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BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, March Â\$ 1991 3

First batch of exiles: |

due in SA this week

THE first major group of exiles is due back in SA this week, opening the way for the

return of an estimated 40 000 South Afri-

cans before April 31

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yes-

terday the first group of 110 exiles would be flown from the Zambian capital on Thursday. 2

They will be using some of the 500 tickets donated earlier this year by the Swedish government, and will probably take an Air Zambia flight. :

They are all members of the ANC..

The spokesman said indemnities had

been granted by the SA government and, barring a few minor problems with paperwork: travel documents, they would arrive ! on Thursday afternoon. <X

He said members of the group would stay with their families on their return, although later groups would have to be housed in temporary camps until permanent accommodation could be found for them. e : ;

The exiles' return will fulfil one of the

ANC's major preconditions for entering -

constitutional negotiations with government. Government reluctance on spelling out the role of the UN High Commission for

Refugees (UNHCR) is still holding up the

process.

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" Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw is due

to make a major announcement today

which could clear the deadlock, although government sources felt a decision on the UNHCR would more likely be made by

President F W de Klerk ;  
Spokesmen yesterday refused to say  
when government would give the final

word on UNHCR involvement. 7

A UNHCR. delegation which visited SA  
last month left the country apparently  
without being told whether their organisa-  
tion would be called in to help. -

A spokesman for the National Council  
for the Repatriation of SA Exiles, which is  
helping co-ordinate Thursday's return,  
said the organisation did not know whether  
the UNHCR would be called in. i

Government's delay was holding up  
funding and logistical arrangements.

A European diplomatic source yester-  
day said UNHCR involvement was crucial  
if the necessary funds were to be raised o

- sponsor the operation, but government was  
keeping everybody guessing. '  
He said a UNHCR operation did not

necessarily involve a high-profile UN pres-  
ence in the country, which is one of govern- .  
ment's objections to UNHCR involvement.

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12 WORLD NEWS

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â\200\234Third forceâ\200\231 fuelling

township civil war

â\200\230Hit squadâ\200\231 man claims  
police paid for shooting

BY ALL accounts, Sipho  
Madlala was visibly nervous  
as he walked into the offices of  
the Natal Witness, one of  
South Africa's most respected  
English-language liberal news-  
papers. He had every reason  
to be, for if the story he had to  
tell was true, his life was  
clearly in danger.

He wanted to come clean,  
he told reporters, about the  
unsolved murder of Mhlabun-  
zima Maphumulo, a Zulu  
chief who was a member of  
the African National Con-  
gress. The killing had been  
masterminded by the security  
police, he claimed. And he had  
been one of the assassins.  
Now he could no longer live  
with his conscience.

It was a sensational story.  
Madlala, 28, was apparently  
providing the first evidence of  
an officially sanctioned â\200\234third  
forceâ\200\235 fomenting violence  
among blacks in South Africa  
with the aim of safeguarding  
white supremacy and sabotag-

ing the transition to  
democracy.

The ANC has long been  
convinced that organs of the  
state are "engineering much of  
the violence convulsing black  
townships. Holding the min-

by Andrew Hogg  
Pietermaritzburg

isters of defence and law and  
order responsible, the ANC  
has told the government of  
President F W de Klerk that if  
he does not sack them by this  
Friday, it will break off nego-  
tations on a future  
constitution,

Citing Madlala's testimony,  
the ANC accused the state of  
involvement in the murder of  
ANC and rival Inkatha party  
members in engineer revenge  
attacks by each group. The  
idea, according to the ANC,  
was to prove the "racist no-  
tion that black people are not  
yet fit to rule"

Madlala was a persuasive  
witness. He said he had been  
attached to the "intelligence  
unit of the military police" for  
the past 10 years. He had been  
paid about £1,600 for the mur-  
der of the Zulu chief

Before the operation, he  
and other members of the hit  
squad had been taken to a  
police station, shown photo-  
graphs of the chief and told to  
get rid of him because "he was  
a problem to the state and a

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Miphumulo, deado

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in Soweto, left, while Zulu  
+ "lesaba, a group of traditional  
chiefs aligned to the ANC.  
: After the release of Nelson  
. Mandela last year, a mob of  
. , Inkatha supporters attacked  
the chief's homestead and he  
was forced to flee to a house in  
a quiet suburb of Pieter-  
maritzburg. It was there that  
he was gunned down at the  
wheel of his Mercedes two  
months ago after returning  
home from a meeting.  
The sprawling black areas

WAITINGS

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visit : a5  
in the township

around Pietermaritzburg have  
been the scene of some of the  
worst clashes between the  
ANC and Inkatha in recent  
years. Yet the killing of  
Maphumulo sent shock waves  
through both the black and  
white communities.

