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The Star

3/4/92

## Victims 'must be buried at home'

DURBAN — The Umlazi black local authority has instructed the ANC to bury victims of violence at Amanzimtoti and not Umlazi, but the ANC has refused to adhere to the edict and has started court proceedings.

The mayor of Umlazi, Maria Xulu, said yesterday: "I have found a place where violence victims killed last month can be buried."

The Southern Natal region of the ANC said they would refuse to comply with the instruction. A spokesman said the victims should not be buried away from their homes. — Sapa.

The Star 3/4/92

# The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

## No washing of hands

**A**LL OF US, of whatever colour or political persuasion, have become so brutalised by the grotesque violence in our country that it no longer shocks us. Herein lies a terrible danger for the future.

Because we are no longer greatly surprised to hear that bloody battles are still raging in Alexandra, we implicitly let the politicians off the hook. It is hard to imagine that in, say, Great Britain or the United States such civil carnage could occur without urgent intervention at the highest political level.

The situation in Alexandra is so grave that a huge public outcry should already have shamed leaders like Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi into doing their clear duty. These two should go, together, into the township and issue a joint call for an end to the killing.

Why is there not irresistible public pressure on them to do so? And why is there not irresistible public pressure on Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel to deploy a massive task force in Alexandra in a "search and seal" operation to disarm hostel dwellers and residents alike?

It is simply because we are becoming too used to the violence, accepting it somehow as part of this country's lot in life. For whites, sadly, this acceptance becomes even easier if it is black lives which are, for the most part, being lost.

The Goldstone Commission, to its great credit, is one body which is making efforts to react to crises with speed and direction. It is already setting up an investigation into the causes of the latest Alex disaster.

But the commission is not, and cannot be, enough. The politicians must be made to feel that if the violence does not stop, they will be made to account for themselves. In the case of Alexandra, there is nothing but pride — and public apathy — stopping Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi from intervening urgently and directly.

The Star 3/4/92

# Lovers' tiff may be source of IFP's arms cache claims

By Thabo Leshilo  
and Brian Sokuto

A once-steamy love affair that recently went sour in Rustenburg could have been the single source of last week's discredited Inkatha Freedom Party allegation that the ANC was stockpiling weapons in Soweto to attack IFP members in the township.

This bizarre revelation was made to The Star yesterday by Kgomoiso Molale.

Last Friday, IFP supporters told the Goldstone Commission they had information that the

home of Ms Molale's parents in Mapetla East, Soweto, was being used to house ANC commanders and weaponry for the alleged attack.

Ms Molale's mother Mabel and brother Itumeleng yesterday said that since the IFP allegation that their house was being used to hide weapons, it had "been under surveillance from police and unknown people".

The Goldstone Commission found that the allegations could not be substantiated and had come from sources the IFP could not name.

Kgomoiso Molale told her story in a statement she made to a commission secretary at the ANC head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

She said she recently ran away from her boyfriend in Rustenburg after he had assaulted her.

She showed The Star several bruises on her neck.

She went to stay at her aunt's place of employment in Sandton.

Her boyfriend, who worked as a "faith healer" and "prophet", however, kept telephoning the home-owner saying Ms Molale

was planning to burn the house down.

"His telephone calls became so persistent that I was eventually asked to leave," Ms Molale said.

She is now in hiding with the couple's 1½-year-old son.

The lover, who is "very rich, drives fancy cars and is well connected to some shady characters", became so angry that he kept telephoning her home in Mapetla threatening to "do anything in his power to make life unbearable for us", the school teacher said.

She believes the boyfriend

could have given the false "intelligence" about the impending "huge attack on Zulus" to the mysterious IFP recruiter in Rustenburg, who passed it on to Inkatha.

The family, who belong to neither the ANC nor any other political group, now live in fear of attack.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the family's ordeal was a classic example of how irresponsible rumours could cause upheavals in people's lives.

Miss Marcus called on all leaders to be act responsibly in order to reduce tensions.

# The Star

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## Two held after weapons check

Two men were arrested and 19 dangerous weapons were confiscated during a train search by the SAP Mobile Unit near New Canada station in Soweto yesterday evening.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said 20 policemen searched a coach.

Most of the weapons were found on the floor and no arrests could be made.

An axe handle was seen dangling down one man's back and a panga was concealed on another man.

They were arrested. — West Rand Bureau.

The Star

3/4/92

## 'God shakes His head'

Staff Reporter

The charred body of off-duty Alexandra policeman BS Pilani was found this week draped over his burnt-out police vehicle in the township.

But a close friend refused to let his death remain just another entry in the official police unrest report.

Here is a section of the poignant tribute to Warrant Officer Pilani, written by his friend, Lieutenant-Colonel David Bruce, PWV regional chief of public relations.

"I was deeply saddened to see the photograph of the charred body of my friend and colleague, Warrant Officer BS Pilani, in newspapers on April

X~  
"I can still picture, in my mind, the tall, extremely neat, courteous and efficient policeman that I worked with for a number of years at the Bramley police station.

"That such a man must meet his death in such a horrific manner at the hands of the very people he served for so many years is tragic.

"If I can picture God, He is looking down at us, shaking His head."

● The Star chose not to publish pictures of the body yesterday.

The Star

3/4/92

## Winnie co-accused's frantic call for help

Own Correspondent

A co-accused in the Winnie Mandela trial, Xoliswa Falati, left her backyard room in mysterious circumstances yesterday, minutes after a frantic telephone call for help to The Star's sister newspaper, the Sowetan.

Mrs Falati said she was "not feeling safe" and was in trouble, but she could not disclose further details on the telephone.

"I need to talk to somebody urgently," she said. "There is something serious happening here but I can't tell you now."

"Something happened last night as well, but the president (Nelson Mandela) had instructed me not to talk to the press."

"I've just called him and was told he is on his way to the airport. I don't know what to do. I think you should come over now."

She said she would try to telephone 10 minutes

later. "If I don't call, come anyway. I don't feel safe at all."

When a reporter arrived at the Mandela house, in Vilikazi Street, Orlando West, a neighbour who refused to be identified said Mrs Falati had left in a car accompanied by several men. He said he had personally checked the door of the backyard room where Mrs Falati was staying and found the lock had been changed.

On Saturday night, Mrs Falati was evicted by Mrs Mandela from the room, and then reinstated by Mr Mandela.

ANC spokesman Saki Macczoma said he could not comment on Mrs Falati's whereabouts as he had no information. He would make inquiries and respond today.

Mrs Falati was sentenced to six years' jail for kidnapping and assault in the Winnie Mandela trial. She is out on bail pending an appeal.

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# Pik would keep job but wouldn't be sent to OAU, says Mbeki

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — National Party Cabinet ministers are likely to retain their posts in an interim government, says ANC shadow foreign minister Thabo Mbeki.

But this did not mean that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would be sent to an Organisation of African Unity meeting to represent South Africa, he added.

Interviewed on Wednesday, Mr Mbeki said the ANC was hopeful an interim government would be in place by June.

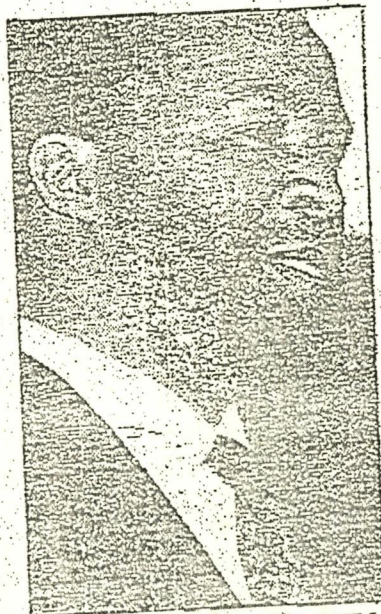
This would be phase one of the ANC's constitutional plans.

Phase two would involve elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution.

Mr Mbeki said the whole process should be completed by June next year.

"The principal task of an interim government would be to prepare the country for free and fair elections.

"We are not proposing a major reconstruction of government during this period, and the Cabinet should continue to exist, just like we are saying Parliament should live until



Mbeki ... diplomatic corps with a "nonracial blend".

it has given legal effect to decisions reached at Codesa and ended the own-affairs arrangement."

He said the ANC was proposing the appointment of an interim government council on which all participants in Codesa would be represented.

This council would, through multiparty committees, control security, foreign affairs, local

government and the Budget.

"Our view is that ministers should not be removed from office, but become members of these committees. But there will be joint decision-making."

Mr Mbeki said an interim government would have to ensure that policy was implemented by people who were "broadly acceptable" to transitional government structures.

"Let's say that an interim government is in power in June, the OAU heads of state meet in July, and the new government is asked to be represented there. You can't send Pik Botha because he still represents Foreign Affairs."

He imagined South Africa's diplomatic corps would be strengthened "so that it has a more nonracial blend".

It was for this reason that the ANC was arranging with diplomatic schools in countries such as Tanzania, France, Egypt and England to have aspiring diplomats trained there.

"The places are secure at these schools. A batch of 20 people should leave for England at the beginning of May, but one of the key issues is funds. I don't know when they'll be leaving."

● 15 years of crests and troughs — Page 13

The weekly mail 3/4/92

# Behind the lines



Photographs by KEVIN CARTER and GUY ADAMS

The corner of Rooth Street and Third Avenue in Alexandra township, a bloody battle raged this week — just one of many pocket civil wars that have flared up throughout the country, in which residents fight and die... and no-one really knows why.

On one corner of the intersection, heavily armed Inkatha men were holed up on premises which they seized from the residents two weeks ago. Intermittently the men darted out of their hide-outs behind Zozo huts to fire shots randomly down the street.

Alexandra residents were grouped behind shacks and houses lower down Third Avenue, where they returned the gunfire.

Many were obviously ANC-supporting comrades, but others said they had no political allegiance. They were simply ordinary residents of Third Avenue, fighting to protect their houses.

A *Weekly Mail* team hid nearby, watching for several hours each day. Bursts of AK47 fire could be heard occasionally and the exchange of handgun fire was relentless. It was often impossible to tell where the shooting came from, and even less clear where it was headed.

Full details: Pages 2, 3 and 4

B. Day

3/4/92

# Cosatu refuses to be bullied into a new deal for SA

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo talks to ALAN FINE about the organisation's recently published economic policy document.

**T**HE economic policy document prepared over the weekend positions Cosatu some way to the left of its ally, the ANC, in economic terms. Why?

Cosatu is an independent organisation. We have an alliance with the ANC and SACP, but that does not mean that our policies have to be the same. We are reflecting the interests of a particular constituency — the most disadvantaged. There will therefore be different points of emphasis between ourselves and our allies. At its core, though, we do not see any substantive differences between ourselves and our allies on the need for economic growth to be generated in a way that it begins to meet the basic needs of the majority of people. While winning the vote is an important political goal, we argue that unless we deliver some of those basic needs like jobs, housing, education and employment there is not going to be stability in SA.

