

Friday 4 March 1988

# ANC suspect had ammo in bag: claim

PIETERMARITZBURG. — A bag found in the possession of alleged ANC activist, Mr Gordon Webster, apparently contained more than 89 rounds of ammunition, a Supreme Court judge heard here yesterday.

Giving evidence before Mr Justice McCreath, Detective Warrant Officer R G Humphries, an explosives expert with the local police unit, said he was called out to the Sinating Road, outside Pietermaritzburg, on the night of April 27, 1986.

He said he arrived at the scene and found a seriously injured man, whom he later identified as Mr Webster, lying on his stomach. While searching him for weapons, W/O Humphries said he found a key and two explosive activating devices in Mr Webster pocket.

Another device, commonly used for activating limpet mines, was found in another pocket, the court heard.

Mr Webster is charged with murder, 12 counts of contravening the internal security act and a count on attempted murder.

Mr Webster was taken to the hospital and his companion, who was killed by police during the arrest and was identified as Mr Bheki Ngubane, was taken to the mortuary.

W/O Humphries told the court that the boot of the car, used by the man, was forced open and a large arms cache was found. A second leather

bag found in the car contained a demolition charge and a limpet mine.

Some time after the incident W/O Humphries said he was called out to the Machibisa area where he found a large arms cache, consisting of handgrenades, limpet mines and detonators buried over a 200 metre area.

He said he was later taken to a house in the area, and the key retrieved from Mr Webster's pocket fitted a locked door in the house.

On entering and searching the room, W/O Humphries said a dust

cap for a handgrenade was found and when a thorough search was made the next day, cleaning rods for AK47 rifles were also found.

Under cross examination, W/O Humphries said it took about 15 seconds to defuse a limpet mine, but police preferred to move it to an area where it would cause less damage.

He described to the court how, by using ropes, a limpet mine was removed from its target and detonated at a safe place.

The hearing will continue today. — Sapa.



# How America's top ten feel about SA

Of the 10 American presidential candidates still in the 1988 race, four (all Republicans) oppose economic sanctions against South Africa and the remaining six (all Democrats) favour sanctions in various degrees of toughness.

Two of the Republicans, Senator Robert Dole and Congressman Jack Kemp, voted unsuccessfully against economic measures against South Africa in 1986 and can be expected to maintain that position if, as expected, the issue goes before Congress again this session.

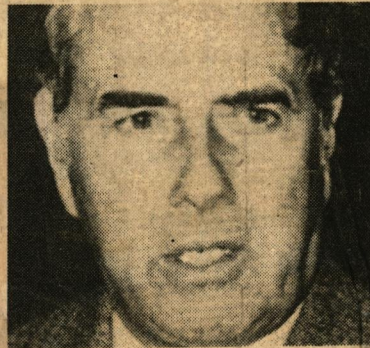
Of the other two Republicans, Vice-President George Bush did not play a prominent role in the sanctions debate two years ago, though he supported President Reagan throughout the heated squabble, and evangelist Mr Marion ("Pat") Robertson opposed the sanctions in speeches and sermons, looking at the situation largely in terms of the global conflict between the West and communism.

Four of the Democrats, Senator Paul Simon, Senator Albert Gore, former Senator Gary Hart and Congressman Richard Gephardt, all voted in favour of the 1986 legislation and have called for tougher action against the South African Government.

## Shift of focus

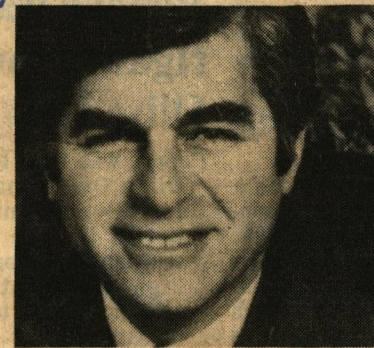
The remaining two Democrats, the Rev Jesse Jackson and Governor Michael Dukakis, publicly supported the sanctions drive.

Two events have combined to resurrect South Africa's race laws and its regional policies as issues in the 1988 presidential election — the shift of focus to the American South where



Dole . . . "maintain pressure".

As the pace of the presidential nomination campaign quickens, Neil Lurssen of The Star's Washington Bureau records the candidates' views on sanctions and the future of Angola and Mozambique.



Dukakis . . . "unban the ANC".

some 8 million black voters will be an important factor in the 20 states that hold primary polls on March 8, and the crackdown by Pretoria on opposition black groups, which has dismayed even South Africa's few remaining friends in the US.

This is how the 10 candidates stand on Southern Africa issues:

● **Vice-President George Bush (Republican)** rejects sanctions and disinvestment as counter-productive, harmful to blacks and responsible for reducing US influence in South Africa. He wants US policy to aim at black-white power-sharing negotiations

with minority rights as a precondition.

On Angola and Mozambique, he favours reconciliation negotiations between the governments and rebel forces.

● **Senator Bob Dole (Republican)** says: the US must maintain pressure on the SA Government but that additional sanctions and disinvestment will reduce US influence, harm black interests and possibly generate greater polarisation and violence.

On Angola, he strongly supports continued aid to Unita rebels, but opposes aid to either Frelimo or Renamo in Mozambique, arguing instead that US policy must confine itself to encouraging a negotiated settlement.

● **Congressman Jack Kemp (Republican)** is a firm opponent of both sanctions and disinvestment. He is a supporter of the Sullivan Principles which imposed an affirmative action programme on US companies operating in SA. He believes that the next US Administration should promote black-white negotiations along the lines of the Camp David talks between Israel and Egypt during the Carter Administration.

He believes the US should provide aid to rebels in Angola and Mozambique until these countries rid themselves of communism.

● **The Rev Pat Robertson (Republican)** thinks sanctions and disinvestment will work in favour of those who want South Africa to be a one-party Marxist state. The African National Congress should not be part of SA decision-making until it rids itself of the communists in their ranks.

He favours military aid to anti-communist rebels in Angola and Mozambique.

● **Governor Mike Dukakis (Democrat)** says that as President he will toughen sanctions and seek a comprehensive international trade embargo. He will call for the unbanning of the ANC and for its inclusion in talks.

