

Township violence

by Carmel Rickard

Why no prosecutions?

THE growing number of affidavits in violence-related civil cases filed with the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg has given rise to speculation about why no prosecutions have been brought against individuals whose names occur in a number of court papers.

Fingers have been pointed at the Attorney-General's office, with complaints that a block there might be preventing the cases coming to court. Officials of the A-G's office deny this. They say these allegations reveal that the public does not understand how the system works.

It was explained that prosecutions can only begin once police present a completed docket to the A-G's office and, even then, the A-G's office must be sure that there are reasonable grounds for the case to stand up in court. "Otherwise it would be a waste of valuable court time and of taxpayers' money, as well as being an injustice to the people involved, if an ill-considered prosecution is launched," one senior member of the A-G's office said.

Wednesday's report, quoting Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as saying that well over 200 people were awaiting trial, raised the issue of whether the A-G's office is coping with the situation. There was also an announcement last week that special courts and

additional magistrates or judges would be provided to ensure that "violence related" cases came to court as soon as possible. These two reports might have given the impression that there were delays in bringing such matters to justice.

This was also denied by an official who said there was no backlog of "violence" cases unable to come to court because of a shortage of magistrates or courtrooms. He pointed to the recent case in which 43 people were brought to court and convicted within days of the incident in which they were involved. "If we had the cases, they could be brought to court speedily," he said.

The problem, as he saw it, was with a lack of witnesses who could provide police with the material they needed to finalise dockets. "Witnesses are being threatened and in some cases killed. The police are having great difficulty in finding people who are prepared and willing to give evidence in court. Without witnesses, no prosecution can be started."

Why were the police not able to use the statements made by people in civil cases, like the applications for interdicts being brought in the Pietermaritzburg courts? Officials of the A-G's office stressed they were unable to speak on behalf of the police from whom they were "completely indepen-

dent". However, they added, "In some of these cases no-one has laid a charge with the police. In others, where a complaint has been made, the police would need to interview the witnesses themselves." They said this was often not possible because the police were unable to locate witnesses.

However, at a preliminary court hearing for an urgent application begun last Friday, attorneys for the witnesses and the police made an arrangement for the two parties to meet and for statements to be taken. Officials of the A-G's office believe this kind of co-operation could help more cases come to court.

If the A-G's office was dissatisfied with the investigation into a case being undertaken by the police, inquiries could be directed to senior members of the SAP, but officials of the A-G's office said this "has not been necessary" in any of the violence cases. They also pointed out that during discussions hosted by the Chamber of Commerce, the A-G's office agreed that attorneys of both sides could send details of cases if they were dissatisfied with the police inquiry.

To date only one such case has been referred to the A-G by attorneys. It was a case in which members of the UDF were complaining about police investigation of a case.

Secret State witness tells of training with ANC

By Jo-Anne Collinge

BETHAL — A former member of the ANC, testifying for the State behind closed doors in a treason trial in Bethal, said he had known one of the three accused as a member of the Transvaal Urban Military Machinery of the ANC in 1978.

This was the second time that the witness, who may be identified only as Mr X1, had referred to the first accused, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko.

Mr Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, appearing before Mr Justice Daniels, face alternative charges of terrorism and eight counts of attempted murder arising from landmine blasts near Volksrust and Breyten in mid-1986.

Mr Maseko and Mr Dladla are said to have been involved in

selecting target areas for the landmine blasts.

Mr Ebrahim is described in the indictment as a key ANC figure functioning from Swaziland between 1980 and 1986.

Mr X1 pointed to a man in the dock and said he had first met him (Mr Maseko) in Angola while they were both at the ANC's Funda Camp.

"Accused Number One was known by his MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) name, Scotch Dube. I only knew his MK name. I later came to know that 'Scotch Dube' had received military training in the Soviet Union."

Training courses compared

Mr X1 said he and Mr Maseko had done a refresher course together at Funda Camp. It was during the part of comparing training (Mr X1 was trained in East Germany) that he had come to know where Mr Maseko had been.

He testified that Mr Maseko had disappeared from the camp during the refresher course and he saw him next some months later when they were both stationed temporarily in Maputo.

"While moving around town we met. He and others did not live with us. They lived in a suburb known as Liberdade."

The house where Mr Maseko lived was the house where the command structure of the Transvaal Urban Military Machinery was accommodated, said Mr X1.

"The fact that this was the place for the urban military machinery was not such a great secret that I would not know about it."

Asked by the judge whether Mr Maseko's place of residence was the sole reason for him inferring the man's position in the urban military machinery, Mr X1 said: "Not only that. When we met we would tease each other, saying: 'Oh, some of us belong to the platteland and others to the city'. It was a jest, in which there was truth."

The hearing continues today.

UDF used force after call by ANC: Buthelezi

THE STAR
19 FEBR. 1988

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — In 1984 the external mission of the African National Congress (ANC) had called for making the townships ungovernable, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi said in Supreme Court papers in Maritzburg on Wednesday.