While accepting these concerns as real, are your policy prescriptions serious ones? Or are they merely slogans and wishful thinking, or perhaps just your opening bargaining position for an economic forum — one which in the hard light of day is going to have to be reconsidered quite substantially?

If there are slogans, they indicate the depth of anger and frustration among workers. We are certainly not going to sweep our members' views under the carpet. We see the document as a series of prepositions about the way we think economic growth can be stimulated so that it benefits the majority.

Cosatu could easily enter negotiations with employers that deliver those needs to our members only. But looking after only the interests of the employed is not the road to stability. Our propositions are aimed at resolving these problems, and we will take them into negotiations. If employers have alternatives, they have the right to put them to us. Let us negotiate about the type of vehicle needed to reach the common goals we have identified.

**Y**OUR document talks about the state increasing production of basic necessities of life like electricity, housing and so on. Can the state realistically be expected to provide all of these things in, presumably, a short period?

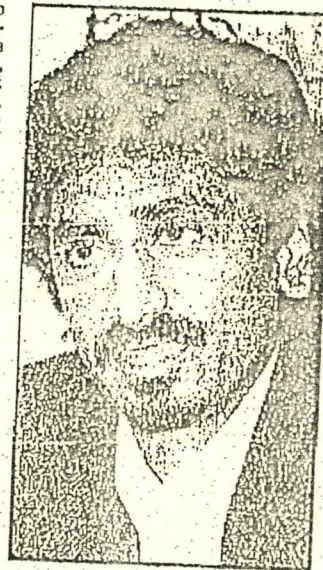
There is no suggestion that we can achieve these things overnight. What

is important is that we develop coherent strategies which are accepted by all the major players. We need to talk about a process, so that, if the squatter in Phola Park is not going to get his house tomorrow, then he understands that his representative is at least there and negotiating about the problem.

There is an apparent contradiction between your proposal that there be a "slim state" but also one which would be highly interventionist and control a wide range of productive industries and services.

We need a slim state which has been rid of bureaucracy but designed to deliver effectively and efficiently housing, education and health facilities. We are talking about an economy that is essentially driven on market principles, not a bureaucratised one as was the case in eastern Europe.

The section on industrial policy talks of a policy that would encourage labour intensive production, ensure a living wage for all, and simultaneously ensure that SA industry is internationally competitive. Successful export economies elsewhere have relied either on low wage labour intensive industry, or on high-tech capital intensive production. Cosatu seems to want the impossible. We are not suggesting that all activities in the economy have to be labour intensive. But we need some mechanism that begins to give people jobs. We are even prepared to back public works programmes where working conditions are less favourable, for a time, than in the formal sector.



□ NAIDOO

Obviously there are certain sectors of the economy that have to function on the notion of export orientation, on a high-tech basis. We want to achieve a balance between a labour intensive and a high-tech sector.

We have set certain goals. We need to talk about how our strategies fit into meeting these objectives. But

we are not prepared to accept investment of the type that abuses trade union and human rights, or the fly by night investors who come in on a concessionary basis and invest nothing in research and provide no technology transfers.

You talk about the need for "appropriate tariffs". Does Cosatu accept that protectionism is one of the biggest obstacles to international competitiveness? And, if so, does Cosatu have the guts, and its membership the will, to accept its removal even if this means job losses in the short term?

We accept in principle the need to remove tariff protection. The issue is how to phase it out. No government anywhere has phased out tariffs overnight. We need to examine what steps should be taken to prepare our industries for greater competition. Nowhere have we proposed increased subsidies for industry. We want our industry to be efficient and competitive. There is no dispute about that. But we oppose government's incoherent and ad hoc approach. And we have to prevent dumping, and imports which are the consequence of the oppression of union rights elsewhere in the world.

On the question of nationalisation, is Cosatu serious, in this day and age, when it says that public ownership is the most desirable form of ownership?

Those sectors of the economy relating to the provision of basic goods and services must be under state control. There is no country in the world where a public sector does not

exist. Further, if we find in strategic sectors that monopolisation or price-fixing is obstructing the delivery of needs to the majority, something would need to be done.

In the pharmaceutical industry, for example, medicine prices have risen substantially, and we are convinced this is because of price fixing. A government would have to intervene in such a situation, either to set up a competing firm, or to nationalise, or to put in place regulations which eliminate price fixing.

Why do you talk of nationalising institutions and sectors like Eskom or education, which are already in state hands?

Because we do not trust this government not to go ahead and try to privatise some of those sectors, even in the next few months. It has "commercialised" some for this very purpose.

Is labour on your list of targets for nationalisation simply because you are still peeved that it was privatised without your consent?

Yes, that is one reason. But the more important reason is that it produces a basic commodity for the manufacturing sector. And this is one of the key sectors for growth.

**M**any people in business, who see your policies as way beyond the scope of conventional economic thinking, ask whether there is any point in attempting to negotiate these issues with Cosatu.

I think Cosatu is doing the country a service. We are not concealing the real feelings of our people. We say these are our propositions. Enter into negotiations with us. We will not enter into agreements in boardrooms without referring back to our constituency. Any such agreement would have no legitimacy and would be a disaster.

When we talk about changes, we also need to talk about what changes industry is prepared to make — industry which has benefited from apartheid. What commitments are they prepared to make in relation to the goals we have espoused. Then we will be able to enter negotiations.

We will not accept being told that our views are irrelevant. We will not be bullied from the outside into relinquishing our views. It will be through negotiations where we reach some agreement on an economic strategy for the future. We are hard negotiators. But we are not hardliners. It is important that we have a public debate about all these issues.

B. Day

3/4/92

**COMMENT****Economic forum**

**W**EDNESDAY'S meeting between representatives of organised business and labour and Economic Co-ordination Minister Derek Keys and his associates brings closer the establishment of a forum which could be as important in shaping South Africa's future as a fully representative Parliament.

Remarkably, employers and unions have not taken long to develop a consensus on the structure, powers and functions of an economic forum. In addition, their proposals do not seem incompatible with the transitional council concept advanced by government as part of its proposed arrangements for interim rule.

It is fortunate that the Cabinet has a person of Keys' stature to represent it in this endeavour. His practical experience in the private sector will ensure that he has the necessary finesse to usher the proposed forum into existence. Regrettably, this is a task for which the next most obvious candidate, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, is demonstrably inadequate. In his handling of the VAT fiasco, only the latest example, Du Plessis has shown that he lacks the sensitivity and grasp of negotiation processes required for success.

An economic forum brings with it much promise of more stable and certain economic and fiscal planning, and new hope for growth. But it also embodies serious dangers, of

which participants will need continual reminders.

The forum could help build less adversarial relationships between labour and management and the state, and produce a government more responsive to the needs of the real economy. And, while the proposed forum is designed primarily to operate during the transitional period, it could be an invaluable tool later on to ensure that economic policy is debated by a broad range of interests.

Co-operation between the economy's major stakeholders has been a feature of most of the world's most prosperous nations. Here, our history of racial division has helped make South Africa one of the last bastions of Marxist thought, and this has left a gulf in economic thinking between labour on the one hand, and business on the other. It may be, though, as Cosatu's Jay Naidoo suggests elsewhere on this page, that an intensive interaction of ideas could narrow that gulf considerably.

One of the greatest dangers, though, is that big business, labour and a future government develop too cosy a relationship, striking deals protecting their narrow and short-term industrial interests. This would halt any trend towards greater international competitiveness, and leave the unrepresented — the unemployed and those in the informal sector — on the margins of society with ever less hope of entering the formal economy.

B. Day 3/4/92

## \*Cracks appear as CP caucus expels MP

CAPE TOWN — The haemorrhaging in the CP claimed its first victim yesterday when the party caucus expelled Wonderboom MP Koos Botha.

In Parliament yesterday NP members were claiming they knew of several more who would leave the CP soon.

Botha, who said he had expected to be expelled from the party, planned to remain in Parliament as an independent. He would forge close links with other pro-negotiators campaigning outside Parliament for a smaller Afrikaner homeland within SA.

BILLY PADDOCK

Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, dubbed the leader of the pro-negotiation faction in the CP, refused to comment on Botha's expulsion or his own position.

On Wednesday CP hardliners took Botha to task over a speech he made in Parliament in which he called for negotiations with all parties, including the ANC, for a drastically smaller homeland.

At yesterday's caucus CP leader Andries

□ To Page 2

## \*MP expelled

Treurnicht asked Botha to endorse official policy, apologise and submit to the party line. He refused, apparently saying if it was a choice between fighting and negotiating, he would choose negotiations.

Last night Botha said the issue of a smaller homeland was no secret. He felt it was time to move outside the party to advocate a position that commanded substantial support within the caucus as well as among constituents.

□ From Page 1

There is understood to be a strong lobby within the caucus for negotiating a smaller homeland. Free State leader Cahill Pienaar and Van der Merwe are both on the record as proposing this in the past.

It is believed Botha's plan to go to extra-parliamentary groupings to drum up support for this smaller homeland could cause constituencies and local CP groups to put pressure on MPs to change their stance.

B. Day 3/4/92

# Militants, gang blamed for clashes

CAPE TOWN — A Sotho gang called the Russians and a militant section of the NUM have been blamed by a committee of the Goldstone commission for the violence at a Welkom gold mine in November last year.

The Goldstone committee, whose report was tabled in Parliament yesterday, said 86 people died and 383 were injured in the conflict at the President Steyn mine during a stayaway called by Cosatu over VAT.

The committee said the hostel system, the stayaway, political organisations, police, and mine security were not to blame.

It recommended that NUM and management negotiate an agreement on political activity in hostels and the control of meetings, "with accountability and responsibility lines clearly laid down".

It recommended consideration be given by the mining industry to the appointment of an ombudsman acceptable to all.

It also said the present negotiations between NUM and management to alleviate tension in the hostels should be finalised as a matter of urgency.

The committee which consisted of chairman G. Steyn, D. A. Bregman SC and R. M. M. Zondo, found a militant element in

## Political Staff

the NUM had been determined to achieve a total stayaway and took matters into its own hands.

"This element was not under the discipline or control of NUM at the time."

Sotho miners who wanted to go to work were chased back to their rooms.

Violence ensued from this and shortly afterwards a group of 50 armed Sothos returned carrying two bodies.

These incidents led to enmity between Sotho and Xhosa at the hostel.

The Russians gang was a criminal gang from Thabong in Welkom. There was evidence of collaboration between Sothos at one hostel and the gang to allow the Russians to avenge Sothos killed and injured in earlier violence.