He says he will end US aid to Unita, recognise the MPLA Government in Angola and try to create conditions that would lead to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

● **Congressman Richard Gephardt (Democrat)** says he supports a wide-

ranging disinvestment strategy and, as President, will follow a policy of forcing real change. During a debate several months ago, he said that in some circumstances, he would consider supplying arms to the ANC.

● **Senator Albert Gore (Democrat)** believes the next step for the US should be to pull the sanctions rope "a little bit tighter". If this does not work, then the sanctions should be made even more severe. He wants US companies to get out of SA. He opposed a move in the Senate to appropriate \$50 million aid for Unita rebels.

● **Senator Paul Simon (Democrat)** favours both sanctions and disinvestment. He is likely to support the tough sanctions in the Dellums Bill, already approved by the House of Representatives, if and when it is debated in the Senate.

● **The Rev Jesse Jackson (Democrat)** has, more than any other presidential candidate, kept the SA issue alive on the campaign trail. He says: "We must develop a commitment to full and complete economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. That's

ordering out American corporations by a certain date, as we did in the case of Libya because that was a sign of our seriousness."

He wants the US Government to recognise the MPLA Government in Angola and to help that country rebuild its shattered economy. He seeks an end to US aid for Unita but wants the rebel movement to be included in reconciliation talks.

● **Former Senator Gary Hart (Democrat)** voted in favour of the sanctions legislation in 1986, opposing earlier in the day an amendment that would have imposed similar sanctions on the Soviet Union. While in the Senate, he made several passionate speeches about the SA Government's race policies, comparing them to laws introduced by the Nazis in Germany.

Of the 10 contestants, Congressman Kemp, Senator Simon and Mr Hart are considered to be in the weakest positions. All three are widely expected to drop out of the race soon, though some political experts believe Mr Kemp could reappear as a possible vice-presidential candidate at the Republican convention in August, especially if the nominee turns out to be Senator Bob Dole.

Senator Dole is mistrusted by many conservatives, largely because he has in the past supported increased taxation, and Mr Kemp could drum up some right-wing enthusiasm for the ticket.

The two political reverends, Mr Jackson and Mr Robertson, both of Baptists, are unlikely to win their party nominations. But both have ardent supporters and have done surprisingly well at the polls so far. This will make them factors at their party conventions, playing important roles in the choice of nominee.



# Canada rejects Tutu's call to cut SA ties

CITIZEN  
4/3/88

OTTAWA. — Canada on Wednesday condemned South Africa's latest crackdown on opponents of apartheid, but said it would be the wrong time to sever diplomatic and economic ties with the country.

External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark made a stinging attack on Pretoria's new restrictions, calling them "perverse and brutal" in a special statement to the House of Commons.

However, Mr Clark said the cutting of formal links at this moment would cut off Ottawa's aid programmes and other forms of assistance to the Black population.

The Minister said he did not know when the right time would come to withdraw from South Africa, a threat made over the last two years by the Conservative government in Canada.

"But it is the government's considered view that this is the wrong time for Canada to walk away, or to cut ourselves off," he said.

In the meantime, Canada was consulting with other Commonwealth nations and its Western allies to determine what further punitive economic measures could be adopted to pressurise South Africa to hasten racial reform, he said.

Canada's ambassador to South Africa will remain in Ottawa for an indefinite period to protest against the current situation and to consult on what further steps could be taken.

Canadian trade with Pretoria amounts to less than one percent of South Africa's total trade and Mr Clark has conceded that Ottawa has little economic clout in the region.

Pretoria's ambassador in Ottawa has been called in to explain the detention on Monday of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other clergymen when they tried to deliver a petition to Parliament protesting against the new crackdown.

The Canadian statement came just hours after Archbishop Tutu appealed to Western

countries to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa until it cancelled restrictions it imposed on 17 anti-apartheid groups last week.

"Certainly the latest actions by the Pretoria government carry South Africa away from any pretense of democracy as Western nations know it," Mr Clark said.

Canada will continue to assist opponents and victims of apartheid and the Canadian Embassy in that country would maintain its contacts with a broad spectrum of South Africans, including opposition groups, the Minister said.

— Sapa-Reuter.



**TWO Bergville school principals were transferred by KwaZulu, allegedly because they campaigned for their overcrowded, poorly equipped schools — situated in a “black spot” area — to be handed to the Department of Education and Training.**

The Natal Witness was told that if the schools succeeded in transferring from KwaZulu administration to the DET, the DET would provide them with essential facilities including desks, writing equipment, floors, water and toilets.

The schools which want a transfer — Hambrook, Ebhethani, and a third neighbouring school Woodford — all own the title deeds of their land. They have been run by KwaZulu since 1972 as the area was destined at the time for incorporation into KwaZulu, explained local farmer Mr Alan Hall — who has been involved in the transfer campaign.

**by Claire Frost**

“The land was never incorporated and I firmly believe it will remain white. Because the schools are black schools in a white area the KwaZulu government only pays the teachers and is not prepared to subsidise or assist with buildings, desks and teaching materials,” he said.

According to documents before The Natal Witness, Mr Simon Mkize, principal of Hambrook Combined Primary School, was told on November 13 last year that he had been transferred with effect from six weeks earlier.

Chairman of the Hambrook School Committee, Mr Hinnom Buthelezi, said that the school committee's complaints about the transfer had been ignored. “Now Mr Mkize's standard four class just sits all day and we have no headmaster.”

The headmaster of neighbouring Ebhethani Combined Primary School Mr B. Mathabula — who was killed in a motor accident in January — was also transferred after he campaigned for improved conditions, Mr Buthelezi said.

When approached by The Natal Witness, KwaZulu's Department of Education would not give reasons for the transfers except to say that they were “in the interests of education.”

In a statement, the department denied that they did not provide equipment. KwaZulu controlled about 76 schools which were not directly in its territory, the statement said. Besides paying the teachers it also supplied aid for buildings, books, furniture and equipment.

“Ebhethani school has deliberately refused to take steps to enable the department to help it with the building subsidy. If any of the three schools concerned alleges that it has not been helped it is most likely that it neglected to make its needs known through the existing channels”, the statement said.

The Natal Witness visited the worst-off of the three schools, Hambrook, this week.

