Natal witness

21 April 1992

Winnie receives huge welcome

by NOMUSA CEMBI

WINNIE Mandela and ANC youth league president Peter Mokaba received a huge welcome in Richmond yesterday at a commemoration for people who have been killed in ANC-IFP clashes.

Mandela voiced concern over the poverty in the area.

"I will not abdicate my position," said Mandela, who last week resigned as the ANC's head of welfare. "I will see to it that your poverty is alleviated."

"While its true that we shouldn't forget our task to liberate politically, the time has come to say people will not eat the vote but must eat food," she said.

She also called on the people to make sure that their leaders work for them. "Some people entrusted to leadership are only concerned with positions, forgetting the people. They are not interested in the education of our children and squatters. There is no reason to ally fears of whites and forget squatters. We should pay more attention to our deprived," Mandela said.

She said that when people send leaders to Parliament, they hope they will bring the difference and it is up to ANC members to ensure that this is done.

"We can't afford to open newspapers to see stories written, told by a top ANC member who doesn't want to be named. We have our DIP (department of information and publicity) which is entrusted to speak to the press. Who are

these shadowy ANC members who speak to the press? What do they gain? Should they be trusted by our people or by editors rather than their own people?" she asked.

She called for a strong ANC leadership and for the youth to learn these things as they will be the leaders of tomorrow.

While Mokaba congratulated Richmond people for "hammerblowing the enemy", he said they should not relax. "There is no Inkatha today and they can't open a branch here because they won't get any members."

He said no Inkatha member will come to Richmond. "If they come, let them enter the township but they will never return. This is not wartalk but peace talk," he told the cheering crowd.

He said Inkatha is the people's enemy and they know it. "Peace Accord or no Peace Accord, Inkatha is your enemy. How many peace accords have you signed, what have they done? It was only when you shot back that they listened," said Mokaba.

He said newspapers are out to disband the ANC. "They want to tell you who to expel. Did they tell you whom to recruit? They are trying to divide the organisation into moderates and militants."

"The moderates are in the process of becoming radical. Talking with De Klerk doesn't mean we can't be radical. Power will have to be seized... There is no question of power sharing."



Winnie Mandela salutes the huge crowd that turned up to greet her in Richmond yesterday despite her recent supposed fall from grace. — Witness Reporter.

'Democratic tide will help Africa progress'

ADDIS ABABA. — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday said that a democratic tide sweeping Africa would help economic and social progress on the continent.

In a message read at the opening session of a five-day conference of African Ministers of Economy and Planning, Gen Boutros-Ghali said adoption of multi-party politics in Africa and the end of apartheid in South Africa were in line with the UN charter promoting freedom and justice for all peoples.

"The most pressing priority of the world today is to support democratic changes in Africa," the message said.

He said civil strife and border disputes which have plagued some countries in Africa have

undermined peace and security and efforts towards economic development.

He said he would revitalise the Addis Ababa-based UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to ensure it played a major role in solving African economic problems.

Ethiopian Prime Minister Tamirat Layne said in opening the conference that a global shift towards peaceful dialogue to solve problems would allow nations to cut military

spending and try to alleviate poverty.

But ECA head Issa Diallo said the end of super-power rivalries were not necessarily a boon for Africa.

"With the end of the cold war and the democratic developments in eastern Europe, African countries will find it much more difficult to secure the financial assistance they need for real growth," he said.

"Granting of economic

assistance will have less to do with political or ideological affinities but rather more with the criteria of sound management including the pursuit of economic and political reforms," Mr Diallo added.

He noted that Africa's plight was worsening because population growth on the continent had outstripped economic development by about three percent at the close of 1991, up from 2,3 percent in the previous year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Daily News 21 April 1992

Messages of peace

IF the Christian festival of Easter is a reminder of Hope, then the country's three main political leaders, President F.W. de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi used the Easter gathering of the Zion Christian Church to preach the message of hope for peace.

Speaking to a gathering of almost a million Zion Christians at Moria in the Northern Transvaal, all three leaders dedicated themselves to work against the violence to try to bring peace in the country.

It is a constant refrain and yet accusations continue to re-

bound from all sides as to who are the perpetrators of which bloody killings. Mr De Klerk told the crowd there were "cunning and violent forces" working to prevent peace. If this is so, then they must be stopped by the full force of the law lest life become so cheap, so commonplace that another dozen deaths becomes yet another meaningless statistic.

But more important still, while there is political violence the chances of a workable democratic system of government recedes in the fear and suspicion of every new death.

Policeman shot

22/4/92 Mercury Reporter

A MEMBER of the KwaZulu Police was shot dead and two other people were injured in an attack at Esikhawini, near Empangeni, at the weekend.

The two injured men were admitted to hospital where they are reported to be in a stable condition.

The name of the policeman has not been released.

In another incident, Petty Mnwabe, 48, was shot and wounded by men at J2-Section at Esikhawini. Police said she was returning from a church service when attacked.

Also at Esikhawini, 38-year-old Pullem Nkosi was shot and injured while travelling on the J2 main road. His car was later set alight.

Daily News 21 April 1992

Thousands cheer as Winnie visits Natal

A DEFIANT Winnie Mandela received a tumultuous welcome from the African National Congress in the Natal Midlands when she arrived in Ndoleni township, near Richmond, for her second public appearance since her estrangement from ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Dressed in full ANC colours, Mrs Mandela was cheered by thousands of young people and women from the townships yesterday.

It was her second public appearance since Mr Mandela's announcement of the couple's separation, and mounting allegations of her involvement in torture and murder.

She shared the platform with ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and ANC Mid-

Political Reporter

lands chairman Harry Gwala in a commemoration service for those who had lost their lives in the violence in Richmond's township.

Most speakers blamed the media for the damage done to Mrs Mandela's reputation, claiming that they were dictating to ANC members about people who should be expelled from the organisation.

Mrs Mandela herself made reference to unnamed ANC sources quoted in newspapers, calling them "shadowy people in the ANC who are whispering things to the Press".

"Our department on information and publicity is entrusted to speak to the Press. What do these shadowy people get in return? Are these the people the future of our

people can be trusted to?

"Is it better for a leader to be trusted by the editor of a newspaper or by the people?"

Mrs Mandela also launched a stinging attack on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F.W. de Klerk.

She said the ANC leadership must focus on the daily realities and on the alleviation of poverty and impoverished living standards.

"I will never abdicate my responsibilities. At whatever cost, I will see to it that your poverty is alleviated."

Mrs Mandela's speech continued on the theme of the alleviation of poverty and social ills.

Earlier, ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba said that whites could enter the ANC only on "the ANC's terms".

Insight

Little hope for the starving

GEOFFREY LEAN of The London Observer tells why there is little hope for the 17 million people facing famine in Southern Africa to get the food they need.

the region. Aid agencies hold out little hope for the 17 million people facing famine in Southern Africa to get the food they need. They predict that 1992 will be worse for Africa than even the famine years of 1984-85.

The drought, a harbinger of the kind of disaster that is expected to increase as the world's climate heats up, adds urgency to the need at the Rio Earth Summit in June to sign an international treaty to tackle the greenhouse effect.

Last week a shaken team of experts returned to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation's headquarters in Rome after visiting the

10 countries of the region. They reported that the harvest for the whole of Southern Africa would only be two-fifths of normal. They found crops "devastated" in every country except Angola.

Eight countries will each reap less than half as much grain as last year. South Africa and Namibia will harvest less than a third, Botswana and Zimbabwe can look forward to only a quarter of their normal crop.

Rivers, wells and waterholes are drying up all over Southern Africa as the greatest drought in recorded history takes hold.

Harvests, now being gathered across the region, are the worst in living memory and the United Nations warned last week that, without "immediate international assistance, widespread deaths from starvation are inevitable".

Political chaos is expected to follow, endangering fledgling democracies and undermining growing reconciliation in

The crisis has affected the peaceful and the war-torn, the countries with inadequate agricultural and economic policies and those with policies that enjoy the approval of the international community.

Only a few months ago Zambia looked set for a bumper harvest. Its new democratically elected government introduced widely-hailed agricultural reforms last year and a record area was planted. At first the weather was kind, and, as late as December, the FAO believed the country would be able to export grain this year.

Then drought hit the crops at a crucial phase of their development. Now Zambia can look forward to only 36 per cent of its normal harvest and will have to import 970 000 tons of food if it is to save 1.7 million people from famine.

President Frederick Chiluba has warned that crisis is putting democracy at risk. The same could be said of Namibia. Minor food riots have already broken out in Zimbabwe. And the crisis in South Africa, where farmers have been hard hit and 100 000 farmworkers are expected to be made homeless, threatens to complicate the transition to multiracial rule.

Drought hits part or Southern Africa every year. What makes this one different is that now the whole region is stricken. Worse still, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi — the countries that normally export food to their hungrier neighbours — will this year join the queue for bread.

"It is awful to have to sound the alarm for Africa every year," says Mark Bowden, Save the Children Fund's Africa director. "But I really think that this year is going to be worse than any we have seen."