In the days following his  
assassination, rumours  
abounded about the political  
persuasion of his murderers,  
with Inkatha supporters the  
clear favourites. But that was

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p prepare for an a

to ignore dark whisperings of  
# power struggle said to be  
developing between Maphu-  
mulo and the ANC's regional  
leadership. It was also to dis-  
regard the complex nature of  
Zulu politics: for Maphumulo  
faced contenders to his title  
from within his immediate  
clan. Then Madlala made his  
astonishing claims,

His testimony, though  
persuasive, has not conclu-  
sively proven that a third  
force is at work. There was  
little in Madlala's account of  
the killing that could not have  
been gleaned from newspaper  
reports. To prove he was a  
member of the intelligence  
unit of the Military Police (a  
unit the South African De-  
fence Force denies exists), he  
presented an identity card.  
But it could have been forged,

The defence force and the  
police claimed that Madlala  
had acted for them as an in-  
former. But there was no evi-  
dence that their personnel had  
been involved in (he  
assassination, they said

The case has highlighted the  
problems besetting both the  
government and the ANC in  
the days leading up to the  
ANC's attainment. For with-  
out hard evidence of a third  
force, the government feels it

attack on ANC supporters. Rumours of state involvement are rife

has nothing concrete to which  
it can respond,

Yol reputable sightings of  
police officers colluding with  
Inkatha members in township  
violence are too frequent to  
ignore. Most accept, however,  
that it is unlikely such activi-  
ties are carried out with the  
approval of a government des-  
perate to case sanctions and  
regain its place in international

affairs,

Last week De Klerk unveiled a 10-point plan to tackle the violence, "We will not - allow the country to deteriorate to a situation of chaos," he said. The plan includes reinforcing police and establishing a commission to investigate complaints related to violence.

If negotiations between the government and ANC break down, however, as now appears almost certain, matters are likely to get much worse before they get better. Last week's clashes between the ANC and Inkatha in townships around Johannesburg "which left more than 100 dead, including two of Mandela's relatives - might yet be regarded as trivial. Some fear that the townships are already in the state of civil war, and that the war still has a long course to run."

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A This is where  
the buck stops Â°

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on sanctions

LIKF, troglodytes emerging  
from caves, they appear in the  
mornings at every set of traf-  
fic lights in Johannesburg's  
white suburbs, bearing pleas  
for help written on remnants  
of cardboard boxes.

â\200\234Family starving. Please to  
help me, â\200\235 is typical of the  
messages thrust in the faces  
of commuters by the Abalam-  
bile (hungry oncs), as they  
call themselves. The Abalam-  
bile began taking over traffic  
intersections last year, as un-  
employment resulting from  
international economic Sanc-  
tions against South Africa  
and recession deepened,

The typical uniform of one  
of the Abalambile is a tattered  
boiler suit, usually the wear.  
Â¢r's only redundancy compen-

sation from this last  
employment. \_Jackonia  
Mkwanazi's boiler suit is

wearing very thin, for it is  
three years since he was last  
able to find regular employ-  
ment in his trade as a paint  
sprayer.

Mkwanazi, a 41-year-old father of three, 15 just one of more than six million adult males, most of them black, in a total South African population of 35 million, who 513\ (' - no work. Unemployment means total destitution, as there is no social security.

The unemployed either survive on the charity of relatives, turn to crime, which is booming, or simply starve, Operation Hunger, South

by Fred Bridgland  
in Johannesburg

Africaâ\200\231s internal Oxfam, established in 1980 when evidence emerged of unexpectedly high levels of chronic malnutrition among rural black people, estimates that one child dies every 16 minutes from malnutrition and associated diseases. If Operation Hunger's calculations are accurate, it means that the international sanctions lobby is now killing far more black South Africans through starvation and poverty-related disease than do the remaining doomed apartheid laws or the white regime's security forces.