The school had six dusty classrooms, all without floors. Some children sat at desks, others on benches, but many of them sat and wrote on the dust floor.

*Natal Witness*  
**Schools want  
switch to 4/3/88  
DET as 261  
pupils sit  
in one  
classroom**

Class one and two, and standard one — 261 children — were taught in one classroom which had no desks or blackboards. The number of children in other standards varied between 40 and 69 pupils.

The nearest water was a stream 3 km away and the only toilets were three enclosed pits. The equipment consisted of blackboards in the higher classes and the children supplied their own tattered exercise books.

“After Mr Mkize became principal in 1985 he and the parents collected money and with our own hands we built this school,” school committee head Mr Buthelezi said. “Before 1985 we were using one wattle and daub building.”

“The only person who helped us was the farmer Mr Fanie Meintz who gave us iron for the roof.”

Mr Buthelezi — whose children Welile and Herbert attend the school — was a pupil at Hambrook himself from 1928 to 1934.

#### **‘Lots of equipment’**

“The desks we have come from those days. When I was a scholar the school was administered by the Natal Education Department and we had lots of equipment. By trying to get the school controlled by DET we hope that we will get back to those days.”

In a letter to the chairman of the Ebhethani School Committee, the Rev I. Mbhele, DET deputy minister of education Mr Sam de Beer admitted that as the three schools fell within South Africa “your representations (for inclusion in the DET) merit further attention.”

However, DET director general Dr Braam Fourie said this week that he had spoken to KwaZulu about the lack of facilities and equipment, “but at this stage there is no question of a takeover of these schools by the DET.”

In its statement KwaZulu said it “would not like to be involved in an issue that would divide the people. These schools have been part of KwaZulu for a long time.”

KwaZulu would only consent to the transfer if it was “with the concurrence of all the people concerned,” the statement said.





Dusty standard two pupils at Hambrook school get down to work on the classroom's sand floor while their more fortunate colleagues study at some of the school's few desks.



Class one pupils squeeze onto a bench at Hambrook school ready for the day's lessons.



Natal Witness 4/3/88.

## 500 unrest deaths in the past 14 months ~~7~~ report

### Witness Reporter

MORE than 500 people have been killed in incidents of unrest in the Natal Midlands during the past 14 months — most of them in townships around the city, according to information supplied by the University of Natal's Centre for Adult Education and those collected by The Natal Witness itself.

Mr John Aitchison, the deputy-director of the centre, told The Natal Witness yesterday there had been 402 deaths in 325 incidents of unrest during 1987.

"Our survey was conducted on the basis of reports supplied by the

press, the police unrest reports and from affidavits and information supplied by lawyers and organisations such as the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa)," Mr Aitchison said.

According to these figures there was a total of 896 incidents of unrest in the Natal Midlands which included townships around the city, Greytown, Hammarsdale and Howick.

Between January and August 1987 there was a total of 80 deaths and from September to December there were 322 deaths with the

highest figure (108) being recorded in December.

Figures kept by The Natal Witness, based on police unrest reports, indicate that 98 people were killed in January 1988 and 28 last month — bringing the total since January 1987 to 528.

In their survey, the Centre for Adult Education state that of the 402 killed last year 119 were either members or supporters of the United Democratic Front, 59 were from Inkatha, 218 were unknown, two were members of the S.A.P. and three belonged to the black

consciousness movement.

"We defined affiliation in its very broadest sense as the unrest figures from the S.A.P. do not state the affiliations, thereby making it difficult to reach an accurate figure."

The dramatic increase in killings from September indicated that something must have happened during that period.

The one clear observation that could be made was that despite the dramatic increase in the number of detentions during the latter half of last year, the death toll still continued to rise.





BUTHELEZI

## KwaZulu to discuss city violence

### Witness Reporter

CITY violence will be discussed by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on March 15.

The assembly session will be opened by the Minister of National Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Chief Minister Mangosothu Buthelezi will deliver a policy speech on March 16 and about 20 bills are to be considered during the session, which runs until June.

Matters to be discussed include violence in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere; relations between the KwaZulu government/Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu and relations between the KwaZulu government/Inkatha and the ANC.

The assembly's support in principle of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in view of Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis's rejection of its proposals will be reviewed.



## Buthelezi 'shocked' by Mlaba murder

4/3/88  
CITIZEN  
ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he learned of the murder of KwaZulu legislative assembly member, Mr M P Mlaba with 'shock' and revulsion."

He said in a statement: "I received the news of Inkosi Mlaba's murder with shock and revulsion. If it was indeed a political assassination, as the circumstances suggest, it serves as another brutal reminder of the depth to which those who are opposed to Inkatha's non-violent policies are prepared to sink."

Mr Mlaba (36), was shot at about 10 pm on Wednesday a statement by the SAP said yesterday.

A number of AK47 cartridge cases and expended bullets were found on the scene.

The SAP are investigating the killing. — SAPA.



The Natal Mercury, Friday, March 4, 1988

## Editorial criticised

SIR — In my address to the Central Committee of Inkatha on Saturday, February 20, 1988, I certainly did not set out specifically to accuse The Natal Mercury of bias in its reporting on Inkatha.

I have no particular quarrel with The Natal Mercury and I will now not develop a quarrel with you, Sir, as a result of your editorial on February 23. I simply say that the editorial itself was uncalled for and that my concern about media treatment of black politics in South Africa is valid.

I have found that newspapers in this country refrain from publishing specific attacks on journalists and other newspapers in South Africa which are totally justified.

You asked me to be specific about what newspapers I am talking about and to be specific about what stories in them I object to. I would be most happy to oblige in a detailed reply to these questions, if the Mercury provided me with the space in which to do so.

It is indisputably true that media coverage of South Africa results in the view that Inkatha is losing politi-

cal face and that the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance has captured real mass support in South Africa. In Western Europe and North America this is most certainly the impression that newspapers and television companies give the reader and the viewer. Foreign correspondents in South Africa have not reported fairly on Inkatha.

You must be aware that the Media Workers Association of South Africa has repeatedly declared itself to be opposed to my leadership and to Inkatha.

It is I who have to face diplomats, businessmen, churchmen and others who are clearly influenced by biased newspaper reporting.