At the other end of the continent, thousands of people are already dying of hunger in the Horn of Africa. Oxfam says that 23 million people in Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya and the Sudan need "rapid assistance". But they will have to join the same queue as the peoples of Southern Africa, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The world's rich nations have made it known that they do not intend to increase food aid worldwide over last year's levels, despite the

deepening crisis and their commitment to political progress in Southern Africa.

Much of the 11 million tons they provide each year is already committed. But the UN mission reported last week that Southern Africa alone would need four million tons extra.

Last year, for the third time since 1988, the world harvested less than it needed to feed its people: global stocks have now fallen to the minimum level set by the FAO for world food security. But the UN agency says that there is still enough to meet Southern Africa's needs, if there is the political will to provide it.

"We can still avoid a disaster of the kind we witnessed in 1984-85," said Peter Newhouse, head of the FAO's Global Information and Early Warning System. "But we just cannot see where the food is going to come from."

"Theoretically, Southern Africa has the ports, railways and roads to handle the imports it needs, but it has never had to cope with such an

operation before, and it will be lucky if everything runs smoothly. The earlier that aid arrives, the more chance there is of avoiding bottlenecks."

Foreign aid is out of fashion in the election-bound United States, traditionally the world's breadbasket. And European Commission ministers are dithering over a proposal by the EC to provide a modest extra 380 000 tons of grain for Africa. Two weeks ago the EC foreign ministers approved the request on principle but referred it to committees.

The next chance for a decision arises at a meeting of development ministers on May 4. By then the situation will be tight; it takes three months from a decision before the first bag of food reaches a Southern African port and experts expect the famine to be serious in parts of the region by August.

Mugabe doesn't have answers for food crisis

PRESIDENT Mugabe's sister, Sabina, is a politician in her own right. A Member of Parliament, she is known for her forthright comments often delivered in the House of Assembly in Shona as if to emphasise that the country which was once white-ruled Rhodesia is now black-ruled Zimbabwe.

But last week even Miss Mugabe had to admit that she could no longer hold meetings in her constituency because she had no answers to give when the people demanded mealie meal, only now trickling in on South African transport.

The problem is, she said, that we started off lying, saying there was a lot of maize coming and the trucks would soon bring it. Now, she admitted, she had run out of ideas.

It was a telling admission from a member of the family of the man who, as executive president, will have to bear the responsibility in the end for the mess Zimbabwe is in today because of the shortage of food and other commodities.

Independent publications have been particularly shrill in their condemnation of President Mugabe's government. But even the largely-government owned newspapers have joined the chorus.

The Herald newspaper lamented the lack of planning and said that while strenuous efforts were now being made to address the crisis, news that food was on the way was poor sustenance for someone whose belly was already empty.

In an article in the current Financial Gazette, a publication under fire from government spokesmen, a University of Zimbabwe political science lecturer, Dr Jonathan Moyo, said Zimbabwe today presents a chaotic and discouraging picture.

Criticising President Mugabe for not doing enough, he said: "Nobody seems to be in charge of the situation as chaos reigns supreme while things everywhere fall apart."

It is not just the threat of famine which has led to a mood of disillusionment in Zimbabwe as the country prepares to enter its 13th year as an independent black-ruled state.

Increasingly one hears bitter comments on allegations of corruption at high levels and criticism of the way leading members of the government have enriched themselves.

There is deep unease at revelations of court cases of back-stabbing and political interference in the senior ranks of the police force whose acting commissioner is himself on trial for corruption, while the Attorney-General is under police investigation concerning a land case and in turn claims that

Independence anniversary celebrations in Zimbabwe are normally joyful occasions. But this year — the 12th anniversary — was a solemn affair as the country battles through its most serious crisis since the historic assumption of power by Robert Mugabe's government in 1980. **ROBIN DREW** of The Daily News Africa Service reports from Harare



ROBERT Mugabe's government has been criticised by independent publications.

he is being harassed by some senior police officers.

To cap it all the deputy director-general of the state security body, the Central Intelligence Organisation, is on bail on a murder charge following the disappearance of a former girl friend.

Morale in business circles and among the white community generally took a pounding when the government pressed ahead with its contentious Land Acquisition Bill which posed a threat to the future of commercial farming.

However, following vigorous public debate, important amendments were introduced and repeated assurances were given that productive farms would not be taken.

One of the few bright spots is the public recognition by some members of the government and by Zimbabwean commentators that the country must adopt a more sensible attitude towards South Africa.

The Financial Gazette probably reflected the majority view when it said: "Zimbabwe's political stance on South Africa has stood in the way of common economic sense for too long. In the interim we have lost tremendous economic opportunities to those that have realised the time for change has come. The sooner our government realises that the better."

Benny Bunsee reflects on how deftly the Government changed the nature of the struggle towards democracy

STAR 21-04-92

FW won round 1 of the power game — now for round 2

ALMOST 25 years ago when circumstances drove me out of the country, this was a deeply stratified society.

It was not only the racial compartmentalisation into which individuals were boxed — it was also the fossilisation of thought, the impossibility of breaking out of fixed attitudes and customs into which individuals were trapped.

The nature of South Africa's transition makes it remarkable, and distinctly different from what has occurred in other Third World countries. There the struggle assumed a straightforward fight between the old powers of colonial domination and the indigenous people.

Here, that kind of struggle has been cleverly sidestepped by the National Party, pulling the rug from under the feet of the liberation movements. Suddenly the language of change assumed a new form, the old fossilised thought patterns disappeared.

The struggle for power and political influence will cut across colour lines but still reflect deeply entrenched interests. In a way it can be said that our politics have overnight become multiracial in a way that those who advocated it never imagined.

Nothing reveals this as starkly as the attempts of the National Party to break into the black vote.

The liberation movements themselves, in particular the ANC, have played into the hands of Mr de Klerk in being unable to forge unity among themselves. While the Patriotic Front was a good attempt to do so, it is now virtually defunct.

The violence between the ANC and Inkatha was a godsend for the Nats. It has destabilised and demoralised the black communities, driven them into laager-type ethnic thinking, less able to deal with a situation they wish to abolish.

But ultimately South Africa will head for a straightforward type of modern democracy based on one person one vote. Neither the strong opposition forces in the country, nor the international



Skilled player . . . President de Klerk

community will accept anything less.

Round one has been won by Mr de Klerk in stemming the tide of an armed struggle that would inevitably have followed if the Government had persisted in its apartheid politics, and with it the loss of white power as has happened in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa.

Round two is uncertain and is taking the form of political struggle where the Government and Mr de Klerk are attempting to lay down the rules according to its own power play.

But the struggle for power knows no rules, indeed makes its own rules. Yesterday's enemies become one's friends and, black turns into white, and so on.

South Africa is also a deeply pluralistic society, both culturally and politically, and the division of the unity of the African people into two contending liberatory trends, ANC vs PAC/Azapo together with other interests like Inkatha and the TVBC regions, confirms that political pluralism.

It will be the ability of the Government to maintain these divisions, and this pluralism, that will ensure its own future survival, and its own aims of power sharing. In this process it will have to

give in as much as to take, clearly indicated by the see-saws of the negotiating process.

But some aspects of that pluralism will fade away, like the interests of the TVBC, and the lunatic AWB. They cannot hold ground because they defy all the norms of a modern democratic state.

The TVBCs violate the territorial integrity of the country, and the AWB represents a dying age that will be swept away. Both the ANC and the National Party, with the latter threshing around to maintain its power, will occupy the centre and dominant ground.

However the interests of the PAC cannot be swept away that easily. The PAC represents an ideology that is becoming increasingly important in Africa and the African Diaspora.

The collapse of communism also gives a decisive edge to pluralism, and the lack of a credible alternative to capitalism will mean at most reform within that system.

But what form the next phase of the social struggle will take is beyond prophecy. If the bulk of the African people remain at the bottom of the ladder it could take an Africanist socialist form which might merge in with a worldwide Pan-Africanist movement.

The African people have always been in the vanguard in the struggle for change.

So far the ANC has been able to intervene against this with the support of its white liberal and socialist friends and divided the African people on this basis.

A free election based on one person one vote might be able to release that centralising force and the consent of a democratic state, particularly if it is based on proportional representation with its element of greater democratic fairness.

It will not be what the various interests want but it might be the only one that will enable us to get out of our impasse.

● Benny Bunsee is an exiled journalist who has just returned home. □

Unrest: Man necklaced

FROM PAGE 1

Two hours later, two more houses in Sharpeville were attacked. One was razed, and the other badly damaged.

At Sebokeng hostel, also near Vereeniging, police arrested four people and confiscated three AK-47 assault rifles and another rifle on Sunday.

A man was killed and a young woman was wounded when gunmen opened fire on a group of people watching a

film show in the Evaton hall near Vereeniging on Sunday night.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Capt Piet van Deventer, said the hall's lights were switched-off before gunmen armed with an AK-47 rifle and a 9 mm pistol threw open the doors and started firing on people inside.

Mr Lucky Melo (18) of Sebokeng, was hit in the chest and killed while the 17-year-old Mpuse Tshabalala, of Evaton, was wounded in the legs. She was taken to the Sebokeng hospital.

"Two houses were petrol bombed in Sharpeville in the early hours of Monday and another two houses were attacked in Ivory Park near Tembisa overnight," Captain Van Deventer said.