The gang infiltrated a hostel, killing eight and injuring 26 workers.

The committee said the hostel system provided an arena for violence, but did not cause it, and it was common cause that the system was unsatisfactory.

It found no political organisation to have been involved in the violence and no suggestion of foreign influence.

B. Day 3/4/92

## Uneasy calm returns to Alex after 12 deaths in two days of clashes

ALEXANDRA was quieter yesterday after two days of fighting between political factions left 12 dead and scores injured, but sporadic incidents of petrol bombings, stonings and attacks continued.

The Goldstone commission — after requests from the ANC and Inkatha — said yesterday it had launched an urgent inquiry into the cause of the violence. Chairman, Judge Richard Goldstone, appeared to all interested parties, including the police and SADF, to place evidence and submissions before him, saying members of the public could testify in secret.

The death toll rose yesterday with the discovery of two bodies, one next to the Madala hostel — whose occupants Alexandra residents claimed were responsible for the violence.

Police and community leaders belloyed angry residents, "sleek and tired" of the violence, had somehow brought it under control. People returned to work yesterday and pupils attended school.

"The large-scale deployment of security personnel definitely also played an important role," Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said.

### STEPHANE BOTIMA

Meanwhile, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday SA church leaders would ask the international community to make the ending of violence a precondition for scrapping sanctions.

He told a news conference in Johannesburg church leaders believed the only way violence could be ended was by placing all armed formations under one command. The church leaders felt government was relinquishing its responsibility by expecting citizens to solve the violence.

He added that a meeting of church leaders had decided to telephone Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel to demand proper policing in Alexandra.

A spokesman for the ANC's Alexandra branch claimed this week's violence could have been prompted by an alleged police refusal to allow the SADF to patrol the area and "protect" residents. The allegation was denied by Malherbe, who said the SADF was still in Alexandra.

Witwatersrand regional police commissioner Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus, who visited the township yesterday and spoke

to community leaders, criticised the ANC and Inkatha for blaming police for the violence and told the organisations to "negotiate and address the very issues of their differences purposefully".

Into yesterday the Alexandra Health Centre and Clinic said although there was relative calm, people with gunshot, stab and assault wounds were treated throughout the day. A spokesman said the tense situation "could explode any moment".

A temporary clinic and two temporary police stations are being set up.

© Picture: Page 3

The Citizen 3/4/92

## Mandela sends best wishes to Muslims for Eid

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday conveyed his organisation's best Eid wishes to the thousands of Muslims set to break their fast after their holy month of Ramadan.

"We trust you have emerged from the holy month of Ramadan spiritually reinvigorated and enriched.

"The South African struggle owes a particularly large debt to the Muslim community for the illustrious sons and daughters it has given. Babla Salojee, Imam Haroon, Ahmed Timol.

Dadoo, Hafejee—these are names which have become permanently etched into the collective memory of South Africans," he said in a statement issued in Johannesburg.

Calling for peace in the country, Mr Mandela said the ANC trusted "your special prayers to end the violence and for democracy to flourish will be answered".

"Freedom of expression and religion are the fruits we will reap in a democratic and peaceful South Africa," he concluded. — Sapa.

The Citizen

3/4/92

## Goldstone: Negotiate to prevent violence

CAPE TOWN. — The legitimacy of democratic political activity at mine hostels should be negotiated by managements and the National Union of Mineworkers to prevent a repeat of the carnage at the President Steyn gold mine in the wake of the 1991 anti-VAT stayaway.

This and other recommendations from the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the violence were tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The 34-page report also recommended that:

- The control of meetings be negotiated between the NUM and management;
- Suitably qualified people conduct disciplinary hearings and management review existing training in this regard;
- An ombudsman, acceptable to both parties, be considered to deal with complaints and facilitate agreements;

CRENS. GENEDE. AOSP

• Negotiations between NUM and management be finalised urgently to alleviate tensions in the mine hostel;

• Negotiations on a code of conduct for stayaways be completed as a matter of urgency.

Eighty six people, mostly miners, were killed in the violence which swept the President Steyn gold mine near Welkom between

November 3 and 24.

The initial violence arose because of a decision by a number of militants who wanted to enforce Cosatu's stayaway call against VAT, the report said.

NUM found itself in an ambivalent situation — as a Cosatu affiliate, it was a keen proponent of the stayaway, but was also the messenger for mine management's stand that

workers should be free to work.

### Compounded

"This difficult position was compounded by the position taken by NUM; namely that the stayaway call was a Cosatu call and not a NUM call, and that it could therefore not act independently. A vacuum, or gap, in the line of responsibility existed."

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# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

# Expelled

THE inevitable split in the Conservative Party has begun with the expulsion of the Member of Parliament for Wonderboom, Mr. Koos Botha.

Mr Botha's crime — if crime it is — was to tell Parliament that he was willing to negotiate for a "drastically reduced state in which Africans can govern themselves".

Such a debate should take place in a forum acceptable to the Afrikaner.

"I am tired of being part of the problem. I want to be part of the solution. I am tired of violence and I am tired of the senseless debate. I want to negotiate positively."

Mr Botha also blamed the increase in crime and violence on poverty and unemployment—a radical deviation from his CP colleagues, who have insisted they are the result of the government's reform initiatives.

The differences within the party have been noted for some time, with the let's-negotiate faction led by Mr Koos van der Mēwe, the MP for Overvaal, and the don't-talk-at-Codesa faction led by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the deputy leader and member for Lichtenburg.

The CP leadership has consistently denied that there is dissension or the possibility of a split. In fact, the CP Parliamentary caucus last week decided against taking part in Codesa and announced its unanimous support of party leader, Dr Audries Treurnicht.

This was followed by a statement by Mr Vander Merwe in which he said "unambiguously that I wholeheartedly endorse the CP's decision not to take part in Codesa."

"I have personally and frequently indicated in public the composition and the actions of Codesa which make participation by the CP undesirable and unjustifiable."

Last Saturday the 80-member general council of the party unanimously reaffirmed its undivided loyalty to official party policy on the issue.

It also reaffirmed its full confidence in the leadership of Dr. Tremmick.

In an interview with The Citizen, Dr Treurnicht said the council particularly expressed its determination to campaign for an independent and free fatherland for the Afrikaner.

"Not one member of the council expresses any interest whatsoever in attending Codesa."

Now comes the expulsion of Mr Botha, which suggests that the reports of dissension and a possible split were not as far-fetched as the party claimed.

Mr Botha has been kicked out for "refusing to abide by the discipline of the caucus".

He was also accused of not being prepared to await the outcome of an in-depth study being conducted by seven caucus committees into policy and strategy in the light of changed circumstances.

Mr Botha says: "I can now freely speak my mind and not be bound by party policy. I will join forces with the volkstaaters outside Parliament and hopefully be their spokesman."

The CP is not keeping up with the changed circumstances in which South Africa finds itself. Nearly 2 million Whites voted for a continuation of State President De Klerk's negotiations in Codesa — only 887,000 voted against.

Agreement on the installation of an interim government is drawing near, and the CP will not be able to stop that.

There will then be elections for an interim Parliament, which will become a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution, and the CP will not be able to do anything about that, either.

What chance, then, of getting a Boerestaat?  
What chance, then, of self-determination?

By not taking part in Codesa, the CP's case goes by default.

This newspaper has urged the CP from the start to participate in Codesa.

Now it urges those CP MPs who favour talking at Codesa to do so openly, even at the risk of expulsion or of splitting the party.

Mr Botha summed it up succinctly: "I am tired of being part of the problem. I want to be part of the solution . . . I want to negotiate positively."

Will the other CPs who agree stand up and be counted?

The Citizen 3/4/92

# Keep trade curbs till violence ends: SACC

SOUTH African church leaders will ask the international community to make the ending of violence a precondition to the scrapping of sanctions, South African Council of Churches' general secretary Reverend Frank Chikane told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said church leaders believed the only way violence could end was by placing all armed formations under one command — a violent SA would not win the confidence of foreign investors.

Mr Chikane was reporting back on decisions made at a two-day meeting of SA church leaders.

He said the churchmen had decided to call an "emergency summit" of community leaders to discuss the violence.

The church leaders felt the government was relin-

by expecting citizens to solve the violence.

Non-government political leaders did not have the intelligence units required to act against the "underground covert op-

erations" causing the violence.

Mr Chikane said SA church leaders had decided to extend their ministries to Right-wingers.

He said the churchmen

felt they should minister to all the people of South Africa.

They could help explain the situation to all those who had voted "No" in the referendum. — Sapa

3814 YAEWOL ELAS2 BODS-ETAN

Mandela visits victims in embattled township

# Alex goes off the boil

Staff Reporters

ANC president Nelson Mandela today visited war-torn Alexandra as an uneasy calm returned to the township.

Mr Mandela and his entourage, including national secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and regional chairman

Tokyo Sexwale, visited the local ANC offices before going on to the trouble spots.

The party also visited many of the people who had been displaced as a result of arson attacks and petrol bombings of their homes.

Today relative peace returned to Alexandra as the Goldstone Commission prepared to launch an urgent inquiry into the battles that

raged across the township this week.

As leading political figures were drawn into the fray yesterday by demands for strong action to return law and order to the township, and calls for leaders to exercise control over their followers, reports of violence gradually died down.

Some residents continued to flee the area, although

business activity in the township resumed.

Alexandra Peace Forum chairman the Rev Busani Ngubane said although violence had subsided in most parts of the township, areas around hostels were very tense and gunshots rang out periodically.

Police said last night 11 people had been killed and scores injured since Tuesday

in two days of heavy gunfire and petrol-bombings.

Yesterday, youths beat and tried to set alight a man in full view of journalists. He managed to break free and ran past Madala Hostel to a police patrol.

Today, no reports of any incidents filtered through. For the first time this week, Alexandra Clinic treated no unrest victims overnight.

Research manager of the clinic Ros Hirschowitz said an emergency clinic would be open on weekdays from 9 am to 4 pm at the Alexsan Kopano Centre.

Yesterday the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry — at the request of the ANC and IFP — launched an inquiry into the violence.

● To Page 3

Alex still  
tense, but  
off the boil

● From Page 1

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has appealed to all parties, including the SAP, SADF and the public, to submit pertinent evidence "as a matter of urgency".

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to ask the international community to pressure the Government into stopping the killings in black townships and make such action a condition to ending sanctions.

SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said yesterday church leaders were calling on Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel to visit Alexandra to ensure proper policing.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the Minister was doing everything possible to ensure peace in Alexandra.

He added it was a fallacy to think that the solution to the situation in Alexandra lay in increased police presence.

He blamed the violence on the ANC and IFP, and said it was up to the leaders of the two organisations to "get together to spread the message (of peace) to their grassroots".

