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# Admiration on the wane

JOEL MERVIS observes the parting of the ways between the liberals and the ANC

FEW people were more delighted than South Africa's white liberals when, in 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from jail and the ANC unbanned. How times have changed!

In the 30 months that have elapsed, the ANC has not only managed to offend and alienate its white liberal admirers, but it has virtually driven them into the arms of the Nationalists.

The event is notable not only as an example of a stunning switch in political attitudes. The change of heart by the white liberals carries with it the explicit censure of ANC strategy and deeds.

The liberals, after all, are not burdened with an apartheid millstone around their necks. They occupy the high moral ground. They voice their disapproval of the ANC not as a suspect enemy. They were, until recently, a warm friend, filled with goodwill and eager to help a people who have suffered not merely for 40 years but for generations.

That is the stated case. Nor is there any shortage of evidence to prove the white liberals have indeed become disillusioned. Nobody has conveyed this more forth-

rightly than John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As is well known, the institute is not a political organisation but primarily a fact-finding body. Despite its liberal orientation, it is committed to sticking objectively to the facts.

Mr Kane-Berman no doubt had at his disposal the facts on which he based his recent remarks to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business. These were reported in the Star on September 18: "The major reason for violence in SA was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable. The ANC's strategy of a people's war was formulated in the 80s to focus on the government. It was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community."

Further evidence of the gap is provided by Dr Zach de Beer, who speaks from the largest liberal base in the country. Formerly leader of the Progressive Party and now of its largest successor, the Democratic Party, Dr De Beer has for years fought for the political emancipation of blacks, and never more hopefully than in the euphoric

days of 1990. How does he feel now, after 30 months of ANC activity?

Dr De Beer does not beat about the bush. Addressing a DP congress in the Free State last month, he warned the ANC to break with the Communist Party or "be dragged into ever-increasing stubborn and violent conduct".

The clear implication was that the ANC was already involved. Dr De Beer went on: "The greater the polarisation between the ANC and the NP, the greater the likelihood that the security forces would intervene. Civil war and total destruction of the economy would follow." Strong words indeed.

Expressions of liberal disappointment with the ANC have come from many sources. Dr Frederick van zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Party and a man tipped to play an important part in a future dispensation, declares himself to be an admirer of Mr Mandela and in sympathy with ANC aspirations. But he warns the ANC to give up its links with the SACP. "If they don't, they don't get my vote," says Dr Slabbert.

Mr Tony Leon MP, successor in Houghton to Helen Suz-

man, notes that the link between liberals and the ANC was a forced relationship. "Apartheid threw us into each other's arms. We had little else in common. But now that we know each other better, we find there are more and bigger things that divide us."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, former president of the Black Sash, says the organisation was always in broad sympathy with the ANC's objectives, but a gap between them was developing.

Dr Willie Breytenbach, a political authority from the University of Stellenbosch, said recently: "Disillusionment with the ANC has clearly made its appearance in liberal circles."

The liberals have made clear their strong disapproval of the ANC strategy on violence, mass action and the SACP. One wonders whether the ANC, in turn, has asked itself where it went wrong in alienating white friends.

The answer seems to lie in its eagerness to gain political power. But there can be no quick fix for our problems. These are massive and their solution must take time, patience and forbearance on all sides.

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## Collusion evidence — ANC

THE ANC's Southern Natal region this week claimed it had "once again" uncovered collusion between the security police and Inkatha leadership.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said "extensive investigations" had revealed that facsimile messages to and from the ANC's regional offices in Durban were diverted to the security forces.

"One of these messages was sent to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi by the security police," he said.

The claim follows Buthelezi's disclosure of the facsimile message at a news conference in Durban this week. The document named Umkhonto weSizwe officials who are operating in Natal which, the IFP leader said, proved that MK was behind violence in the province.

The message was sent by MK chief-of-staff Siphwe Nyanda.

Makhaye said MK was a legal organisation with

full-time functionaries.

"We never intended to make these appointments a secret, so what Buthelezi showed to journalists was not a political bombshell.

"The bombshell is that the IFP/security force collusion continues unabated even after the Inkathagate scandal."

He claimed ANC regions in Natal knew facsimile messages were being diverted to the security forces, and no longer used the machines for sensitive information.

"The only way Buthelezi could have received that fax is through the handlers of Inkatha within the security forces," Makhaye said.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi denied police had delivered the document to Inkatha and described the ANC's allegations as "very unfair".

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet declined to comment and referred queries to Buthelezi's office. — Sapa

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 4/10/92

The African National Congress has thrown a security ring around released Umkhonto we Sizwe bomber Robert McBride — after an attempt on his life in prison and numerous death threats.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed yesterday that after high-level meetings with ANC security personnel in Johannesburg "extra precautions and manpower" were sent to Durban to "protect the comrade".

"It would have been irresponsible for us not to have deployed stringent precautionary measures for Robert. His life is in jeopardy now that he has been released and the ANC will serve to protect him," Mr Niehaus said.

It is believed that bodyguards normally assigned to accompany ANC president Nelson Mandela are protecting Mr McBride.

In another surprising move this week, Mr McBride told the Tribune that police were apparently "watching a family member of a victim" killed in the Magoo's bombing in 1986 which left three women dead and 69 injured.

Mr McBride also claimed police were passing on "intelligence information" to himself and the ANC.

However, police spokesman Major Coert Marais denied that police were carrying out surveillance on victims' families.

The moves by the ANC follow an incident being investigated by the police under the Explosives Act, where Magoo's bombing victim Angelique Pattenden brother caused an explosion at his home, and suffered burns to his face, arms and chest.

Police believe Clive Pattenden was "working with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance, and had a two litre plastic bottle".

Mr Pattenden's fiancée, who would not give her name, said: "The family are concerned

**STRYDOM: I HAVE DONE NOTHING WRONG . . . HIS OWN STORY — PAGE 3**

Ring of security around McBride after 'hit' fears

# REVENGE ALERT

**Terry van der Walt**

about his eyes which were burned in the chlorine explosion. He is covered in bandages and has been attended to by a skin specialist.

"Clive is a wonderful person. Sometimes it upsets him but he realises his life must go on but I think he cracked with all the pressure

and publicity surrounding his (Mr McBride's) release," said the fiancée.

The explosion was an accident, she said, and Mr Pattenden had no intention of harming his sister's killer.

Mr Pattenden has been receiving therapy to help him deal with his sister's death.

During an interview this week, an emotional Mr McBride, 29, reached out a hand of

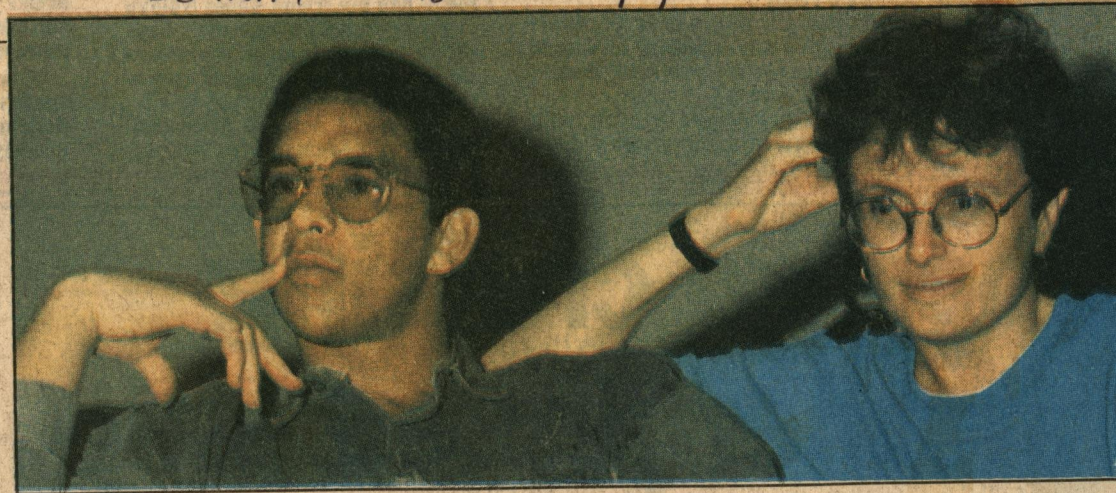
reconciliation to Mr Pattenden, and said he would "do anything in my power to assist where I can and I am willing to meet him if that will help".

He was "deeply concerned" about Clive Pattenden, he said.

But Mr Pattenden's fiancée said: "Clive says he wants to be left alone and he does not want to speak to anyone right now."

Mr McBride said there was a need for people to put their pain behind them and not to harbour hate and notions of vengeance.

"I was planning to speak to the families, to actually approach them, running the risk of



Robert McBride, pictured here with his wife Paula, says he wants reconciliation with the brother of a Magoo's blast victim. Picture: Morris Reddy

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*Sunday Times 4/10/92*

# SADF loses land battle

THE SA Defence Force has been ordered by a Supreme Court judge to stop interfering with members of a coloured community who are refusing to move from their homes in the centre of the Army Battle School at Lohatla.

The interim order was granted on Thursday by Mr Justice JJ Kriek, judge president of the Northern Cape division of the Supreme Court, after an application for an urgent interdict by a Khosis resident, Mr Joseph Free.

The application, brought against the Minister of Defence, came after the removal of some residents to the settlement of Jenn-Haven, 140km from Khosis, starting on September 12.