Thereafter, he said, United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters had begun using violence against Inkatha supporters and against the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

He said that the UDF was a surrogate of the ANC (external mission) was acknowledged in a report of its national consultative conference held in June 1985.

Chief Buthelezi's affidavit was given in an application by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and 19 other applicants for restraining orders against five Inkatha officials and Inkatha itself.

Part of the document reads: "We support the campaigns of the UDF around which mobilisation both on regional and national levels is planned: high cost of living, education, militarisation, forced removals, influx control, New Zealand rugby tour, land issue, treason trials.

"In particular, those campaigns which are in line with the strategy of generating a spirit of defiance and ungovernability.

"We should establish ANC collectives within affiliates, as well as the leadership. These would not act as factions, but as organised sections of our movement fighting for the strengthening and consolidation of the UDF.

Another passage reads: "His (Buthelezi's) counter-revolutionary role must be exposed and we must work to win over his supporters and deprive him of a social base. The more notorious puppets, like Sebe in the Ciskei, have placed themselves, through their actions, squarely within the enemy camp and must be dealt with accordingly."

Another passage on mobilising the white community reads: "To ensure that democratic whites become active participants of the struggle we recommend that:

- They work increasingly to popularise the End Conscription Campaign. The issue of conscription can be explained and the community convinced politically that they should not join the SADF.

No ruling was made by Mr Justice Howard and the matter was referred to a date to be fixed for oral evidence.

However, three respondents, Mr V V Mvelase, Mr N Zondi and Mr David Ntombela, gave undertakings that they would not incite or assault anybody and would not damage property or threaten anybody.

SOWETAN

19 FEBR. 1988

UDF surrogate of ANC - Chief

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national levels is planned: high cost of living, education, militarism, forced removals, influx control, New Zealand rugby tour, land issue, treason trial.

"In particular those campaigns which are in line with the strategy of generating a spirit of defiance and ungovernability.

"The UDF remains a front and does not narrow its base. We should distribute internally a position paper based on the tactics of a united front and the necessity, at this stage, for the continued existence of such a front.

"We establish ANC collectives within affiliates as well as the leadership. These would not act as factions, but as organised sections of our movement fighting for the strengthening and consolidation of the UDF."

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Both sides meet Assocom

The Natal Witness 19/02/88

Chamber to go ahead with peace talks

Witness Reporter

BOTH Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu assured a top-level Assocom delegation yesterday that the city chamber of commerce should continue in its role as an honest broker in the peace initiative.

This followed day-long talks with both parties and the police and a tour of the townships by the delegation which consisted of the president, Mr Alec Rogoff, the chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons, and the chairman of the executive committee, Mr Brian Kurz.

The continued role of the chamber in the peace initiative was thrown into doubt recently when statements made by members were criticised as being anti-Inkatha.

Last night at a press briefing Mr Rogoff said that Assocom expressed great regret at the number of deaths and injuries experienced in the township violence.

"Assocom is supportive of the positive role adopted by the local chamber of commerce," Mr Rogoff said, adding that stopping the violence was of great concern to business.

"The talks should continue at the highest level," Mr Rogoff said.

Assocom will be meeting with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi next week and the violence will be discussed.

Commenting on their tour of the townships, Mr Rogoff said that a need for social upliftment and job creation had been noted by the delegation.

Mr Parsons said that Assocom believed that peace could not be established without talks at the highest level and that the organisation would do what it could to promote such talks.

Conveners of the talks, manager Paul van Uytrecht and vice president Rob Pater, said last night that they would continue to talk to all parties.

Applicant's death: arrest 'soon'

Witness Reporter

POLICE were expected to make an arrest "very soon" in connection with the murder of a 70-year-old Sweetwaters man on Sunday night, according to Captain Pieter Kitching, the city's police liaison officer.

Mr Johannes Nkomo, one of 19 applicants seeking an interdict against Inkatha and several of its city officials, was killed on Sunday night — two days after the matter was brought to the Supreme Court.

His daughter, Miss Nomabekha Nkomo (35), filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court on Wednesday describing how her father was killed. Her affidavit was brought to the attention of the police by the attorneys acting for the applicants in the urgent application.

Mr Kitching told The Natal Witness: "The matter is still being investigated and we expect to make an arrest very soon."

A flurry of promotions as the Bop Blues afflict Sebe

19-25 Feb 88

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER,
Bisho

CISKEI Defence Force soldiers have received a sudden burst of praise — and several promotions — from the "homeland's" President Lennox Sebe, following last week's abortive military coup in Bophuthatswana.

Sebe announced the promotion of at least 25 CDF officers to ranks ranging from major to full general at a ceremony in Bisho on Tuesday.