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# Alex quietens down

By Martin McGhee  
and Kevin Flynn

ALEXANDRA quietened down yesterday afternoon, with only one person being wounded after 3 pm, according to a spokesman for the Alexandra Clinic. By midnight it was still quiet.

Police confirmed that fighting in the township had ceased by yesterday afternoon.

The death toll in the war-torn township since violence erupted on Tues-

day rose to at least 11 after sporadic fighting earlier yesterday. More than 30 people have been reported injured.

Five men have been shot, a policeman was burnt to death on a vehicle, one man was stabbed and four others died from stab and other wounds.

The atmosphere in the township was tense, with the streets littered with rubble, car wrecks and the remains of either burnt or demolished shacks, a legacy of the

fighting which erupted on Tuesday, when residents stayed away from work and fought pitched battles with police.

Shops were closed and although some small businesses were open, trading was quiet, as many people kept off the streets after police had warned journalists and residents that some areas were very dangerous because of sniper activity.

Groups of youths gathered on street corners and isolated incidents of stone throwing at police and

media vehicles occurred, despite a strengthened police and SADF presence.

Police spokesman, Colonel Frans Malherbe, reported two handgrenade explosions at a squatter camp on the outskirts of the township and police took possession of a number of grenades which were defused on site.

A team from The Citizen yesterday arrived at the scene of an attack on an IFP man, seconds after

TO PAGE 2

## Alexandra quiet

FROM PAGE 1

his six assailants fled into a maze of alleyways adjoining Third Street.

The man, who was attacked about half a block from the Alexandra Clinic, had been stripped to his underpants and was bleeding profusely from about five wounds on the back of his neck, his back and his right side.

Blood covered the man's face from another injury above his forehead.

As the man staggered down the street, IFP Codesa delegate, Mr Bob Anderson, and the IFP's Transvaal leader, Mr Tembani Khosa, who were in Alexandra monitoring the situation, rushed to his aid as police raced into the surrounding streets in pursuit of the attackers.

Police arrested two men who were later released after an eye witness was unable to positively identify them as the attackers.

The victim, Mr Alfred Mabela, was attended to by policemen who brought him water and staunching the flow of blood. He was later placed on a blanket and carried to the clinic.

Mr Mabela told a police officer that his assailants had approached

him and asked him to show them where he lived.

"I told them I lived nearby in Sixth Street and they forced me to take them there. When we got there they overpowered me and started stabbing me," he said.

Two streets away a group of young men, all in their early 20s, stoned a police vehicle after one of their colleagues had been arrested for carrying a petrol bomb.

As the police drove off, the arrested man's mother chased the vehicle and hammered on the sides in a vain attempt to get her son released.

Next to the hostels a police vehicle stood guard over the body of an elderly man, who had been killed in early-morning fighting.

The body was still lying in the sun, covered with a foam rubber mattress, at 2 pm.

A police spokesman explained that, due to restricted services in Alexandra, no vehicles had been able to enter the area to remove the corpse.

Some Alexandra residents yesterday alleged that 35 members of the Transkei Defence Force had been dropped off in the township and deployed undercover to assist the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

garding the violence.

"In order to enable it to decide on appropriate action, the Commission appeals to all interested parties including the SADF and the SADF to place relevant evidence and submissions before the Commission as a matter of urgency," said Mr Justice Goldstone.

He said the Commission would also welcome submissions from members of the public, whether written or oral, concerning the cause or causes of the violence in Alexandra.

The Commission can be contacted at Private Bag X853, Pretoria 0001 or telephone (012) 320-4640/1/2.

According to an IFP Codesa delegate, Mr Bob Anderson, he was told the Transkei men had been dropped off at a house in Seventh Street and annex from the same premises.

"The ANC's policy in Alexandra has failed and they are now resorting to terror tactics. I understand they have brought outside help, including the Transkei Defence Force," said Mr Anderson, who is also a member of the newly-formed Interim Crisis Committee.

Mr Justice R J Goldstone said yesterday the commission had taken note of statements made by senior policemen re-

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## WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman's fortnightly  
review of political eventsAll the world  
is our stage

**I**MAGINE a play in which one of the most important actors is the audience, despite the fact that it is watching from miles away. The play is our current political drama and the audience is the international community.

Foreign governments and businesses rarely appear at Codesa working groups or white polling booths or Pan Africanist Congress meetings. But they are there nevertheless and they may well wield as much, or more, influence than the more visible players.

The latest sign is the PAC leadership's agonising about how to respond to Codesa. For not the first time, PAC leaders feel pressure to be seen to be negotiating with the government.

Why? The popular theory is that PAC leaders fear being "marginalised". They "know" that if negotiation goes ahead without them, they will be left in the cold.

Looked at from where the PAC (and the Azanian People's Organisation) sit, this "explanation" makes no sense at all. Members of the "liberation" anti-negotiation camp believe firmly that Codesa cannot deliver what they want, whether they are there or not. In a sense, they are right: if negotiation stays the course, the only likely outcome is some form of power sharing, rather than the unqualified majority rule which these movements demand.

They believe also that an African National Congress-National Party compromise is likely to disappoint many and that when it does, they will be able to pick up support which the ANC's mystique has denied them.

For PAC and Azapo strategists, a settlement reached without them may be anything but a death knell. On the contrary, it might be their best hope of increasing their support.

So whence comes the pressure to negotiate? From beyond our borders. PAC leaders acknowledge that their sympathisers in African governments are extremely eager to see them talking, and they take these entreaties very seriously.

Their dilemma is compounded since, even if PAC leaders decide to negotiate, they may fail to sell the decision to their movement. Most activists don't take foreign influence as seriously as their leaders. So the leaders have to find ways of appearing reasonable abroad, without alienating their supporters. This is no easy task.

PAC leaders aren't the only ones who listen to foreign views.

The NP sometimes seems to take them more seriously than local opinion: during last year's Inkatha funding scandal, NP ministers seemed to care far more about reaction in Washington or Bonn than in Pretoria or Soweto. And President FW de Klerk's enhanced foreign image after the referendum is an important reason for the NP's tougher negotiating stance.

So do many white voters fear of foreign reaction persuaded many a no-learning voter to say yes in the referendum.

The ANC, too, listens hard for reaction from abroad: Nelson Mandela's encounter with foreign bankers at Davos seems to have had more impact on his economic stance than countless meetings with local business. And the erosion of Western government support for the ANC has clearly affected its negotiation stance.

Does this mean that our political players are being manipulated by foreign forces? Not at all. It simply means that they are being realistic.

As many governments have found over the past few years, it isn't possible any longer to ignore world opinion. More than ever before, we live in a world economy. Any society which seeks to ignore this will not flourish. Any society which wants growth and stability has to take events elsewhere in the globe into account. If a "new" South Africa is to succeed, it will need foreign support and this sets the limits in which politicians act.

But there are also limits to foreign influence in our society. As the PAC's dilemma shows, it cannot force activists or the grassroots to support their leaders' compromises. Nor can it deliver peace, or economic growth (or, for that matter, investment). It sets limits, but the future still depends on what local leaders and followers do.

A South African "solution" which ignored the rest of the world would be doomed — but so would one which ignored local political realities. Our prospects may depend on the extent to which both locals and foreigners recognise that.

w. mail 3/4/92

# Don't laugh off Cosatu's economics

Those who believe in free markets should engage Cosatu in serious debate about its economic ideas — even if they find them wonky. The federation's real motive is to ensure it is not left out of decision-making.

**REG RUMNEY reports**

It must be tempting for the business sector to dismiss all the Congress of South African Trade Unions' (Cosatu) latest economic pronouncements as cloud-cuckoo-land stuff, hardly worthy of debate.

Some of the language, with its calls for worker control and nationalisation of the leading heights of the economy, harks back to days when the hammer and sickle flew proudly over Red Square.

Some is common sense. Cosatu wants a public works programme to mop up unemployment, though the demand is couched in a way which would give the union movement power to see such a programme doesn't undercut union wage levels.

The overall impression that has emerged from Cosatu's Economic Policy Conference last weekend is of a have-your-cake-and-eat-it approach. Would competitive prices of industrial goods be demanded, together with "living wages" and full employment. Similarly, Cosatu wants price control but not wage freezes, a "slim" state but quite extensive nationalisation. And so on.

But that doesn't mean the ideas should be dismissed out of hand. Real ideas hide there, even if they are unpalatable to many of those who dominate debate about our economic future. Moreover, such a conference reveals the canyon that still separates the business community, the state and labour.

Listen to Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo explain the underlying principles and motives and you will know he is serious about the broad thrust of the principles enunciated at the conference. It is clear the union movement deeply distrusts the ability of a market economy to redress past imbalances.

Naidoo says basic needs must be addressed in a programmatic way so that ordinary people can be assured their needs are not being neglected.



Proposals not a blueprint — Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and president John Gomo at last weekend's Economic Policy Conference

FROM WILLIAM MATLALA

Take Cosatu's Growth Path document, which advocates nationalisation. Naidoo stresses the objective of nationalisation is providing basic goods and services.

Most of what is listed for keeping in public hands is already wholly or partly under state control, such as Eskom, the Post Office and education.

The exception is Iscor. Though the iron and steel manufacturer is not directly a provider of basic goods and services it forms part of a master plan for industrial restructuring lurking below the surface of the Growth Path document. This is some other than the "redistribution through growth" strategy which emerged in the African National Congress' first economic policy documents.

So Iscor would form part of a grand plan of redistribution, the keystone of which is directing industry to produce basic goods and services for the black masses. The state would intervene to direct industry to produce these basic goods. "Luxury goods" would be dis-

couraged by taxation.

Redistribution would be financed by redirecting existing investment, higher company taxes and new taxes such as land and wealth taxes, and increasing the level of savings.

It seems a neat way of kick-starting the economy. Both production of basic goods and services and demand will be stimulated by pumping money into those industries such as food, clothing, housing, and electricity. Workers will have more money to buy the basic goods which they are producing.

Southern Life chief economist Mike Daly noted recently that a demand-restructuring economic policy that relied on labour-intensive production of basic goods was flawed. Black spending power has risen to more than half of consumer spending.

Yet buying patterns over the past four decades do not show a remarkable swing to semi-durable goods such as clothing, or "non-durable" goods such as food, away from

"durable" goods such as cars and fridges.

So there is no evidence that giving the masses money would mean they would stop wanting "luxury goods", whatever the meaning of that loaded phrase.

Other plans for kick-starting the economy put South Africa's hopes on a huge export drive to pay for social spending on houses and education. Cosatu's inward-looking programme does not stress exports.

However, South Africa, it is acknowledged, does not make all the machinery needed to step up production of these basics. So a drive to export processed raw materials would be needed, says Cosatu, to buy that machinery.

