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SE,VERAL' â\200\230Nation  
African National Congress sup-  
porters and a member of the

Weekend Argus political staff

have been subppenagd to give ev-

idence about six alleged contra-

ventions of th Electoral Act by

the NP, a ing to an order

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~ Pieter Marais, â\200\230who allegedly in-  
\_cited supporters â\200\234to get? ANCE  
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Weekend Argus political jour- Â¢  
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osing sides are taking issue with

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had requested mediation.  
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â\200\230the NP would have to explain  
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t, vent them.

The hearing was postponed un- |



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~ Mark Jasson reï¬\201rÃ©sented\_ the ANC,  
- Stephen Duffett represented the NP - |  
~ and Benjamin Julius represented the

IEC as investigator.

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Partyâ\200\231s assertion that Presi-  
dent De Klerk had abolished  
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(News by Juliette Saunders, 141 Commission-  
er Street, Johannwburg.) i

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Municipal Reporter

CONFLICT between landowners and invaders has been aggravated by race and class conflict, according to an Urban Foundation report.

Illegal land occupation had its roots in the policy of influx control.

Invasion of urban land had happened sporadically since 1985, with a spate in 1990 and 1991. ]

â\200\234The 1990-91 peak coincided with the onset of democratic reform, a period of political uncertainty during which bureaucrats dealing with squatters were faced with ambiguities about action to be taken.â\200\235

Initial invasions tended to be small, with numbers swelling after bridgeheads were established, the report said. ~ :

" .â\200\234In most cases, the invaders were homeless or poorly-housed urban people taking last-resort action.â\200\235

â\200\230Influx control a root causeâ\200\231

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s RETM RS e

New police

Invasion of public land was more common than seizure of private land.

â\200\234In a number of cases, township residents moved to gain control of housing developments believed to be targeted at more privileged people.â\200\235

Examples of this were housing seizures in Tafelsig, Delft, and Cato Manor in Natal.

Last year's occupations of housing introduced a new dimension of conflict, between poorer sections of different black communities. :

It was alleged that housing invasions in Cape Town had been orchestrated to create racial tension.

Political and civic organisations had sometimes found themselves in difficult situations when having to heed the demands of the homeless and the interests of settled communities affected by invasions, the report said.

Pre-election jitters hit hotels

JACQUELYN SWARTZ

Staff Reporter

UNCERTAINTY about South Africa's future during and after the elections has taken its toll on Cape Town's hotel industry.

Many have had bookings cancelled towards the end of the month.

Bookings are definitely down compared with the same period last year, said Nick Seewer, general manager of the Mount Nelson.

Bookings before the elections are terrible. And during the elections they are awful.

His comments were echoed by Victoria and Alfred Hotel spokesman Gavin Potgieter.

We 'are getting a lot of cancellations, especially from overseas. It's a bit worrying, he said.

We have been running full, but we have quite a few rooms available during the two weeks before the elections.

If things don't calm down, we are going to be in for a bad time.

General manager of the Cape Sun, Simon Morpuss, said bookings over the election period were not as good - as anticipated.

We are a little disappointed, he

said, explaining that there had been  
â\200\234quite a fewâ\200\235 cancellations. ;

A spokesman for The Townhouse  
said bookings were normal com-  
pared with last year.

â\200\234But there is a decided drop  
nearer the election date,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234There is a great degree of uncer-  
tainty in peopleâ\200\231s minds.â\200\235

The National Parks Board has  
also had many cancellations of book-  
ings.

â\200\234It is very quiet from April 17 to  
mid-May,â\200\235 said a spokesman.

She said it was usually â\200\234quite  
busyâ\200\235 during this period. Cancellations  
had been made by locals and  
foreigners. :

Most of the hotels are positive  
about the future, however.

â\200\234We are not really worried about  
the period after the elections,â\200\235 said  
Mr Seewer.

â\200\234We feel positive that normal  
business will resume as things settle  
down.

Mr Morpuss agreed, saying: â\200\234It  
(ti.oes P,Ot look too bad after the elec-  
ions.

QUO VADIS? Commissioner of Police General Johan  
van der Merwe â\200\224 his situation may change in the  
new police force which is to be known as the South  
African Police Service. |

force to have

de powers for provincial

ROGER FRIEDMAN  
Staff Reporter

POLICE headquarters in  
Pretoria is finalising plans  
for the reconstitution of the  
force along federal lines.