In contrast to the recent events in Bophuthatswana — where members of the defence force rebelled against President Lucas Mangope's government — Sebe said he did not expect a situation in Ciskei where the "dog bites the hand that feeds it".

At an earlier rally in Zwelitsha on Saturday, he told supporters: "I pledge my loyalty to our defence force, and I expect their loyalty in return."

In addition, the Ciskei government has declared February 19 a public holiday — "Heroes' Day" — in honour of the "successful repulsion (by Ciskeian security forces) of an attack on President Sebe's residence in the early hours of February 1987." The attack had been part of an attempted coup.

Ciskeians "from all walks of life" will be called upon to congregate at the "national shrine", *Ntaba-Ka-Ndoda*, to celebrate the holiday.

Before introducing the officers to Sebe and the government caucus, Ciskei's Minister of Defence Chief DN Mavuso told them: "I am appealing to you gentlemen promoted today, be honest to your government, your nation and yourselves. By doing so ... generations will benefit out of your honesty and sincerity."

"Behind solid and dedicated security of a country, development and human upliftment is guaranteed."

Lieutenant General ND Mlandu, commander of the CDF, is promoted to full general with effect from April 1. He joined the CDF in 1984, and took charge in 1985, when "South African Defence Force personnel were withdrawn."

Mavuso said the government decided upon after "it became clear there are limitations which impede the expected progress of the CDF in future. In order to rectify and remedy these foreseen difficulties, it was approved that a certain number of officers in certain key posts must be promoted."

The promotions were intended, among other things, to provide for; leader elements of an envisaged new second battalion; the creation of a new division for manpower planning and force development planning; and a decrease in the vacuum in the present command structure.

He added: "These promotions will alleviate the congested middle management and will help to earmark the leaders of tomorrow in the force."

● Meanwhile, unconfirmed reports allege that at a meeting called in KwaNdebele last Friday — two days after the Bophuthatswana rebellion — local MPs were addressed on the "dangers" of coups. KwaNdebele Police have denied that Commissioner HC Lerm attended the meeting, as sources had claimed. In a statement to the *Weekly Mail*, a KwaNdebele Police representative said: "Brig Lerm was not present at such a meeting and has no knowledge of it."

Kei winds down its corruption inquiry

THE Transkei is winding down the commissions of inquiry which uncovered the misuse of millions of rands of state funds and put the issue of "homeland" corruption on the national map.

The territory's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said the current commission would soon complete its work, and the task of uncovering further instances of corruption would be handed to the Auditor-General's Department.

The move is likely to emerge as a major test of political will for the new administration which took power at the new year, citing corruption in the government of newly-elected Prime Minister Stella Sigcau.

Already, the new military government has had to face charges that it used the allegation of cor-

ruption as an excuse to seize power, and that the retired state president, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, was behind the coup.

Holomisa took the trouble of issuing a statement last week in which he denied newspaper reports that Matanzima was once again ruling the Transkei from behind the scenes.

Dealing with criticisms that a number of officials of the new government had close links with Matanzima, he said the military council had taken into account the qualifications and expertise of those people who were to be appointed ministers.

By FRANZ KRÜGER, East London

The current commission of inquiry, into the Department of Works and Energy, is the second. A report by the first commission, which probed the Department of Commerce and Industry, estimated directives by the Matanzima brothers had cost the Transkei some R45-million.

Its report contributed directly to the overthrow of the Matanzima regime. The second probe's public hearings have attracted increasing attention as it turned its attention to the issuing of casino

rights.

Such figures as Sun International's Sol Kerzner and former Cape Town mayor David Bloomberg have given evidence.

The works and energy commission recently completed an interim report, but the document has not yet been made public. The commission is expected to complete its work in April or May, and no new commissions are immediately envisaged, Holomisa said.

Instead, the auditor general would be entrusted with the task of investigating further allegations of corruption. Internal departmental inquiries

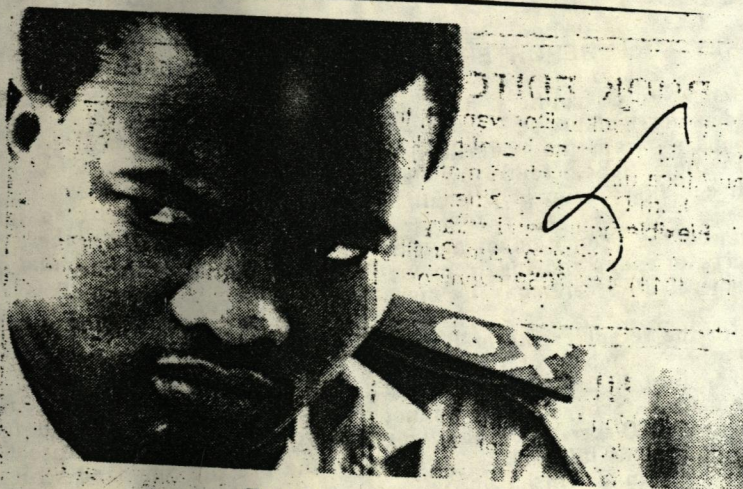
would also be used in some cases.

