## De Klerk faults ANC, touts 'orderly reform'

## South African divisions highlighted

By SCOTT KRAFT Los Angeles Times

CAPE TOWN, South Africa This nation's past and future collided Monday, with President F.W. de Klerk reopening the segregated parliament while several thousand black protesters, still locked out of those political halls, shouted insults from the street.

De Klerk, speaking to a joint session of the white, Indian and mixed-race houses, vowed to coninue with "orderly reform" and negotiations. He criticized Nelson. Mandela's African National Congress for its "inability to controland oppose the communist radicals within its ranks."

Only minutes earlier, ANC leaders led a peaceful protest through Cape Town, carrying signs that read: "The Last Hour" and "End Racist Parliament." Speaking beneath a statue of Afrikaner hero Louis Botha, they delivered a verbal fusillade against de Klerk and his government.

"As long as that illegitimate and racist parliament is filled with people who do not represent us, we will protest," declared Allan Boesak, an ANC leader in the western Cape Province.

Joe Slovo, a white leader of the

Communist Party, said, "We want that place closed down. De Klerk doesn't represent the nation.

The exchange between the government and the ANC, the two most important forces in the country's future, reflected both the country's desire for a quick resolution of the conflict and the strong feelings of animosity that remain between de Klerk and the ANC.

The government and the ANC agreed last month to return to the negotiating table. Officials from both sides say privately that the current parliament could be out of business as early as March or April.

But the government still is angry with the ANC's decision to continue "mass action," its campaign of protests and demonstrations aimed at forcing concessions. And the ANC deeply distrusts the government, believing de Klerk will need to be dragged, "kicking and screaming," in Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa's words, into a "new South Africa."

The government had hoped to use the 10-day session to pass legislation approving agreements made in constitutional negotiations. But those negotiations broke down in late June, and now the session is expected to take up only

a few matters.

## Best hope is govt, ANC negotiations: DP

THE Democratic Party believed that negotiations between the government and the African National Congress offered the best hope for progress to a political settlement, DF leader Dr Zach de Beer said vestenday.

Speaking during debate on the President's address, he said the DP wanted to be part of the negotiation process and

expected to be included once the time was rice

"But the months at Codesa taught us one thing: When the Nets and the ANC were in agreement progress could be made When they were fighting, we all got nowhere We believe that what is now happening is for the best."

The shocking stare of South Africa's economy necessitated an urgent political settlement. All parties had to accept that an early constitutional agreement was vital and more important than its line detail.

The key to re-open the door to economic growth was investment, and that depended absolutely on a political settlement

The agreements reached at the September 26 summit between President De Klerk and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela were in the national interest and had helped to revive negotiations.

depend on whether the process is handled sensibly by the government, the ANC and the rest of us."

## Delport denies MK's status agreed on

THE government had nover agreed that the ANC's military, wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would remain in place until an interim government was established, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, said vesterday.

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said there had also been no agreement that ANC weapon caches could be retained until an interim government took

Dr Delport said the negotiation process made demands on State President De Klerk and the ceeded that on other parties.

The government had to ensure that the negotiation process was maintained, that reforms were implemented in a lawful and constitutional manner, that any attempts at violent change were counter-acted and that a new constitutional orderied to economic growth.

The government would not allow itself to be forced into a new order, which, under the gaise of democracy, led to a majordy secure of power.

Mr Casper Uys (CP Barberton) said economic prosperity could not be built without law and order, which was being

abrogated in South Africa.

He said South Africa was already taking the first steps on the way to affirmative action, and warned against threatening nationalisation and confiscation

"By simply taking and redistributing without merit, you may temporarily alleviate the situation, but you will break the economy of the country."

Mr Hansie Christians (Ind Ravensmead) called on President De Klerk not to "yield further before the ANC".

"The more you yield, the more they will want," he said

# Naivety of Nats is laughable: ANC

STATE President De onstrated his remarkable inability to rise to the occasion at yesterday's resumption of Parliament, the African National Congress

of his party still entertain tension in the ANC by targeting those of its members who are Commurists betrays a naivety that is laughable," the

The ANC also criticis-ed the National Pariy's federalism as a device to conceal its intention of clinging to power despite

Klerk's insistence on constitutionality would be NP's track record demonstrated any real commitment to a government based on laws.