Mkwanazi had been in regular employment most of his adult life until the factory where he worked in Alexandra, a small North Johannesburg black township surrounded by leafy white suburbs, relocated. He was earning more than R100 (Â£125) a month, a good wage by current South African standards,

â\200\2341 have never been unemployed for so long before,â\204¢ MKwanazi said, as he picked cars beneath the four-star Sandton Sun Hotel. â\200\234If my mother dies, then the whole family is dead. There is

no one else to take overâ\204¢  
Mkwanazi's widowed mother  
earns 1400 (Â£83) a month as a  
supermarket cleaner. Her  
wife supports herself,  
Mkwanazi, his wife and their  
three children, and two of  
Mkwanazi's sisters and their  
four young children. They all  
live in a three-room Alexan-  
dra "â\200\234matchbox" house,

Mkwanazi's situation is  
typical of South Africaâ\200\231s  
strained circumstances,  
according to Operation Hun-  
ger, which has calculated that  
for every job lost as many as  
10 dependants face destitu-  
tion within two months,

â\200\234I want a permanent job,  
either spraying again or gar-  
dening,'â\200\235 said Mkwanazi,  
speaking in Zulu. â\200\234RBut so  
many others are roaming  
around looking for jobs, it's  
impossible. Things are worse  
since the government ended  
influx-control, because every-  
body from the countryside is  
jumping into the cities,  
Everywhere you go the tac-  
toes and businesses have  
notices which say â\200\234No Jobs'

Mkwanazi's daily Logins at  
6.30am when he sets out on  
the five-mile walk from Alexan-

andra to his Sandton Sun  
pitch. He pickets during the  
morning rush-hour, at lunch-  
time: and in the evening, rest-  
ing between times on the  
grass verges with fellow Aba-  
mbile. â\200\234Sometimes you get  
a temporary job, for between  
R1 and R20 (Â£1.85 and Â£4-60),  
but this year I have been  
given not one job,'â\200\235 said  
Mkwanazi. â\200\234'Some people are  
kind. They give a food parcel .  
or 10 cents (one halfpenny).

â\200\234But the good ones are  
fewer than the cruel ones.  
Every day they tell me to go to  
Mr Tutu or Mr Mandela and  
tell them that I have nothing  
to eat. Sometimes they call  
me obscene names. Others  
tell me to get in their pick-up  
truck, and then they take me  
into the country and tell me to  
get out and walk back home.â\200\235

Nelson Mandela, deputy

resident of the African National Congress, continues to campaign for the maintenance of international economic sanctions until greater progress has been made towards universal political emancipation,

Last week, Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) said in America that the ANC would deliberately destabilise South Africa to discourage foreign investment if the US moved to lift sanctions. Hani, who lives in Mandela's 14-room Soweto mansion, said: It is not in our interest to stabilise the country. Apartheid is oppressive, and we do not want apartheid to be healthy, fresh and kicking,'â\200\231

Mkwattazi said he and his fellow Abalambile would be happy for an end to sanctions

if it meant they could get -

work. He said he looked ahead only one day at a time; and trusted no politicians, I often think of robbing some. . one,"â\200\235 he mused. I always reject that because it will make things worse if I go to prison. But there is no world for a person without money, If I had money I would go back to the countryside, away from the trouble, and build a big family house, But it won't happen, and I fear my children will lead much the same kind of life â\204¢

MEkwanarzi seemed genuinely puzzled when asked how he valued the vote that will come his way for the first time within four years in the new South Africa. "Will I be voting: for a jobâ\200\235â\200\235 he asked,

He has clearly seen the writing on the wall,  
The European Community has lifted some:

Four and a half promises to lift others once the last is brought  
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" Africaâ\200\231that President Bush will Move to end  
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have been met;- S Y PG - :

Mr Hesman Colen;: the US Under-Secretary L O

" of State for African Affairs, told the media in . s WE have been waiting for the cue}-â  
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~Cape Town yesterday that the timing was up : Bishop Desmond Tutu Â\$llggcsÂsted the possibi  
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10 the South: African Government, but he' : ity of lifting sanctions, =< L= o T8 gt  
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apartheid leaders {  
The archbishop and other church leaders also should discuss whether {0 aske-the world, to  
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- Black on Black violence in the townships. . Â@ ; T g there now, cause for us to be I(:ok'i  
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"1 200 lives since last August: yet T : - should be lifted or not he said, 5 gi 3  
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" Blacks to take responsibility: for ending the sanctions, should decide when sanctions should  
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TR L T e s e R be lifted, he added, : e