Holomisa said the commissions had become too costly, and although the South African government was sharing the costs, the Transkei could not afford even its share. Pretoria had also been "complaining about the costs, as their economy is not right", he said.

The auditor general would be able to work faster, as "sometimes these commissions delay matters", and he would be able to refer his investigations directly to the police if necessary.

Asked whether he believed the new regime was on top of the problem of corruption, he laughed and said: "No, not yet."

Nor has much money yet been recovered, said Holomisa. — elnews



Reason to frown... Major General Bantu Holomisa says his Transkei regime really can't afford any more corruption commissions

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

Emperors on teetering thrones

Writing more than 15 years ago, former Minister of Bantu Administration MC Botha, an apostle of grand apartheid, declared: "The Bantu homelands have already become the fatherlands of the various nations, where peace and prosperity have been achieved."

Today, after two successful coups and two attempted coups in three of South Africa's four nominally sovereign black states, they can no longer be presented as thriving havens of tranquillity.

The successful coups were carried out in Transkei, where, in less than three months, the commander of the Transkei Defence Force, General Antu Holomisa, first helped overthrow Prime Minister George Matanzima and then deposed his successor, Stella Sigcau.

Before that in June 1984, Charles Sebe, the former generalissimo of Ciskei and a brother of President-for-Life Lennox Sebe, was sent to jail for 12 years for endangering the authority of the state.

Charles Sebe, a former South African security policeman and intelligence agent, was freed from jail in 1986 by armed men suspected of being Setswana Scouts on contract to the Transkei Defence Force. He later surfaced in Transkei, where he remains in exile.

ophuthatswana was the scene of a short-lived coup attempt last week. It ended when South African soldiers and police intervened to crush the rebels and rescue President Lucas Mangope from the Independence Stadium.

The coups and attempted coups blot the Ver-

endian vision of independent and stable black states linked to South Africa in a harmonious commonwealth of nations.

With their profligate, imperial-style presidents and unreliable soldiers, they are reminiscent of vigorous young republics but of decaying empires tottering on the edge of anarchy.

The British-born scholar Roger Southall pre-

sented more than a decade ago that South Africa's nominally independent states would resist revolutionary change "because of the privileged nature of their elites".

His forecast proved accurate. The coups and attempted coups were not undertaken by revolutionary zealots. They were largely palace coups, which one perhaps relatively deprived section

Lucas Mangope is back on the throne, courtesy of his friends. George Matanzima and Stella Sigcau were less lucky.

Charles Sebe was jailed by his own brother, then freed by the enemy. In KwaNdebele, Skosana fought with Skosana. In apartheid's vassal states, the politics remain feudal.

Weekly Mail. 19-25/12/88

PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the aftermath of the coup



Bop rebels in custody after the coup
Picture: GUY TILLIM

of the elite ousted — or tried to oust — another. But these conflicts are debilitating and may render the politics vulnerable to more radical change.

That appears to have happened in 1986 in KwaNdebele, where a squabble within the ruling elite — Chief Minister Simon Skosana and his lieutenants vs Ngwenyama David Mapoch and his sons — enabled a popular revolt against independence to succeed temporarily when the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly decided in August 1986 to rescind an earlier decision to opt for independence.

A subsequent counter-revolution re-instated the original pro-independence decision. KwaNdebele's white commissioner of police, Hertzog Lerm, is suspected of playing a major role in restoring the independence decision. He was appointed after the August 1986 decision to reject independence.

Significantly, however, President PW Botha made his approval of KwaNdebele independence conditional on its rulers demonstrating that their independence drive had popular support and that it could be achieved in an orderly fashion.

Botha's stand suggested that he suspected the revived quest for independence may not have had popular backing and that, consequently, it might precipitate turmoil rather than lead to stability.

The coups and attempted coups took place against a common backdrop: actual or suspected corruption.

In Transkei two commissions of inquiry have identified Matanzima as the alleged recipient of huge bribes worth about R3-million.

According to evidence before the first commission, one bribe was for R1-million; it came from a contracting company. The second bribe, worth R2-million, came, a later commission heard, after the sale of a gambling monopoly by Transgames to Sun International. Some of the largesse was reportedly given by Matanzima to his faithful cabinet ministers. One of the recipients was Stella Sigcau. She acknowledged receiving R50 000.

In Ciskei a commission of inquiry found in 1985 that the former minister of health, Herbert Beukes, and the secretary of health, HH Mdlentleni, were guilty of bribery and corruption.

In Bophuthatswana, last week's rebels gave corruption as a reason for their coup, naming the Russian-born Israeli, Shabtai Kalmanowitch, as the man at the centre of the alleged corruption. He is alleged to have been a business partner of one of Mangope's sons.