In the Ivory Park incident, an AK-47 was confiscated and three people were arrested.

In overnight violence two men were arrested

and disarmed after a police patrol came under fire in Soweto, said Capt Burger van Rooyen, of the SA Police Public Relations Division.

The worst incident of violence in Natal occurred on Sunday at Magabeni, near Umkomaas, in what appeared to be a revenge attack.

Capt Van Rooyen said a group of people who were attacked on Saturday retaliated, killing two women and one man and wounding another.

In a follow-up operation, police seized 11 homemade firearms, two AK-47, two .303 rifles and a 9 mm pistol, as well as a large quantity of ammunition.

Eleven men were arrested.

In Alexandra, two women and a man sustained stab wounds during an attack by a group of men.

In another incident, a man was killed when five men opened fire on him. In a third incident,

one man was killed and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by a group of men armed with firearms and knives.

Bodies of three men with bullet or stab wounds were found in Sharpeville, Tokoza, and Katlehong.

In an arson attack, a house in Tembisa was extensively damaged after being set alight. — Sapa.

DISASTER FEARED

Citizen 21 April 1992

Spill
hits
beach

AS OIL LEAKS

MAPUTO. ^{5.4} A stranded tanker off the Mozambican coast has spilled an estimated 3 500 tons of fuel oil, the biggest environmental disaster in Mozambique, the national news agency said.

Oil from the Greek-owned Katina P was drifting on to beaches and into

Maputo Bay, Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi said, according to the AIM news agency.

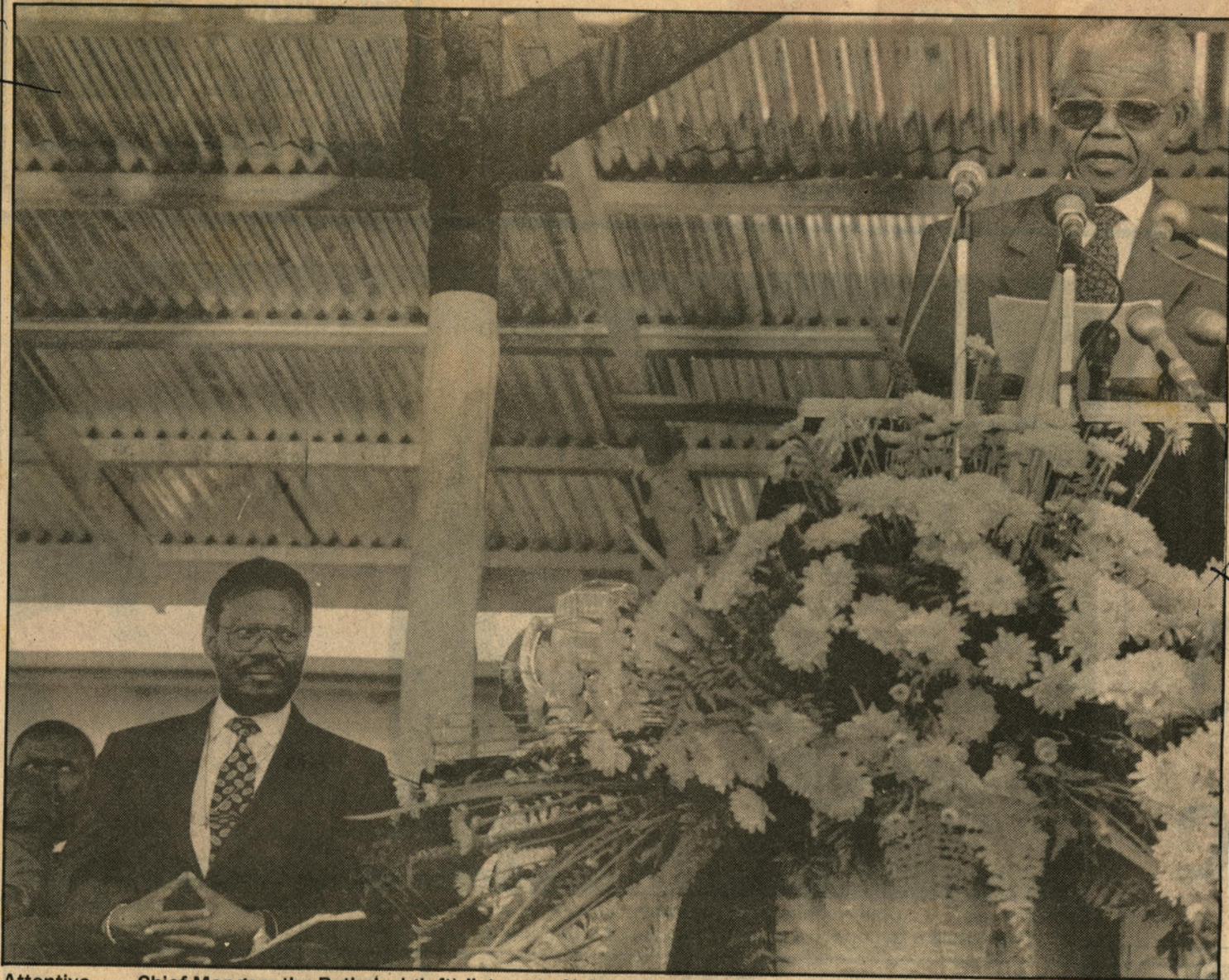
Mr Mocumbi said the spill posed a serious threat to marine life and the fishing industry in Mozambique.

The government has requested foreign help to contain the spill. South Africa has been in contact

with Mozambican authorities since the ship was steered on to a sandbar in heavy seas on Thursday night. British teams with equipment to fight oil spills arrived in Maputo yesterday.

All 20 crew members were rescued from the Katina P, which appears

TO PAGE 2



Attentive . . . Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left) listens to Nelson Mandela deliver his speech.

Pictures: Alf Khumalo

To: Chief Minister Suthwale
FAX NO
From: Chris Jones
0944-727-864/25

LONDON 21/4/92

SA government's vested interest in the Mandelas

THERE is no mystery surrounding the South African government's reluctance to pursue Winnie Mandela (Outlook, April 18). The SA government began talking to Nelson Mandela in July 1986; and since then, as plans to share power with the ANC developed, has had a vested interest in seeing that his standing in the black community was not diminished — an inevitable consequence of the Winnie scandal.

Nor should one be too confident that Winnie Mandela is finished as a political figure.

The increasingly fragmented and violent nature of South African politics provides a stage on which she could well shine. My own fear (having just returned from my eighth visit to South Africa since being unbanned in 1989) is that the carefully orchestrated constitutional talks are losing touch with the reality in the townships. The ANC is fighting on two fronts: a war of words in the Codesa talks, and a shooting war with Inkatha and its allies.

The fighting (which has

killed more than 2,000 since last month's referendum) continues because the white liberal establishment, hanging on to what remains of white power, cannot bring themselves to accept that they are no longer setting the political agenda. Neither Codesa nor the National Peace Committee show any signs of coming to terms with this reality. The longer this blindness continues, the nearer South Africa gets to full-scale civil war.

Chris Jones.

68 Grange Street,
St Albans, Herts.

Guardian, London
21 April 1992

No formal talks with PAC in Nigeria: Govt

UMTATA. — The South African Government yesterday contradicted the Pan Africanist Congress's weekend announcement that they would hold bilateral talks in Nigeria soon, saying no formal meeting with the PAC had been arranged.

On Saturday, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu announced at the organisation's third national congress in Umtata, Transkei, that a meeting had been arranged with the government under the chairmanship of Organisation of African Unity chairman and Nigerian President, Mr Ibrahim Babangida.

He said the meeting — to be held soon although no date had been set — would lay the ground for a summit meeting between himself and President De Klerk to discuss the "modalities of elections" towards a constituent assembly.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, said yesterday Nigerian Government officials had made "informal approaches" to South African Government representatives on the issue of a meeting with PAC leaders.

"This was a goodwill gesture on the part of Nigeria. At no stage, however, was it suggested that such a meeting would constitute a formal negotiating session, or summit, with the PAC under the chairmanship of the OAU on foreign or neutral territory.

"From the South African Government's point of view, such a step would be entirely unnecessary. The government has no intention of deviating from the (Codesa) Declaration of Intent and accordingly welcomes the opportunity to hold discussions with all parties in South Africa who commit themselves to peaceful negotiations."

The government felt South Africa's future had to be negotiated by South Africans themselves and since the "playing field" had been levelled for all parties pursuing peace, there was nothing preventing the PAC from joining negotiations.

The government was prepared to and would prefer to meet the PAC leadership in South Africa.

"It would wish to stress, however, that such a meeting elsewhere would be between South Africans meeting as South Africans to discuss their common future. Outside intervention or participation would be neither necessary nor desirable."

Approached for reaction on the statement, PAC secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desai, said the organisation had "no comment at this stage".

He said the PAC maintained its earlier view that a preparatory meeting

with the government had been arranged.

Mr Desai told Sapa earlier that the Nigerian Government had acted as a facilitator in organising PAC/SA Government talks, and senior Nigerian officials at the congress had confirmed a meeting had been arranged with the South African Government.