You must also be aware, Sir, that I have on numerous occasions had to approach the courts for protection from defamatory articles in newspapers and periodicals. I have won some court cases, some are pending, and in many cases there have been out of court settlements in favour of Inkatha. It takes a lot more very clear evidence to induce a court to find an article defamatory than it takes

them to issue a restraining order to limit possible future violence.

A newspaper like The Natal Mercury should support my campaign for unbiased reporting in every possible way. What I said in my address to the Central Committee of Inkatha has done The Natal Mercury no damage. I am therefore at a loss to know why you, Sir, responded so strongly in your editorial.

MANGOSUTHU G  
BUTHELEZI  
Chief Minister Of KwaZulu  
And President Of Inkatha  
● Letter shortened

FOOTNOTE: We are pleased to know that not all newspapers are tarred with the same brush. But just as Dr Buthelezi quite rightly objects to being accused of being part of the system, we object equally strongly to general attacks on the 'media' which readers will construe as including ourselves. Our concern is that when attacks are made, the accused is identified. Just as we demand unbiased reporting in the Mercury, so do we support Chief Buthelezi and anyone else wishing to maintain high standards — Editor



## Police hunt Zulu *N. Mercury. 4/3/88* politician's killer

### Pietermaritzburg Bureau

POLICE were yesterday searching for the gunman who shot and killed a member of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly in the Camperdown area on Wednesday night.

Mr Msinga Mlaba, 36, was shot dead at his home in Ximba by an unknown gunman about 10 p.m., according to a police statement released in Pretoria yesterday.

The statement said a number of AK-47 cartridge cases and spent bullets had been found at the scene.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said the motive for the killing was unknown at this stage and no arrests had been made.

He said Mr Mlaba was watching television when he was gunned down.

No further details were available yesterday.





□ FRIEDMAN ... "interest from government"

The SA Institute of Race Relations has emerged from its flirtation with the radical left and, step-by-step, is winning back respect for its independence and the authority of its research. Once again it has become recognised as a powerful generator of creative political thought. Deputy Editor NEIL JACOBSON reports ...

# Back on the track *Business Day 4/3/88* of plotting the process of change

**I**N A political landscape scarred on the left and the right by intellectual sterility, the SA Institute of Race Relations is, oasis-like, producing a fresh, cold stream of reasoned thinking.

Scorning the rhetoric of either extreme, it is meticulously analysing the process of change, identifying opportunities to advance towards its goal of a SA free of racial discrimination and devising strategies to implement such opportunities.

If that sounds like a detached, even clinical, approach to the hugely emotional upheaval of change, that's exactly what it is meant to be. Its contribution to change, the Institute has decided, will be in the form of influential research.

Anyone seeking a working knowledge on the Institute's vision needs look no further than a seminal paper by its policy research manager, Steven Friedman, published (finally) in the SA Foundation's latest quarterly bulletin.

**I**t is entitled simply and appropriately "Understanding Reform". It argues that, as government is immensely powerful, change will not come rapidly. Rather, change will consist of the gradual erosion of apartheid which, in turn, will make further erosion possible. So-called reform, says Friedman, is a symptom of the erosion.

This creates opportunities to break from unidimensional protest politics into the business of influencing change. Reform should therefore not be rejected as irrelevant or counter-productive any more than it should be uncritically embraced. Rather, it should be used to up the pace of change, he writes.

The approach is based on growing evidence — much of it gathered by the Institute itself — that partial change in SA has led to wider change, even though this may initially have been the very opposite of what government intended. Says Friedman: "There is not a single example over the past decade of a reform which has strengthened white control and there are numerous examples of reforms which have weakened it."

**I**mplicit is the realisation that change is never the result of pressure from a single source, so the next phase must be to identify the key actors — all of them — in a

given situation of change. Very often the key players in this "informal alliance" would be horrified to learn that they were in the same camp, says Friedman.

Then it's a matter of getting the detailed research on that issue to all the players and facilitating, more than lobbying, in the hope of nudging change into being.

By another name, it's the art of the possible; the acceptance of the reality of incremental change. "I think our motto could be 'Slow and steady wins the race,' with a logo showing the tortoise overtaking the hare," quips the Institute's executive director John Kane-Berman, only half-joking.

Incongruous though his imagery may be, Kane-Berman is articulating a courageous stand. Even now that the deceptive glow of the quick fix has faded, the concept of gradual change by participation remains an intensely unpopular view among the hard left "all-or-nothing" brigade.

Behind the Institute's recovered intellectual respectability lies a bloody battle, and a philosophy faithful to traditional liberal ground-rules hammered out in the early Eighties by Kane-Berman and the late Ernie Wentzel, one of



SA's most creative legal minds and a great humanist. Their success is illustrated by the currency the Institute's research has gained in circles from, in Kane-Berman's words, "those in government to those in exile".

But it was not that simple. By the start of the decade the Institute had drifted into the arid and vicious circle of protest politics. Links forged between the front of anti-apartheid bodies brought, instead of solidarity, arid uniformity. The same people gathered at the same meetings to hear the same people vie to outdo each other in their condemnation of the same filthy racist regime in Pretoria.

Into that slithered the seductive rhetoric of the quick fix, the deception that all apartheid needed to roll over and die was one good shove. It carried before it organisation after organisation, from the ANC to the UDF to the Black Sash to the English universities and even the PFP.

Wentzel, Kane-Berman and a handful of others held out, but not without much bloodshed. The left

was unwilling to loosen its grip; indeed, even today much poison remains.

It was not until near-bankruptcy focused minds that they were able to take action.

The Institute had become trapped in a mish-mash of social and community projects, each answering a need, but most wholly inappropriate to the nature of the organisation. "We were running Operation Hunger, a bursary programme, extra classes for black matrices, unemployment bureaux, arts and crafts shops, dance workshops ... and most of them at a loss. Administration was in a shambles. Not only were they a massive drain on resources, but they forced research, our traditional strength, on to the farthest backburner," says Kane-Berman.

He was appointed director in September 1983, and by the end of that year two steps were taken: to restore research to pride of place, and to hive off all the charitable activities on their own. "It had to be simply a business decision," says Kane-Berman.