Kalmanowitch certainly started to amass his fortune in Bophuthatswana after ingratiating himself with Mangope Snr. His company, Liat, was awarded two multi-million rand building contracts. In the first his tender was higher than those of rival South Africa companies. In the second no tenders were called for.

Questions are now being asked. Why were the contracts awarded to Kalmanowitch? How did he secure them? What did he offer in return and to whom? If so, was it money or services? If it was money, was it in the form of a cut of his profits?

Harry Schwarz, finance spokesman of the Progressive Federal Party, said: "One would assume that the Bophuthatswana government will decide to have an independent investigation into the allegations of corruption. Failure to do so will be a matter for considerable comment."

The issue is of direct relevance to South African taxpayers: in the financial year 1986-87, South Africa paid nearly R245-million into Bophuthatswana's coffers, accounting for nearly a quarter of its budget.

Like its political siblings — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — Bophuthatswana cannot balance its budget without loans from commercial banks. These loans, however, are guaranteed by the South African government, which, as Schwarz points out, means the taxpayer in the last resort.

Whether Bophuthatswana will ever be able to repay its loans is a moot point. Its published

debts are estimated at R800-million, according to the publication *Africa Confidential*.

Bophuthatswana admitted in 1985 to an overdraft of more than R300-million. As a sign of Pretoria's concern, in the same year, Chris Strydom, the official in charge of transferring funds in the SA Department of Foreign Affairs, visited Bophuthatswana.

The overall picture which emerges is not one of prosperous statelets run by popular governments. The vista is one of poverty-stricken polities governed by frightened men fearful of their own soldiers.

South Africa's independent black states have



Lucas Mangope... Imperial-style rule and unreliable soldiers

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

become dependencies in the fullest sense of the word. Their governments rely on South Africa financially and, in the final analysis, militarily.

Designed to bolster South Africa by serving as its loyal and grateful allies, they increasingly force Pretoria to divert resources to salvage them from financial ruin and internal revolt.

Far from evolving into a commonwealth of nations, the nominally independent states have become *de facto* satellites with, ironically, Pretoria playing the role of Moscow and PW Botha applying an equivalent of the "Brezhnev doctrine", intervening or not in the "homelands" depending on demands of South African security interests.

The Empire bites back ... and it hurts

WEEKLY Mail 19/2 - 25/2/88.

VIOLET Malebane-Metsing, wife of the alleged leader of last week's abortive coup in Bothuthatswana, is among hundreds of politicians, civil servants, traditional leaders, soldiers and other Batswana arrested since Thursday last week.

Also arrested were five of the six MPs of the official opposition, the People's Progressive Party. The sixth, alleged coup leader Peter "Rocky" Malebane-Metsing, has disappeared; "homeland" authorities have launched a massive manhunt for him and "right-hand man" Laurence Mahila.

Arrested too this week was Bafokeng Chief Molotlegi Lebone, his wife and a number of residents of Bafokeng, where the PPP counts much of its strength; and the unsuccessful PPP candidates in last year's election.

This week local residents said they expected all those held to be charged with treason. Of the 446 people arrested so far, at least 46 have appeared in court. Some 280 of those arrested are security guards and 163 are from the PPP, according to a statement made by Bophuthatswana's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Solomon Rathebe.

Rathebe confirmed that police Brigadier ML Sekame had been suspended pending investigation.

Members of the second official opposition party, the National Seoposengwe Party, said they feared they might be next — or that opposition politics might be banned. No NSP candidate won a seat in the "homeland" elections.

The Bophuthatswana authorities have offered a R5 000 reward to anyone who can give information leading to Malebane-Metsing's arrest.

Roadblocks manned by the South African Defence Force and the South African Police were set this week around Bafokeng and Mogwase, where he lives.

In another incident this week, Bophuthatswana police arrested residents of Bafokeng near Rustenburg and manned roadblocks in search of Malebane-Metsing.

The Weekly Mail visited Malebane-Metsing's home this week and spoke to a family member who asked not to be identified.

"Malebane's wife, Violet, was arrested on Sunday morning by Bophuthatswana police together

Lucas Mangope's revenge has been swift: Some four hundred arrested, including the coup leader's wife.
VUSI GUNENE reports

with their four children and taken to Mafikeng, he said.

"We do not know her whereabouts except we were told she was taken for questioning and she would return. We are worried about her because of her health, which started to deteriorate after her husband's disappearance. We cannot understand her continuing detention, as she had nothing to do with the coup or even the PPP.

"The children were taken to her sister's home in Bapong near Brits by police two days after her arrest and we are also worried about them, as three of them are supposed to be at school.

"We view this as an outrageous harassment by the Bophuthatswana police, in an attempt to get Malebane-Metsing. If Violet has violated any of Bophuthatswana's laws, let her be brought to court. We are concerned about her safety and the future of her children."