The Foreign Affairs statement came during a closed session of the PAC's congress and leaders were expected to react formally to the development today.

On Saturday, about 1 000 delegates responded with "acclamation" to the announcement of talks with the government in Nigeria, according to Mr Desai.

PAC officials said their position on negotiations for a constituent assembly between the PAC and government had been vindicated as these could now take place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman. — Sapa.

The Citizen

6/4/92

The Star 21/4/92

Staff Reporters

Petrol bombings, grenade attacks and "necklacing" marred the Easter weekend as violence continued in Reef townships.

In the latest acts of violence, during the 24 hours ending at midnight yesterday, police reported that:

● A man who had been shot by unknown gunmen died on his way to Natalpruit Hospital in Germiston yesterday.

The brother of the dead man arrived at the hospital and started shooting. Three men were seriously wounded during the attack.

● Extensive damage was caused yesterday when a home

was petrol-bombed in Melmholo, Soweto.

● Police found the body of a man with stab and burn wounds at Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto yesterday.

● In another attack in Meadowlands, a man was seriously wounded when gunfire fired several times at him.

● A policeman yesterday sustained back wounds when four men attacked him at the Mandela Squatter Camp in Alberton.

One of the attackers robbed the policeman of his firearm

and pointed it at him. A man was wounded when police fired a number of rounds.

● Police found the body of Ben Khumbule (20) in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, yesterday afternoon.

Mr Khumbule was stoned and necklaced when he and a friend were approached by a group of men while walking in the street. His friend escaped.

● Extensive damage was caused yesterday to three private dwellings during petrol-bomb attacks in Sharpville.

● Police yesterday seized three

AK-47 rifles, a DSA hunting rifle and a number of rounds of various calibres while searching Scholeng Hostel near Vereeniging.

Four men have been arrested for possessing unlicensed firearms and ammunition.

● A hand grenade was found at a house in Soboleing at 9.16 pm yesterday.

A number of rounds were also fired at the house fronting private vehicles.

Police said a youth was wounded in the thigh while walking past the house during

the shooting.

No damage was caused to the house.

● Two men sustained injuries when two groups attacked each other in Kerkdorp in the western Transvaal yesterday.

● Three people were killed and three more seriously injured when a group attacked people at a bungalow at Table Mountain, near MacLizberg, yesterday.

Four policemen were killed and several people were injured in unrest-related incidents at the weekend.

One policeman was killed in

the shooting when he tried to arrest a man fighting in Soweto.

A man has been arrested and while patrolling Power Park squatter camp in Orlando, Soweto, on Friday afternoon.

In a police follow-up operation, two men were shot and eight were arrested.

A 25-year-old policeman from Park on the East Road in Botswana was shot while trying to apprehend a suspect.

A man who was armed with an AK-47 rifle jumped out from behind a house and shot him in

the head.

Five policemen were injured in a hand grenade attack in Witte City, Soweto, on Friday.

The men were patrolling and saw two suspects, one armed with an AK-47 rifle.

As the patrol car approached them, the gunman threw the grenade at the police.

A policeman was shot dead while chasing a gang of car thieves in Umhlati outside Durban on Sunday.

Police said Constable Bongkani Bhengu, who was off duty at the time, and Constable Sili Diamini were walking a short distance when they collected a gang tampering with it.

The policeman chased after the men and in the dark one of the men fired a shot killing Constable Bhengu.

The Star 21/4/92

'Some SAP members reject outside help'

By Jo-Anne Gillinge

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR) says it is hampered in implementing the aims of the National Peace Accord by the negative attitude of some members of the South African Police to "outsiders" assisting them.

"One of the essential elements of the National Peace Accord is the impartiality of the police and their willingness to accept help from organisations and individuals working in various communities," the IBIR report for March records.

"Our experience is that we have been unable to assist members of the SAP to the best of our abilities due to their negative attitude towards 'outsiders' assisting them."

Police repeatedly used the media to encourage witnesses to come forward and assist with investigations, the IBIR report observes. "When attempts are made to facilitate this, we often find ourselves arrested or accused of tampering with or changing statements."

Captain Steve van Rooyen of the police division of public relations reserved comment on the allegations, saying he would like to see the full IBIR report before responding.

The following examples of friction between board members and the SAP are cited in the report:

● An IBIR researcher involved in investigating the shooting of an ANC member in Elizabetville was allegedly "accused by a member of the SAP, in front of an Inkatha Freedom Party hoc-

tel, of being involved in the burning down of IFP houses in the area".

● During the course of the Goldstone Commission hearing on Tokozza, an IBIR researcher was accused by counsel for the SAP of telling witnesses not to co-operate with the police. The report states that this researcher was persistently followed by two white men in a minibus while she was taking statements from potential witnesses.

● At Carletonville, where the IBIR has assisted a police investigation of alleged torture and extra-judicial executions by the Welverdiend unrest unit, no fewer than nine people who participated in the investigation or who laid a complaint against local policemen were arrested and/or charged in a court of law.

"To date two people have had their charges withdrawn following a recommendation by the Attorney-General, two were acquitted and one was discharged following the presentation of the State's case."

The IBIR report states that Carletonville residents are beginning to ask what is the price of co-operating with the investigation. "Witnesses have been threatened and warned that they are 'not far off from the mortuary'."

The board's researcher and the local ANC chairman were told that a certain suspended policeman had plans to eliminate them as they were the cause of the suspensions of members of the force, the report claims.

Unbowed Winnie launches sharp attack on Govt

Winnie Mandela is clearly not prepared to bow out of the limelight, and has hit back with an attack against the Government over violence and the future of Codessa.

As allegations against her mounted in the weekend press, the estranged wife of the ANC president visited strife-torn townships.

She was in Soweto on Saturday, and then Sharpeville on Sunday, after eight ANC members were shot dead there. Yesterday she visited Ndabeni, near Richmond in the Natal Midlands.

"We are certainly not going to keep on culling on our people to continue talking to a government that is killing our people," Mrs Mandela said in an interview with Sapa.

"How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence? Either they stop the violence or we stop talking."

After visiting the troubled Vaul Tilange township yesterday, Mrs Mandela gave her first interview since which has been dubbed the "week

in her life" — a week in which she and her husband separated and during which one-lire friends made a string of serious allegations against her.

Mrs Mandela was in a fighting mood, and — as she reminded an enthusiastic crowd earlier in Sharpeville — she is still an elected member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as on the executive of both the ANC's Women's League and PWV region.

She stuck to her public statement last week — made when she quit as head of the ANC's Social Welfare Department — that the allegations against her were false and were aimed at dividing the ANC. She maintained her innocence and said there was an appeal pending regarding charges of kidnapping and accessory to assault.

Mrs Mandela added that she expected the allegations to continue but was sure they would fail to destroy her or to divide the ANC.

"Unfortunately I'm unable

in her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst week in her life". Winnie Mandela was in a fighting mood. She said the Government's failure to deal effectively with violence may force the ANC to question improvement in negotiations.

to talk to you outside of that statement," she said.

She accused the Government of sitting in a goalpost in the negotiation process when it had recently threatened to intensify government while violence continued.

"We are in no position to stop the violence because we are not the perpetrators of this violence."

"The Government says there will be no item government while there's violence, but in fact it is the Government itself that's fanning the violence in the country," she charged.

"They are forcing us into a position where we will have to rather continue with the present bills."

The ongoing violence against ANC members and supporters at grassroots level was aimed at demoralising the organisation's supporters.

"Being associated with the ANC at present means one's death warrant. How can we enter elections if the people are dying every day?"

"The Government's insincerity and dishonesty in dealing with the state of the violence is going to have to force us to go back to original positions and question the whole concept again," Mrs Mandela said.

"They (the Government) have threatened the peace process sufficiently for the leadership of the ANC to take a very strong position."

The ANC regarded as "most intransigent" the Gov-

ernment's demand that the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), disband and hand over its arms caches. Her statements were "totally premature".

"MK will never be disbanded," Mrs Mandela said. "It is the future democratic arm of this country."

"By reaching that all they are simply hurting the people on the ground because the people now feel they are defenceless and that MK has not been called upon to suspend armed action, then they would have had power defenceless."

"The idea is to confuse the masses so as to make the (ANC) leadership appear as if it has compromised its position of MK."

By trying to create a rift within the ANC the Government was attempting to weaken the ANC's position in the negotiation process, Mrs Mandela said.

Its demands concerning MK and an end to violence before interim rule were "stumbling blocks... they're trying to stall the forward

movement of Codessa".

Mrs Mandela said she was not in a position as an individual to discuss what action the ANC would take or was contemplating taking in light of her accusations.

"That will be a decision of the national executive. But of course we all have these very very serious concerns."

The bottom line was that the Government did not want Codessa 2 to take place as scheduled on May 15 and 16, Mrs Mandela added.

"We are quite aware of the fact that the Government is trying to sabotage Codessa 2, and that it is trying to sabotage us reaching the interim government stage."

"These are attempts to cling to power," Mrs Mandela said.

"The very fact that they should still imagine themselves having sole power to decide who will be partner to a power-sharing arrangement is indicative of a government that is not prepared to relinquish power."