There are more than 100 000  
policemen and women in South  
Africa, and an additional 20 000

reservists.

A senior police source said it was initially hoped to have the reconstituted force, to be known as the South African Police Service, ready before the elections but this had proved impossible.

â\200\234The basics were formulated by a technical committee and accepted by the negotiating council at Kempton Park. We are now awaiting the final go-ahead from headquarters.â\200\235

Although details have yet to be finalised, the restructured police force will operate on a two-tier system with wide powers for yet-to-be-appointed provincial commissioners.

The nine provincial commissioners will be appointed by the national commissioner in consultation with provincial law and order ministers.

â\200\234Public order policingâ\200\235 â\200\224 including normal detective, uniform branch and Internal Stability Unit functions â\200\224 will fall under the command of the provincial commissioners.

But more specialised functions â\200\224 including murder and

â\200\230robbery, and the commercial,

gold and diamond and narcotics branches â\200\224 will be reconstituted -into a national detec-

FBI-type detective branch

â\200\230LÂ«"JMA  
[0 Two-tier system with wi

commissioners.

tive agency answerable to a national commissioner.

Police headquarters will maintain responsibility for training and will set qualifications for promotion.

It is envisaged that provincial police will retain their current powers of arrest in other provinces.

The source said the national detective agency â\200\224 â\200\234with similarities to the American Feder-



al Bureau of Investigationâ\200\235 â\200\224  
would have branches around  
the country, working â\200\234in con-  
junction with provincial po-  
lice?.

â\200\234But their chain of command  
will be different ... they will  
be answerable to their own  
general in Pretoria.â\200\235

Between 15 and 20 percent of  
the countryâ\200\231s 10 000 to 15 000  
detectives will fall under the  
command of the national  
agency.

The source said devolving  
power to the regions would  
have â\200\234a very positive effectâ\200\235 on  
the â\200\234crucialâ\200\235 concept of com-  
munity policing.

â\200\234For community policing to  
work, it is very important to  
have as much power as pos-  
sible at ground level.

â\200\234The provincial services will  
be answerable to provincial  
government. The whole empha-  
sis is for the national structure  
to become smaller.â\200\235

Â® Provision had also been  
made for the establishment of  
â\200\234metropolitanâ\200\235 police forces.  
But these would have to wait  
until the election of provincial  
governments.

Tribunal to if'.ule

today on

ANC charge against Nats

JOHN VILJOEN

Staff Reporter

THE National Party could not  
be held responsible for the ac-  
tions of â\200\234hooligansâ\200\235 claiming to

be its supporters, an Electoral.

Act tribunal has heard.

A ruling is expected today in  
a tribunal sitting in Wynberg  
Magistrateâ\200\231s Court concerning  
five allegations by the African  
National Congress that NP  
members broke the Electoral

Code of Conduct.

According to the charges, a woman said to be an NP member removed ANC placards in Delft on March 16. The following day in Bonteheuwel NP supporters are said to have offered two men payment if they took down ANC placards.

On March 18 in Manenberg, a group of NP supporters is alleged to have threatened ANC members and' prevented them from putting up posters.

On the following day, also in

Manenberg, a group of NP supporters is alleged to have torn down ANC placards and then threatened ANC members who tried to replace them. One of the NP supporters allegedly

drew a gun.

In Grassy Park on March 19, it is alleged NP supporters took down posters advertising an ANC meeting.

Fef le Roux, representing the NP, said the complaints arose from â\200\234five isolated incidentsâ\200\235 and were not part of an orchestrated campaign, as the ANC alleged. :

An affidavit from ANC provincial party agent Essa Moosa

detailing the charges was â\200\23490 .

percent inadmissible hearsayâ\200\235, said â\200\230Mr Le. Roux. :

Even if the tribunal accepted the evidence in Mr Moosaâ\200\231s statement, the ANC had still failed to make a case against the NP, he argued.

In terms of the Electoral Act, a political party could

only be blamed for violence or, intimidation by its supporters.

if it had not taken reasonable steps and precautions to prevent this, he said.

There was â\200\234overwhelmingâ\200\235 evidence that the NP had complied with this by distributing thousands of pamphlets on its policy â\200\230and by training members in branches, he said.

Electoral Act tribunals across the country would have to deal with many incidents such as these five charges. Tribunal chairman Ismail Jamie had a duty to provide the country with â\200\234proper guidelinesâ\200\235 for dealing with such complaints, he said.