The family member said the authorities had warned that Malebane's hardware shop in Mogwase will be auctioned, along with his personal belongings, if he does not pay R13 000 he owes for the site within the next two weeks.

He said Malebane-Metsing, born 39 years ago in Rietspruit, near Rustenburg, is a regular churchgoer and has been "charismatic" ever since his youth.

He has held the position of chairman in the Faith Mission's youth club and later higher positions within the church. He was also chairman of a school committee in Mogwase.

In 1974 he joined the ruling Bophuthatswana National Democratic Party. He was elected MP in 1982 for the Bafokeng region, a position he held until his resignation from the party in January 1984 to found the PPP.

Last year's election results were challenged by the PPP; the court hearing is still pending.

"We do not know if the court case will continue as we suspect that the PPP's arrest of candidates who brought the case leaves us with no doubt that they are to be charged," he said.

Mogwase residents expressed discontent this week with the rule of "homeland" President Lucas Mangope.

Vendor Miriam Sego said she was disillusioned about Bophuthatswana: "I do not care who rules us as long as it is not Mangope and his government. We have experienced a lot of hardships and his independence is meaningless to us.

"What we saw here on Monday in Bafokeng is a good example of where we are heading. People were arrested and sjambokked for no reason. I am sure some of them do not even know about the coup. But we know that during last year's election we did not vote and that pensioners here were threatened.

"It is time Mangope admits that people here do not want him. It is not Malebane-Metsing alone; it is the people."

Thomas Malebogwe of Hlabane High School said he did not understand why the ADF intervened in the coup "when we are told Bophuthatswana is independent.

"The announcement of the coup was met with jubilation here because we thought we would have brighter educational opportunities. The fees have been raised considerably this year and the Bophuthatswana matric certificate will close opportunities for us. We will be forced to go through the University of Bophuthatswana and prospects of jobs elsewhere will be nil.

National Seoposengwe Party leader Victor Sefera blamed the South African government for the coup attempt.

"The system of government of South Africa is not only oppressive but dishonest. It is also divisive and fraudulent of the South African nation, black and white, and the solution is not greater separateness, however equal, but greater togetherness in a common and equal South Africa."

The attempted coup, he added, "solved nothing as demonstrated in the outcome. It perhaps multiplied problems in Bop and South Africa.

Cries of 'Abajojwe ... stop them! Abajojwe! Kill them!'

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Pietermaritzburg

INKATHA leaders used a rally to urge their members to attack and kill political opponents, according to affidavits presented in support of an indictment against the organisation.

Central to the application is the sworn statement of Andreas Mpangase, a building society clerk who describes himself as having "no political allegiance to any group".

Mpangase, now being treated in hospital for a gunshot wound, attended a meeting called by key Inkatha members on January 31.

Following the rally, according to the applicants' version of events, large groups of armed people — many in Inkatha uniforms — launched unprovoked attacks on local residents.

Mpangase claims that before the meeting residents had been warned by Philip Zondi, brother of a local chief, that "all those who did not attend would be attacked and their houses burnt".

Mpangase had thus decided to attend and on arrival saw a large number of people, many wearing Inkatha uniforms and badges.

"Most of the men were armed with sticks, stabbing spears and shields. There were several yellow police vans parked in the vicinity and a number of ... policemen in attendance."

Speakers included several high-ranking Inkatha leaders and chiefs, said Mpangase.

He alleges the same Zondi who issued the threats said the only way to end violence in the area was "to drive the UDF and Cosatu from KwaZulu to Xhosa areas. The UDF and Cosatu were 'Indian' organisations and all who belonged to them should go and live with the 'Indians'."

"Any 'Indian' who did not move or repent and apologise, would be killed. He advised parents whose children had joined the 'other camp' to kill their children."

Mpangase alleges that KwaZulu MP Velaphi Ndlovu started his speech by "instructing us to remain loyal to the chiefs and to be certain that if we live in a chief's area to be members of Inkatha."

"He stated that our children must also be members of Inkatha and if they were not they must be brought to the chief's house where a formal apology was expected. Failing that, we would have to leave the area."

"He threatened that refusal to join and refusal to leave would be reason for being killed."

An unnamed chief from Ladysmith allegedly said in his address to the meeting: "Cosatu is controlled by Slovo who is receiving instructions from Russia."

"He became emotional and started chanting. He rhythmically punctuated his chant with the Zulu word *abajojwe* (stab them), while simultaneously stabbing into the air with his spear."

"What should we do about them? *Abajojwe!* Let's stop them! *Abajojwe!* Finish them off! *Abajojwe!* ... Kill them!" At each stabbing of the spear, the women would ululate and the men would stab into the air with their spears or sticks. As the pace in-

Ntombela said anyone who did not want to belong to Inkatha should be killed. He was prepared to go anywhere and kill those who are not Inkatha.

Statement by injured man
Andreas Mpangase

creased the crowd became more frenzied."