"They don't have that right any more," — Sapa

The Citizen 22/4/92

KwaZulu Govt, Police crime ring smashed

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. — Detectives have smashed a crime ring within the KwaZulu Government and KwaZulu Police (KZP).

In a province-wide operation conducted by Dundee CID during Easter, nine men and women were arrested and charged with defrauding the Ulundi administration of R1.2 million.

They are expected to appear in court soon.

Those detained include low-ranking employees of the KwaZulu departments of Justice and Finance and two KZP constables, but more senior officials may face questioning as the investigation intensifies.

The clandestine syndicate, which police de-

scribed as sophisticated and well organised, was exposed after two stolen KwaZulu Government cheques, each worth R650 000 were cashed by a man at First National Bank in Dundee on April 13 and 14.

The man used false KwaZulu Government identification to trick bank staff to hand over the money.

But immediately after the second transaction was completed, the branch manager telephoned the police.

Acting on information, police arrested a female employee of the KwaZulu Department of Justice and recovered R70 000 at a house in Ngutu township near Dundee.

Three more women, in-

cluding two other Justice Department employees, were detained on April 15 and 16 in Umlazi, Kwa-Mashu and Ngutu.

Last week on Friday, two men working at the Department of Finance at Ulundi were arrested.

The two KZP members were apprehended in Ngutu yesterday.

A police spokesman, Capt Jan Calitz, said R370 000 had been recovered.

"There is no doubt this was a widespread conspiracy involving employees of several departments within the KwaZulu Government. If we had not acted as soon as we did, all the money would have been lost," he said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 21/4/92

Move to get witness back to SA

Citizen Reporter

NEGOTIATIONS between the South African and Zambian governments are under way for the return of a crucial witness in the renewed investigation into allegations against Mrs Winnie Mandela and the Mandela United Football Club.

Senior police officials said yesterday that the evidence of Mr Katiza Cebekhulu — who claimed to have been abducted and spirited out of South Africa by an ANC unit to prevent him from giving evidence in the trial of Mrs Mandela and others — would be crucial in any new case.

He was last seen in the Lusaka Central Prison, where he was held after his arrival in Zambia shortly after the start of the trial involving Mrs Mandela.

The last official word on him in Zambia was that his case was being handed over to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka.

The Citizen's information is that tape-recorded information from Mr Cebekhulu formed the basis of un-

rain reports in which fresh allegations were made against Mrs Mandela concerning the murder of Azapo health secretary, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

The tape recording was made about five months ago by a human rights lawyer who saw Mr Cebekhulu in prison.

A copy was given to British Conservative Party MP, Mrs Emma Nicholson, who also visited Mr Cebekhulu, and subsequently to representatives of a Canadian group of newspapers and a representative of the Christian Science Monitor, which published new allegations on the Asvat murder a few days before the announcement of the separation of Mrs Mandela and her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Citizen 21/4/92

X DP faces possible split over direction for future

by Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The Democratic Party faces a possible split this week between those of its caucus members wishing to join the ANC and those who feel the party should remain independent or form an alliance with the National Party.

The summary suspension last week of four members from caucus by leader Dr Zach de Beer is expected to be discussed tomorrow at a special meeting of the DP caucus.

Tomorrow's caucus meeting was specifically called to plan for the session ahead, but DP members said yesterday this could not be done without examining the position of the four suspended members.

Caucus could make recommendations to the party leadership and to the party's national executive committee, which is due to meet in Cape Town on Thursday morning.

The executive has the authority to take further action against the suspended members, including expulsion from the party, subject to ratification by the party's national council.

The four members suspended from caucus and all party functions, including membership of Ciskei, are Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Mr

Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) from the Cape, and Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South) from Natal.

A fifth pro-ANC member, and reported leader of the group, is Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), who is recuperating from a heart attack. He did not attend a meeting with the ANC last Tuesday together with the other four DP members.

Sources indicate there is little support for these five members among the rest of the caucus, although others do favour the idea of closer association with the ANC, rather than the NP. At least six DP caucus members are said to favour links with the NP, whether in alliance or through a merger.

The pro-NP members, said to be headed by Mr Tony Leon (Houghton) in Transvaal and Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia) in the Cape, would object to an alliance with the ANC.

In the middle of this dispute are between 18 and 20 members who favour the DP remaining independent, to propagate liberal democratic ideals.

Complicating the issue is the decision taken by the DP in February to set up a strategy committee, under DP national chairman Ken Andrew, to look to the party's future.

This eight-man committee was reduced to seven with the suspension last week of Mr Haswell. It, too, is due to meet tomorrow to put the final touches to its report.

The committee is expected to recommend that the party remains independent of both the ANC and the NP. The question is whether this would satisfy either the pro-ANC or pro-NP groups within the caucus.

In addition to tomorrow's special meeting, the CP caucus will hold its ordinary weekly meeting on Thursday.

The NP and the Conservative Party will also hold their customary weekly meetings on Thursday. The CP is unlikely to split further at this stage, following the expulsion earlier this month of Mr Koos Botha (Wonderboom).

Mr Botha is expected to spell out his concept of a volkstaat achieved through negotiation when he speaks in the joint debate on the Budget vote of the State President in Parliament this week.

The moves and tensions among the political parties are expected to result in a lively debate.

The Citizen 21/4/92

'No progress in talks on disbanding MK'

Citizen Reporter

NO SUBSTANTIAL progress has been reported on the impasse between government and the ANC over disbanding of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the revealing of its arms caches.

Government sources said yesterday that with time running out before the convening of Codesa 2 next month and the proposed implementation of interim government, it remained to be seen if pro-

gress could be made at today's meeting of the technical committee of Codesa's working group three, which is one of the mechanisms dealing with the issue.

The primary impediment in dealing with the issue is the joint government/ANC working group which is handling the bilateral negotiations between the two groups on the matter. Progress in this forum was reported to have been disappointing, and agreement limited to minor issues.

The government, through several Ministers involved in the negotiations, is insisting on the disbanding of MK before interim government is installed.

The ANC position has been that the issue of the disbanding of MK and the making known of its cadres and arms caches can only be dealt with once an interim government is in place.

Government sources said there had been progress in implementation of the D F Malan agreement reached last February, as a result of talks between Mr De Klerk and ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, when negotiations in the joint working group on suspension of the armed struggle bogged down.

The original negotiations on the disbanding of MK and related matters date back to the Pretoria Minute of 1991, and discussions at the joint working group headed by the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for the government, and the MK chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, for the ANC.

The Citizen 21/4/92

Four policemen die in attacks during Easter

By Vivian Warby and Rika van Graan

FIFTY-TWO policemen have died in attacks on members of the force this year and the police will be relentless in their pursuit of those who execute such attacks, police spokesman, Capt Burger van Rooyen said yesterday.

He was commenting on the recent spate of attacks on police over the Easter weekend in which four policemen were killed and six wounded.

He strongly condemned these attacks — which were "clearly on the increase" and said all measures would be taken to prevent further deaths.

The number of policemen who have died in attacks on police has risen dramatically since 1990 when 107 policemen were killed.

Last year this figure rose to 145 and the death toll of 52 for just the first four months of this year clearly indicated that police were increasingly becoming targets for attackers, Capt Van Rooyen said.

The killings were strongly condemned by the Ministry of Law and Order yesterday.

Spokesman for the Ministry, Capt Craig Kotze, said as the police protected everyone, the killings should be condemned unreservedly and in no uncertain terms by all political groups and by all sectors of society.

The South African Police is the only police force South Africa has

and without it there would be chaos," he said.

Last weekend's series of attacks included a murder in Natal, the indiscriminate shooting at three police patrol vehicles in three different incidents and a handgrenade being thrown at a police patrol vehicle.

A policeman was killed and his colleague seriously injured at Power Park squatter camp in Orlando, Soweto, when attackers opened fire on the patrol vehicle they were travelling in on Friday morning.

In another incident at the weekend, a 24-year-old policeman was gunned down by a man wielding an AK-47 rifle in

Phola Park on the East Rand while he was putting a suspect into a patrol vehicle.

The attacker allegedly ran out of a house and shot the policeman in the head.

Another policeman was shot dead on Friday morning when he tried to break up a fight between two men. A man has been arrested in connection with the incident.

In White City, Soweto, five policemen were injured when a handgrenade was thrown at their patrol vehicle.

The policemen were on patrol in the area when they spotted two suspects. One of the suspects, who had an AK-47, aimed it at the vehicle. He was shot at and wounded. His accomplice, however, threw a handgrenade at the police vehicle, injuring the policemen.

Durban police are searching for the killers of a young Lamontville policeman who was shot early on Sunday when he and a friend chased six Black men who tried to break into his car in Umhlangeni.

Const Bonginkosi Gladstone Bengu (25), based in Lamontville, was killed.

Police said Const Bengu was in G section, Umhlangeni, when he and a friend approached his car at 2.30 am. They spotted the men tampering with the vehicle.

The suspects fled and were chased by the policeman and his friend.

Const Bengu's friend heard a shot and discovered him with a bullet wound in the head.

He died in the morning without regaining consciousness.