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"{In Aloxandra, north of Johannes- that more arrests will follow,â\200\235  
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A veteran of  
Natal politics

As the ANC prepares to  
open its office in  
Pietermaritzburg,  
STEPHEN COAN

interviewed the Natal SITTING in the bare new ANC offices (the furni-  
i ture is due to arrive on Monday) I asked Harry  
midlands leader of the Gwala how he became in;olved in politics.

2 s GWALA: In 1942 when I was still a school-  
Orgamsatlon; Harry teacher in a school close to Pietermaritzburg in  
Gwala Slangspruit. I had some friends who were attend-  
' ing political discussions and they invited me

along. The discussions were so, i-\201interesting that I  
began to understand our socjety. I joined the  
SACP in 1942 â\200\224 then it was called the Communist  
Party of South Africaâ\200\224 and I became a member of  
the ANC two years later. In 1942 the African Nat-

ional Congress was moribund in Natal. This was  
the time that Natal had seceded from the national  
organisation and formed the Natal ANC under the  
leadership of Dr Dube. In the course of time that

Natal ANC almost went out of existence.

COAN: Why did such a situation arise?

GWALA: I'm not sure. But there is a tendency  
for Natal to be exclusive ... I notice now this  
breakaway tendency is expressing itself through

Inkatha. Inkatha originally said it was following  
the path of the forefathers of the ANC and all  
along recognised the leadership of people like  
Chief Luthuli â\200\224 then suddenly it became some-  
thing independent, a Natal affair as it were.

COAN: Could this be seen as a contributory  
factorto the current violence?

GWALA: In a way, yes. There is no one factor  
to the violence but so many contributory factors.  
When I was still in prison and there was this vio-  
lence I took particular interest in it. I noticed a  
trend: conservative elements in the Cape and the  
Transvaal were involved with this violence and  
those conservative elements were rather tribalis-  
tic. And after that was when Inkatha became in-  
volved in the violence. At first the Chief Minister  
of KwaZulu said these people were protecting his

name but we don't have to fight to protect our names. If you feel really aggrieved you can go to court to have your name cleared.

It began at the University of Zululand with the students. Now there is a new generation throughout the country that is radical and very much opposed to the bantustans. If you serve within these Government-created institutions they feel you are a sell-out. So when they prevented the chief minis-

ter from addressing the students there they were doing so because they said he was a creation of the HARRY GWALA, ANC regional convenor, Natal midlands. bantustans. And the fighting started there when

the students were assaulted and some of them killed. - Â»

COAN: ]sthere a wayv to resolve the conflictâ\200\235

GWALA: I was quoted in The Natal Witness (May 2, 1990) as saying we shall wipe out Inkatha bpl my speech was in Zulu and not quoted in full. What I consider to be the major points in that speech were not embodied in what appeared in The Natal Witness. I donâ\200\231t think it was deliberate ... I pointed out yvou have a Minister of Police. Adrlaan Vlok. who even before weighing up the facts of what was happening had already made up his mind that the ANC, United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions were responsible for the violence in this area. I said once a n\_lmister says that you cannot expect those under him to hold a different point of view. About a week ago Magnus Malan. the Minister of Defence.'also made a similar statement, that it was the ANCâ\200\231s policy of making the country ungovernable that was responsible for the violence. Once a minister says that, his army cannot be impartial.

I said it is the responsibility of the State President loâ\200\230call his ministers to order because people are lpsmg confidence in what the police can do, particularly when the police go out of their way to assist Inkatha ... We have the reports that the

~ police are not neutral parties. they only side with Inkatha and that Inkatha can only attack after the police have carried out their raids, arrested the youth and taken whatever weapons the people defend themselves with. . .

~In the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly the J chief minister had said â\200\230we must wipe off the map d that mu'cl\_( in Edendaleâ\200\231. I said we were prepared and waiting for him and if he did so we should (sjwleep out his forces that were attacking Edenale.