They were among some 125 families who found themselves living in the centre of the battle school after the Gathlose Maramane Reserve was appropriated in 1977.

About 20 000 of their black neighbours were forced to move to Bophuthatswana, but the Khosis people remained behind.

Last month, about 80 families relocated to houses in the new settlement, provided by the House of Representatives. But 41 families refused to go — and they are fighting to stay on the land they claim has been theirs for five generations.

On Thursday, Mr Free told the court the SADF had breached an earlier undertaking that army personnel would not harass people wishing to remain on the land. The first undertaking on September 14 was in response to an ap-

## Judge orders army to stop interfering with people living in middle of battle school

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

plication to stop the SADF from interfering with the residents continued occupation of the area.

He told the court that since the removals began, the 41 families had been subject to:

- A permit system which restricted access to Khosis. In one case, a man with chest, back and hip problems, needing to travel to Kuruman to consult his doctor, had been denied free exit and entry. Mr Free also claimed a soldier

had barred his path while he was on his way home and threatened to shoot him if he tried to enter the area.

- The withdrawal of transport to and from Khosis for people employed at the battle school.

- Intimidation by armed soldiers and military police, who entered Khosis on September 23 and parked in front of the home of a woman opposed to leaving.

- A drastic water shortage after people wishing to leave the area sabotaged the only pump and allowed all the water to flow away.

- Loss of livestock after people were barred from retrieving cattle straying into the battle school.

- Loss of education after the school was closed one month before the start of exams.

"The effect of such intimidation are severe. We are spending sleepless nights contemplating a future in a community devoid of services, wondering what intimidatory tactics the SADF will use next," Mr Free told the court.

He said the community was particularly worried by the SADF's applied assumption in an earlier affidavit that they would move. An SADF statement said "the gate will in any case be handled as before once the Khosis community has been relocated".

### Restricted

In an answering affidavit, the Lohatla Battle School's Colonel Johannes du Toit said security had been stepped up because the ANC had intensified activity in the military area.

He said two access gates had been welded shut because there were not enough personnel to guard all the gates.

Colonel Du Toit denied there was any talk of issuing Khosis residents with access permits, but said visitors needed passes to travel through the battle school and residents were required to show their ID documents at the gates.

In certain cases, movement was restricted while

military manoeuvres were in progress, he said.

Colonel Du Toit said the SADF had nothing to do with the closure of the school, and that the decision had been taken by the principal.

The entire school was being moved to Jenn-Haven, and children remaining at Khosis were free to attend any school of their choice.

He denied threats had been made to shoot people trying to enter the area, that Khosis residents had been prevented from retrieving their livestock or that the SADF had used excessive force during the move. But if there had been such instances, they were contrary to his direct orders.

"At no time were any of the inhabitants intimidated into leaving. Those who wanted to move left, and those who didn't stayed," said Colonel Du Toit.

The SADF had information that the ANC had "tried every possible tactic to disrupt the relocation of those who wanted to move".

Apart from the removal of the school, all state services to the community remained intact and no water points or fences had been removed, he said.

The acting commanding officer of the battle school, Colonel AC Human, said in his affidavit that access permits had been introduced after fires were started in the restricted zone and a number of strangers found within the perimeter.

### Threats

"The decision to step up security measures followed various threats to members of the Khosis community on the eve of their relocation," said Colonel Human.

"These included threats to burn their houses, that they would be necklaced, that they would be prevented from moving and that photographs of them would be taken while they were in the process of moving and kept by the ANC, which would deal with them in due course."

In addition to ruling that the SADF should not interfere with the remaining Khosis families, Mr Justice Kriek ruled that Miss Bridget Murphy, a legal field worker employed by Denys Reitz be given reasonable access to her clients, subject to "the normal formalities".

He also ruled that the SADF — which, the court was told, had stopped Miss Murphy from visiting her clients in recent weeks — should escort her to Khosis, but remain at least 100m from where she consulted people.

Residents who freely elected to move from Khosis should not be affected by the order, according to Mr Justice Kriek.

The SADF has until November 2 to make further submissions.

### Bullets

Meanwhile, attorneys acting for the Khosis community have sent a letter to the House of Representatives, demanding that the school be reopened. They have until close of business tomorrow to respond to the demand.

Legal Resources Centre deputy national director Geoff Budlender said yesterday the court order was "symbolically significant" because it sent a strong signal to rural communities that they could rely on the protection of the courts.

He said the Khosis case was the first attempted forced removal since the Magopa tribe was forcibly evicted from land in the Western Transvaal in 1984.

"While direct force is not being used, the state is resorting to its classic old style of squeezing people out," he added.

"In this case, they have engineered consent to leave by making life intolerable for the community, whizzing bullets over their heads, shutting the school, paying pensions elsewhere, cutting off all services and buying off leaders."

Hanekom said the people of Khosis "have been living there for generations and we believe they are entitled to the land".

"The only reason why it is dangerous for them to live there is because they have been surrounded by an army which insists on carrying on with its silly exercises," he said.

The ANC views the removal as an attempt by the government to expedite redistribution of land without proper negotia-

tions and to pre-empt the work of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation.

Surveys on forced removals documented by the Surplus People's Project show that the SADF has benefited from at least four forced removals.

Some 20 000 people were evicted from the Gathlose Maramane Reserve in 1977/8 when the Lohatla Battle School was established.

In 1973, 1 500 people

were moved from Riemvasmaak farm near Upington when the area was declared a military zone and 3 500 people were moved from the shores of Lake St Lucia between 1968 and 1979 when a missile test range was established.

About 3 500 people were moved on the Makatini Flats in Zululand in 1972 and 1973, when a buffer zone was established between Mozambique and Natal.

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# Desperate Buthelezi plays power gambit

**Johannesburg**

**Allister Sparks**

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is playing a final, desperate hand to try to stay in the fast lane of South African politics. In storming out of negotiations just when President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela had put them back on track, he exemplified the fact that no black political party has proven legitimacy.

All are pretenders, strutting and making exaggerated claims to boost their influence on the bargaining process.

Some know their influence is greater now than it will be after the first election, which will cut them down to size or wipe them out altogether, and so they are making what impact they can. The country is being held to ransom by a desperate minority.

Chief Buthelezi epitomises this. He enjoys an international reputation that far exceeds his local support. Pretoria presents him as one of the big three leaders, alongside De Klerk and Mandela. But, while his Inkatha Freedom Party may be the third largest, it is a poor third.

More seriously, the newspapers routinely present Buthelezi as 'the Zulu leader'. It is a thoughtless piece of labelling which carries the connotation that, as leader of South Africa's biggest and most renowned

warrior tribe, which inflicted a famous defeat on the British army at the Battle of Isandhlwana in 1879, he is indeed a force to be reckoned with.

In fact, Buthelezi's claims to this status are highly questionable. Opinion polls are frustratingly inadequate. The lack of telephones in rural areas makes polling there difficult and expensive, and pollsters do not venture into strife-torn parts of Natal and KwaZulu. Even if they did, the fear and suspicion there would invalidate the responses.

But such indicators as there are suggest Buthelezi may not enjoy majority support even in his own tribal heartland. The few opinion polls that have been conducted in urban areas, including Durban and Pietermaritzburg in Natal, have found national support for the ANC to be above 60 per cent and Inkatha support as low as 2 per cent.

Research in townships has indicated the same situation. One researcher reported that her respondents, who included Zulus in the Witwatersrand area, regarded Inkatha 'with loathing' and preferred De Klerk to Buthelezi.

The ANC's 'mass action' strikes support these findings. More than 90 per cent of blacks have responded to the general strike calls in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

There was a time, in the

Sixties and Seventies, when Buthelezi's support in his home region was solid. He even enjoyed support in other regions, as he exploited his 'Bantustan' platform at a time when the ANC and other liberation movements were banned.

But from the mid-eighties, as the great black uprising began, young Zulus began rallying to the ANC's surrogate, the United Democratic Front. With Mandela's release in 1990, the trickle of desertions became a flood. Buthelezi, always thin-skinned, became increasingly aggressive, first towards the UDF, then the ANC.

What might have become a liberationist alliance turned into a bitter power struggle and then endemic civil war. As the war has raged, Buthelezi — backed by his ruthless police force — has steadily lost support among young Zulus and city dwellers, shrinking his constituency to the fastness of tribal Zululand.

Assessing where this leaves Buthelezi nationally is difficult. Outside the Zulu tribe he has nothing, except for some whites with 'indirect rule' instincts who are looking for a black surrogate to oppose the ANC.

Assuming 45 per cent of Zulus back him, that gives him three million supporters in a national population of 35 million — or just over 8 per cent compared to the ANC's 60-plus per cent and 25 per cent for De

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## 'ANC man tried to kill Vilakazi'

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

The man who recently attempted to assassinate former ANC PWV regional deputy secretary-general Bavumile Vilakazi in Sebokeng was a member of the ANC and the local self-defence unit (SDU), it was revealed yesterday.

Making this disclosure at a press conference in Johannesburg, ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the man, whose name was not released, had "voluntarily approached the ANC and confessed to the shooting".

The man, Sexwale said, told the ANC he had shot Vilakazi because he had mistaken him for a policeman.

"He further alleged that the decision to attack Vilakazi was an individual one and not that of the SDU to which he belongs," Sexwale said.

Vilakazi left a Johannesburg clinic yesterday. He was shot on September 17 as he left his brother's hardware store.