Pressed, he admits there was more to it than that. "There was a feeling we had politically lost direction; that we had become just

another protest organisation doing nothing except criticising government. I don't deny for a second the right of validity or protest, but increasingly we felt we were getting nowhere, that government wasn't listening."

The move back to the total objectivity of research forced tough questions, such as whether a liberal organisation like the Institute really had a role or whether it was simply part of a "mutually reinforcing ghetto of the left, listening to no one except each other, reaching no one except each other. We had to break out of the laager and start reaching the unconverted".

What emerged was Friedman's Policy Research Unit. The aim: to analyse in detail how change that had occurred — the striking example being in the labour field — had come about and to identify where further change could be facilitated.

Says Friedman: "We chose areas for research where we believed there was potential for change, such as the desegregation of educational institutions, Group Areas, migrant labour. We have not researched fields like security, where there is obviously no sign of fluidity."

Now, says Kane-Berman, "the ANC quotes our political violence statistics in Sechaba and government, by direct word of a Cabinet Minister, accepts our research as factual and non axe-grinding".

Friedman adds: "What excites me is that there is a fundamental change in our relationship with the key actors, most evident in government. Five years ago we would occasionally go and see a Minister, tell him he was wrong and be politely ignored. Now we are seeing direct interest from government in our research, and direct requests to see it." Significantly, an equivalent level of interest is being shown on the opposite side of the political spectrum, add Institute officials.

New potential means new challenges, and the focus now is to get the product to the right people. "We are going to devote our resources to extending our penetration of the market, to get our research on to the desks of decision-makers from every walk," says Kane-Berman. "The broad goal of a vision of a society free of statutory apartheid is not fanciful, it is achievable."



# Black against black in S. Africa fuelled by hidden police hand

By Brendan Boyle

EDENDALE, South Africa — Death is everyone's neighbour in the lush Edendale Valley west of Pietermaritzburg. Fear is a constant companion.

"There have been so many deaths that most people have lost their sense of weeping," says local newspaper reporter Lakela Kaunda. "Weddings, soccer matches and parties have been replaced by funerals."

By knife, by gun and by fire, death comes almost nightly among the boxy brick cottages and thatched huts scattered across the green slopes of the Edendale Valley.

The 450 dead have included an infant shot in his mother's arms, 2-year-olds burned to death, a 10-year-old beheaded with an ax and a 70-year-old couple found recently with their throats slit.

Rows of fresh graves bear testimony to the terror. Gutted homes mark the scenes of violence. The black Edendale Hospital overflows with victims of the ugliest factional war yet spawned by apartheid.

"The stores of human woe are unending," said a young American working to help the victims. "It is hard to believe that people can be so cruel to other people."

This is a civil war black against black, Zulu killing Zulu.

On one side among the area's 500,000 blacks is the ideal of a capitalist nation ruled by blacks and whites together, propounded by white South Africa's favourite black leader, Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and his 1.5-million-member Inkatha Movement.

On the other is the radical United Democratic Front's blueprint for a socialist nation under a government elected by universal franchise.

Victims and witnesses charge that police are siding with Inkatha, not to impose peace but to ensure a Buthelezi victory over the UDF.

"Ultimately, we are reaping the fruits now of apartheid and economic decline," said editor Richard Steyn of the *Natal Witness* newspaper. "Without a massive

security force presence, I don't see it ending in the short term at all."

Each side accuses the other of keeping the slaughter going.

"We don't fight," said Velapi Ndlovu, the local Inkatha chairman. "We don't attack people. If people come to us and they die it is their problem."

"Buthelezi says Inkatha does not attack," said Peter Kerchhoff, head of the Pietermaritzburg Association for Christian Social Awareness. "He says his people are defending themselves. But the warlords are not defending, they are going out and murdering people. There is no doubt about that."

Yet little in this vicious war is clear-cut.

"It would be wrong to say that it is purely one side attacking the other," added Kerchhoff. "But, certainly over (recent) days, there has been evidence of increasing Inkatha provocation."

"What is coming out of this, too, is a clear picture in the minds of the people that the police are involved with Inkatha," he said.

That statement raises the most serious of the allegations arising from the black-against-black battles — that South Africa's police are actively on Inkatha's side.

"There is no doubt in my mind that Inkatha is the aggressor and that the police are working hand in glove with them," said the young American, who cannot be identified because his work violates the terms of his visa.

Police are believed to be holding 800 to 1,000 UDF supporters, detained without being charged, and none from Inkatha.

Police report the statistics of death each morning in a terse statement that belies the horror of murder and torture in Sweetwaters, Edendale, Imbali and Taylors Halt.

"A 10-year-old boy was abducted. Police later found his body in a ditch. He had been beheaded with an ax," said the police report of last year's killing of Skumbuzi Shezi, son of a UDF supporter.

The victims' own stories are more graphic.

Kwathula Mkhize, a small

13-year-old, tells without apparent emotion how a man he identified as Inkatha "induna" David Ntombela and seven "warlords" shot and killed his mother and 11-year-old sister while he hid under a bed.

"I heard my mother saying she was going outside," he said. "I then heard Ntombela say to my mother that she should not move and should lean against the wall. I heard a gunshot and I heard her groan."

"A short while later, certain of them entered my room. I saw him aim his gun at my sister, Petronella, and fire one shot. She fell to floor and I heard more shots. I remember her crying out. She lay bleeding on the floor. She was moaning."

Mkhize's older brother, Mangethe, says that when he went to the police he found Ntombela chatting with the officers. Mangethe said he was teased about his mother's death and was not allowed to make a statement until he had washed a policeman's car.

Ntombela was charged with murder, which he denied. In what was seen by Inkatha's rivals as evidence of police support for the movement, he was released on \$50 bail, with no trial date set.

"For many whites," said Pietermaritzburg University lecturer John Aichonson, "Buthelezi is the acceptable face of a non-racial future. He represents the middle road between white minority rule now and black majority rule in the future."

But Buthelezi's proposal for an experimental multiracial administration in Natal province, a plan known as the KwaNatal Indaba, required him to deliver a majority of the black vote. Aichonson said whites would only accept the plan if they were convinced that Buthelezi and not the UDF would represent blacks.

The UDF and its 2 million members is feared by most whites.