There are very few parties in South Africa that require instruction in democratic politics from

"In the first place every previous South African

"Secondly, the prin-

### Cast to press for affordable housing

of Southern Transvaul weekend to press the government for affordable

At its weekend conferthe National Housing Fo-

All avenues would be used to pressure the government and other bothes to provide affordable

Efforts to form "selfdefence units" and to en-

The conference decided to call on the govern-ment to scrap Var on basic food prices.

The conference also decided to call on the govcrament to stop foreign-

The country faces serious housing shortages while the Department of Home Affairs and local authorities are setting by immigrants." Cast's newly-elected president. Kgabisi Mosunkutu, said.

## End mass action -- FW

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also obstacles which other process could go ahead.

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It also means that worldwide.

"A follow-up conferthe Peace Accord has to in every party must help nating all of these and

> Klerk said the present multi-party government

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Strong and entrenched regional government. vested with wide and functions, was needed.

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By Brian Stuart ANC must now end its

De Kler's told a joint country faced a crisis, he

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THE STAR, TUESDAY 13 OCTOBER 1992

## Unrest violence kills 6

Crime Reporter

Six people were killed and at least 10 injured in unrest-related violence in Alexandra and Tokoza yesterday and early today, police reported.

In Tokoza, near Alberton,

In Tokoza, near Alberton, four people died and seven were wounded when gunmen fired at them from a moving vehicle on the corner of Madondo and Mdakane streets at 8.20 pm.

In Alexandra yesterday, police found the bodies of a man and a woman who had been

Explosives were detonated at homes in Ratanda, Heidelberg, and at Khuma, Stilfontein. There were no injuries in the Ratanda blast, but at Khuma two people were injured

At Ratanda, police arrested three men and seized a grenade found in a vehicle.

In Power Park, Soweto, an off-duty policeman was wounded by men who tried to burgle a house, police said.

Sergeant Robert Khatshelo (39) was investigating noises outside his neighbour's house at about 7.40 pm when he was confronted by three men.

One fired at Khatshelo, hitting him in the right arm and in the left leg. Police said he was "stable" in Garden City Clinic.

Police found the body of an unidentified man in a street at Small Farms, Evaton, last night. The man had been beaten to death.

# THE UNANT THE STORY 13 OCTOBER 1992

## Peace bid in Natal war zone

The warring factions at Ngonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, where about 40 people have already been killed, yesterday committed themselves to peace. This emerged at a meeting of the two factions led by Induna Petros Mbokazi and Induna Ziphi Mdabe at Isipingo, near Durban.

# No blank cheque for changes – FW

By Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk laid down the Government's bottom line in negotiations yesterday, vowing that an elected constituent assembly would not be given a blank cheque to negotiate any constitution it wanted.

Opening the special session of Parliament, he said the constitution-making body would have to stick to general principles agreed to in multiparty negotiations, including the right to private property and strong regional powers.

Earlier, thousands of ANC supporters staged a peaceful march on Parliament to protest against the short session of the "racist" body.

Last night the ANC expressed its dissatisfaction with De Klerk's speech, saying it contained "little that was new".

De Klerk said no constitutional agreements were possible until political violence

had been curtailed and warned that the Government would intensify its control of mass action and step up efforts to seize illicit arms.

Speaking in the same debate, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said even if multiparty negotiations resumed immediately, elections for a constituent assembly could probably not take place before the last quarter of next year.

### More reports - Page 7

Several steps in the negotiations would still have to be taken, including agreement on the content of a transitional constitution and the general principles binding the constituent assembly.

De Klerk re-committed the Government to a negotiated settlement and said the legislative programme for the present short session would take reform further without compromising future negotiations.

But he warned that there

could be no elections for a transitional parliament, a constitution-making body or constitutional agreements before political violence had been curtailed. This could happen only if all political parties stopped condoning violence.

In coming negotiations the Government would focus its attention on the following obstacles:

 Parties which "regularly clashed" — such as the ANC-SACP, the PAC and the IFP — would have to reach an understanding.

Mass action which could lead to violence would have to be stopped.