He will not prefer charges against the would-be assassin.

## 'Gunrunner' Bruce expelled from IFP

Political Reporter

Self-confessed Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) gunrunner Bruce Anderson — who was summarily deported from South Africa in June this year — has been expelled from the party's Sandton branch.

In a statement issued today by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office, the party's Sandton branch said it had resolved to expel Anderson from the branch and to recommend his total expulsion from the IFP.

The decision was taken after reports in the Sunday Star saying Anderson had claimed he was a gunrunner for the IFP.

The branch felt that Anderson's "self-confessed alleged complicity" in the alleged infiltration of arms supplies from the Renamo and SADF Military

Intelligence to the IFP, and his public disclosure of his affidavit "containing such information", represented "a totally unacceptable course of conduct" against the interests of the IFP, and it dissociated itself from them.

Anderson's behaviour, the Sandton branch said, represented "a flagrant breach" of an undertaking made following a disciplinary enquiry against him in September last year.

The British-born Anderson, who joined the IFP in 1990 and rose to being one of its 20 representatives to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa before his deportation, claimed that arms and ammunition were channelled from Renamo to the IFP by the SADF's Military Intelligence, according to a report in the Sunday Star last week.

# ANC policy on regional powers

By Esther Waugh  
 Political Reporter

The ANC has spelt out the powers of regional governments but has not identified the regions.

The discussion document, in the possession of The Star, said the central government would have "concurrent and overriding jurisdiction" regarding legislative and executive powers.

The document said: "The ANC policy approach to regions is that of building and reuniting — not redividing — a nation."

Powers of regional governments would be entrenched in

the constitutions.

Areas designated as regional government powers include: the imposition of taxes in terms of national guidelines; education other than tertiary education; health services including hospitals; welfare; housing; transport; markets; traffic control; the environment; industrial development; horseracing and gambling; and town and regional planning.

Functions not deemed appropriate for regional government included the administration of justice and a Bill of rights; law and order; fiscal powers and language.

On fiscal powers of the regions, the ANC said: "It is clear

that both regional and local government must have some powers to raise revenue. The National Party's recent proposals appear to give all power over taxation to the regional level. This is viewed by the ANC as unworkable."

The ANC proposed that the central government would have a prior claim on revenue and be able to secure the preponderant proportion of taxes raised and thereby be in a position to equalise the distribution of resources between regions.

The ANC specified no fixed boundaries or numbers of regions.

Two options have arisen in the course of its debate: the

first identified 10 regions while the second favoured 16.

"In view of the cost of maintaining between 10 and 16 regional governments, this proposal suggests a maximum of 20 regional councillors. This would mean a total of between 200 and 320 such councillors."

The ANC proposed that regional elections should not take place simultaneously with national elections. Instead a four-year term — as opposed to the five-year parliamentary term — would be served by regional councillors.

The regional administrator would be elected by an absolute majority.

● 'Stop land gifts' — Page 10

# Advance guard digs in in Natal

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Troops who have arrived in Maritzburg and those mobilising in Durban today are the advance guard of reinforcements expected to double security forces between the Transkei border and the Tugela in the Natal Midlands.

Operation Peace, a major joint police and South African Defence Force crackdown on violence, was announced in Durban yesterday.

At dawn today, traffic backed up at Royal Durban Light Infantry headquarters in Marriott Road, Durban, with men swapping business suits for uniforms to report for duty.

Defence Force spokesman Colonel Franz Verfuss said the headquarters of the RDLI was being used as the main point for the mobilisation of troops in the Durban area.

The full Durban mobilisation of Group 10 was expected to be complete tomorrow.

Group 10 units would back up troops who were already in position wherever they were needed, covering the area from the Tugela along the Natal South Coast, he said.

Security forces would attempt to change the aggressive attitude of the local people in areas troubled by violence.

Some Citizen Force and commando units in Natal will be called up to bolster the security units. Reservists are reporting today to camps in Natal.

Operational bases have been set up in the "flashpoint" areas of Maritzburg, Greytown, Richmond, Kokstad and Ladysmith. Tactical headquarters will be at Richmond.

The Wartburg and Table Mountain districts have experienced violence frequently in recent months and both areas will



be monitored closely.

The security forces will patrol districts, prevent crime, arrest suspects and build communication channels with the people.

They will also try to stop the movement of arms and ammunition from Transkei, Mozambique and the Witwatersrand into the area.

The security forces' commanders want their men to be on good terms with the people.

Despite the recent sizable deployment of security forces, violence has continued, and a change in the hearts and minds of the people and greater tolerance to others were needed to end violence, the commanders said.

"We want a less aggressive community.

"Serious traffic violations, for instance, often spring from the attitude 'I own the road/land and I will fight you'," divisional commissioner Brigadier Chris Wolhuter said.

● Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday it was possible South African troops were being sent into Natal as a ploy to stage a coup in his homeland.

Last week, Defence Minister Gene Louw charged that Transkei was training and housing armed cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

● A meeting of a National Peace Committee executive, comprising the Government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, has been postponed to facilitate a visit today by the ANC leadership to Natal.

## Watch the Bisho massacre — for just R65†

EAST LONDON — The ANC is selling video cassette recordings of the Bisho massacre for R65, and claims this is because people "need to know the full story after inadequate coverage by the SABC".

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus said there had been a strong demand to see what had happened, and the ANC was making the video — which was being marketed by New Nation newspaper — available for that purpose.

Niehaus said: "The video is priced to cover costs — the ANC is not making a profit on the video."

### Own Correspondent

"The aim of selling the video is to distribute information."

The 25-minute video, Bisho — the Story Behind the Massacre, is described in an advertisement as a dramatic portrayal of "the march, the speeches, the shootings and the funeral".

On September 7, Ciskei Defence Force troops opened fire on ANC marchers near Bisho stadium, killing 29 people and wounding close to 200.

ANC's Border branch spokesman

Mcebisi Bata said the video had been made by the ANC's video unit. "It has a place in our history and should be documented to serve as a reminder."

The advertisement carries a colour picture of SADF soldiers standing guard in the aftermath of the massacre, on the road leading to the stadium.

Asked about the paper's decision to sell the video, a New Nation spokesman said that it was "for South Africans to see what happened on the day in question".

The spokesman said New Nation had obtained the video from the ANC.

## COMMENT

# A visionary leap

**T**HE heightened verbal conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, and the physical conflict that it both provokes and feeds off, can arguably be traced back to the collapse of Codesa last May. It is far more difficult for political leaders to tolerate armed warfare between their followers when they are talking to each other two or three times a week than when there is little or no contact at all — as has been the case for almost the last six months.

It is because of the value of such personal contact that many have made it an article of faith that a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi would effectively end the violence. The latest protagonist of this view is Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The reality is more complex. The very idea of such a meeting has become a political football. Buthelezi generally sees a face-to-face meeting with Mandela as a demonstration of his own importance and as an opportunity to build his own stature. Mandela, under pressure from his embittered grassroots constituency in Natal and aware of the dangers of escalation should the meeting fail, is unwilling or unable to play along. And Kriel and some of his colleagues pass the buck to Mandela and Buthelezi to camouflage their own inability to bring the violence under control.

Meanwhile, such is the level of tension that even a minor event, like the clumsily expressed para-

graph in an ANC strategy document suggesting, apparently, a bilateral deal with government on regionalism, can spark another dangerous verbal battle. What the ANC really means, it turns out, is that these and other constitutional questions will be discussed in bilateral contacts with a view to seeking common ground, but not with the intention of concluding final agreements. But Buthelezi and Inkatha see it as another attempt to marginalise them.

What this points to is the need for extending bilateral contacts at this stage of the negotiating process (if we can still call it that). In preparation for multilateral talks, the ANC should not be discussing regionalism and other contentious constitutional issues solely with the NP. It should be discussing them with Inkatha too.

If a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi is not possible at this stage, it is time for their senior lieutenants to begin examining their constitutional perspectives. This would have an almost immediate effect on levels of violence.

A perfect opportunity presents itself with the visit to Natal, from today, of the high-powered delegation from the ANC national executive, headed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. Although aimed primarily at debriefing their own regional structures on the violence, the delegation would do the ANC and the country a service by taking a visionary leap and contacting their counterparts in Ulundi.

## Federalism 'a likely outcome'

POWER-sharing negotiations would lead to a federal system of government for SA, the HSRC's Bertus de Villiers predicted yesterday.

"It can be concluded from the negotiation process that a new constitution will be a federal type, providing for regional government and a justiciable bill of rights," De Villiers, head of the council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, told delegates to a symposium on the federalist principle in Johannesburg.

He said government and the ANC had shown pragmatism in the debate on federalism and regional government, as well as on the protection of minorities.

While there was disagreement on whether regional authority should be provided for by a unitary or federal structure, it had been agreed that regional government should be able to delegate its (adequate)

LLOYD COUTTS

competencies, and that the general principles of a constitution be applied on all levels of government.

However, constitutionalism within the context of regional government had not yet been accepted in full by the country's political organisations.

While most agreed that a new constitution should be sovereign, it still needed to be seen whether they would be satisfied when their legislative and other acts were controlled or nullified by the judiciary.

De Villiers said federalism could over-emphasise the regional-national relationship to the detriment of the individual-national relationship and lead to ethnic mobilisation, separatism and favouritism.

The process of implementation needed to involve people at grassroots level to ensure a "bottom-up" progression.