Star 21/4/92

Violence caused by hostels

As a young white man I am disturbed by escalation of violence

The violence in townships and in towns caused by hostels ... Zulu migrant workers living in the slum township hostels. They are allowed by the Government, the SAP and the ADF to carry dangerous weapons in public.

The Government does not want to destroy the hostels. Inkatha members in the hostels have lots of gas and handgrenades and innocent people.

I'm worried about the way in which the SAP and ADF are operating around the PWV area and in Natal and failing to stop violence. I

think the hit squad still exists

The SAP and ADF know that Inkatha members are killing innocent commuters in trains, and they are the main creators of this black-on-black violence. In the trains these thugs use handgrenades, pangas, knobkerries, stones, sticks, guns, umbrellas etc.

The SAP and ADF do their job in the wrong way. The present defence force and police force must be dissolved to pave the way for the true democratic force.

However they are quick to arrest blacks who are implicated in the killings of a white person, as at Natal spruit school in the Free State.

Inkatha supporters are escorted by the SA Police along the streets of townships when they go to their meetings or rallies. More often than not, when they return from their meetings there is horror and bloodshed.

ANC members also go to meetings and but they do so peacefully, without weapons in their hands. When they return from their meetings or peace marches, there is no bloodshed, looting etc.

But when Inkatha return from their meetings innocent people are being killed. Throughout the black townships even a three-year-old child knows that if you talk of Inkatha you are talking of killers and robbers.

The Government is busy telling the world that the ANC and MK people are keeping their AK-47s. But at the same time Inkatha's thugs attack innocent people overnight and in trains and funerals using AK-47s, shotguns, R-1s, and grenades, pangas, spears, etc.

The only thing that can stop the violence in our country is to call in a United Nations Peace Keeping Force. They won't take sides, they should disarm Inkatha of their traditional weapons, shotguns, handgrenades, AK-47s, etc and the ANC of their AK-47s. And there will be peace.

Stefo M Kubiaka
Glenhazel

The Star 21/4/92

Winnie slates 'ANC whisperers' to press

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A defiant Winnie Mandela received a tumultuous welcome from the African National Congress in the Natal Midlands when she arrived in Ndoleni township near Richmond yesterday.

Dressed in full ANC colours, Mrs Mandela was cheered by thousands of young people and women.

This was her second public appearance following Nelson Mandela's public announcement of the couple's separation, and mounting allegations of her involvement in torture and murder.

She shared the platform with ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala in what was billed a commemoration service for those who had lost their lives in the violence in Richmond's township.

However, speakers at the rally made it apparent that the rally was a platform to test Mrs Mandela's support in

the region, a gamble that seemed to have paid off.

Most speakers blamed the media for the damage done to Mrs Mandela's reputation.

She made reference to unnamed ANC sources quoted in newspapers, whom she called the "shadowy people in the ANC who are whispering to the press" and asked: "Is it better for a leader to be trusted by the editor of a newspaper or by the people?"

Mrs Mandela also launched a stinging attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk.

"In Sharpeville this weekend, Inkatha and the police killed a whole family while de Klerk and Gatscha were worshipping in Morta.

"That prayer of theirs is absolutely meaningless. They do one thing and they say another."

She concluded: "I will never abdicate my responsibilities. At whatever cost, I will see to it that your poverty is alleviated."

● See Page 7

Spirit of goodwill amazes observers

By Dirk Nel

Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The spirit of goodwill which marked Sunday's "Day of Peace" rally at Morija, where political leaders addressed more than 1 million Zion Christian Church members, has amazed foreign media representatives.

Accustomed to the violence often associated with large gatherings in urban townships, the sight of masses of people, representing at least nine ethnic groups, kneeling in prayer, and then cheering the messages of peace delivered by prominent de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, prompted an American journalist to describe the scene as "the other face of South Africa nobody knows about".

"This is unreal," said an Associated Press photographer, as he documented the event for international agencies.

Each of the speakers brought his own style to the proceedings. Mr de Klerk adopted a logical approach, Chief Buthelezi appealed to the emotions of his audience, and Mr Mandela used the occasion as a political platform.

Mr de Klerk encouraged the people to strengthen their family life, to discipline their children not to participate in violence, and to become involved in community projects aimed at promoting positive recreation for young people.

Chief Buthelezi said he sometimes felt deeply ashamed of being a black South African when reviewing the country-wide violence.

Mr Mandela focused on the various injustices of the past, and committed the ANC to the safeguarding of religious freedom in a future dispensation.

Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane then delivered his traditional Easter message and the cheer that went up left no doubt where the loyalties of the audience lay.

The Star

21/4/92

The Star 21/4/92

Evictions 'expected to decrease'

By Linnéa Rungers
Municipal Reporter

Several Ennerdale residents have made arrangements with the Johannesburg City Council to pay off rent arrears and take transfer of their council-owned homes to stop being evicted.

The city council has obtained court orders to evict 53 tenants in Ennerdale who owe occupational rent.

Four tenants were evicted last week and four made arrangements to get bonds and take

transfer of the houses to pay off their arrears.

Johannesburg health and housing committee chairman Marietta Marx said of the remaining 45 tenants with eviction orders against them, a number had told the council's attorneys they were trying to obtain bonds to pay.

"We expect the list of evictions to decrease dramatically as we were inundated with calls from tenants wanting to settle their accounts and take transfer."

These tenants would

not be evicted.

She said council security staff were not involved in tearing down the tents of evicted residents on vacant land.

"The police called in the army to remove the tents," she said.

● The city council will press charges of malicious damage to property against an Ennerdale resident who cut the brake cables of a council Casspir and placed a petrol-soaked tyre under it.

The suspect was admitted to hospital after being shot in the mouth

The Star

Established 1887

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The Star
21/4/92

Find a place for the king

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI and the IFP still insist that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, should head a separate delegation at Codesa. Chief Buthelezi, conveniently forgetting his earlier view that the "king should be above politics", may be seeking to strengthen his hand.

Nelson Mandela, apparently fearful that the monarch has been misinformed about and is therefore hostile to the ANC, wants to meet King Zwelithini to assure him that the ANC is not anti-Zulu. But, political manoeuvring aside, there are good reasons why the IFP demand should be met.

One, clearly, is that the participation of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP may well be dependent on the king's acceptance by Codesa as head of a separate delegation. Another is that, as a matter of principle, Codesa should be as inclusive as possible.

A third reason is that one of the issues before Codesa is whether the new constitution should include special representation for traditional leaders. If the future of traditional leaders is at stake, King Zwelithini, as hereditary ruler of the Zulus, should be there.

By the same logic, paramount chiefs should be given the option of heading delegations to Codesa. If they choose to exercise the option, their delegations should be the same size as King Zwelithini's. The idea of determining the size of the delegation according to size of the traditional leader's fief runs counter to Codesa's ground rules.

There, the principle of parity prevails: Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party — to cite one example — has the same number of representatives as the ANC. But that does not matter as Codesa functions on a basis of consensus rather than by majority vote.

The inclusion of delegations led by traditional leaders may make Codesa cumbersome. But that is the price that has to be paid to make Codesa as inclusive and representative as possible.

The Star 21/4/92

MPs expected to join ANC

Political Staff

The four Democratic Party members of parliament suspended from the party activities last week were expected to announce their resignation to join the ANC today.

Jannie Momberg, MP for Simonstown, Rob Haswell, MP for Maritz-

burg South, Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, and Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, were expected to make the announcement at a press conference which was due to be held at the ANC's Johannesburg head office during lunch-time.

The four were expelled from the DP after

discussing with the ANC the possibility of joining the organisation and serving it in Parliament.

Neither ANC spokesman Gill Marcus nor the four MPs could be reached for comment at the time of going to press.

Ms Marcus's office said she was "very, very busy in a meeting".

B. Day

21/4/92

COMMENT**Peace**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi all made their obligatory calls for peace at Moria on Sunday. But none could resist combining that with more or less overt appeals for support from members of the huge, captive audience whose political loyalties are less clear than any other identifiable constituency in the country. And that attitude signals at least part of South Africa's problem of violence.

Joint, public calls for peace from the country's three main political leaders have their place. But they tend to be highly overrated. At worst, they could divert attention away from more important peace initiatives.

For a start, each of the political leaders and their organisations regularly take actions or make statements that immediately negate the kinds of sentiments they expressed on Sunday. The ANC, for example, continues to support "self-defence" activities. The organisation seems blind to the contribution of self-defence (a short step from vengeance) to the spiral of violence. It helps not to protest that ANC supporters are the initial victims, if their reaction helps to spawn a series of mini civil wars. And the ANC has not exactly shown a sense of urgency in seeking a solution to the problem of private armies and the proliferation of weapons it spawns.

Buthelezi and Inkatha, too, have much to answer for. On numerous occasions Inkatha representatives

on local peace committee structures have been withdrawn in fits of pique on instruction from above. Buthelezi goes out of his way to create ethnic divisions, using the institution of Zulu royalty as a political pawn. He makes repeated threats about ethnic mobilisation and the warrior-like qualities of his people, even though he later denies ever contemplating violence as a political weapon. And he fails to address the glaring fact that hostels known to be Inkatha strongholds have become the focus of much of the violence.