● The armed struggle would have to "make way completely for negotiations". Private armies — including by implication the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — would have to be "completely deactivated ● All participants in negotiations would have to become

political parties.

• A follow-up conference of the signatories of the National Peace Accord would have to be held as soon as possible.

He said the coming negotiations would concentrate on "unambiguous principles" which would bind the constitution-making body.

These would include the basic principles of democracy and the most important elements of a free-market economy, including private-property rights.

They would also include strong and entrenched regional governments, a bicameral central parliament with a senate to protect regional and "certain specific interests", power-sharing in the executive and a supreme bill of rights.

The ANC said in a statement De Klerk had merely

To Page 3

"rehashed" well-known NP positions, reports Esther Waugh.

From Page 1

The organisation's department of information and publicity said: "At a time when SA cries out for bold and imaginative leadership, (De Klerk) seems incapable of meeting the demands of the moment."

It accused the President of "dressing up (NP positions) as a consensus reached among the partles engaged in negotiations".

"That he and members of his party still entertain the vain hope of sowing tension in the ANC by targeting those of its members who are communists betrays a naivety that is laughable," the statement said.

Of greater significance was the NP's objectives in negotiations, the ANC said. The NP's "eleventh hour"

The NP's "eleventh hour" conversion to the politics of federalism was a device to conceal its intention of clinging to power, it said.

But the ANC welcomed De Klerk's commitment to removing obstacles to resumed nego-

tiations and said a starting point would be to address repressive laws which deprived South Africans of civil liberties

In Cape Town, the ANC's march on Parliament yesterday was boisterous and at times chaotic, but peaceful.

An attempt to surround the parliamentary block came close to succeeding, but police blocked one corner.

The protest ended with a denunciatory speech by ANC deputy president Walter Sisula, who "renamed" Stalplein outside Tuynhuys "Albert Luthuli

Freed MK bomber Robert McBride, who received a rous ing welcome from the crowd, delivered a sharp attack on the Government. "In this building," he said, "they are working allout because now they want our votes ... They don't need us and they don't want us, we don't need and we don't want them."

A distinctive aspect of the march was the plethora of monitors — from the United Nations, Goldstone Commission, and National Peace Secretariat—plus independent observers.

# Trials even after amnesty – Hani

By Brian Sokutu

Even if President de Klerk passed legislation for a general amnesty, Civil Co-operation Bureau agents and other people implicated in hit squad activities would be brought to trial if the ANC come to power, SACP general secretary Chris Hani warned yesterday.

Addressing a lunch-hour rally in central Johannesburg to protest against the opening of Parliament, Hani said De Klerk sought to "conceal evidence" on the activities of CCB agents, askaris ("turned" MK cadres) and Government officials through a general amnesty.

Referring to the right-wing/ homeland alliance, he said: "These creatures of apartheid like Buthelezi are afraid. Let the elections come and we will see who commands support."

Speaking at the same rally, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said South Africa had to learn a lesson from the war in Angola.

"Those puppets representing the right-wing homeland alliance think they can topple this country's democratic government, as Unita is trying to do in Angola after elections. They'll fail here," said Sexwale to loud cheers.

Earlier, ANC alliance leaders led a health workers' march to the Johannesburg offices of the Department of National Health and Population Development where SA Dispensing Practitioners (SADP) chairman Dr Joe Maelane presented a petition to the department's acting regional director, Robby Hamilton.

ton.

The petition from the SADP, SA Health and Social Services Organisation, National Progressive Primary Health Care Network, South African Students' Congress, CAST, ANC, Cosatu, the Disabled People of South Africa, and the SACP protested at what was called the Government's "unilateral restructuring of health services".

The petition called for a moratorium on the closure of hospitals in Natal and other regions, and for the Government not to go ahead with the privatisation of public hospitals.

# THE STAR, TUESUAY 13 OCTOBER 1992

African aspirations will be put on ice,

## says Barney Desai Proposed

# agreement can lead only to conflict

JOE Slovo's much publicised and praised proposal to "break the logjam" of negotiations is not new and it needs to be noted that the compromise he now suggests was incorporated in a tentative agreement between the regime and the ANC at Codesa months ago (February 1992).

It was the regime's arrogance, after its sweeping victory in the white referendum, that scuttled

the arrangement.