## Operation Peace' launched in Natal

WILSON ZWANE

OPERATION Peace, a joint SA Police and Defence Force crackdown on the bloody Natal violence, was launched yesterday.

And business had become involved in negotiations with the ANC and Inkatha in a desperate bid to find solutions to the deepening crisis, an ANC official said yesterday.

ANC southern Natal official Bheki Cele said ANC regional leaders, Inkatha and business representatives were engaged in low-profile negotiations aimed at removing obstacles to a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Our political staff reports that hundreds of Natal servicemen are being called up to help stem the violence ravaging the province.

The army said yesterday Natal citizen force and commando units would have to be called up to supplement troops being transferred to the province from other areas.

Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions were opposed to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting until the resolu-

tion of certain problems, including the ban on ANC members using school buildings in KwaZulu-controlled areas for political meetings, and the withdrawal of Inkatha from several local dispute resolution committees.

Natal-KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee chairman MC Pretorius refused to comment on the business/ANC/Inkatha negotiations. He said to comment could jeopardise the process.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the ANC yesterday signalled a slight softening of its attitude towards Inkatha from that expressed by Mandela at the UN that it would not conclude agreements with Inkatha.

But the shift is unlikely to bring the desired change in attitude that will get the two organisations' leaders speaking to one another in a summit or at a peace meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the organisation would

now express itself with more caution, even though it still had problems with Inkatha sticking to these agreements.

He said the ANC would enter into agreements with Inkatha as long as these agreements were supported by government.

"We have found that if government does not support agreements, then Inkatha does not feel bound to keep to them and has kept breaking them in the past," he said.

Meanwhile, last night's meeting of the national peace committee's executive was postponed until tomorrow because ANC officials could not attend as they were travelling to Natal to work on defusing tensions.

Commenting on the decision to deploy more troops, Niehaus said the ANC had "grave concerns... in light of President FW de Klerk's statement that one of the specific duties would be to hunt down MK people".

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson welcomed the move and said the organisation had called for this step several months ago.

# SAP fails to act as train killers shoot 5

SEVEN commuters died in two separate incidents of train violence yesterday, just days after police spokesman Col David Bruce said certain officers showed a "lack of commitment" to ending train violence.

In the worst incident, a train carrying attackers passed through four East Rand stations, with gunmen killing five commuters and wounding two more as they fired on three crowded station platforms.

The bodies of two more people, who had been stabbed to death in a separate attack, were found yesterday next to the Johannesburg-Soweto line.

The failure of police to stop the 90-minute killing spree has been criticised by the ANC, who said police telephones were not answered as commuters tried to call them to the scene of the killings.

Police, who were meant to have positioned officers at all stations in terms of agreements reached with the ANC and SA Rail and Commuter Corporation, failed to arrest the killers at the East Rand train's four stops.

Police spokesman Sgt Francois du Plessis said an urgent meeting was called yesterday to analyse what went wrong with the policing operations at the four stations, allowing the killers to escape.

It had been established, he said, that police on the train had been unable to move to the carriage where the violence was taking place because interleading doors had been locked.

The attackers boarded the train at Kwe-sini station at 5.30am. They were carrying Makharov pistols.

The first three victims were shot dead on the platform of Pilot station, with a

RAY HARTLEY

further two killed on the Lindela station platform and another two injured at Katlehong station at 7.10am.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe said at a news briefing the fact that the train was not stopped after the first attack was "mind boggling".

He said three policemen arrived on the scene of the first killing at 8.30am — about three hours after the event — and did not take statements from witnesses.

Mamoepe said despite the fact that three people were shot dead at Pilot station, the train left for the next stop with the killers on board, as if nothing had happened.

One of the witnesses immediately phoned Katlehong police station, but the phones there were just left ringing. He then realised the train had left and ran towards Lindela station.

"As he ran towards the station, he heard shots being fired from the direction of Lindela station. On arrival there he found two people dead and several injured.

"Again he tried to contact the police and ambulance service, but there was no response," Mamoepe said.

Du Plessis said witnesses were assisting police in compiling an identikit of one of the attackers and investigations into the killings were being stepped up.

He confirmed no arrests had been made.

An SARCC source said a team of ANC, SARCC and police representatives would tour Soweto stations this morning to inspect new security measures being implemented there.

## † ANC gunman 'targeted police'

ANC PWV executive committee member Bavumile Vilakazi said yesterday he would not press charges against an ANC member who shot him with an AK-47 rifle after mistaking him for a policeman.

But ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the organisation would take appropriate steps against the culprit.

Sexwale told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC's investigations into the incident on September 17 in Sebokeng found that a member of a self-defence unit had shot Vilakazi after mistaking him for a policeman.

Sexwale said while it was understandable for self-defence units to defend their communities, "indiscriminate" attacks on policemen were deplorable.

WILSON ZWANE

He said the ANC and its allies — Cosatu and the SACP — were trying to restore peace to the conflict-ridden Vaal Triangle and efforts to normalise the situation included bringing policemen back into the area.

The Vilakazi shooting was hampering such efforts, Sexwale said, and he called on the people of the Vaal Triangle to "distance themselves from such an incident".

He refused to elaborate on the steps his organisation intended taking against Vilakazi's attacker.

Vilakazi, who was discharged from Johannesburg's Garden City Clinic yesterday, said he bore his assailant no grudges.

## Don't blame ANC, FW told

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was responsible "all by himself" for any damage to his popularity, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He was responding to De Klerk's complaint on TV1's Agenda programme on Monday night that the ANC had embarked on a "negative" campaign against him after the referendum because he was becoming too popular.

De Klerk said his growing popularity had been perceived by the ANC as a threat and this had led the organisation to embark on the campaign.

Niehaus said De Klerk and government's lack of movement towards democracy, and its lack of commitment to this ideal and clearly addressing the violence was the major reason for people losing faith in De Klerk.

The president should look to himself and not others to blame for his political misfortunes, Niehaus said.

NEWS

## Seven killed in reef train violence

SEVEN commuters died in two separate incidents of train violence yesterday, just days after police spokesman Col David Bruce said certain officers showed "a lack of commitment" to ending train violence.

In the worst incident, a train carrying attackers passed through four East Rand stations, with gunmen killing five commuters and wounding two more as they fired on three crowded station platforms.

The ANC said police telephones were not answered as commuters tried to call them to the scene of the killings. **Page 2**

## ANC rejects land grants

RAY HARTLEY

A FUTURE ANC government would not feel obliged to honour government efforts to restructure SA's economy and reallocate land before an interim government took power, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Ramaphosa told a media conference the recently gazetted transfer of 380 000ha to Lebowa and 52 000ha to QwaQwa could be reversed by a future ANC government.

"Any form of unilateral restructuring by a discredited government should stop forthwith," he said.

Ramaphosa said the matter would be discussed at the November 22 summit between the ANC and government.

Speaking at the same briefing, ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha said the ANC believed central government should retain control over defence, foreign affairs and finances, among other areas of government.

"Where there is conflict between central and regional government, the central gov-

ernment should prevail," he said.

The ANC did not support regional control over any aspect of government, but joint control over education, housing, health and related issues was desirable.

The ANC's latest draft document on regional policy, released yesterday, said regions should be allowed limited fiscal powers to help them "carry out their functions effectively and efficiently."

"A permanent Advisory Fiscal Commission structured on a non party-political basis, in which certain powers for advising on the structure and mechanism of fiscal decentralisation would be vested," would have to be established.

The document said the ANC was not "too concerned with the labels 'unitary state and federation'".

Between 10 and 16 new regions should be considered for a future SA, according to the document.

## Force ANC to name torturers, FW urged

A GROUP of former African National Congress members appealed to President De Klerk yesterday to compel the ANC to disclose names of leaders accused of torture in its camps.

The names of some leaders have been published in a report by an International Freedom Foundation-appointed commission inquiring into the torture allegations.

The Weekly Mail recently published names, following its own investigation, of the people it said had been responsible for the atrocities.

The ANC has not made the identities public.

In a letter to Mr De Klerk, released yesterday, the Returned Exiles Committee said it "strongly believes that you (Mr De Klerk) can persuade the African Nat-

ional Congress president Nelson Mandela to meet our ... demands as soon as possible".

The REC demanded that the ANC should name its alleged torturers, release people allegedly still being held in its camps in Tanzania and that International Red Cross workers should be allowed to visit these camps.

"We strongly oppose the idea of an interim government until such time that the ANC has met our demands," the letter said.

"We foresee the eruption of violence in our country if those ANC leaders who were involved in atrocities should play any role in a future government." — Sapa.

## It is a civil war

IN your editorial comment, *The War* (*The Citizen*, November 2), you state that labelling the war in Natal a civil war "is an exaggeration" and that "the only time we will have a civil war is if Whites openly join in".

Yet you admit that "it is a war, a frightening and frightful battle for power" and that it entails a war between Zulus and Xhosas.

I respectfully draw your attention to your own definition of civil war: "A war between citizens of the same country." Unless you deny citizenship of South Africa to either

Xhosas, Zulus or both, your comment is highly inconsistent!

As a conservative Afrikaner striving for the freedom of my "volk" I cannot, however, deny the fact that at this point in time, Zulus and Xhosas alike are citizens of South Africa.

Natal has also not gained independence yet from South Africa. Therefore, we should admit that what we are having here is a civil war, and stop hiding behind technicalities like "a war between two organisations".