The people in the Edendale valley have never gone out of the boundaries of Edendale to attack Inkatha,. they have always defended themselves and I said we shall defend ourselves successfully. We'll give them a hot reception. â\200\231

COAN: You were also reported as making statements with regard to the taking over of farms.

GWALA: It was taken out of context. I said that according to the Freedom Charter the land

\_belongs to those who work it. We are not talking about small pieces of land but these vast stretches of land which are owned by monopolies. Scme of these people are in the United States, Britain, and

West Germany â\200\224 that is the land which weâ\200\231ll take over. Obviously when you say the land belongs to those who work it, the farmers are working that land â\200\224 it would be a contradiction to take that land but there are vast stretches of land where people only invest for profit.

COAN: You also called for the police and the army to pull out of the townships.

GWALA: The ANC policy is. clear that the army and the police should be pulled out of the townships. We say Inkatha will not be in a position to attack us because Inkatha is not strong enough

| to attack us ... But the police harass and intimidate us. What is significant is that people on the receiving end are those who belong to the â\200\234mass democratic movementâ\200\235. But people like warlords who run around with their guns will be arrested 10dÂ\$1}' and out again tomorrow ... because the police are taking sides they must clear out of the townships.

The army itself is not in a very strong position because it is under that station commander in a particular area. When the kitskonstabels and the ZPs [KwaZulu Police] went out on a massacre at Magonggo the army was there. People asked the army to defend them and the army said â\200\234our hands are tied. We are told not to interfereâ\204¢. . .

When we are talking about the army we don't concede that these mercenaries are part of the South African army â\200\224 they are recruited from Angola and we demand the Government send these mercenaries back home. They can never be impartial. these are the people who committed dastardly acts in Angola and Namibia. Who were they fighting there? â\200\224 the MPLA. And the ANC and â\200\230d Swapo were on the side of MPLA. Now the ANC is here When the Minister of Police and the Minister of Defence say the ANC is responsible for the violence. we can only draw one conclusion â\200\224 they have come to fight they ANC in South Africa.

COAN: You have spoken of the armed struggle continuing. But at present it seems to be in abeyance.

GWALA: Yes. it is in abeyance but it is one of the forms of struggle in this country and it won't be in abeyance all the time ... no sane person will go to war for the sake of war â\200\224 if we can solve our problems peacefully. so much the better. But as Comrade Nelson Mandela has so frequently stated we were forced into the position we are in today. It

was a very different South Africa until the end of the United Party regime. We could hold meetings,-

we could be communists, demonstrate, do all sorts of things. They had one particular law, the Riotous Assemblies Act, and there was no bloodshed then. Then the Nats came in and they suppressed everything . . . In the past you could be detained for 48 hours â\200\224 you had legal rights. You would give your name and address and then say you would only speak in the presence of a lawyer. You werenâ\200\231't assaulted in detention. But things changed. Bones have been broken, lives have been lost since the Nats took over. They have created a state of war in this country ... we have been forced into this war situation by the way we have been treated under the Nationalist Government.

COAN: The ANC's statements with regard to

nationalisation have been cause for concern.

.~ GWALA: I grew up in South Africa and there was nationalisation in this country then. Up to the present day there has been nationalisation. Up to now no one has found anything wrong with that. It's only now when they are denationalising. We are faced with a great imbalance in this country, we have millions of people without houses, without land, poor pay, poor education. How do you propose to put this right? In clause 3 of the Freedom Charter it says the people shall inherit the country's wealth ... that meant nationalising all the major industries. But the talks are on now as to how this can be done. if it is done at all. done in such a way that it doesn't harm the country. . . that is why ANC talks about a mixed economy ... The ANC has made it clear there will be a lot of private enterprise. But at the same time the government must play a major role in the economy of the country.

COAN: Haven't events in Eastern Europe shown that socialism doesn't work?

GWALA: I was in Eastern Europe when it all started. Socialism was not in dispute & they were fighting bureaucracy. Some writers have said that if we had socialism in countries like Great Britain, France. West Germany, or the United States it would be very democratic. Remember socialism started in an autocratic country under the Tsar and democratic norms were not there in the first place. An apple doesn't fall far away from the tree. So bureaucracy was part of the Tsarist regime and there was a tendency to inherit that.