At this point, Mpangase claims, a woman screamed that houses were burning at ePhayephini. Some people rushed off, but others remained at the rally.

Other speakers then allegedly pursued the theme that 'Indians' should no longer live in the area.

The last address was delivered by David Ntombela, one of the respondents.

According to Mpangase, "He said anyone who did not want to belong to Inkatha should be killed. He said he was prepared to go anywhere and kill all those who are not Inkatha. He said he would go to each of the chief's areas and kill the *amaqabane* ('comrades'). He asked permission of the chiefs to stop the meeting so that he could lead the people out (and) drive the UDF and Cosatu from the area."

After the meeting, claims Mpan-

Dead: The man who told

SEVENTY year old Johannes Bhekama Nkomo told the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court he was "living in fear that the Inkatha warriors will again attack us" — and two days later he was dead.

Stranger still, Nkomo was an Inkatha supporter. His wife had renewed her Inkatha membership the day before his death.

According to witnesses, the elderly Sweetwaters man was stabbed to death by the very "warlords" he had named in an affidavit supporting the urgent application he launched last Friday with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and 18 other Pietermaritzburg residents.

The matter had been postponed till Wednesday this week to give Inkatha and six "warlords" time to reply to the application.

In one of the replying affidavits, Vitus Vusumuzi Mvelase, urban representative of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and a member of Inkatha's Central Committee, said he had no knowledge of most of the allegations in Nkomo's statement. "The allegation that Nkomo is 'certain that Inkatha will return and again attack our community' is wholly unsubstantiated," Mvelase said.

Nkomo's daughter, Nomabheka Flora Nkomo, told *Weekly Mail* her father was murdered on Sunday evening — just one day after her mother had gone to the tribal court to renew their Inkatha membership.

gase, he witnessed Inkatha supporters chasing, then shooting and repeatedly stabbing a former Sarmcol worker who lived in the area.

On his way home, Mpangase was challenged by some in his party about where his son had been during the meeting (he told the court his sons were "active supporters of the UDF"), and he was later allegedly shot by one of the group.

Several other statements before the court detail the threats allegedly made to those who did not attend the meeting, but most concern incidents in the 24 hour period following the rally.

Witnesses described the circumstances of the deaths of two men — allegedly at the hands of people returning from the rally — and of injuries suffered by several others.

The first affidavit in the application was from the director of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), Peter Kerchhoff.

He argued that the Inkatha Central Committee was responsible for implementing the "entire policy of the movement", exercising complete control over officials and disciplining all officials.

He held further that office bearers of each local committee were directly answerable to the central committee and subject to its discipline and control.

Kerchhoff said the rally was well planned and held under Inkatha's auspices. During the rally "high ranking (Inkatha) officials directly incited the audience to continue the violence against persons who did not associate themselves with (the organisation)."

The violence which followed the

Johannes Nkomo was an Inkatha member, but he feared Inkatha 'warlords' most. Two days after making a statement, he was found dead.
JO-ANN BEKKER reports

"Inkatha people said if she did not come she could not collect pension money." But the membership ticket could not undo the fact that the 70-year-old man's son, Bongi, was a United Democratic Front supporter.

In his founding affidavit, Nkomo said his harassment began after he was ill and did not attend Inkatha's meeting in Mpumzu on January 31.

That evening, an armed group of young men, including Mahlamvana Ndlovu and Jabulani Buthelezi, came to his house looking for Bongi. The following day a larger group, again including Ndlovu and Buthelezi, returned.

"Mahlamvana (Ndlovu) came up to me where I was standing," Nkomo said. "I asked, 'What's going on my children?' He hit me on the chest with the flat of his dagger and said we must now pack our things and leave the place, we were not to stay in the area. Mahlamvana also struck my wife on the nose with the flat of his bayonet. They then asked for my son, Bongi, and we said we had not seen him. Buthelezi then slapped my face."

VIOLENCE. INKATHA DENY IT. HERE ARE THE OPPOSING CASES

Even if members go on rampage
... there is little Inkatha can doBy JO-ANN BEKKER
in Pietermaritzburg

THE crowd which left an Inkatha meeting in Mpumzu on January 31 and attacked residents in nearby Ashdown acted in self-defence against "radicals" who had burnt their homes, according to a senior Inkatha official.

Vitus Vusumuzi Mvelase, urban representative of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and a member of Inkatha's central committee, claimed also:

●The police, correctly in his view, did not stop people retaliating in "self-defence".

●Inkatha would not punish members who acted in self-defence. Even if the members should go on the rampage, Inkatha did not have the machinery to take any effective steps against them.

Mvelase made these assertions in papers in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court this week.

He was one of several respondents replying to an urgent application brought by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and 19 Pietermaritzburg township residents.

The application sought to restrain Inkatha's office bearers from killing, assaulting or threatening non-Inkatha supporting residents of Ashdown and Sweetwaters.