Only when you, the government of the day

and the South African population at large finally accept this fact can we start working at resolving the civil war in Natal, which is spreading throughout the country.

After all, a civil war represents the final proof that an existing form of government over various nations is intolerable.

In my humble opinion, the only solution besides massive annihilation of one nation by the other is to give each nation its freedom in its own land, thus removing the need for political supremacy.

B L GOEDE

Benoni

## Seven killed in train violence on the Reef

**Citizen Reporter**

SEVEN people died in different violent incidents on Reef trains yesterday.

Five died in an attack by gun-wielding men on three different train stations on the East Rand, while two bodies of two men who had been stabbed and thrown from trains on the Johannesburg-Soweto line were discovered by police yesterday morning.

An East Rand train, which was travelling to Katlehong, was boarded by a group of Black men at the Kwezeni Station at about 7.45 am.

Thereafter, at every station at which the train stopped, the men fired several shots at random at bystanders before the train moved off again.

Three bystanders were killed at Pilot Station and

two more at Lindela Station.

At Katlehong Station itself, where the men alighted from the train and ran away, two further people were injured by gunfire. The injured were taken to the Nátalspruit Hospital.

Later police investigators found spent Makarov pistol cartridges at the scene of the shootings.

## KwaZulu asks FW to host new talks

ULUNDI. — The Caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday called on President De Klerk to host a national multi-party conference of review to assess the peace process, and what it called the ineffectiveness of peace structures and the negotiation process.

The caucus issued the call in a series of resolutions after a meeting held in Ulundi, KwaZulu.

Saying Codesa had collapsed, the caucus called on Mr De Klerk

"to now recognise that only a multi-party endeavour could put negotiations on track and strengthen the peace process".

In another resolution, the assembly's caucus, whose members all belong to the Inkatha Freedom Party, called on African National Congress president Nelson Mandela to hold bilateral talks with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as the first step towards peace among the two groups' supporters. — Sapa.

## PAC 'unlikely to aid Goldstone on attacks'

THE Pan Africanist Congress would in all probability not agree to a request by the Goldstone Commission to participate in an inquiry into attacks against policemen.

PAC director of publicity and information Waters Toboti yesterday said the commission's request would be forwarded to PAC secretary-general

Benny Alexander for his consideration.

Mr Toboti however said: "My own recommendation would be that the PAC (and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army) should not participate in the inquiry."

The hearing is set to start shortly following allegations by the SAP that Apla and the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were responsible for some of the attacks on policemen during the past two years.

More than 20 policemen have been killed a

month so far this year in attacks. Apla in particular has claimed responsibility for many of the deaths.

Questioned on the PAC and or Apla's participation in the commission of inquiry, Mr Toboti said the fact that the hearing was a result of security force complaints made it impossible for the PAC to participate.

"Apla is engaged in a war with the security forces and until there is a legitimate government this will continue to be the case.

"We have no control over the Apla commanders," said Mr Toboti.

## Shot man mistaken for policeman: ANC

Citizen Reporter

AN ANC "self-defence unit" member has confessed that he shot ANC PWV regional executive committee member, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, on September 17 because he had been mistakenly identified as a policeman, according to the ANC.

Mr Vilakazi, who was discharged from Garden City Clinic yesterday, has decided not to press criminal charges against the assailant, who told the organisation the decision to shoot Mr Vilakazi had been an individual one.

Mr Vilakazi was wounded in the head and hip outside his brothers hardware shop in Zone 7, Sebokeng.

The ANC said that the following "media specu-

lation" on the incident, it had started an investigation, the findings of which were recently submitted to the PWV executive committee.

"During the investigation an SDU member voluntarily approached the ANC and confessed to the shooting. According to the SDU member, Mr Vilakazi was shot because he was mistakenly identified as a policeman."

The ANC expressed its "horror and dismay" that an SDU member could summarily decide to make an attempt on the life of "a leader of Mr Vilakazi's stature".

"It is even more repugnant that the attempt was ostensibly made because the SDU member be-

lieved that Vilakazi was a member of the South African Police. The ANC calls on the community to distance itself from such and other similar behaviour."

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Capt Craig Kotze, said the ANC had a moral obligation to hand over details of the alleged attacker.

"The question is, what is the ANC going to do about taking steps against this man. The fact of the matter is that a crime has been committed and the perpetrator must be brought to justice."

"One can only hope that Mr Vilakazi has not been intimidated into not laying charges."

## ANC wants transfers of public land frozen

THE African National Congress yesterday called for an immediate moratorium on the sale and transfer of public land until an interim government was in place.

In addition, the movement warned it will not consider itself to be bound to honour any such transactions if the ANC came to power.

"Pretoria's recent agreements to transfer 380 000 hectares of land to the control of Lebowa and 52 000 hectares to the control of Qwa-Qwa is a reversion to the apartheid policy of Bantustan consolidation," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a media conference in Johannesburg.

In taking unilateral decisions to transfer the South African Development Trust land to the two homelands, the government inhibited any co-operative efforts to resolve the "difficult but explosive issues of landlessness, homelessness and rural poverty", Mr Ramaphosa added.

Much of the land to be transferred had been identified in the government's White Paper of Land Reform to provide the basis of settlement for emergent farmers, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the transfers were "extremely disingenuous in light of ongoing negotiations dealing with the re-incorporation of the 10 bantustans into South Africa".

The transfers were also an abuse of a number of issues central to South Africa's negotiations process, including the debate around second-tier government and an abuse of minority power by "reinforcing discredited institutions whose future is a matter for negotiations", he said.

Mr Ramaphosa also accused the government of trying to buy or reward political support for the National Party's policy of regionalism/federalism.

A recent spate of urban land disinvestments by

state departments, local authorities and some parastatal organisations had the real possibility of pre-empting the process of reconstruction of the country's urban areas in a non-racial and socially integrative way. — Sapa.

18 WORLD NEWS \*\*\*

# Desperate Buthelezi plays power gambit

Johannesburg

Allister Sparks

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is playing a final, desperate hand to try to stay in the fast lane of South African politics. In storming out of negotiations just when President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela had put them back on track, he exemplified the fact that no black political party has proven legitimacy.

All are pretenders, strutting and making exaggerated claims to boost their influence on the bargaining process.

Some know their influence is greater now than it will be after the first election, which will cut them down to size or wipe them out altogether, and so they are making what impact they can. The country is being held to ransom by a desperate minority.

Chief Buthelezi epitomises this. He enjoys an international reputation that far exceeds his local support. Pretoria presents him as one of the big three leaders, alongside De Klerk and Mandela. But, while his Inkatha Freedom Party may be the third largest, it is a poor third.

More seriously, the newspapers routinely present Buthelezi as 'the Zulu leader'. It is a thoughtless piece of labelling which carries the connotation that, as leader of South Africa's biggest and most renowned

warrior tribe, which inflicted a famous defeat on the British army at the Battle of Isandhlwana in 1879, he is indeed a force to be reckoned with.

In fact, Buthelezi's claims to this status are highly questionable. Opinion polls are frustratingly inadequate. The lack of telephones in rural areas makes polling there difficult and expensive, and pollsters do not venture into strife-torn parts of Natal and KwaZulu. Even if they did, the fear and suspicion there would invalidate the responses.

But such indicators as there are suggest Buthelezi may not enjoy majority support even in his own tribal heartland. The few opinion polls that have been conducted in urban areas, including Durban and Pietermaritzburg in Natal, have found national support for the ANC to be above 60 per cent and Inkatha support as low as 2 per cent.

Research in townships has indicated the same situation. One researcher reported that her respondents, who included Zulus in the Witwatersrand area, regarded Inkatha 'with loathing' and preferred De Klerk to Buthelezi.

The ANC's 'mass action' strikes support these findings. More than 90 per cent of blacks have responded to the general strike calls in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

There was a time, in the

Sixties and Seventies, when Buthelezi's support in his home region was solid. He even enjoyed support in other regions, as he exploited his 'Bantustan' platform at a time when the ANC and other liberation movements were banned.

But from the mid-eighties, as the great black uprising began, young Zulus began rallying to the ANC's surrogate, the United Democratic Front. With Mandela's release in 1990, the trickle of desertions became a flood. Buthelezi, always thin-skinned, became increasingly aggressive, first towards the UDF, then the ANC.

What might have become a liberationist alliance turned into a bitter power struggle and then endemic civil war. As the war has raged, Buthelezi — backed by his ruthless police force — has steadily lost support among young Zulus and city dwellers, shrinking his constituency to the fastness of tribal Zululand.

Assessing where this leaves Buthelezi nationally is difficult. Outside the Zulu tribe he has nothing, except for some whites with 'indirect rule' instincts who are looking for a black surrogate to oppose the ANC.

Assuming 45 per cent of Zulus back him, that gives him three million supporters in a national population of 35 million — or just over 8 per cent compared to the ANC's 60-plus per cent and 25 per cent for De

## Goldstone must probe MK attacks role: IFP

DURBAN. — Inkatha is to ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate the role of the African National Congress' armed wing in attacks on the mainly Zulu party, it was announced yesterday.

While welcoming the

increased deployment of security forces in the Natal Midlands, the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said it would ask the Commission to investigate Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK) alleged role in furthering violence.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Kim Hodgson said in a statement his party would also ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate the status of MK arms caches.

"We are convinced that such arms, ammunition and explosive devices are being used by the ANC in their military operations."

He said an impartial investigation would reveal whether the arms had been stored and were not being used to further political violence.