President de Klerk and the NP, too, are not above blurring the divide between legitimate and dangerous political activity. The threat to stall the political process until the problem of violence has been resolved is particularly incomprehensible in the light of De Klerk's identification at Moria of "cunning and violent forces" at work, trying to prevent the achievement of peace. If such forces exist, and De Klerk is not alone in believing they do, the promise to halt political progress will only encourage them to continue stoking violence. De Klerk, as the head of the government of the day, also has an obligation to demand of his intelligence apparatus — once so efficient, now seemingly ineffectual — to seek out those responsible for the violence and let the judicial process take its course.

Moria may have been a political triumph for one or more of the political leaders. Sadly, its contribution to peace will remain limited until all three show greater commitment to ending the violence.

B. Day 21/4/92

* Church leaders exclude govt, security forces from peace summit

CHURCH leaders will convene a peace summit tomorrow in an attempt to boost the peace process. But only black organisations — and not government or security forces — have been invited.

Summit organiser, the SA Council of Churches (SACC), said while the meeting would seek to determine the causes of the violence, church leaders believed the security forces were primarily responsible.

The announcement came as violence claimed more lives. At least 22 people died on the Reef alone at the weekend.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said in a weekend statement: The "emergency" summit was in response to alarming evils of political violence.

Invitations had been issued to leaders of 16 political organisations, including the ANC and Inkatha, to encourage them to "deliberate on the causes of this carnage and establish means of stopping it".

Church leaders would also seek a meeting with government as they were convinced that "forces of the state" were primarily responsible for the violence.

WILSON ZWANE

Saps reports that SA's three main political leaders — President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe — all called for peace and an end to violence when they addressed the annual Zion Christian Church gathering at Morija, in the northern Transvaal, on Sunday.

Since the peace accord was signed in September, more than 1 400 people have died in political violence.

On Sunday night people were killed when gunmen attacked a house in Sharpeville — one of several fatal attacks in the Vaal Triangle at the weekend.

Police spokesman Cpt Piet van Deventer said yesterday at least one AK-47 assault rifle was used in the attack on the home of well-known ANC members.

ANC PWV publicly secretary Ronnie Ramoepa said his organisation would seek an urgent meeting with Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel to discuss the attack. The Goldstone commission would be

asked to investigate.

In Sharpeville yesterday afternoon a man died after being reckless. Van Deventer said policeman who intervened came under fire from the attackers, and had to use teargas to disperse the crowd.

In Schokeng, also in the Vaal Triangle, one man was killed and another wounded on Sunday when men armed with AK-47 rifles opened fire on another group.

On Sunday night a man was killed and

□ To Page 2

Peace summit

woman wounded when gunmen opened fire on people watching a film show in the Evator hall near Vereeniging.

At least two people died and four were injured in sporadic clashes in Alexandra.

On Saturday, a policeman was killed when shots were fired at a police patrol in Peka Park, and on Friday, a policeman was killed when he tried to break up a fight between two men in Jouberton near Klerksdorp.

At Magabeni, near Unkomas, three people were killed on Sunday in what was believed to be a revenge attack.

ARMAN HALLAND reports that an armoured vehicle belonging to a private se-

curity firm was petrol-bombed and one man shot and wounded by a rubber bullet yesterday as Johannesburg's Binnendael township continued to simmer after a number of evictions from city council-owned houses.

Van Deventer said a security guard confronted a group of people trying to erect a tent in the grounds of one of the houses whose occupants had been evicted. A petrol bomb had been thrown at the guards armoured vehicle. Van Deventer said one man, shot in the face with a rubber bullet by the guard, was taken to hospital.

● Comments: Page 4

□ From Page

B. Day 21/4/92

Model of transitional govt on drawing board

CODESA negotiators have begun formulating a transitional government model which can be implemented as soon as obstacles to an interim government have been removed.

A technical committee headed by DP national chairman Ken Andrew and including representatives of 10 other Codesa participants met for a full day during Codesa's two-week break, which ends today when working groups resume their deliberations.

Andrew said yesterday the committee would meet again today to conclude its work.

"I hope that we get a long way towards devising an appropriate model for Phase I that can be brought into being when the preconditions of certain parties are dealt with," Andrew said.

He said the technical committee had reached "quite a lot of commonality". There had been broad agreement that initial multiparty structures should be appointed by Codesa to deal with specific issues of the transition.

The committee was appointed after NP proposals for advisory transitional councils were rejected by the ANC and allied organisations. The ANC argued that advisory councils would leave government's executive powers intact and allow it an unfair advantage in the runup to elections for a constitution-making body.

Government has since said it will not

PATRICK BULGER

enter binding agreements on a transitional government until the ANC abandons the armed struggle and disbands Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The DP attempted to play a facilitating role in working group three dealing with transitional arrangements when it became clear that a gulf had developed between NP and ANC positions.

Andrew said the committee had put aside the preconditions of the parties and these would be dealt with by the appropriate working groups.

He would not say how the committee had overcome the issue of the extent of the interim government councils' sovereignty. There has been broad agreement, however, on a two-phase approach to an interim government: the first phase concentrating on levelling the playing field in the area of elections and state media and the second stage concerning itself with the election of a sovereign interim government to oversee elections for a constitution-making body.

Andrew said there were over-optimistic hopes of significant progress before the next plenary session of Codesa takes place in mid-May.

"I would be pleasantly surprised if there has been agreement on Phase I and II of interim government," he said.

The Citizen, 21/4/92

Hani 'no longer MK chief'

MR CHRIS Hani is no longer chief of staff of the African National Congress's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC official, Miss Gill Marcus, confirmed last night.

Mr Siphwe Nyande, who was arrested in a swoop by government security forces soon after the ANC was unbanned in 1990, is acting chief of staff.

Miss Marcus said Mr Hani resigned two to

three months ago because of the workload of his position as general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

"It is incorrect to say he was demoted. Mr Nyande

was appointed by the ANC National Working Committee after Mr Hani resigned," she said.

However, Mr Hani was still involved in MK, Miss Marcus said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 21/4/92

Interim govt Bill may be this week

By Brian Street

Cape Town. — State President De Klerk may set the stage this week for an end to the present race-based Parliament and its replacement by an elected transitional government.

The government said last month that draft legislation setting out its transitional proposals would be published by the end of April, and there is speculation that the Bill will be tabled by the State President this week.

A joint meeting of all three Houses of Parliament meets from tomorrow to debate the Budget vote of the State President and Mr De Klerk will speak either on

Thursday or Friday, although he could speak more than once.

Mr De Klerk is likely to indicate during the debate this week whether Codesa-approved Bills to bring about the necessary constitutional changes may be expected by Parliament during its present sitting.

Dr Gertrude Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, said after the referendum that the mandate enabled the government to move towards an agreement on transitional arrangements "without delay".

"With the (referendum) mandate, the government can now proceed with vigour on the road of reform, to a new negotiated democratic constitution, securing equal

representation for every South African citizen, and eliminating domination.

"With a view to meaningful discussion, consideration and negotiation in Codesa, the government will make its proposals for a transitional constitution available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April," said Dr Viljoen.

Publication of draft legislation does not mean that it will be considered in that form by Parliament. But it would be a signal to other participants in Codesa that the government is anxious to move ahead, and indicate the procedures that would be followed in regard to proposals accepted by Codesa.

The Citizen 21/4/92

31 people die in Easter weekend violence

By Carol Hills
and Sapa

THIRTY-ONE people have died in unrest since Friday. Among the victims was Mr Ben Khambula (20), who was necklaced in Sharpeville yesterday afternoon.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Captain Piet van Deventer, said Mr Khambula was out walking with a friend when a group attacked them.

The group stoned Mr Khambula, put a tyre around him and set him alight. His friend managed to escape.

Unknown gunmen opened fire on police attending the scene and they retaliated, but no one was injured.

Police at the scene used teargas to disperse a mob which started stoning them.

Capt Van Deventer said no arrests were made and police were investigating.

In a separate incident at 3 pm yesterday a hand-grenade was thrown into the yard of house 8074, Sharpeville. No one was injured in the blast.

It was not known whether the attack was unrest-related.

Two Sharpeville houses were slightly damaged in petrol bombings shortly after noon yesterday.

But in a separate incident at about 2.30 pm, one Sharpeville home was completely destroyed in a

petrol bomb attack and another sustained about R5 000 damage when a petrol bomb set the lounge and dining-room alight.

Two gunmen shot and killed 18-year-old Mr Lucky Mela and injured Miss Mphahlele (17) in Evaton at 2 am yesterday.

Capt Van Deventer said a group of people were watching movies at a hall in Wright Street, Evaton, when the generator stopped, the lights were extinguished and the two gunmen opened fire on them from the doorway to the hall.

Mr Mela was hit in the chest and died instantly. Miss Tshabalala was hit in

the left leg. An AK-47 rifle and a 9 mm pistol were apparently used.

Soweto police liaison officer, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, said a 40-year-old man was killed and set alight in Zone 1, Meadowlands, at about 3.18 yesterday afternoon.

Police at the scene were fired on twice and returned fire the second time.

A man's body, with bullet wounds, was later found near the scene. It was not clear who had shot him.

Capt Ngobeni said no arrests had been made and police were investigating.