On industrial policy itself, Cosatu acknowledges South Africa will have to function within the world economy, but doesn't really come to terms with the implications of the modern global economic order. An accompanying code of conduct for multi-national

companies asks mainly what the multinationals can do for the workers, not what the country can do to entice the multi-nationals to come here.

Naidoo says it is all very well to jump on Cosatu for its economic pronouncements, but these come from within and are endorsed by the movement, not the leadership alone. Unpalatable as they may be, they are not swatched out in quiet boardroom discussions, Naidoo points out.

If these in power only want to hear soothing noises they are lit for a shock. Cosatu's proposals, he says, must be seen in the context of dealing with what Cosatu sees as the state of political disorientation and economic deprivation.

Naidoo reacts angrily to the idea that the basis of many of Cosatu's ideas crumbled along with the Berlin Wall.

"It is said we have old-fashioned views. Given what we have suffered, why must we change our policies?" If changes are to be made, he suggests, they should be made to the economic strategies that have benefited the minority.

This misses the point somewhat, since the world is not going to wait for us to complete while we squabble over who should make sacrifices.

Mention of Trade and Industry Minister Derek Key's idea of a "golden triangle", a compact between labour, the state and business on the economy, brings the argument. "Keys is talking about everything the government isn't doing".

Though there is a central role for the state to play in reorganising the economy it must be done with a number of key players, Naidoo says. There is an acceptance of the need for restructuring and Cosatu is trying to create forums where no single player can impose its will.

The bottom line is the insistence on negotiation — not consultation as envisaged by the government, but participation in the decision-making process. "What increases our resistance is when our attempts to negotiate are blocked."

Conversely, says Naidoo, must be reached by the major players on the new growth path for the economy: the state, labour and government. "The idea is not to come out with an economic blueprint. These are proposals for negotiation."

w. mail

3/4/92

## WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman's fortnightly  
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# All the world is our stage

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# Cosatu threatens general strike

*Cosatu is threatening a general strike and factory occupations in July if the government doesn't heed its demands.*

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

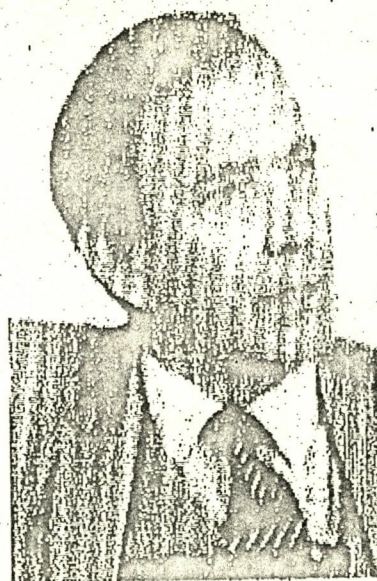
**T**HE Congress of South African Trade Unions zero-rated Barend du Plessis' last minute concessions on Value Added Tax this week and stressed that its programme of mass action would continue.

And if the government and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) do not heed the federation's economic and political demands, the country could face a sustained general strike in July as well as factory occupations.

This was the message from Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa. Although pleased at the further exemption of many basic foodstuffs, the federation is still angered by Du Plessis' continued refusal to meet the VAT Co-ordinating Committee (VCC).

Du Plessis this week widened the rift when he called the VCC a front organisation for socialism and communism and accused it of "wanting to tax only companies and the salary earner".

The VAT campaign will not end until VAT is negotiated, until all basic foodstuffs and services are perma-



Barend du Plessis

nently zero-rated and until an effective poverty relief programme is in place, says Shilowa.

In the meantime, marches and pickets will keep the campaign alive, but Cosatu regions have been instructed to start a campaign to boycott PAYE. In May, a decision will be taken on where and how to implement this boycott.

But the action hinges on sufficient progress being made on VAT, on a food prices freeze and on progress toward an interim government.

A PAYE boycott will be very difficult to implement, say business leaders, because companies are compelled by law to deduct the tax. But Shilowa



Sam Shilowa

is adamant that it can be done.

"They said we could not do it with the anti-Labour Relations Act campaign and with last year's VAT strike, but we proved them wrong," he said.

The demand around non-deduction of PAYE is also linked to Cosatu's demand for an interim government to be in place by June. "PAYE allows the government to stall the process of political development," he says.

A central demand from Cosatu's weekend economic policy conference is for the establishment of a national economic negotiating forum by May. But the government has given no clear indication that it will join the talks. And it is likely to balk at the pro-

posed clause that all economic restructuring should cease during transition.

Another campaign central to Cosatu's mass action is for the extension of legislation to farm, domestic and public sector workers and this is the campaign with the most potential for conflict.

In a recent interview new Manpower Minister Piet Marais said he would not pass farmworker legislation without the agreement of the South African Agricultural Union.

But the SAAU is wedded to the ideal of a separate labour statute for farmworkers — a demand which Cosatu will oppose.

Domestic workers' legislation is not even on the Manpower Department's drawing board and, says the Commission for Administration, the public sector employer, legislation for public sector workers will not go through during this session of parliament.

Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions have already established joint national executives to plan for a workers' summit in July where progress around the various campaigns will be assessed and mass action planned by the two federations as well as independent unions.

Action in July could consist of a sustained general strike, factory occupations or strikes at the point of production, says Shilowa.

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# ANC caught in the middle in Cape Town's taxi war

**I**N terms of lives, homes and vehicles lost, Cape Town's long-running taxi war has cost a great deal. But a potentially more long-lasting by-product of the conflict is the rift it has opened up between township civic leaders and the regional leadership of the African National Congress.

The ANC has tried to maintain a neutral stance in the conflict between the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) and its rival, the Lagunya Taxi Association. It has members in both groupings, and believes it has a "historic mandate to forge unity among sectors of the oppressed", said Vincent Diba, ANC regional executive member charged with conflict resolution.

The ANC has had to resist calls for it to throw its weight behind one of the parties. Instead, the organisation has attempted to bring both sides to the negotiating table, with only limited success.

This week, members of the ANC regional executive met the newly launched Civic Organisation of the Western Cape (COWEC) to address grievances bedevilling relations between the two formations.

A COWEC representative confirmed that a meeting had taken place but declined to comment further. His reasons for not doing so were echoed by ANC regional executive members: it would not do for problems between organisations to be discussed in the media.

But tensions were clearly illustrated at last month's launch of

*In an attempt to remain neutral in Cape Town's taxi war, the African National Congress has angered civic leaders who expected the organisation to resolve the conflict.* By GAYE DAVIS

COWEC. Intended to bring together all civic associations active in both black and coloured townships in the western Cape, as well as bodies representing hostel dwellers and squatters, the launch went ahead despite an attack two days before by unidentified gunmen on members of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA).

An ANC official scheduled to give an input on the violence plaguing the region was told not to — the inference being that his audience knew more about the violence than he could.

The fact that the ANC official was a former exile underscored another source of tension. In the words of one community leader, "we stayed here and built the structures through all the years of the banning (of the ANC) while they ran to exile. The people have more confidence in us".

In the view of civic leaders, the ANC has let them down. This goes back to March last year when, weary of being caught in the cross-fire of yet another outbreak of taxi violence, the civic of Cape Town's black townships launched a success-

ful boycott of both taxi bodies.

The aim, to get both parties to agree to dissolve and form a united taxi body, was an attempt by communities to impose some control. The initiative forced Webta and Lagunya to agree to a 10-point plan.

But days after agreeing to the plan, Webta pulled out — and the Western Cape Civic Association called a boycott, this time targeting Webta alone. The ANC spearheaded a new peace committee.

But many people felt that instead of holding out yet another olive branch, the ANC should have condemned Webta for reneging on the 10-point plan. Peace talks foundered; during this time, the chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association and TCCC member, Michael Mapongwana, was assassinated, allegedly by Webta members.

While the ANC pushed the cause of peace — in the townships, among its members — the talk was of war. Against Webta. By agreeing to the 10-point plan, Lagunya was seen to have acceded to community wishes and its members were thus deemed to be deserving of protection and, where necessary, defence. Webta had by its own actions cast itself out.

Adding to the complexities of the situation was the fact that, SAP denials notwithstanding, the police were increasingly being seen as partial to Webta in their efforts to keep the warring factions apart. For civic leaders, the issue was clear-cut: the ANC should call to account its members within Webta.

Typical of disaffected civic leaders' attitudes was this comment: "The ANC must not take a reconciliation stance when its people are being killed on the ground."

For the ANC to condemn Webta and take sides in the feud, however, would spell political suicide. There were also long-standing differences between certain ANC and civic leaders over political stratagems.

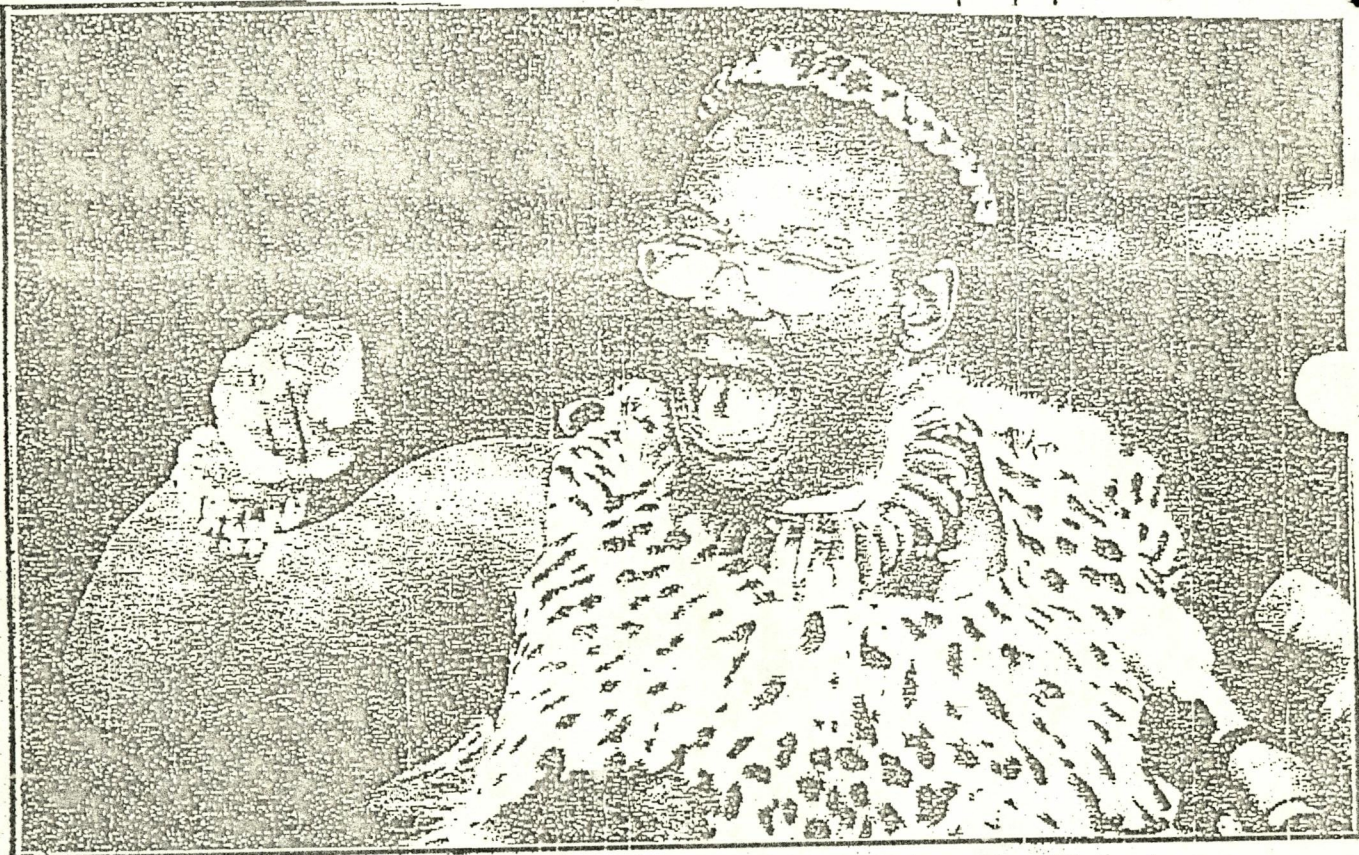
Difficulties in getting either side to compromise signalled doom for a new peace committee established at the initiative of Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Representatives of the South African Black Taxi Association, working with leaders of both Webta and Lagunya, have meanwhile succeeded in getting both bodies to form a new negotiating forum, Codeta (Congress for a Democratic Taxi Association).