"The IFP demands of the government that it make known all information and facts about the deployment and training of MK from, and in, the Transkei.

"The government has claimed it has irrefutable proof of such activities.

— Sapa

# THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 04 OCTOBER 1992

## Train attacks: 4 more hurt

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
Crime Reporter

Four more commuters were injured in Reef train attacks early today, following attacks yesterday in which seven commuters were murdered, police said.

And another five people, including two policemen, were wounded when an assistant constable on a train allegedly opened fire on what he believed was an attacker at Johannesburg Station. The man was in fact a plainclothes policeman on patrol.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said today's attacks in western Johannesburg started at about 6 am when a man was thrown off a train near Longdale Station. He suffered serious injuries.

Another man, waiting for a train at Cleveland Station, was shot by someone on a passing train. The train then went on to-

wards Johannesburg and between New Canada and Longdale Stations two people were thrown from a compartment. They were also seriously injured.

As the train pulled in to Johannesburg Station at about 7.15 am, an assistant constable apparently noticed a man on Platform 9 with a gun. He allegedly opened fire, wounding two policemen and three commuters, Opperman said.

He said the shooting was being investigated "very urgently".

Yesterday, five people died and two were injured when gunmen opened fire on commuters waiting for trains at three East Rand stations.

According to an eyewitness account supplied to monitoring group Peace Action, the gunmen opened fire on commuters at Pilot Station at about 5.25 am. A commuter said he called the Katlehong police station, but the call was unans-

wered.

The train left for Lindela Station and the caller ran there and, on his way, heard shots coming from Lindela.

The commuter said he again tried to call the police but got no response.

The train then moved on to Katlehong Station, where two more commuters were injured.

Opperman said the reported lack of police response would be investigated, but it was possible the caller had tried a number at the police station other than the charge office.

"Those people do not get to work until about 8 am," he said.

In other attacks yesterday, a man was stabbed to death and thrown from a train near Croesus Station and another man was killed near Braamfontein Station at 6.30 am. He had also been stabbed and thrown out of a speeding train.

Anyone with information on train violence can call toll-free number 080-111-0141.

Sun. Star

4/10/92

About that famous trouble at the hostels... if the idea is to *end* it, rather than to be Politically Correct about it, let's mention the unmentionable, namely Zulu culture

## Butch Cassidy and the Hostel Zulu

IT IS interesting to note that while we are moving into the new, non-racist, non-sexist South Africa, and are trying hard to disregard our cultural differences, we still have "cultural departments". What are they there for if not for cultural preservation and understanding?

I am not supporting the CP, but they do have a point when they talk about different values and cultures, although they stretch it too far. If we are going to make South Africa successful, we need to take these matters seriously. In trying to combat racial problems, we have waged a war against cultures. It is now difficult to stop the war, because people are not fighting for political recognition any more, but for cultural preservation.

The situation of the conservative Zulus is obviously the best example, and the extreme case is the now notorious KwaMadala Hostel.

The ANC alliance, with the press and so-called public opinion in general, is demanding that the Zulus get out of KwaMadala. I believe most KwaMadala residents would like nothing better than to get out of KwaMadala, where they live under virtual siege.

However, there is one big flaw in the demand that they leave. This is expressed in Shaka's words: "Niyobuyelaphi na?" (Where will you return to?) which convey that men

BY HAPPY  
Nkhoma



who retreat under threat would be shunned and despised by everybody. (In Shaka's time, it in fact meant they would be killed).

Some readers will have seen the film "Butch Cassidy and The Sundance Kid". In one scene, some men are trying to force the Sundance Kid, a renowned gunfighter, out of town. Sundance flatly refuses to leave, while Butch, who knows that if Sundance draws his sixguns there will be corpses, pleads with the men who are trying to force Sundance out.

Butch appeals to these men to ask Sundance to stay. The men think Butch is crazy, but Butch knows best. Sundance won't leave while he is being pushed. In the end, the men swallow their pride and say: "Won't you please stay?" So Sundance turns around and walks off, saying: "No thanks, I was just going".

That is exactly the situation that applies not only in KwaMadala hostel, but to many Zulus. The men in the hostel would like to forget about this gloryless war and return to their wives and children in Natal, but that would be retreat, which their culture does not allow.

Instead of the politicians trying to build higher walls between residents and hostel inmates, let representatives from the communities call a ceasefire. This should be done without the mention and involvement of the ANC/IFP at all. Independent clergymen, businessmen and other people of no political standing should take the initiatives. To the uninitiated, this would be nurturing the pride of the Zulus, but careful scrutiny would reveal an understanding of somebody's culture and the respect thereof.

This is not racism at all. We all have cultural differences. Without being racist or anything, we must admit that there is more gentleness in the soft-spoken Tsonga than you can find in the Ndebele or Zulu. The Sotho will always voice his grievances, regardless of the circumstances and consequences.

For most purposes we can ignore ethnic generalisations, or consider it impolite to focus on them. When it comes to serious issues like the violence related to the hostels, we ignore these things at our peril.

The Times  
S.A.B.C. T.V. and Radio  
Radio 700

4 th October 1992

SUNDAY TIMES, October 4 1992

# FURY AS 11 MORE THUGS GO FREE

**McBride  
guarded  
after  
mystery  
blast**

By RYAN CRESSWELL

FRIENDS and neighbours have thrown a security net around the Durban home of released Mago's Bar bomber Robert McBride's family.

This follows an incident on Wednesday in which the brother of one of three women killed at the beachfront bar was

By CHARIS PERKINS, SHARON CHETTY and DE WET POTGIETER

ELEVEN other hardened criminals were released along with gangster Lucky Malaza as "political prisoners" last week-end in terms of the deal between President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, the Sunday Times has established.

The "dirty dozen" included men convicted of stock theft, robbery, house-breaking and possession of drugs, as well as murder, culpable homicide and assault.

Neither the ANC nor the government could explain yesterday how they came to be released.

Prison officials referred to a list drawn up by the Human Rights Commission last November. But the HRC said it had "no idea" which list had been used to determine who would go free. And the ANC claimed it relied on names given by the Correctional Services department.

Public anger against the releases began a week ago.

## Faultless Vlok

ADRIAAN VLOK, the minister in charge of prisons, refuses to be held responsible for the release of gangster, train robber and cop killer Lucky Malaza. He says it's the ANC's fault.

Well, well. Now we know who is running the prisons. What we don't know is why Mr Vlok gets paid for not running them.



Okay, my murderer equals your necklace killer.

COCA  
SUNDAY TIMES

# OPINION

## Whither De Klerk?

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk has done his best during the past ten days to lift the mood of a nation sunk in despondency, and to recapture the hope that was lost when Codesa 2 failed. To get negotiations on track again, he has yielded to a number of ANC demands, including the release of notorious and depraved prisoners, the fencing of hostels, and a ban on public displays of dangerous weapons. But instead of re-igniting Codesa, his concessions have served only to alienate bantustan leaders and to arouse anxiety among whites.

The President tried to put a gloss on matters by appearing on television, but he was not effective. Later in the week, he submitted to a press conference, but that, too, fell flat. The magic, it would seem, has gone out of his leadership.

Foreign diplomats insist, in loud stage-whispers, that the latest meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela was the result of intense foreign pressure and, depending on who is talking, they assign the credit for the meeting variously to the British Foreign Secretary, the United Nations, the European Community, or the International Monetary Fund — or all of the above.

The President is vulnerable to such pressure, and the cause is obvious: the collapsing economy can no longer sustain the profligate administration of the National Party, and the country is running into debt at a frightening pace. Nor are the remedies obvious: to cut down the government would alienate an army of

civil servants and their dependent elites; to raise taxes would drive the country deeper into depression; to cut social spending risks more civil commotion and a further flight of confidence and capital.

A vicious cycle has developed: unless the economy can be restored, the nation cannot be brought to rest, and unless the nation can be brought to rest, capital will continue to flee, and if capital continues to flee, the economy cannot be restored.

There is, however, according to siren voices in both business and diplomatic communities, one escape from this dilemma: an interim government would open the way to IMF financing to foreign loans and aid payments, and perhaps even to foreign private investment. All it requires is for President De Klerk to yield up prisoners, to abandon a blocking mechanism, to forsake Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The ANC, perceiving weakness, stands firm on its demands despite its own declining international status and dwindling finances.

President De Klerk's followers, too, are not entirely stupid. They may be mistaken about details, and bemused about negotiations, but they recognise a retreat when they see one. President De Klerk, apparently without long-term plans, offers no vision, no convincing explanation, no leadership to off-set the image of forced retreat. If he knows where he is going, he is not telling anybody, and so a despondent nation draws its own sombre conclusions.



# A wicked past haunts a new nation's birth

**T**HE New South Africa, that rough beast whose hour has come round at last, slouches towards its birth in great moral confusion, if not moral turpitude.

The multitudes cheered when ANC killer Robert McBride proffered Adolf Eichmann's excuse for slaughtering innocents: "I was following orders." For that answer, the Israelis executed Eichmann, and the Americans jailed Lt Colley, the murderer of My Lai.

Not that McBride was the worst. The cause-ate Barend Strydom scuttled from prison clutching a contract for his "story" of mass murder — while one of his victims, sacrificed before the idolatrous statue of Hans Strijdom, was still languishing, crippled, in hospital.