"The South African government cannot afford to let Buthelezi lose, but if the police deliver his victory it will be a Pyrrhic victory because the people have lost faith in him and Inkatha," Aichonson said. — UPI

4/2/88 The Natal - Shaliland



# The Star

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## Dangerous delusions

**P**ITY poor Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party. He is trying to put a respectable gloss on CP policy. His task is as difficult as that undertaken by Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovakian leader who tried to put a human face on communism nearly 25 years ago.

Every time Mr van der Merwe tries to present CP policies in a reasonable light — as he did recently in a television interview when he denied that CP policy was racist — he is contradicted by CP leaders. The harder he tries to deny that the CP is wedded to apartheid, the more his colleagues proclaim that the marriage is indissoluble.

The most recent repudiation comes from Andries Treurnicht himself. Dr Treurnicht has given notice that the CP would reinstate the pass laws and Group Areas Act, two cornerstones of old-style apartheid. The inference is that the CP would try to reintroduce many similarly obsolete laws, including the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, to which CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg implicitly committed the party during the Potchefstroom by-election campaign.

The truth is that there is a schism in the CP's political soul. A struggle is raging between those who want to modernise apartheid and those who wilfully cling to it. Both are unable or unwilling to learn the lessons of the past 40 years: apartheid in any form is unworkable.

Mr van der Merwe leads the modernisers and Dr Hartzenberg the hardliners. Mr van der Merwe is prepared to negotiate with the ANC for a smaller — but “not too small” — white fatherland; Dr Hartzenberg favours partitioning South Africa into a white state and tribally based black states on the basis of the National Party's discarded 1975 proposals.

Dr Treurnicht stumbles about, veering first in one direction and then another, blinded by the dangerous illusion that the collapse of the Soviet Union proves that apartheid is an idea whose time has come. Apartheid, if only he would listen to the millions of South Africans around him, has had it.



The Star 4/3/92

## 'Who would start a bloodbath?'

By Patrick Laurence

THABAZIMBI — Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht last night denied that CP policy was racist.

Addressing a packed hall at the local showground, Dr Treurnicht described CP policy as "the love of a people of itself and not hatred of other people".

He said the CP stood for self-government of whites, by whites, but recognised the right of black nations to govern themselves.

He accused the National Party of spreading "scare stories" about what would happen if the CP came to power, and was particularly scathing about its warnings that a CP triumph would precipitate a bloodbath.

Who would start the bloodbath, he asked, adding that if the ANC tried to incite people to violence it would meet the strongest resistance.

The CP leader pointedly asked what the NP would do if the ANC tried to initiate a bloodbath. "Will you stand with your ANC allies against your own people?" His question was greeted with cries of "skande".

He warned that transitional government would lead to the replacement of Mr de Klerk's administration by a black communist regime.

(Report by P Laurence, 47 Sander Street, Johannesburg)



The Star 4/3/92

## 'Transitional executive necessary'

Political Reporter

A transitional executive structure should initially be appointed by Codesa.

This is one of the resolutions in a draft document, currently before the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements, which is to be discussed by the principals of the 19 delegations.

In terms of the working document, the group agreed that there was a need for transitional arrangements.

"An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure," the document said.

The discussion document will be used as a point of departure for further discussion.

Codesa agreements would have to be legislated by Parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation.

The document said other aspects of the interim arrangements still needed to be discussed. The committee is to meet again next week.

● 'Sunset clauses' could be a boon — Page 14



## WORLD

## The Washington Times

# Pretoria crackdown leaves talks with blacks in limbo

By Peter Younghusband  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN — The South African government's harsh security crackdown on the United Democratic Front and 16 other anti-apartheid organizations has left so much scorched earth that many observers fear little basis is left for negotiations with black leaders on the nation's future.

President Pieter Botha's painstaking efforts to create a "national council" as a forum for discussion on a new constitution seem to have been sacrificed.

"Certainly, President Botha has blown his own national council clean out of the water," said John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations. "... There is very little real constitutional negotiation going on between the government and black organizations — and, given the security clampdown, now even dimmer prospects than there were a week ago."

Clamping down on radicals makes negotiations harder, not easier, he said. "The list of restrictions that black organizations will demand to be lifted before they negotiate with the government is now that much longer."

"Having painstakingly obtained his mandate from whites to share power with blacks, Mr. Botha has gone and put himself into a position where he cannot even share a table with blacks to talk about power-sharing," Mr. Kane-Berman said.

Even the government concedes that damage has been done to the negotiating process.

"The clampdown will undoubtedly have a negative effect in the short term," said Stoffel Van der Merwe, deputy minister of constitutional development. Mr. Van der



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Merwe has been given the specific task of getting negotiations going.

But he added: "In the long term we will be able to recoup our losses and go beyond what might otherwise have been possible."

[Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other religious leaders called yesterday for a sweeping campaign of defiance against the restrictions, the Associated Press reported. Several prominent ministers told their congregations that the church would become more active in opposing apartheid and called for a church-led campaign against the crackdown.]

In the past three years the Pretoria government has conceded two important facts — that apartheid must go and that a constitution granting a sharing of political power with blacks must be negotiated with black leaders.

These concessions have been ac-

companied by elimination or relaxation of major apartheid practices, such as the infamous immorality and mixed-marriages acts, forbidding sexual intimacy and marriage between the races, and the Group Areas Act restricting the movement of blacks around the country.

But the government has not moved much beyond that. Mr. Botha has been criticized for what is widely regarded as a slowdown of his reform program.

An integral part of the reforms would have been the national council and exploratory talks with black leaders. But Mr. Botha has been unable to persuade credible black leaders to join him at a conference table.

It had been hoped that Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the chief minister of Kwazulu and leader of 6 million Zulus, would join the national council.

But Mr. Buthelezi told The Washington Times over the weekend:

"I have told the South African government that I cannot join any debate on a constitutional future until [ANC leader Nelson] Mandela and other political prisoners are freed. I still stand by that, but now that all these organizations have been banned, the situation has become even more difficult."

Political observers here believe the new security measures were motivated, in the main, by Mr. Botha's fear of the Afrikaner political right and the possibility of defeat for his National Party in approaching by-elections unless he can demonstrate tough security measures.