It was unreasonable to expect responsible party members and executives to explain the actions, of what were â\200\234very often hooligansâ\200\235 who claimed

'to support the NP.

Electoral tribunals should not be saddled with petty matters or disputes which could be resolved by mediation, said Mr Le Roux.

Denzil Potgieter, for the ANC, said the incidents were related to an orchestrated series of actions by members or supporters of the NP.

â\200\230 Mr Jamie should call for oral evidence as he was not in a position to decide on the issue on the strength of documents before the tribunal.

He denied that Mr Moosaâ\200\231s affidavit was hearsay.

Mr Jamie said he would make a ruling today.

Roadshows:  
Concern

over safety  
of children

KROONSTAD. â\200\224 International observers have expressed concern for the lives and safety of children during political party roadshows through townships.

This follows scenes in the Free State this week when hundreds of children, some as young as three and four,

dodged vehicles as they  
gath@red pamphlets and  
badges tossed by party can-  
vassers.

Journalists and monitors re-  
ported narrowly missing  
children as they criss-  
crossed in front of vehicles  
in the excitement of chasing  
a campaign vehicle.

National Party Cape leader

Dawie de Villiers yesterday .

agreed that caution was re-  
quired when party officials  
drove their vehicles through  
excited crowds. â\200\224 Sapa.

(News by J Rees, 141 Commissioner Street, Jo-  
hannesburg) .

blacks will still  
suffer economic  
legacy of apartheid

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Blacks will soon replace  
whites in the presidentâ\200\231s office and parliament.  
But in banks and â\200\230boardrooms throughout South  
Africa, white hands will still count the money.

The euphoria greeting the first all-race election  
on April 26-28 cannot mask the sobering economic  
legacy of apartheid:

@Â® About one-third of blacks are unemployed,  
compared with 3 percent of whites. Most black  
households earn less than R900 a month, and many  
lack electricity and plumbing, while white families  
earn from R4 200 to R10500 a month.

@ Although blacks make up 75 percent of the  
countryâ\200\231s 40 million people, they own just 15 per-  
cent of the land, control 2 percent of the capital  
and hold only 2,4 percent of managerial jobs in  
business. ;

\_ When their leaders assume power after the elec-  
tion, South Africaâ\200\231s black citizens expect the new  
government to make significant changes in their  
lives. They may react violently if they do not see  
improvement soon.

â\200\234Weâ\200\231ll be in charge politically and that must be reflected economically,â\200\235 said Aziz Pahad, deputy director of international affairs for the African National Congress. â\200\234Unless we change the struc-

ture of ownership and control, we cannot have stability.â\200\235 .

The ANC, likely to lead the says blacks must work together toward their economic goals. Its proposed strategies include redistributing land â\200\224 owned by the government or bought from whites â\200\224 to give blacks collateral and a personal stake in a stable future.

Officials also talk of creating a loan fund to bol-

ster existing black businesses and help others get started; encouraging whites to hire and promote blacks; directing government contracts toward black-owned businesses and white-owned firms with records of hiring blacks:.

But the ANC avoids the term â\200\234affirmative actionâ\200\235 and its leaders will not discuss quotas for fear of alienating white South Africans who, with unemployment rising, already grumble about black claims to jobs.

Without quotas, however, it may be difficult to quickly undo the employment disparities that put the civil service in the hands of whites. The ruling National Party, which instituted apartheid after coming to power in 1948, raised the living standards of a white minority â\200\224 Afrikaners â\200\224 by reserving most jobs for them.

â\200\234We've learned how effective affirmative action â\200\224 based on colour, language, ethnicity â\200\224 can be,

\_and now were going to practise it,â\200\235 said Nthato

Motlana, an ANC activist.

Dr Motlana heads a group of black doctors, lawyers and teachers who pooled funds in January to buy 73 percent of the Sowetan, one of the largest newspapers. Whites had owned the paper, although most of its readers are black.

â\200\234There has to be redistribution of land, of resources, of wealth in this country if weâ\200\231re going to have a stable future,â\200\235 Dr Motlana said. â\200\234Real power is economic power.â\200\235

One man who learned that is Sam Rapetswa, who owns an motor parts business in Temba, a black township north of Pretoria.

Mr Rapetswa, frustrated by working for whites for low pay, decided in 1982 to start his own business. 153

Because banks told him they would consider a loan only if he found a white partner, he used his savings of R1500 to get started. That wasnâ\200\231t enough to buy much stock, so in the early days, Mr





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political developments.