Except for intentional leaks, this agreement never saw the light of day. It would not be an unreasonable inference that Mr Slovo of the "militant" SACP is flying a kite for the ANC. This is an exercise to test the reactions of people in what can only be seen as yet another retreat from an unfettered constituent assembly.

The terms (and timetable) of the accord between the regime, the ANC and the Communist

Party were as follows.

June 1992 — Interim governing

Joe Slovo . . . flying a kite for the African National Congress?

constitution is finalised. There could be new elections but the unicameral legislature could also convert itself into the lower House. (The agreement between the axis makes provision for an Upper House representing regional interest). No agreement had yet been reached on a rotating presidency for this period.

However, the NP/ANC Communist Party axis has struck a deal

"sunset clause" would be an agreement that the winner of the first election under the new constitution will appoint a coalition Cabinet, or a "government of national unity, that includes all major parties for a given period, say five years".

He envisaged that on its expiry the "sunset clause" would cease to exist. Other "sunset" clauses could provide guarantees that no major changes would take place in the civil service, or that no affirmative action or other economic restructuring programmes would begin for that period. Nelson Mandela has confirmed that the civil service — presently dominated by whites — will not be interfered with.

 March/April 1995 — elections or regions (10 or 11 in number) who will constitute the upper House.

The manner in which the regions will be elected to the upper House had not been finalised. The

council appointed by Codesa and approved by the racist tricameral parliament for a term of one year. No agreement has been reached on the re-incorporation of the bantustans.

⊕ June 1993 — Elections to a hybrid unicameral legislature on the basis of one person, one vote. This legislature will encompass a constituent assembly and an interim legislature elected by proportional representation.

The tricameral parliament will be dissolved. The constituent assembley will take decisions by a two-thirds majority and the interim legislature by "sufficient consensus". The Cabinet will have representation on the basis of the percentage of voters received with a cut-off point of five percent.

Decisions of the Cabinet will be on the basis of "consensus" not majority. The presidency will rotate.

March/June 1994 - The new

on matters of far-reaching importance to frustrate the aspirations of the oppressed African masses. The terms are: majority government, with built-in consensus (white veto) for five years, which will elect a new Cabinet — but all parties will be represented in the Cabinet.

Consensus decision-making on the Budget and other matters must be enshrined in the constitution. This agreement has been referred to by the ANC as the "Sunset clause". It's the same clause that Slovo has now pulled out of his hat.

The import of this temporarily torpedoed agreement is that all radical political or economic policies (particularly where they affect white interest) will be frozen for five years unless the whites, by whomsoever they are represented, agree.

Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, who presented this plan to Codesa, explained that one example of the

National Party proposed that each region have an equal number of seats, ie northern Cape region will equal the PWV regions' number of seats in the upper House.

No legislation of the lower House will become law if not approved by the upper House. The regions by this formula will thus be able to frustrate the wishes of the majority in the lower House.

The ANC/Communist Party proposed that the upper House powers be confined to reviewing but not blocking legislation

The advocacy of a settlement on the aforementioned basis, which effectively means putting. African aspirations on ice for a decade, can lead only to prolonged conflict, the dimensions of which are frightening. D

• Desai is head of publicity and information of the PAC. This is a response to Joe Slovo's remarks revealed exclusively in. The Star. If we seek democracy, there's an excellent example

up north, writes Kierin O'Malley

# Ethnic lessons from Nigeria

IGERIA, by far Africa's most populous state (88,5 million out of a continental population of about 670 million), is in the terminal phases of a four-year-long transition programme from military to civilian rule.

Presidential primaries have just been completed within the two political parties established by the Babangida government.

The inauguration of the Third Nigerian Republic — Nigeria has been ruled by the military for 22 of its 32 years of independence is scheduled for January after presidential elections next month.

In spite of some obvious differences between Nigeria's current attempt at democratisation and the South African variant of the phenomenon that is currently sweeping the continent, two especially important lessons for South Africa can be identified.

The first lesson concerns the centrality of a social consensus on the nature of society, and specifically

cally the degree to which the society is or is not plural, multi-ethnic or heterogenous.