Mvelase said there was no connection between acts of atrocity detailed in the court application and Inkatha, or the named "warlords". He denied any of the alleged attacks took place on the instructions of the Inkatha leadership. He claimed "radicals" often wore Inkatha uniform, or colours, which were the same as those of the African National Congress.

In his replying affidavit, KwaZulu leader and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthe added there was no connection between Inkatha and the tribal chiefs. "If they are members of Inkatha, then that is incidental ... I am unable to control the manner in which they act in their capacity as chiefs."

Mvelase said the affidavit by Peter Kerchhoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness was based on newspaper reports and therefore hearsay. He asked for it to be struck out.

Inkatha did not have the organisational structure to police compliance with Inkatha leadership, he said. He said "if the Inkatha members of a certain branch were to act in self-defence against an attack by the radicals, ... no punishment would be called for."

"Even if the members of a certain branch of Inkatha had actually gone on the rampage, there is very little that the Disciplinary Committee can do in terms of the Constitution ... To the higher echelons of authority in the Inkatha structure such as the respondents in this matter, it is totally impossible to take any effective steps whatsoever."

Mvelase said the January 31 meeting had been called to end the violence in the area. Speakers had appealed to children to follow the "old customs of the Zulu nation".

Mvelase said while a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly was addressing the audience, a woman shouted that houses were burning at ePhayephini, an area in Mpumzu.

A large number of people who lived there ran back to their homes and found them burning. The "radicals" responsible were lying in ambush, but they "managed to drive the arsonists back to Ashdown", Mvelase said.

"I believe that the residents of ePhayephini whose homes had been set alight retaliated by setting alight to their assailants' homes as well. I wish to emphasise that this was a spontaneous reaction to arson and an attack which had been initiated by the radicals."

Mvelase denied as "preposterous" allegations that the police stood idly

A woman shouted that houses were burning at ePhayephini. A large number ran off to find their homes burning. The radicals responsible lay in ambush'

Statement by Inkatha leader Vitus Mvelase

virtually in daily contact with members of the police force who are desperately trying to stop the conflict."

But Mvelase added: "The police and defence force did not disarm the attackers because they had been provoked beyond all endurance by having their homes set alight, and then attacked by the radicals."

Mvelase denied people had attended the meeting out of fear, or that speakers incited the crowd against the United Democratic Front or Cosatu.

He also denied he had derided the UDF and Cosatu as "Indian" organisations or suggested parents should kill their children if they joined the anti-Inkatha camp.

He said he had blamed violence in the area on bus drivers who were members of the Cosatu-affiliated Transport and General Workers Union. The drivers, he said, transported Cosatu and UDF members at night to attack moderate Zulus.

Mvelase admitted telling the audience that "Cosatu/UDF were the tools of the ANC and the Communist Party and that they should not listen to them. I added that in spite of having resigned (from the ANC military leadership), Joe Slovo was behind the violence in South Africa. I finally besought them not to pay any attention to Cosatu and the UDF but to respect and support their chiefs, the KwaZulu government, and also Inkatha."

Inkatha branch chairman and member of the Mpumzu Tribal Authority, David Ntombela, also denied allegations that he had called for violence.

He said the theme of his speech was that he was "bitterly opposed to violence" and committed to assisting the authorities to stamp it out. "I said I would volunteer to act for the victims of any criminal acts and to point out their attackers to the police."

He said his sister had been attacked by "a well-known UDF supporter".

Ntombela said he left the meeting on the late afternoon of January 1988 in a convoy of vehicles. As they were returning home they were confronted by a group of 50 shouting, "Come all together *maqabane* ('comrades') and kill the *Thelaweni* (Inkatha supporters)."

The police arrived and dispersed the attackers. But the Inkatha group were attacked again. "The police were, however, able to protect us and we reached home safely."

In his affidavit, Buthelezi accuses the UDF and Cosatu of using the court application — and a string of previous interdicts against Inkatha warlords — for propaganda.

He places the blame for the violence squarely on the shoulders of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

In strongly-worded statements which echo the state's case in the "Delmas" treason trial, Buthelezi accuses the UDF of being a "surrogate of the ANC" and being formed "with the express instruction to exclude (Inkatha) from affiliation."

"The main subjective cause of the violence," says Buthelezi, "is essentially to be found in the attitude of the external mission of the ANC to first respondent (Inkatha) and to myself as chief minister of KwaZulu government and president of first respondent. The UDF is in substance an internal surrogate organisation of the ANC external mission and has adopted a similar attitude to first respondent and to myself."

Mvelase echoed Buthelezi's views. A former member of the ANC Youth League, Mvelase cited two periods in detention and police interrogation as being instrumental in his conclusion that the ANC was "infiltrated by the communists".

He said the UDF's determination to abolish the tribal system "has fostered decadent, detribalised gangs of youths."

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