Whether this initiative succeeds will depend on what agreements can be reached on the issues at the heart of the conflict — an inequitable system of allocating routes, ranks and permits — and the extent to which the communities of the townships are included in the peace equation.

w-mail

3/4/92



Warrior tradition ... Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi parades his 'Zulness' for political ends

IT'S time ordinary Zulus broke the Inkatha Freedom Party's monopoly over Zulness. As a non-ethnic minded Zulu I am often perturbed by this party's abuse of Zulness to further its narrow political goals.

They use Zulu culture to legitimise their continued brandishing of deadly weapons at political gatherings. They abuse the Zulu monarchy to strengthen their hands at the negotiation table. They appeal to Zulu nationalism in their quest for electoral support. And they even threaten a violent Zulu backlash if they don't get their way at the negotiations. To make those of us who do not subscribe to their creed feel less Zulu than they do, they call us "amahlubeka" — the prodigal children.

But what is even more disconcerting is the way the non-Zulu public has swallowed Inkatha's claim to be the sole representative of the Zulu people. It hurts to hear people use the terms Inkatha and Zulus interchangeably.

Terrified Reef township residents often shout "the Zulus are coming" as they flee from marauding Inkatha imps.

Civic and political activists in violence-torn townships often refer to Inkatha hostel-dwellers as "the Zulus", regardless of the fact that a large proportion of their constituency belongs to this tribe.

Others seek to mollify those of us who have distanced ourselves from Inkatha: "The Zulu people have made an incredible contribution to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid," South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani told a Pietermaritzburg rally — much to the anger of the crowd, who hated being patronised.

*I'm a Zulu  
— and I'm  
proud of it*

**MONDA MARCHANT** writes that pride in being a Zulu and his rejection of being lumped together with the other tribes which reinforce the townships.

But the point everyone seems to be missing is that poll after poll show Buthelezi and Inkatha scoring no more than 20 percent among Zulu speakers in Natal. No matter how much Inkatha attempts to appeal to Zulu nationalism, there is no chance he will capture the heart of Zuludom in this manner. Zulus are not as ethnocentric as Inkatha would like them to be.

But that is not to say we do not have a cultural identity. I pride myself on being a Zulu. Zulu culture is the only culture I know and it has formed my opinions on life, love and work.

I often scorn leftists who claim to subscribe to non-racial culture because there is no such thing and there never will be. Ethnic culture is good for a diverse society like ours.

We Zulus have every right to pride ourselves on the military exploits of the Zulu empire of

yesteryear. We are duty bound as a people to boast of being the only nation in history to have won a battle against the mighty British Empire — at Isandlwana — and of having offered the toughest resistance to the colonialist powers.

In the same vein, the Basotho pride themselves on having survived a siege by the British at the Thaba Bosiu mountain a century ago. The Pedi have similar tales of Chief Sekhukhuni's military exploits. As do the Xhosas, who will relate with glee legends from the Frontier Wars and of the great Chief Makana who drowned while trying to swim from Robben Island to the Cape coast.

Like those Inkatha members who try to monopolise Zulu symbols, I cherish the glorious history of the Zulu people. I pride myself on the legend of Shaka as much as they do. I love the Zulu language as much as they do.

My heart cannot help but skip a beat when I hear chants of "Usuthu" — that stirring Zulu war cry. I keep all the Zulu traditions such as the veneration of the ancestors and the periodic visits to the ancestral home.

What differentiates me from Inkatha's Zulu supremacists is that I do not seek exclusivity. Like the majority of Zulus, I do not want a Zulu region. I do not want to be represented by the Zulu king. My desire for democracy and justice does not differ from that of other South Africans simply because I am Zulu.

I relate to other people as a South African and will not allow my Zulness to determine whom I drink with, straggle with and sleep with. Nor will I allow the stigma that Inkatha has attached to Zulness undermine the pride I have in belonging to a nation of great heroes.

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From PAGE 3

them in the hand several times.

When truckloads of black soldiers from 21 Battalion in Sasolburg began to pour in at about 5pm, the crowds welcomed them like heroes. Women toy-ttoyed in the streets and people leapt about with clenched fists. The soldiers waved as though being honoured in a keker-lupe parade.

"The black SADF's are helping us. They don't want this corruption. But the Boers in their Casspirs are shooting at us. When the soldiers are there they are too scared to shoot," said "Chris", who would not give his surname.

But after moving up war-torn Third Avenue, the troops disappeared and the shooting began again in earnest. At one point a car pulled up, swerved sharply into a driveway and seconds later drove off again. "They came to deliver weapons," said a local activist, nodding knowingly.

**I'm not an ANC. I'm an ordinary person.  
But the IFP's attacking us and the  
police are not protecting us.**

Later in the afternoon, residents set alight a house on the corner from which the hostel dwellers were firing.

Heeter Mookene stood watching his mother's house go up in flames. "We were forced to move out of there on Tuesday by the people from the hostel. But we cannot blame the comrades (for setting the house alight). We blame those people that chased us out and moved in."

At dusk, many of the people huddled in the streets and houses began to cross back to Madala Hostel.

The Casspirs formed a barricade at

the intersection between the men and the rest of the residents to allow the hostel dwellers and women carrying large bundles of bedding and other goods to cross to the safety of the hostel.

The crowds hoed angrily at what they saw as a blatant display of police partiality. "See, they are moving to the hostel and the police are protecting them. But where are they when we need protection?" a resident said.

Others cried angrily that their own possessions were being moved from their now-Inkatha occupied houses

into the hostel.

People began to move nearer to the Casspirs and the intersection. Some approached one of the Casspirs and asked police inside why they had blocked the road to protect the Inkatha people and why they themselves were not given protection.

One policeman replied that they had parked there to wait for the firemen to come and douse the flames of the burning house.

Shortly afterwards, as dusk began to fall, the Casspirs pulled to the side of the intersection near the hostel. The residents who had approached the Casspirs grew scared when the Casspirs withdrew, realising they were standing in the middle of the war zone with no buffer. Several people however, continued to stand on the corner, not far from the hostel.

Suddenly there was burst of gunfire from the direction of the hostel and two men who had been standing near the corner fell. Both had been shot in the head and died instantly.

One of the men, whose head was virtually blown off, had been standing next to me a few moments before at the Casspir. He had spoken to me and to the police. He had asked angrily why the police offered no protection and why they had done nothing to rout out the people hiding in the Zozo cabins.

Another man, shot in the legs, was quickly picked up and rushed to safety. Police jumped out of the Casspirs, brandishing heavy arms, then quickly strapped the bodies on to stretchers and dumped them inside.

Some of the comrades came running to the scene with guns behind their backs, mere inches from the police. Shunned at what they had seen, people simply stood there, frightened and angry. Armed residents began to return gunfire and sporadic shooting continued into the night.

Though people were returning to work on Thursday morning, men still lingered around the houses on Third Avenue, awaiting more gunfire from

the direction of the hostel. They were locked in a war they said would never end. So far at least 10 people had died, including a seven-year-old.

Two men told how they had been staying in the hostel until the end of last year. "I've been staying in the hostel since 1972," said Peter Mestelof. But I moved out last year because the security forces bought Inkatha from Naledi to move. The IFP were not here before."

Many people — mostly women and children — have sought refuge at the local Presbyterian church and the Sankopano recreational centre.

Petina Sathekge (24) told how she had been staying at the church for the past two weeks. Her home, opposite the hostel in Third Avenue, is in the area now occupied by Inkatha.

"They took my uncle's place and we decided to leave because our house is in the same yard. They broke our windows and took our clothes and money. See, that's why I am only eating *amasi* and no meal. They took my granny's money."

Sathekge, with a gash on her forehead sustained when fleeing a car fired at snatching residents the previous week, said she and the rest of her family had been forced to join Inkatha and buy IFP cards costing R5.

"I'm not ANC. I'm an ordinary person," she said emphatically. "But the IFP is attacking us and the police are not protecting us."

Many tired residents, who have barely slept since raging gun battles broke out early this week, returned to work on Thursday morning ferried by taxis swerving around barricades, restoring some sense of normality to the chaotic, war-ravaged township.

But most streets were still heavily barricaded with rocks, trees and burnt out cars and many armed residents still thronged Third Avenue, waiting tensely for renewed firing to come from the Inkatha hideout.

One man, a gun in his pocket, stood on a corner with his wife and baby, waiting for their lift to arrive. He, like many other men, wasn't going anywhere. "They are still fighting there and I cannot leave to go to work. My house is near the corner up there. They'll burn my things." The man said he had been engaged in running battles since early in the week and had not slept since Monday.

"What are they fighting for? I don't know," he shrugged.

# The war on the corner of

# Third

**B**ETWEEN bursts of gunfire, an eerie silence hung over Alexandria on Wednesday. People waited and watched. Others gathered in small groups behind shacks, guns openly displayed, planning how to encircle the Inkatha hide-out.