Nigeria's population is composed of three major sub-groups—the predominantly Islamic Hausa in the north and the predominantly Christian Ibo and Yoruba in the west and east respectively—and of an estimated 350 tribes.

Faced with this ethnic mosaic, it has become a no-contest given that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic or plural society and that this fact has to be reflected in the choice of state and governmental struc-

Even left-wing and Marxist scholars — who usually have a tendency to downplay the ethnic or sub-national dimension in favour of a class perspective — in Nigeria accept the plural nature of their society as a fundamental.

The near complete social consensus in Nigeria stands in stark contrast to our local position where left-wing and Marxist intellectuals and political organisa-

tions continue to essentially deny the plural; deeply divided nature of South African society.

While the African National Congress for example has unquestionably articulated a progressively more nuanced ethnic perspective since the late 1980s, it continues to see and attempt to portray itself as representative of all the peoples of South Africa — hence the organisation's description of itself as an embryonic people's parliament.

While the ANC almost certainly enjoys majority support in South Africa, it certainly cannot honestly claim to enjoy the support of or represent all South Africans.

Its claim to do so is not only dishonest and a denial of the country's ethnic diversity, but is also a major stumbling block in the road towards an accommodative negotiated settlement.

A second lesson — which flows from the first — is that social consensus is also needed concerning the broad nature of the state that

is to underpin the new democratic order and that this consensus is not something to be negotiated during the transition to democracy, but has to be arrived at prior to the commencement of the transition process proper.

Flowing from its refreshingly honest acceptance of its multi-eth-nic composition, Nigerian society is at one that democracy in Nigeria is only possible within a federal framework.

Federalism has in other words been a non-negotiable within the Nigerian body politic since the Biafran civil war which lasted from 1967 to 1970. Even the long periods of military rule in the post independence era have not undermined this federal consensus.

There are to be sure differences of opinion concerning the optimum number of states and the degree to which state boundaries should follow ethnic contours, but these are differences of opinion within a federal paradigm.

Proponents of a unitary form of state have occasionally emerged,

but the Biafran war — which was triggered inter alia by the temporary abolition of the federation by the military in the mid 1960s and which involved the deaths of an estimated 2 million Nigerians — has created a social consensus on the need for a federal state which has invariably quickly marginalised such positions.

Flowing from the lack of social consensus on the nature of South African society, there is a lack of consensus on the nature of a future state. A common discourse in terms of regionalism should not blind one to the continued incompatible unitary and federal regime models of the major domestic political players.

Regionalism as used by the ANC refers to a decentralised unitary state, while used by the NP as synonymous with federalism.

The absence of meaningful convergence concerning the nature of a future state between the major domestic political players is in itself the result of a lack of consensus on the need for accommoda-

# THE STAR, TUESDAY 13 OCTOBER 1992

## Hostel dweller killed

A 60-year-old man died in hospital after he was stabbed at the Saulsville Hostel near Pretoria last night. Police said the man was showering when two men stabbed him in the chest and dragged him outside. He managed to make his way to the hostel kitchen where he collapsed.

EUJILESS WAY TUESDAY 13 OCTOBER 1992

Dear Sin

YOUR editorial The new right (Business Day, October 7) represents another chapter in the trivialisation of SA's constitutional process by the media

It is a well known fact that the constitution of a country is best fashioned by all parties and interest groups with a constituency, however small. Furthermore, a country can have only one constitution. All the inhabitants of the country or an overwhelming majority must accept the constitution or be prepared to live with it in order to ensure stability.

With regard to constitutional nediations it is fatal to introduce declogical factors. A constitution is precisely a peaceful means for the resolution of political conflicts. This requires that the rules of the game the constitution—must be agreed by all genuine political tendencies.

all genuine political tendencies.
All talk of "right" or "left" with
respect to the constitutional process
is naive and betrays a woeful ignor-

ance of the major political task confronting SA. Simply defined, that task is to construct a multiparty, all-inclusive negotiating forum that represents all groups from extreme left to extreme right irrespective of perceived support. The general elections held under an agreed constitution will sort out the problem of electoral strength.

In the meantime it will be helpful

In the meantime it will be helpful if the media assists in the achievement of the main objective of constructing constitutional talks instead of indulging in the luxury of snide partisan comment.