The government tried to pretend at first that Barend Strydom was released as part of a deal with the ANC to foster a spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, but Mr Nelson Mandela quickly repudiated that suggestion. The government, it appeared, had released Strydom to shore up its right flank, tainting the spirit of conciliation with cynicism and political expediency.

Under the circumstances, it came as comic relief to discover that an evil but quite ordinary gangster, one Lucky Malaza, had been released in error. The prisons' authorities threw up their hands: they were, like McBride, simply carrying out their orders.

Malaza's name, along with the names of a dozen other common criminals, appeared on the ANC's list, so Malaza went free.

Did nobody check the names? Well, apparently not. The list has been named on the Human Rights Commission, a self-appointed tribunal which, I believe, generates more imaginative fiction than anybody since Charles Dickens. The HRC's propaganda on violence has lately been subjected to scorching criticism by Anthea Jeffery of the Institute of Race Relations, in a paper called *Spotlight on Disinformation*.

By now, of course, our government is flustered by international pressures, by mass action, by rebellious bantustans, by mounting debt and a crum-

bling economy that it can't be expected to keep track of such small matters as the identity of its prisoners. If the ANC says, let our people go, the people go.

But it does raise the question: what on earth does President De Klerk think he's doing, rushing into half-baked "deals" which must be cobbled together in marathon sessions so that Mr Mandela can leave for his important meetings in Beijing?

What lies behind the endless muddle and confusion of what, after all, should be a relatively simple matter of negotiating a definition of political crimes, matching criminals to the definition, and releasing those who fit the definition?

The answer, of course, is that the government has been unable to formulate a definition that will cover both the ANC's political offenders and its own. The ANC defines political prisoners simply as people "incarcerated for their opposition to apartheid"; the government has tried to widen that to cover all people who committed offences "on the assumption that a particular cause was being served".

The aim, of course, is to protect not only those people, like the killers of David Webster and Anton Lubowski, who "followed orders". It is to protect also those who gave the orders: the generals, certainly. The security council, perhaps. Maybe even members of the cabinet. All those, in other words, who might face justice, or retribution, under a new government.

**F**OR the government, the protection of "political offenders" within its own ranks constitutes a second, hidden agenda, which has seriously weakened its negotiating position. The problems, intellectual and political, of safeguarding hidden criminals under the pretext of pardoning known criminals have proved insurmountable.

In its efforts to get a "deal" that would cover the political criminals hidden in its own ranks, the government has offered one concession after another to the ANC. It has retreated from one untenable position to another.

It has fallen about in the most ridiculous fashion, squandering its credibility.

At one point, President De Klerk turned down applications for pardon from 364 people on the grounds that their offences were too serious; soon afterwards, he released Daniel Mbokwane and Linda Hlope, both convicted for the pitiless killing, on television, of Maki Skhosana.

To cover its retreat, the government released Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe, two policemen convicted of killing a drug dealer for no political cause whatsoever.

**T**HEN followed three amnesties in seven months, which spewed the contents of the jails across the streets. The ANC wanted 4 000 prisoners, President De Klerk gave them 57 000. The Sharpeville Six went free, and the unbalanced David Protter, and in Parliament the Minister of Justice whimpered that it was all necessary to persuade the Americans to lift sanctions.

Now Robert McBride is free, and the Prisons Department is working blindly down the ANC's list, and there's not much more that President De Klerk can give. But he still does not have ANC agreement for an indemnity for the generals, and the police, and the political leaders who must be presumed to have committed crimes too dreadful to confess, even to get indemnity.

When President De Klerk threw open Mr Mandela's cell, it was an act of magnanimity and statesmanship that ignited the idealism of a nation trying to be born. Last week's shabby deal gave us, instead, Barend Strydom and Robert McBride and a gangster released by mistake.

The New South Africa, the rough beast whose hour has come round at last, still slouches towards its birth, but it follows a path littered with broken hopes and haunted by ghosts from our wicked past.

**KEN OWEN**

# FLASHPOINT RATANDA

IT BEGAN with a low-key labour dispute. But little more than two months later the township of Ratanda, near Heidelberg, is a powder keg.

Monday's handgrenade attack on a bus ferrying workers — which left one dead — prompted the Local Dispute Resolution Committee to ask the Goldstone commission to investigate violence in the township as a matter of urgency.

On Tuesday police opened fire on about 30 people protesting against the attack, sparking a meeting of the LDRC — comprising SAP, SADF, ANC and Inkatha representatives — on Friday.

**Report: KURT SWART**  
**Pictures: JOE SEFALE**

Tension has been building since July 22, when management at the Eskort bacon factory hired temporary workers to replace striking members of the Food and Allied Workers' Union.

Township residents say the scabs were IFP supporters bussed in from the Thokoza and Kwamadala hostels.

When the wage dispute was settled and Fawu workers returned to work on September 12, the temporary workers invaded the Ratanda hostel,

driving out the Fawu members and setting fire to their belongings, in a battle that left four people dead.

The hostel has been an Inkatha stronghold ever since, and there have been sporadic outbreaks of violence, both on the factory floor and in the township.

On one occasion, Fawu workers were barred from entering the factory by a group of Inkatha supporters armed with traditional weapons.

Following a meeting between the ANC, the SAP and the factory management, police agreed to escort buses carrying Fawu members to and from work.

This was done for a fortnight, but on Monday the escort failed to arrive.

The attack on the bus came as it passed the Ratanda hostel, and resulted in the death of Mr Thomas Tsoari and shrapnel and burn injuries to 32 other passengers.

Mr Shadrack Mayongo, who suffered shrapnel wounds in his leg, said: "We saw men armed with guns and petrol bombs at the side of the road. There was an explosion and I felt dizzy. The bus was still moving. People were screaming and moaning. Shots were still being fired at us."

"When the bus stopped there was blood and injured people everywhere. Taxis stopped to take the injured to hospital. Then police shot teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot at people trying to help us."

Police have denied Mr Mayongo's allegations.

On Tuesday, local IFP leader Mr Thokazani Biyela was chased from his offices by an angry mob, who accused him of being involved in the grenade attack.

Mr Biyela took refuge in the Ratanda police station and police opened fire on the crowd gathered outside, allegedly without warning.

## Worse

Residents claim 30 people were injured by rubber bullets and birdshot, while police put the figure at 20.

In a further protest, residents staged a two-day stayaway, returning to work on Thursday.

Friday's LDRC meeting took place amid a storm of

allegations and counter allegations by the police, the ANC, Inkatha and Eskort management.

Ratanda ANC branch chairman Mr Obed Nkosi said the root of the problem was the launch of an IFP branch in Ratanda a year ago.

"The situation has worsened since the strike began on July 22 and many of our people have been killed — mostly in the presence of police, who either take no action or teargas residents trying to protect themselves," he said.

## Bus attack brings volatile township to brink of war

"The people doing the killing are not being brought to justice. Many of the killers have been seen walking freely in the hostel grounds."

Ratanda Civic Association chairman Mr Ezekiel

Inkatha supporters had also been burnt to the ground, he said.

"The IFP finds the action taken against Mr Biyela last Tuesday provocative and inciting. There has been no proof of Mr Biyela's involvement in this hideous act of violence against innocent people," added Mr Ndlovu.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said allegations that police had sided with Inkatha members were false.

"Ratanda has become the focus of violence which obviously cannot be stopped by ANC and Inkatha leaders, and the police have become the target of malicious and uncalled for propaganda," he said.

Recommendations tabled at the LDRC meeting stated that:

- Communication between Fawu and Uwusa, the Inkatha-linked trade union, should be improved;
- The hostel should be fenced and illegal tenants arrested;
- There should be heavy deployment of police in the township and especially at the hostel;
- Police should wear identity tags at all times and ensure fair treatment for everybody; and
- The Goldstone Commission should investigate the violence as a matter of urgency.

Macu said the conflict was not an ANC-Inkatha clash, but "a case of hostel dwellers fighting the community, and an attempt at union-bashing".

## Malicious

Mr Paul Watmough, assistant general manager of the Eskort factory, said temporary workers had not been screened for political affiliation and had been dismissed when the strike had been resolved.

"We understand that they caused havoc in the township afterwards, but that was beyond Eskort's control," he said.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu condemned the Ratanda violence, which he said had claimed two IFP lives.

The homes of five

Sun Times  
4/10/92

"That is rubbish. People who want to propagandise for the ANC can do so, but the fact is that our police are trained specifically to maintain law and order. If there are members who transgress and involve themselves in violence they should be dealt with. I have never, and would never, give them orders to kill people. This ANC propaganda really annoys me."

His response to the fact that many were critical of his associations with people like Brig Gqozo and President Mangope, whose territories had taken the "independence" road to which he had been morally opposed, was: "Why? What rubbish is this? We are talking now about the new South Africa."

By the same token, he said, what about the ANC's association with the government which was the founder of the universally hated system of apartheid? "And what about the ANC's consorting with Bantu Holomisa and similar people who are in cahoots with them?"

And, also by that token, he would not be associating with Mr de Klerk and with Mr Mandela whose ANC had continuously "poured out vitriol" against him and had even broadcast appeals in the past for his assassination.

"From a Christian point of view I also see this as a time for reconciliation, in the same way as there are convicted people who have been granted amnesty. These accusations about my associations (with people like Gqozo and Mangope and the Conservative Party) are in consonant with all this."

**I**n view of this attitude, was he still willing to talk to the ANC? Of course he was. And what were the obstacles to his getting together with Mr Mandela?