"No new security clampdown was necessary to keep Botha in the saddle of power," said Mr. Kane-Berman. The new security measures "are no doubt partly aimed at minimizing losses to the right," such as the Conservative Party, he said.

Compliments of  
Cliff Bosney



The Star 4/3/92

## Freeing the air

**T**HE SPECTACLE of the Government scurrying to protect the SABC from precisely the "interference, manipulation and intimidation" which the Government employed down the years is richly ironic. Nevertheless, the protection is necessary. No government, now or later, should be permitted to treat a public-service broadcasting system as a propaganda machine.

Until the promised legislation to "introduce negotiated standards, norms and codes" is tabled, and until the proposal for a monitoring tribunal is fleshed out, it is by no means clear whether the NP plan goes far enough. However, it is clear what the problem is. Generations of cabinet ministers blithely ignored the so-called "independence" of the SABC. When President P W Botha disliked TV's version of events, he actually phoned the director-general to dictate the content of a national news bulletin.

A truly impartial and knowledgeable tribunal would go a long way towards keeping the SABC honest. But it would almost certainly fail if it had to deal with broadcasting's "old guard", who are steeped in a tradition of subservience. Not all SABC employees are like that, of course. But those who are will have to go. We await with interest the specific proposals from the Government on that score.



The Star 4/3/92

## Codesa being hampered - Labour

### Political Reporter

The Labour Party has formally objected to the whites-only referendum "interfering with progress" at Codesa.

The working group on transitional arrangements yesterday decided to meet on Monday but not to meet on March 16 or March 17 — the day of

the referendum.

LP spokesman and representative at the working group, Peter Hendrickse, said that at last week's meeting of the group — the first since the announcement of the referendum — assurances were given by the Government that the referendum would not

have an impact on Codesa's work.

The LP then formally objected to the decision that no meeting would take place on March 16 and March 17, in terms of Codesa's standing rules.

(Report by E. N. N. to Peter Hendrickse, Johannesburg)



The Star 4/3/92

## PAC chief no longer required at inquiry

Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu will not be required to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, commission chairman Mr Justice R J Goldstone said yesterday.

Instead, the commission is considering whether the issue which led to Mr Makwetu's highly publicised refusal to appear before the commission should itself be the subject of an inquiry.

"Until a decision is taken and the terms of reference for such an inquiry have been finalised, the commission considers it would be inappropriate to enforce the attendance of a witness from only one group which may have relevant evidence.

"To do so could give rise to a perception of partiality on the part of the commission," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

But he gave notice that, should such an inquiry be held, the commission would not hesitate to use its power to compel the attendance of anyone considered by it to have information and who refused to appear voluntarily.

"The primary endeavour of the commission is to put an end to the violence which is plaguing our country. It is a cause for regret that the PAC is unwilling to join in that enterprise on the pretext that the commission has no legitimacy," he said.

In reference to Mr Makwetu's refusal to appear before the commission, he said an informal approach had been made to Mr Makwetu.

"Informal discussions have been held with other parties. The PAC chose to make a public issue of the approach made to it." — Sapa.



**PFP MP to seek urgent interview with Minister Vlok**

# **COPS LINKED TO INKATHA**

*Sowetan 4/3/88*

THE Progressive Federal Party is to seek an urgent interview with Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, about allegations that a large number of the 300 special constables sent into the fray in the strife-torn Maritzburg area have strong Inkatha links.

Mr Roger Burrows, PFP Natal leader, yesterday expressed the party's concern about the position warning that the presence of the 'kitskonstabels' could be counter-productive.

Mr Burrows' reaction follows claims that about 70 of the 300 could be Inkatha members and that one — Special Constable Weseni Awetha — is named as second respondent in an application for an interdict to prevent him, two others and his father, Mr Abdul Awetha, from killing people in the area.

His father is an Imbali councillor and senior member of Inkatha.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, rejected the criticism saying the issue was being prejudiced.

He accused the UDF supporters of using the applications for court interdicts as a means of propaganda.

"An application for an interdict does not mean

## **Cops linked with Inkatha**

### • From page 1

that any crime has been committed or that there is even any evidence of a crime.

"The issue should not be prejudiced.

"Neither is a single application a yardstick to measure the whole squad."

Brigadier Mellet said the constables were not screened for affiliations to a cultural organisation but "they were properly screened for any criminal history".

The whole purpose of the exercise was to recruit Zulu-speaking people who had grown up in the area and knew the area and were known by the people of the area.

He gave the assurance that the constables would

be used only in a supplementary role to the SAP.

"The SAP will always be in charge with at least a warrant officer in command," he said.

It was learned yesterday that Mr Weseni Awetha went to Cape Town for six weeks to train as a special constable (kitskonstabel) and is now deployed in the city's townships.



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## Pacification Plan

### South Africa Converts Defiant Squatter Camp Into a Black Showpiece

But First, Half the Population  
 Is Evicted, Rest Is Offered  
 Clinics, Housing, Toilets

#### What Role Did Police Play?

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

**CROSSROADS**, South Africa—Not long ago, even going to sleep was considered risky in this blighted black squatter camp outside Cape Town. Shacks were set on fire day and night as a turf feud between radical anti-apartheid "comrades" and conservative vigilantes spawned round-the-clock violence and killing.

But today things are so serene that victorious vigilante leader Johnson Ngxobongwana, the de facto mayor of Crossroads, permits himself an afternoon nap. "Yes, it's very different here now," says Alfred Gelli, Mr. Ngxobongwana's deputy. Speaking for his sleeping boss, Mr. Gelli adds: "We want to work with the government. We want to be happy."

The transformation of Crossroads from violent and defiant to quiet and passive is one of the most remarkable changes wrought by South Africa's 20-month-old state of emergency. The emergency decree has brought a harsh era of detention without trial and a clampdown on civil liberties, and it has ended political discontent. But it has cooled some of the country's revolutionary fever, and the change in Crossroads, long a tinderbox of dissent with its 90,000 squatters on 200 acres, is one of its proudest achievements.

#### A Showpiece

For years, Crossroads was a thorn in the side of the government, says Sampie Steenkamp, an official of the Cape Provincial Administration, which oversees Crossroads and other area black townships. "Now we see it as a showpiece."