"Lady, this is dog day afternoon," said a young man, shaking his head. Others around him, armed with pistols and petrol bombs, agreed. The fight was on.

The violence peaked on Wednesday, with running gun battles between the Inkatha hostel dwellers holed up in caravans and Zulu huts on the high ground at the corner of Roeth Street and Third Avenue, and heavily armed residents and comrades trying to hold their ground on Third Avenue, shooting up at them.

Residents who live north of Roeth Street say the Inkatha hostel dwellers want to capture the township street by street. So far, they have "captured" the houses on the corner of Roeth and Third, opposite the hostel, and this is where gun battles raged this week.

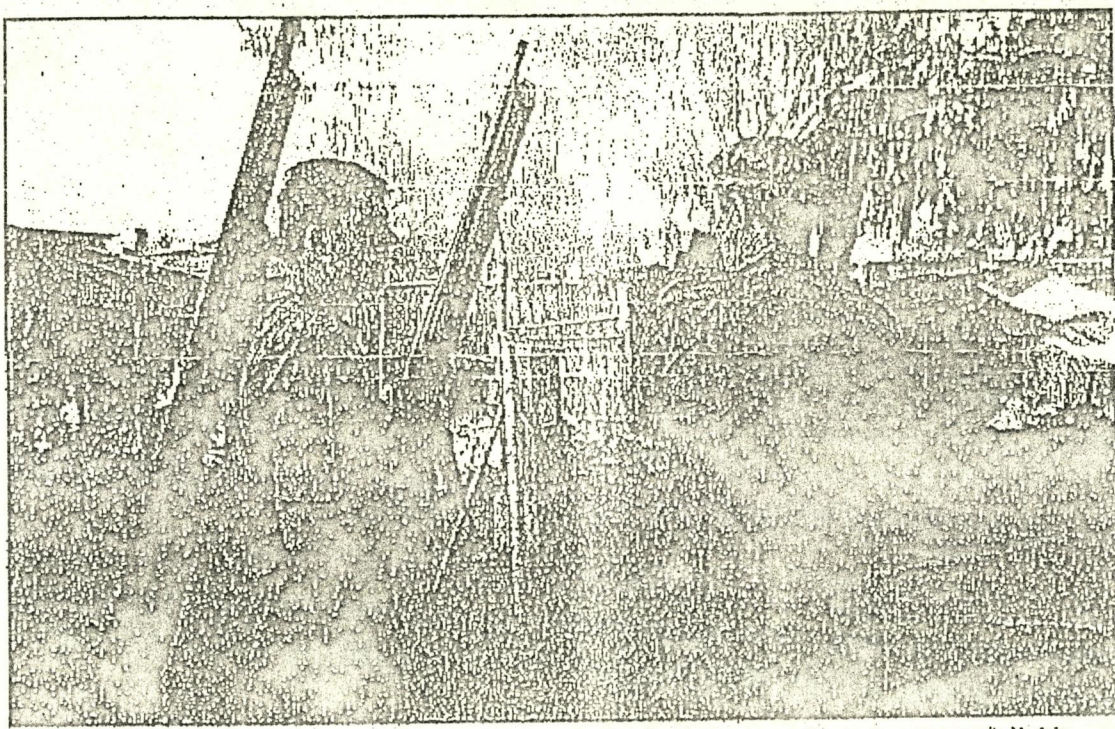
Many residents told how they were hounded out of their houses and their possessions stolen. Most said they were not African National Congress penitentiaries and it was not a war between the ANC and Inkatha, but a battle between Inkatha and "its residents".

Inkatha representatives refused to speak to *The Weekly Mail* and journalists were unable to gain access to the Inkatha "zone" during the battles.

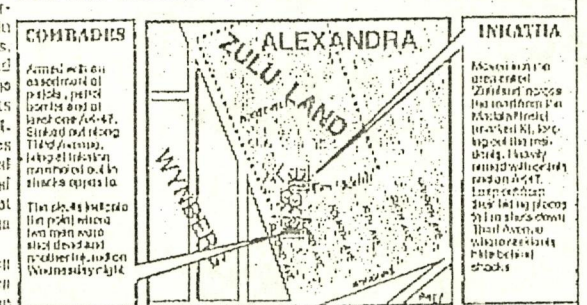
On Wednesday, people charged behind houses and shacks to avoid the loud "crack crack" of bullets whizzing down the street. Youngsters, shielding themselves with dustbins, occasionally threw the futile zone of Third Avenue and tore across the road, trying to get closer to the snipers in the Inkatha stronghold.

On Wednesday morning, women and children were nowhere to be seen as the men took command of the streets, guns in hand. But when police Comrades came thundering down the road, firing teargas, frightened women would emerge from their hiding places and upon their doors, shouting "come in, come in" to fleeing people.

Inkatha supporters, they say, have "occupied" a zone of several streets — from First to Sixth avenues and from Roeth to London streets. While some of the people now living in this zone are Inkatha supporters from



## BATTLE-LINES IN ALEX



Alexandra, most of the people, say residents, are "Zulus from Shani who don't even know the street names".

These warriors, they say, occupy the Madiba and Nkululeko huts and have forced scores of neutral or ANC-supporting residents out of their homes and are trying, street by street, to gain more ground for their stronghold.

The intersection of Roeth and Third was the scene of open warfare this week, with heavily armed

Inkatha fighters holed up with an AK47 and other weapons on one corner, in premises abandoned by fleeing occupants two weeks ago.

Intermittently the men dashed out of their hide-out to fire shots. One man, brazenly wielding an AK47 came into the street and gestured at the crowd to come and get him.

Residents from the section lower down grouped behind shacks and houses on Third Avenue and returned fire. Many were shouting ANC

Heavily armed police occupy the squatter area opposite Madiba Hostel while firemen extinguish burning shacks (above). For all the bloodshed, the heart of the war occupies only a tiny corner of Alexandria township (left).

comrades, but others said they had no political allegiance and were simply ordinary residents living on Third Avenue, fighting to protect their homes.

Scores of the men had pistols which they hid in their pockets whenever Comrades came patrolling up and down the road. Whenever the gunfire came from the Zulu huts, police Comrades were nowhere to be seen. But once residents began to encroach on Third Avenue, the vehicles came thundering down, sometimes firing teargas and birdshot.

Angry people shouted at them and youths moved forward provocatively, trying to show their pointed fangs.

Many men, armed with pistols, charged behind buildings and weaved their way among the Inkatha hide-out in an attempt to root out the hostel dwellers. Two men held AK47s wrapped in haversacks. Scores of youths, many of them not more than 10 years old, carried petrol bombs and some had knives and pangas concealed in

their trousers. Another man, carrying an IED covered in a cloth was seen skulking around the backs of houses.

Terrified residents crunched behind shacks and fled into houses as bullets rained down. The stuttered burst of AK47 fire could be heard every now and then and the exchange of ammunition was relentless. It was often impossible to tell where the shooting came from, and even less clear where it was headed. Some people complained that the men were poor shots and fired mindlessly instead of taking proper aim.

Everywhere, people were armed. The men in the Zulu huts would leap out from time to time and fire down the street, forcing the crowds during- ing there to put and flee to nearby houses.

At midday on Wednesday the hostel dwellers threw a petrol bomb into a house near the top of the intersection. Residents, too scared to go into the battle zone in front of the

house, doused the flames from behind.

Women and children could be seen leaving the area with bundles of clothes and bedding. One frightened middle-aged woman scurried outside to pull her washing inside. "We have not slept since Monday," she said. "We are terrified."

In true Beirut style, warriors took a "lunchbreak" and for a couple of hours the shooting abated.

As armed residents grouped behind shacks to strategise, many smoked dagga in preparation of more attacks. They told of how they would die fighting the police and Inkatha and how they would never leave their homes.

"The police are the ones doing the shooting," said Emma Lekanyane, from a house a few hundred metres from the battle-zone, later that afternoon.

Many of the women came to the streets at dusk and crouched behind walls, watching the action. "We are not supporters of any organisation but we don't want these Inkatha people here. We have to force them out and the police too must leave," said Lekanyane.

Most residents said all the police did was teargas them and accused the police of blatant bias towards Inkatha.

One woman told how she saw comrades capture two Inkatha men from a nearby shebeen in Second Avenue on Tuesday afternoon and drag them into Third Avenue. The men were being interrogated by an angry crowd when suddenly two comrades, carrying guns with silencers, ran up to them and shot each of

B. Day 3/4/92

## ANC 'ignoring alternatives to nationalisation'

FACED with threats of nationalisation, SA business executives say they have bombarded the ANC with other methods of redistributing the country's wealth.

Alternatives suggested include donating a percentage of company shares to a public trust, privatising state-owned companies and giving every citizen a share, imposing strict anti-trust legislation and affirmative action programmes.

But ANC president Nelson Mandela continues to say unless the business community is able to come up with a viable alternative, he will have no option but to move some industries under government control.

The ANC still does not have a detailed economic policy.

ANC leaders "keep saying the same thing over and over" about a lack of alternatives "and it's just not true", says SA Free Market Foundation president Leon Louw.

With an interim government likely in months, executives are finding it difficult to make future plans.

But rather than wait for a full ANC policy, some executives say the only way to reduce the threat of nationalisation is to introduce redistribution programmes now.

"The SA business community will have to put its social investment money where its mouth is," says the director for the Centre for Promotion of Foreign Investment, Wayne Mitchell.

Anglo American's Clem Suter says the best way to start closing the gap between rich and poor is to increase black share ownership in corporations.

Suter suggests the creation of a trust into which large companies donate or sell very cheaply a certain percentage of their shares. The public would be shareholders in the trust.

Louw favours a scheme where government-owned companies are broken up into smaller entities which would be owned by the public.

He has also suggested to the ANC what he calls the Eastern European method of privatisation.

Citizens are given privatisation vouchers which they can use to purchase shares in newly privatised companies. The former state-owned companies' stock prices would be denominated in vouchers.

But not all business executives are presenting the ANC with alternatives to nationalisation.

"They're going to have to work like we had to work," Liberty Life Association of Africa chairman Donald Gordon says.

"If you want to go out and play cricket with the boys, you have to play up to their level. They won't give you any handicaps." — AP-DJ.



AP Laserphoto

F.W. de Klerk, left, Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi listen Sunday to World Economic Forum President Klaus Schwab in Davos, Switzerland.

## De Klerk, Mandela urge businessmen to invest

DAVOS, Switzerland (AP) — Nelson Mandela on Sunday urged businessmen to invest in South Africa as soon as an interim government is established. South African President F.W. de Klerk urged immediate investment.