Three people were shot and killed in an Orlando-East, Soweto, home on Sunday at 1.24 pm when about four men opened fire on them — apparently with AK-47 rifles.

Five men shot and killed eight people in a Sharpeville house on Sunday morning and in a separate incident in a street there on Sunday, a man was found with bullet wounds in his head and neck.

A 29-year-old man was shot dead by a gang when they broke into an Evaton house and ransacked it, and the ANC claimed the bodies of two Evaton Youth League members, allegedly kidnapped on Friday, were found there on Sunday.

A man died when shots were fired at a group of people in Sebokeng on Sunday and the body of a man with bullet wounds in the head was also found.

Two men were killed in three group attacks in Alexandra on Sunday and the bodies of two men were found in the East Rand townships of Tokozana and Katichong.

Three people were killed in two attacks on police in the Power Park squatter camp, Orlando, Soweto and three people died in Natal during a revenge attack in Magabane, near Umkhomasi, on Sunday.

Police found four rifles — including three AK-47s — in a room at Hostel Four, Sebokeng, and arrested four people, when they searched the hostel following a tip-off.

• See Page 8.

Raymond Parsons warns that endemic violence can lead us all to poverty and despair

In search of a win-win solution

MANY of us appear to have accepted that the developments of the past couple of years in South Africa, including the high level of violence in certain parts of the country, are all a part of the process of discovering a "new South Africa".

It has an understandably visionary ring about it — and is indeed a worthy focus of our efforts.

But I would like to suggest that over the past two years or so we have also been discovering the real South Africa. The "new South Africa" is still to be negotiated once we have truly grasped the realities of this country.

The current prevalence of political violence has already caused untold hardship, disruption and loss of life and property. It jeopardises the process of peaceful political transformation and threatens to leave a legacy of insurmountable division and deep bitterness. It poses a threat to the economy.

To give a perspective to the problem of violence and its potential for destruction, it should be

noted that while 60 people were killed in the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, several thousands have been killed in political violence over the past two years.

The endemic violence, from whatever quarter it comes, is undermining confidence in the prospects for peaceful change. It can eventually lead us all on a downward path to poverty and despair, unless reversed soon.

Continued violence is destroying productivity, discouraging investment by both small and large business, and causing despair among all population groups. Business is being forced to relocate or close. And it does not stop there — the trauma of violence is also brought into the workplace.

What South Africa must guard against is replacing external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead.

Poverty and unemployment must be seen as one of the main contributory factors — among several others — to the repeated

cycles of violence.

If we look back over the past 40 years we see a close correlation between economic conditions and political unrest. Violence is also bound up with the rapid process of urbanisation experienced in recent years. Hence the Peace Accord has included the vital question of socio-economic development in its objectives.

Apart from its other merits, the emphasis on socio-economic development also gives local communities affected by violence something constructive to focus their minds and energies on as an alternative.

And what about the overall economic environment needed to achieve peace and prosperity? What do the IMF and other world bodies' experts in economic development tell us?

It is a converging economic message. If economic growth in South Africa were to be raised to 3.5 percent a year — or to the minimum rate required to reduce the level of unemployment given the rapid prospective growth of

the labour force — investment must substantially increase.

There is no other way to soak up unemployment and raise standards of living. And it will not be possible to achieve much higher growth rates without significant foreign investment.

Without an inflow of long-term capital the ceiling on South Africa's economic growth rate on the most favourable assumptions is likely to be about 2 percent — far too low to meet the needs of our total population.

To achieve the levels of domestic and overseas investment that South Africa requires for economic growth needs business confidence. Unless there is a congenial and stable environment for foreign investors they will simply not commit themselves on a large scale to this country.

And by a "congenial" environment for investors in South Africa we are talking about:

- Political and social stability.
- A return on capital invested.
- A commitment to the basics of a market economy.

This means we must reconcile what is needed to redress past inequalities with the reality of ensuring sustained economic growth. Most businessmen, and this is certainly the Sacob view, accept that the removal of historical imbalances should be an explicit goal within the context of sound growth.

We want a win-win solution.

So what I am saying is that, if we want economic growth and development in South Africa, we will have to win the confidence of the international business community. This is the global reality.

There is enormous goodwill internationally for South Africa, but there will be no blank cheques or miracles for us in a highly competitive world. Investor-friendly policies must be the order of the day. We must act on the premise that we need the world more than the world needs us.

This brings me back to the wider implications of the National Peace Accord. We must give the peace accord — fragile and imperfect though it may be — every

support at national and local levels.

In all its ramifications — both short term and beyond — it stands between us and complete anarchy and despair. When we survey the seemingly intractable nature of violence in South Africa we must remember, as students of history, that others have also faced their moment of despair.

Let businessmen be united with other community leaders for peace. Let us urge the major political leaders to renew their commitment to the provisions and implementation of the National Peace Accord as soon as possible. Let us be united against violence. We must understand clearly: violence won't destroy us — only the failure to unite against it can do that. □

● This is a shortened version of an address by Raymond Parsons on "The Peace Accord and Economic Development" at a recent Nafto conference. Mr Parsons is director-general of the South African Chamber of Business.

Zimbabwe's land Bill suspended

HARARE — Zimbabwe's highly controversial Land Acquisition Bill went into its second reading in the country's parliament yesterday but its progress was suspended, apparently because the proposed legislation contravenes the country's constitution, the Ziana national news agency reported.

Although Lands Minister Witness Mangwende presented his second reading speech, the Bill was not read for the second time and debate was adjourned until Tuesday.

At the start of proceedings, the Parliamentary Legal Committee, which ensures that Bills before parliament are not in contravention of the constitution, reported that some sections of the Land Acquisition Bill contravened the constitution.

In his response to the adverse report from the legal committee, Mr Mangwende said that the government had already agreed to amend the offending sections.

"However, for entirely different reasons and following representations made by the farmers, the government had already agreed to propose the amendment to Clause 23 of the Bill in the form referred to in the report of the parliamentary legal committee," said Mr Mangwende. — Sapa.

Accord reached on dog's decibels

What do you do with a dog that makes more noise than a class of tone-deaf would-be divas? Karen Dixon of Hyde Park, Sandton, took her solution — a vocal cords operation — to the Rand Supreme Court.

Mrs Dixon made the suggestion in an application she brought against her townhouse neighbour, Eda Weiner, owner of a Maltese called Zero.

She asked Mr Justice R T van Schalkwyk to order that the animal have a vocal cords operation — or to instruct Mrs Weiner to get rid of her pet.

However, Mrs Dixon and Mrs Weiner reached a settlement out of court yesterday and Zero's vocal cords are safe — for now. Mrs Dixon's lawyer, B Pincus, said Mrs Weiner had undertaken to have Zero removed from the townhouse complex by July 15. Until then, she would make every effort to keep the dog quiet. — Court Reporter.

ANC to probe camp torture allegations

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC yesterday revealed the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry appointed to probe allegations by former prisoners of torture in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

Addressing a press conference at the ANC offices in Johannesburg, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the commission would be headed by three advocates: Lewis Skweiyaya, SC, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla. An independent lawyer, advocate Elna Revelas, had been appointed to interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the commission after her own investigations. She would, in effect, be acting as the former exiles' lawyers and act independently of the ANC and the commissioners, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The commissioners would probe complaints relating to:

- Detainees' conditions while they were held.

- Their allegations of maltreatment.

- Complaints about the loss or destruction of their property.

Mr Ramaphosa said the commission would compile a report to be presented to the ANC president and would be required to make recommendations consequent upon its findings.

He said the commissioners would be allowed to decide whether proceedings would be held in public or private. Their first sitting would be between March 23 and 25, and every month thereafter until June.

Mr Ramaphosa stated it was unreasonable to say the inquiry was "the ANC investigating itself", saying the independent investigator would see to the objectivity of the findings.

The findings of the commission would be by majority vote, he said, with each member carrying a vote of equal weight. Individual members would also be allowed to write separate reports.

Any ex-prisoner would be entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary of the commission and should contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.

Court told why police shot young motorist

By Philip Zoio

A Johannesburg motorist was shot dead by members of the Flying Squad after he had driven down the wrong side of a road at high speed in what police believed was a stolen car, a Johannesburg inquest heard yesterday.

Vaughn Milne's father, George, said his son's car had twice been reported stolen in 1990 and 1991. Each time the car was found. Mr Milne said he had been unable to inform police and traffic officials of the recoveries.

Questioned by B Roux, for the police, Mr Milne said he was unaware that his son had been found with a blood alcohol concentration of 0,29 g/100 ml.

Questioned by prosecutor F

Roos, Sergeant H Assor told the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court he had shot at the driver of a Ford Laser after fearing that the car would cause an accident.

Sergeant Assor said the car, driven by Mr Milne jun, sped past on the wrong side of Modderfontein Road after 10 pm on July 19 1991.

He chased the car with his siren on and blue light flashing. Radio control confirmed the car had been reported stolen.

At one stage, the cars reached 160 km/h, but they slowed down before the police started shooting. The Laser stopped after Sergeant Assor had fired 15 rounds. Mr Milne was found dead in the driver's seat.

The inquest continues on May 12.

The Citizen 21/4/92

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and Sapa

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