FT MDLALOSE National chairman Inkatha Freedom Party

Dear Sir.

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# BULLING WHILESDAY 13 OCTOBER 1992

# Session a waste of time, says Dalling

CAPE TOWN — The ANC regarded the present session of Parliament, which would cost the taxpayer more than R10m, as a total waste of time and he and its other members would not support any of the legislation, David Dalling (Ind Sandton) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the President's address, he said none of the Bills now before Parliament were urgent or essential and the ANC would "not assist the President in this farcical window-dressing".

The October session had originally been scheduled by President F W de Klerk to give legislative effect to agreements reached at Codesa II.

While no agreements had been reached at Codesa II, De Klerk and the NP had since conceded virtually all the issues raised by the ANC which had led to the breakdown in the first place.

Dalling said the Record of Understanding signed by government and the ANC on September 26 was belated but real progress, and had laid the basis for a resumption of the negotiating process.

De Klerk should not be deterred by his detractors, file would enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans in the rapid implementation of the agreements reached on September 26.

Dalling called on the President to take urgent action to restore free political activity in homeland territories, particularly Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

He urged De Klerk to call off the present parliamentary session and instead to start preparing to negotiate the transfer of power to the democratic majority. — Sapa. ESTATE DESDAY 13 OCTOBER 1992

## FW signals govt is poised to crack down

## on armies, illegal arms

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday signalled that government was poised for a crackdown on mass action, illegal arms and arms caches and private armies.

He also spelt out government's bottom line for a new constitution, flatly insisting that a range of controversial principles would "have to be negotiated in advance". And Constitutional Development Minis-

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer dampened speculation that the country's first nonracial election was imminent, saying that even if multiparty negotiations began soon it would

probably not take place within a year.

De Klerk, opening the "state of the nation" debate in Parliament with a speech designed to calm jittery NP supporters, said government intended focusing strongly on steps to prevent violence.

These included "intensified control of

These included "intensified control of mass action and continued, expanded action in respect of illicit arms and caches".

A free general election "in which all will take part is possible only if peace prevails in the country and intimidation is curtailed", said De Klerk

Peace was possible only if:

### Political Staff

☐ Parties, tocluding the ANC, the IFP and the PAC, whose followers clashed violently, got together and reached an understanding among themselves;

C) Any mass action planned with an aggressive motive was stopped. The ANC, specifically, had to honour undertakings in this regard.

[] "Inciting" speeches were ended and every leader helped create a climate of tolerance, and,

C) The so-called struggle made way for negotiation and a democratic conduct of politics. "This means the complete deactivation of private armies and the democratic conduct of politics."

De Klerk said when the transitional parliament came to write the final constitution it would not "simply be able to do what it likes. There is no question of a blank cheque being given to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly."

It would be bound by clear principles on which adequate consensus had been reached Government insisted agreement

had to be reached on

□ Strong and entrenched regional government with constitutionally entrenched authority.

(1) A bicameral central parliament with a senate able to meet the need for "protection of regional interests and certain specific interests", and

Power-sharing at the level of the executive authority, meaning that excessive power in the hands of only one person or party had to be prevented.

Son Page 4 Comment: Page 10 BOT 18 192 198 198 198 198 198 198 198 1982

## Reef violence claims our more lives

watersrand, Katlehong near Alberton and Phola Park, Tokoza, one was shot, one stabbed, one clubbed and one set alight.

In Katlehong, a man and two women were injured when gunnen carrying AK-

burg when a city councillor fired a shot after being confronted and threatened with

anopy of their vehicle, but no one was

pletely gutted. The inhabitants of the house

Sapa reports from Durban that the warwhere about 40 people have been killed, committed themselves to peace in the area yesterday

This emerged at a meeting of the two

factions at Isipingo, near Durban.
The meeting, organised by local police commander Capt Danny Pillay, was also attended by local chief Ndodi Cele.

Pillay said the two factions were expected to sign a peace accord after they met again on Sunday.

D The Cisker Defence Force recorded at least 700 unrest-related incidents last

ing factors to violence, a committee of the violence in Alexandra heard yesterday.

Petrus Manamela told the committee that the meetings, but when fare increases were imposed would not increase their