PRETORIA. â\200\224 Final negotiations between the ANC, Freedom Front and government negotiators on an Afrikaner â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\235 accord are expected to be held on Saturday, a facilitator said yesterday. Negotiations and signing of the accord had been delayed because of

Speculation . was that the accord was to have been signed today but

the facilitator said some negotiators were busy with arrangements for todayâ\200\231s summit between the government, ANC and Zulu leaders. Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen had indicated that the accord, setting out conditions and the process under which a volkstaat could be established, would have to be signed before the Apr\_11 elections, so paving the way for his

facilitator said. â\200\231

cation.

After the accord had been signed by the negotiators it would be sn\_xb- A mitted to their principals for ratifi-

The Afrikaner Volksfront has re- | jected suggestions that it would be |

,â\200\230 the conference.

Summit holds volkstaat

artyâ\200\231s participation at the polls.  
: The meeting, â\200\234probably on Saturdayâ\200\235, would be to finalise proposed amendments to the draft accord, the

party to the signing of the accord.

Representatives from 97 of the AVFâ\200\231s 180 citizensâ\200\231 councils met in Pretoria to discuss future strategy.

The councils would safeguard  
Â«yolkstaat territoryâ\200\235 from fglling  
prey to violence and insurrection as | D  
| had happened to the black home- | citizensâ\200\231 council measures would  
lands, Afrikaner Volksfront interim | amount to a unilateral declaration



president Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told. | of independence for the volkstaat

They would provide inhabit

24 an

tow'ns, cme.s and districts with ltlss(t)g  
of instructions on how to protect  
thgmselves, and protect strategic  
po\_l(rllts such as dams and bridges, he

\_ said. 4

Dr Hartzenberg denied the AVFâ\200\231s

| â\200\224 Sapa

Stone at FW:  
ANC not liable

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224  
The Independent Elec-  
toral Commission yester-  
day found ANC support-  
ers guilty of throwing the  
stone that struck Presi-  
dent FW de Klerk at a  
meeting in Postmasburg  
in the northern Cape on  
February 23.

However, presiding of-  
ficer Mr H Vally said the  
ANC could not be held  
liable as the final draft  
of the Electoral Act ex-  
cluded - the actions of  
party supporters.

The action was dis-  
missed. â\200\224 Sapa

Manie of ANC  
hit by brick

Staff Reporter  
LOCAL ANC leader Mr  
Salie Manie was struck  
on the chest by a half-  
brick when supporters  
of opposing political  
parties tried to disrupt  
an ANC meeting in Re-  
treat last night.

He said the brick had  
caught him in the middle  
of the chest, which was  
â\200\234very bruised and soreâ\200\235.

Mr Manie hoped the

election would not polarise the community so badly that the process of nation-building would be destroyed.

Sacked miners's meeting blasted

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. ' Nine people were injured, two seriously, when a petrol bomb was thrown into Impala Platinum's information centre on Wednesday.

The bomb was thrown

' into a room where some

of the 2134 retrenched workers from the mine's closed No 11 shaft were being briefed on their retrenchment packages. The mine said the perpetrators had been identified and were being sought by police. x

Action against  
NPKF officers

BLOEMFONTEIN. ' The chief of staff of the National Peacekeeping Force and two other officers have been suspended for contravening the corps's code of conduct.

A statement by the NPKF yesterday said Colonel Duma Mdu-tyana, until the disciplinary action its chief of staff, was ' deseconded' from April 5 after the force's commander, General Gabriel Ramushwana, was informed a court case was pending against him. g

The other two officers relieved of their duties are Lt-Col George Sibanyoni, now former officer

commanding Battalion 1, and media liaison officer Capt Johan Loots.

Both Col Mdu-tyana and Col Sibanyoni had joined the force from the ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto weSizwe.

The statement said Col Mdu-tyana was facing a charge of drunken driving in an NPKF vehicle following an incident on

March 20.

Col Sibanyoni, who was also dismissed on April 5, faces a possible charge of culpable homicide following a motor accident in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on the weekend of March 11-13. One person died in the accident.

Col Sibanyoni was apparently driving a force vehicle at the time. ;

According to the statement, Capt Loots of the SAP was dis-

missed when it was established |

he had issued a press release in the name of force public relations officer Maj William Bisho

- without his permission.

He also falsely claimed to have the permission of the NPKF GOC (general officer commanding) to organise a press 'open day' at De Brug on March 23 during the process of evaluation.