The two, along with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, took part in a panel discussion before the World Economic Forum, a gathering of business and national leaders.

"We have the desire and the will to face the world together, and together we will build a new South Africa," said de Klerk. "After almost 40 years in the political wilderness, we are returning to the international fold."

It was an opportunity for the leaders to explain the business environment they envisioned for post-apartheid South Africa.

All three said it would be a safe place for investment and provide investors with a gateway to the rest of Africa.

"Join us. Trust us and invest in us," said de Klerk. "We are going to succeed in creating a fully demo-

cratic South Africa."

Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, foresaw a South African economy similar to that of France, Germany or Italy, with the government owning 9-15 percent of industry.

Buthelezi said private business is the only way blacks could get a share in the wealth after being denied capital during apartheid. He said it would take them at least two decades to catch up.

Planning must begin to involve blacks in economic activity, Buthelezi said. "We need loans and investment, not on the basis of loans and handouts," de Klerk said, and added that South Africa has a workforce which is increasingly well trained.

He said it would be ironic if companies that invested in South Africa during the worst days of apartheid turn their backs on the new South Africa.

Mandela urged continued international economic sanctions on South Africa until an interim government takes over to manage the transition from apartheid to a multi-racial society.

**I**NKATHA as Goldstein. The parallel grows by the day. In George Orwell's 1944, Goldstein was a shadowy eminence, the proprietor of all ills. When water was cut off, bread was lacking, trains were late, any problem, Big Brother's news machine would announce that Goldstein's agents had been sabotaging again and the populace would work itself up into an anti-Goldstein froth.

In South Africa 1992 we have Inkatha to do that job. Township rhetoric becomes ever more simple: Inkatha is wicked, Inkatha is vicious, Inkatha causes the problems.

The result is a huge one-way flood of finger-pointing, which feeds upon itself. Inkatha's case gets routinely trotted out on TV, in the form of interminable semi-decipherable statements by its president, but hardly anywhere else. On the ground level it becomes branded as the wrecker, its people as the barbarians, and the debate is closed right there. Whosoever argues is labelled an "Inkatha sympathiser" and therefore beyond the pale, so nobody argues, certainly not in the circles of "respectable thinking" and least of all in the circles of respectable black thinking.

Personally, I want to say, I don't see myself particularly as an "Inkatha sympathiser". In fact I have about sixty thousand personal reasons for failing to sympathise, being the R60 000 that Inkatha's president once extracted from me for defamation.

## Black thinking

I had published an article which originated in The Spectator and which was largely a crack at the then incipient — this was 1987 — conventional wisdom which said that all black thinking was represented by Desmond Tutu and Willie Mandela, and that Buthelezi was merely a stooge to be dismissed from thought.

Buthelezi, said the article, could not simply be wished away no matter how unlikely you might consider him — and indeed, it said, he was "nonseatingly pompous" and his Inkatha Impis were "among the most bunglish operators in South Africa".

Chief Buthelezi promptly sued me and wound up with R12 000 in damages, which was small in relation to the costs. In the end some deeper pockets than mine saved me from having my house attacked by the Deputy Sheriff, a possibility that at one point had loomed large, but to this day I remain slightly sore and some day I am going to

# Hanging the dog with a bad name

*INKATHA is being blamed for all the problems facing the townships, their denials glossed over or unheard. But this huge flood of finger-pointing is actually feeding on itself. Far from helping to solve the constant violence, it is making it far worse. One effect of the image of villainy is to create more villains, writes DENIS BECKETT.*



**FAIR PLAY ...** Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha is being blamed for all the ills of the townships.

relate the whole bizarre tale — Buthelezi in the Supreme Court witness box talking about the size of his hat; a major newspaper inexplicably backing down from the same suit; the extraordinary propensity of legal procedure to obstruct common sense; the eerie silence of the press establishment which later went delirious over a much lesser suit brought against me by the editor of the Citizen; the lot.

But wounded feelings aside, the Inkatha issue now raises broad questions. One of these is the principle of fair play, which is now often treated as quaintly antique and as just a nuisance when "everybody knows" who the bad guys are, but which for my money is something to be especially zealously protected in the face of an avalanche of handwaged thinking.

Does Inkatha get a square deal? They say no, naturally enough, and they have a point.

When a middle-senior ANC character (Sam Ntuli, who by all accounts was genuinely a truly outstanding individual) is murdered on the East Rand, there is quite correctly a tidal wave of public and published outcry, accompanied, perhaps less correctly, by a good deal of Inkatha-blaming lunacy. When shortly afterwards an Inkatha deputy branch chairman is murdered nearby (by a grenade which also destroys the house he was visiting and injures children in it) there is silence punctuated solely by a single reference in the 14th paragraph (literally, I checked) of a single unrest report.

When the house of an Inkatha Central Committee member — Musa Myeni — is razed, there is a small spate of small reports. If it happened to an equivalent ANC person ... you can imagine. When Inkatha churns out reams of documentation about targetted assassins on

local leadership figures, these for the most part make little, if any, news. When bodies are thrown from trains that is — justly — big and very disturbing news but — less justly — it is universally assumed that Inkatha is doing all or nearly all of the throwing.

Then, cherry on the top, come the allegedly scientific analyses which are based on news reports and which demonstrate that Inkatha produces 95% of the aggressors and 5% of the victims. Inkatha claims that this is compounding injury, since its victims aren't reported in the first place, but Inkatha's claims feature in paragraph 15 if they feature at all, and the image of villain becomes ever more deeply ingrained.

## Mob psychosis

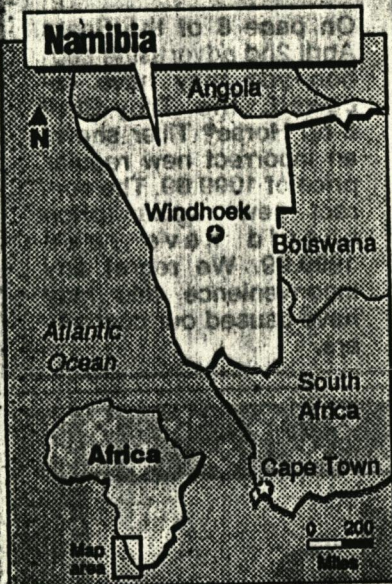
One effect of the image of villain is to create more villainy. My own ears have heard one old-time hostel dweller (and second-hand I am told this is a common phenomenon) haltingly explain that he is now too frightened to travel alone, as he always used to. He gets insulted, he has been spat at, and he's scared. So he travels now only in convoy.

I shudder at the thought of this convoy. As he speaks to me this man comes across as humble and modest and decent, I hate to think what happens when he is one of a convoy of 30 or 100, who may all individually have nothing more in mind than to get home to dinner and bed. Mob psychosis is bound to take over, and mob psychosis is an awful thing at the best of times, let alone when you're labouring under a deep belief that your mob is being derided and marginalised by the people around you.

What happens when this convoy comes across someone who looks as if he, were the numerical tables turned, would be giving them a hard time? One doesn't like to think. Afterwards we have a fresh spate of conspiracy theories, and blame directed at the Inkatha leadership. What happens when a sergeant and three constables are supposed to disarm this convoy? The police beat a swift retreat, at best steer a force they cannot control into its home base. Afterwards we have a spate of allegations about complicity and duplicity from the police.

We're in a vicious cycle. I don't suggest that a change in public rhetoric stands to promptly end it. I do suggest that the general determination to hang the dog with the bad name is doing the opposite of ending the violence.

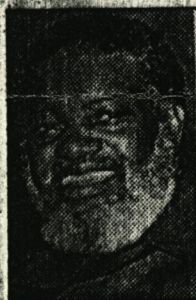
## WORLD BRIEFS



Knight-Ridder Tribune

# Namibia to kill wildlife for hungry

**WINDHOEK, Namibia** — Drought-plagued Namibia will start killing wildlife to feed hungry people, President Sam Nujoma announced Thursday.



Nujoma

"I have no option but to declare that an emergency situation has arisen,"

Nujoma told a news conference. "All natural resources must be utilized to provide food for the needy."

The president did not say which animals would be slaughtered, but the most likely targets are antelope such as springbok and gemsbok, neither of which is an endangered species.

Namibia, a vast desert nation, is one of several southern African countries suffering from the region's worst drought in a century. The region's traditional food suppliers, South Africa and Zimbabwe, also are affected, leaving their neighbors with few options.

*This is sad and I cannot understand that with the income from minerals etc. The cannot import grain or other food - I have it never happens in S.A.*

The Weekly Mail 28-08-92 -  
03-09-92

(1)

# A general clear-out, urges Waddington

**T**HIS week's "purge" of South African Police generals was recommended a month ago by independent British policing expert Peter Waddington in a confidential report to the government.

(1) In a confidential four-page assessment of the SAP, a copy of which *The Weekly Mail* has seen, Waddington said the "high command" of the SAP should be gradually purged during the negotiating process.

Waddington proposed a strategy akin to arms control talks: police generals should be sacrificed "like redundant ballistic missiles" as part of the country's negotiated settlement.

He said this would be an act of "symbolic significance" to bring the force into line with a changing South Africa. The government should stagger the purge during negotiations rather than

*Police generals, like redundant  
ballistic missiles, should be  
dismantled. This is the view of the  
British policing expert,*

*Peter Waddington, who assisted in  
the Boipatong massacre investigation*

get rid of them all as one "unilateral act", he suggested.

The far-reaching proposals from Waddington, director of criminal justice studies at the University of Reading in England, were handed to the government last month. This suggests that the retirement this week of 19 police generals was not due to a "rationalisation drive" as suggested by Law and Order Minister Wernus Kriel when he

announced it on Thursday.

It could mark the beginning of a complete reorganisation of the police force and affirmative action programmes to ensure a spread of black officers at the highest levels.

"It would seem that (President FW) de Klerk has acted swiftly on Waddington's advice," said a Western diplomat. "This is very heartening and it will create a positive climate for the visit next week of a European Community troika of foreign ministers from Britain, Denmark and Portugal."

Waddington's report is absolutely scathing of the SAP absence of effective command and control, poor investigative procedures and lack of accountability. So deep is this incompetence, he said, that senior officers do not even recognise what is wrong.

"The top echelons of the SAP leave much to be

desired," Waddington said in his assessment. "I have met many much more impressive officers among their subordinates."

"Perhaps those in senior positions have spent too long under the previous regime to be able to adjust to the extent that is necessary," he said.

Waddington was brought to South Africa by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to investigate police response to the Boipatong massacre two months ago. It was the first time that a South African leader invited a foreigner to pass judgement and make recommendations on a police force that has for decades been isolated from international policing trends.

His report into the Boipatong investigation was a scathing indictment of police incompetence and exposed glaring procedural and organisational inadequacies.