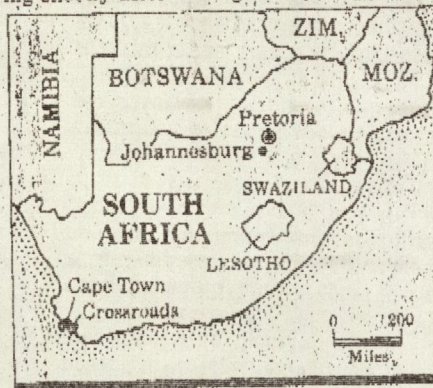
What has happened in Crossroads illustrates how the government has combined social development with repression to co-opt black leaders and win the hearts and minds of township dwellers. In the case of Crossroads, the residents who resisted the government's redevelopment plan—more than half the population—were chased out; those who supported the government plan were allowed to stay and receive the benefits of Pretoria's favor.

The lesson of Crossroads hasn't gone unnoticed in the country's other black townships. Those who go along with the government get the carrot; those who don't get the stick. And the stick can be fatal. Last week, 17 major anti-apartheid organizations were virtually shut down when the government banned them from engaging in any political activities.

"The government thinks it can win the hearts and minds of the blacks," says Alex Boraine, a former leader of the liberal opposition in the white parliament. "And it will clamp down on those who won't let their hearts and minds be won."

#### Bulldozers and Architects

In Crossroads, the rewards began arriving shortly after the vigilantes' bloody vic-



tory over the comrades in June 1986 (an outcome welcomed, if not outright orchestrated, by Pretoria). Government bulldozers and architects moved in to begin an expensive and much-ballyhooed upgrading program. The charred shacks were cleared away, and the former battlefield was leveled to make way for real houses. Army tents were set up to accommodate homeless vigilante supporters. Running water and flush toilets were brought in for the first time. Plans were drawn for soccer fields, clinics and schools. White members of the South African Defense Force even distributed Bibles.

"Our church people were very happy about that," says Mr. Gelli. "We want our people to know that the defense force is our friend. And the police, too. We must love each other."

But the transformation of Crossroads is also spreading hate, particularly in the direction of Mr. Ngxobongwana. After chasing away the comrades, Mr. Ngxobongwana, who once supported the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, was recognized by the government as the leader of Crossroads and given the power to allocate the fruits of the upgrading program. With this patronage at his disposal, he controls every aspect of township life from inside his well-guarded compound.

As a result, Mr. Ngxobongwana is generally despised as a government sellout by the thousands he drove out of Crossroads, as well as by the broader anti-apartheid movement. They accuse him of cooperating with the government in exchange for influence.

"That man is such a fool," says Sophia Benge, a former Crossroads resident who operates a women's sewing cooperative on the outskirts of the township. "The government has him now." Adds a local social worker who also used to live in Crossroads: "Johnson is too much into the system. If I had a gun, I'd shoot him."

Anti-government emotion also runs higher than usual among the displaced Crossroads residents. More than 3,000 squatter families are suing the minister of law and order for a total of five million rand, or \$2.4 million, alleging that police contributed to the destruction of the squatter camps by either taking part in or failing to stop the vigilantes' action. Some witnesses say that police gave explosive devices to the vigilantes and sat by idly while vigilantes set fire to shacks. The police deny these allegations.

The pacification of Crossroads has brought new problems elsewhere as well. Squatters driven out of Crossroads, for instance, have simply rebuilt their shacks in nearby townships, taking their frustration and anger with them.

In recent weeks, a neighboring squatter camp called KTC has erupted in violence, with rival factions clashing over leadership and over community-sponsored upgrading plans. Suspicion is rife that the government is stirring up the trouble.

Samuel Langa, a builder who lived in Crossroads before he was driven out, has a strong sense of having seen all this before. "I don't know who," he says, "but there is someone inside, someone with money, who says, 'Please try to divide these people. I want to rule them.'"

#### A Unifying Force

The government, though, argues that its upgrading schemes are a unifying, calming force, and it is aggressively promoting them around the country. In Alexandra, the crowded and dirty township set amid the wealth of Johannesburg's northern white suburbs, the government detained anti-apartheid activists, smashed their organizations and then offered community upgrading. Under a 92 million-rand plan, Alexandra residents are getting telephones, electricity, storm drains, paved roads, and houses that they can own.

"You cannot have security in the townships unless you have decent services," says a white on-Alexandra's administration board. A cartoon pamphlet explaining "how to look after a flush toilet" was recently distributed in the township.

In Khayelitsha, a new township rising out of the sand dunes east of Cape Town, the construction of a seaside resort, complete with barbecue pits, was given a higher priority than most housing. And in Botshabelo, a huge dumping ground for displaced blacks in the Orange Free State, a modest improvement in physical services is being supplemented with spiritual upliftment: Before Christmas, the South African police distributed holiday greetings bearing the message "We are here to help you enjoy the real spirit of Christmas."

#### Taking Advantage

Meanwhile, in Crossroads, the battle for hearts and minds already seems to be won. Most residents still live in shacks made of corrugated iron, plywood and cardboard signboards. But they have been told that somewhere there is a place for them in the upgrading program, which will result in houses, running water and flush toilets for 35,000 people. They can already see the first 40 houses that have gone up, and many of them sneak over to take advantage of the water taps and toilets on the unfinished sites.

"We're told the houses will be ready by winter, before the rains," says a middle-aged Crossroads resident who runs a fruit stand. "That will make us happy."

In return for this happiness, all Mr. Ngxobongwana and his supporters have to do is uphold their end of the bargain. "The comrades will never come back to Crossroads again," says Mr. Gelli, a confident smile brightening his face. "Our mayor, he don't like trouble."

Mr. Gelli sits vigilantly on a plastic chair atop a wide concrete slab, the foundation for Mr. Ngxobongwana's new house. Next door, two rifle-toting guards patrol outside the shack where Mr. Ngxobongwana is sleeping.

For now, the fighting is in KTC. Mr. Gelli makes a sweeping motion with his hands. "If the government asked us to sweep out KTC," he says, "we'd sweep it out. They're troublemakers there."

Compliments of

Cliff Gosney