"In fact, we do meet now and then and talk to each other and even hug each other in front of everybody. What is the big deal about that? It is he who is the problem, not me..."

"It was in front of the UN Security Council that Mr Mandela called me and my organisation surrogates of the National Party govern-

ment. We asked for arbitration and are still waiting for it."

But, apart from that, he felt he owed something to the people who had been killed. "I am troubled and hurt and grieve for the people who are being killed every day by the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. I have, for instance, a list of the people — with names and details — sent out for training in Tanzania in June this year. I also have a copy of a note written by the head of Umkhonto, giving instructions for activating Umkhonto."

"Now, to come to me and say, 'Are you prepared to talk

to these people?' I mean, really! Really! I'm not unwilling to talk to them, but I don't know to what extent people think that the human lives of members of the IFP are not worth the same as the lives of people who belong to the ANC. There is never any hula-baloo or hue and cry when (our) people are killed, even in droves, every day... I spoke to Archbishop Tutu today on that very issue and he was also concerned about that very issue."

What about accusations that he took criticisms, even from colleagues, badly?

"In fact, they do disagree with me on many things. They get very angry and say I'm too kind and they even sometimes hold my professed Christianity against me and say that it is this which misleads me, that I mix Christianity too much with poli-

tics. Zulus are very brave people and even disagree bluntly with the king and with chiefs."

Would they use expressions like "bullshit" or "bugger up", for instance?

"I have never used those words to other people. I've never said that Mandela talks bullshit — I have never insulted any leader or ever attacked Mandela personally. Such allegations are an insult to me and to my colleagues. In my cabinet are some of the most brilliant people I have ever known."

"To imply that they are just like sheep is very insulting to them and to me. If people say otherwise they do so to make propaganda. It is nonsense to suggest that I am a dictator."

How did he feel about the leadership of the Democratic Party?

"I cannot say that I have the same relationship with Dr Zach de Beer as I had with Mr Colin Eglin or Dr Van Zyl Slabbert. I have never quarrelled with him and I've known him for a long time. But his remarks are very unconstructive. He has always adopted the view that, if the ANC and the government decide anything, then we must accept it."

"Even now he is saying that people must not interfere with what the ANC and the government are doing. This is really unconstructive. He is one of the people who are stoking the fires of conflict — whether this is done wittingly, I don't know."

**W**HAT about suggestions from some quarters that there was resentment among his black colleagues because he allegedly had surrounded himself with whites whose advice he supposedly tended to follow? Names had even been mentioned.

"These are racist allegations. I am 64 and my political career has spanned 30 years. Where were all these (alleged white advisers) then? What, then, about people who speak for the ANC: people like Marcus, Niehaus, Slovo, Kasrils? I find this offensive and these things are said just to denigrate me. I am not wet behind the ears."

What was his reaction to accusations that his responses to questions were becoming increasingly intemperate?

"That is insulting. People don't ask questions because they want to get information from me. They do so, under the cloak of journalism, to insult me. This is because they are covering their backsides with the ANC. They insult me as if they want information, but all they are doing is making propaganda for the ANC to denigrate me obliquely."

"Why shouldn't I be annoyed with that? I mean there is a booklet by the Institute of Race Relations on the mau-mauing of the Press, which indicates the extent of the intimidation that is there in the media generally in this country. It is enormous."

"When people want to cover their backsides I must get annoyed. I am really not keen on giving interviews any more because I often think they are just wasting my time in order to get an interview. It means I just promote propaganda against myself."

Sun Times

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Sun Times 4/10/92

# No Codesa 3 without Buthelezi, say Nats

CODESA 3 could be under way by early November — if the government can get dissident homeland leaders, including Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, back to the negotiations table.

Both the ANC and the government, after a five-month negotiations break which cost the country dearly economically and politically, are now eager to resume talks, with the prospect of elections in the second half of next year.

Late next week ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and government constitutional head Roelf Meyer will resume bilateral talks.

By CHARLENE SMITH

However, Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Tertius Delpoit said although the government was ready to resume negotiations immediately, "multilateral talks would definitely not take place without Mr Buthelezi".

"We can't have multilateral talks excluding leaders within our present boundaries — certainly not without Inkatha," he said.

President FW de Klerk this week sent a letter to Mr Buthelezi suggesting a meeting with him and the loose alliance of Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa

Gqozo, the Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope. The IFP leader has yet to respond to the invitation.

A meeting of the four dissenting forces could be held next week.

If obstacles from all sides are cleared, the negotiations agenda will include:

- An ANC "lekgotla" (meeting of key negotiators) soon after the return of Nelson Mandela from abroad on October 11;

- The second sitting of Parliament from October 12 to October 23;

- A meeting of National Peace Accord signatories on October 17. This is seen as critical as it will be the biggest meeting of political leaders since the breakdown of Codesa;

- An ANC/government "bosberaad" in the last week of October.

## Elections

Both the ANC and the government are hoping multilateral negotiations will begin immediately after the bosberaad, then break for Christmas, and resume early in 1993.

Provided outstanding matters are resolved without further breakdowns, the government expects elections for an interim government and constitution-making body could take place in July next year. The ANC believes elections will be held in October.

Work is already underway to streamline the functioning of Codesa 3 to speed up the practical implementation of agreements.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been hailed by some as the guardian of democracy and reviled by others as a tribal despot. Like him or hate him, he cannot be ignored. ROY RUDDEN went to find if the leopard has changed its spots

# FURY

# OF A ZULU CHIEF

# SCORNED

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke out this week about the frustrations that bedevil his position as a key figure on the country's hap-hazard road to a new dispensation.

In a frank but prickly interview, the Kwazulu and IFP leader told of his anger at being misrepresented as the angry spoiler of South African politics.

And he told of his firm belief that what he called the "Von Ribbentrop/Molotov agreement" between the government and the ANC last week had resulted in his Inkatha Freedom Party being made the sacrificial lamb in the move towards resumed negotiations by the two main players.

In the process he:

- Disclosed that he no longer looked on State President FW de Klerk with trust;

- Accused Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer of "stoking the fires of conflict";

- Defended his associations with people like the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and the Conservative Party;

- Told of the obstacles to getting together for talks with ANC leader Nelson Mandela;

- Denied that his recent use of intemperate language like "bullshit" and "bugger up" indicated that he was running on a temperamental short fuse (colleagues in fact accused him of being too patient, kind and Christian); and accused most journalists who sought interviews with him of doing so with the hidden agenda of making propaganda for the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance

On his revised opinion of Mr de Klerk, he asked how he could fail to re-assess his view after the way the State President had conducted himself during last weekend's bilateral talks leading to the much heralded Record of Agreement.

**I**t was unacceptable for Mr de Klerk to have made joint decisions with the ANC on the future securing of hostels and the banning of traditional weapons when the Zulu people most affected were not included in the discussions. He had trusted him in the beginning, "but I'm not sure any more — I am definitely not sure."

Relations between him and the State President had already deteriorated to the extent that Mr de Klerk, in talks on September 7 and 17, had said that Chief Buthelezi had hurt him. This was specifically because he had said Mr de Klerk wanted to sacrifice the IFP and the Zulus to please the ANC.

The hostel and traditional weapons agreement had been reached in the Record of Agreement despite the fact that the Goldstone Commission had recommended that the IFP should make an input prior to any agreement on these matters.

The Record of Agreement had prejudged the still-awaited final Goldstone recommendations and this was done solely to get the ANC back to the conference table. "What angers one is that, in this process, we have become the sacrificial lamb."

The bilateral agreement

which provided for the single men's hostels becoming virtual concentration camps, and imposed a blanket ban on traditional weapons — an issue which singled out the Zulus for deprivation — was going too far.

The Zulus were the only major social formation which was not armed with sophisticated weaponry. It was well known that both the whites and the ANC, through its Umkhonto we Sizwe, had acquired immense arsenals, including automatic weapons, automatic rifles like AK47s and heavy artillery.

But what about accusations that the Kwazulu police were virtually the Zulus' army and that this was underlined by his own position as the Kwazulu Minister of Police?

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 OBSERVER



**No surrender: Chief Buthelezi, who cannot claim to be the one authentic Zulu leader.**

Klerk's National Party. Although Buthelezi proclaimed last week that Inkatha was 'a national political force', he has clearly abandoned his efforts to build a national constituency and is beating 'the Zulu ethnic drum in a frantic bid to consolidate regional support.

He is said to be trying to follow a 'Franz-Josef Strauss strategy', using his regional base to project himself on to a national stage.

But with even his regional base in doubt, he is becoming more frenetic, seeking alliances with other 'homeland' leaders whom he once despised, such as

Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and the 'butcher of Bisho', Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. He is even courting white extremists of the Conservative Party and Boerstaat Movement, in what looks suspiciously like an attempt to build a secessionist alliance.

The one thing Buthelezi cannot afford is an election. 'The NP will not participate in a (constituent assembly) election and it will join forces with every true democrat in South Africa who rejects an early election,' he declared in his walk-out statement last Sunday.

Clearly what South Africa

needs with increasing urgency is an election. It must clear the decks, sweep away the straw men and establish clearly who speaks for whom — and for how many. The authenticated leaders must then negotiate the new constitution.

What it cannot afford is a prolonged campaign of vicious electioneering between the major players, which cripples their attempts to negotiate a settlement, and acts of sabotage by the bit players who want to stave off the election — all of which keeps the country mired in a morbid interregnum of frustration and violence.