As a result, media coverage had been unsympathetic. 'Sapa

MK soldiers  
gather for  
new SA army

PRETORIA. 'About 400 uMkhonto weSizwe soldiers have reported in Walmansthal in the Transvaal as part of the initial phase of creating an integrated National Defence Force.

The troops formed an advance party responsible

for preparing the camp for the arrival, beginning |

next week, of 8 000 MK soldiers, the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council said yesterday.

The 8 000 troops, together with 2 500 to be assembled at Bourke's Luck and 1500 at Hoedspruit, will

undergo evaluation tests and six months of training ]

Poster

before being integrated into the new force.

Council co-chairman Mr Siphile Nyanda said about 16 000 MK soldiers were likely to be incorporated into the new force. About 200 senior officers from the SADF, MK and TBVC defence forces had been planning and budgeting for the establishment of the National Defence Force for more than a year.

@ The CP would ask its supporters to use all legal means not to be â\200\234serviceableâ\200\235 to the new NDF, CP deputy-leader Mr Willie Snyman said yesterday. â\200\224 Own Correspondent, Sapa

oster war  
a headache

Natal toll rises  
as armoured  
troops arrive

DURBAN. â\200\224 A further 23 killings have been reported in Natal townships and rural settlements, pushing the toll to at least 124 in the first week since a state of emergency was declared in the province.

Sporadic incidents of violence occurred in Kwa-Zulu/Natal as SADF Citizen Force members with Ratel armoured vehicles were being deployed at strategic points in Northern Natal and along the

coast yesterday.

Two people were stoned to death at Esikhaweni, near Empangeni, and two others were shot dead at Ntuzuma, near Durban. Another man was shot dead at Lindelani.

\_An average of 17 people a day have died violently since last Thursdayâ\200\231s emergency declaration, according to confirmed reports.

@ Police reported four unidentified bodies had been found on the East Rand this week. All four men had been shot.

@Â® More than 300 employees at East Rand Proprietary Mines in Boksburg are not reporting for work following political antagonism between IFP and

ANC supporters. â\200\224 Sapa

V\{ELC(?ME . . . Austrian President Thomas Klestil welcomes SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at Vienna's Hofburg Palace yesterday. Mr Botha later told the International Atomic Energy Agency that South Africa had dismantled all its nuclear devices.

Picture: AP

to parties

THE poster war in the  
hotly contested Western  
Cape election campaign  
is costing political parties a fortune.

NP spokesman Mr  
Hennie Smit said yesterday that the NP was  
â\200\234sick and tiredâ\200\235 of having  
its posters removed  
and damaged and was offering a R1000 reward  
for information leading  
to the conviction of culprits.

An ANC organiser said  
the destruction of ANC  
posters formed part of a  
â\200\234systematic co-ordinated campaignâ\200\235. ANC  
supporters had been instructed to execute â\200\234citizensâ\200\231 arrestsâ\200\235 of vandals.

The DP said its posters  
were being taken down  
â\200\234as fast as we can put  
them upâ\200\235.

ANC attacks  
â\200\230skollieâ\200\231 Nats

THE ANC in the Western  
Cape yesterday issued  
half-a-million leaflets

Enough

NP â\200\230threatenedâ\200\231  
ANC supporters

Staff Reporter

THERE was â\200\234an orchestrated attemptâ\200\235 by the NP  
and its supporters to remove ANC election material  
and to threaten ANC supporters, ANC representative Mr Essa Moosa said in an application brought  
before an electoral tribunal yesterday.

The tribunal is looking into the conduct of NP

supporters who allegedly threatened ANC members with guns and knives and hired young children to remove ANC posters. S

The ANC allege that, in addition to other incidents, on March 19 in Manenberg, ANC supporters were threatened with a firearm when encircled by a crowd of about 150 NP supporters.

The ANC allege that such behaviour would have required organisation and â\200\234cast serious doubtâ\200\235 on

Fâ\200\224the NPâ\200\231s assertion that it had taken steps to instil political tolerance in its members.

The NP argued for the dismissal of the complaint as politicians could not be held Iâ\200\234?"S'poâ\200\231nsfl%ll(;nâ\200\230 fi-â\201g â\200\234hooliganâ\200\235 supporters, given the â\200\234overw S evidenceâ\200\235 of NP pamphlets and election m

â\200\230tical tolerance. Al thâ\200\231allâ\200\230tï-â\202%\g)aclaÃ©ï-â\201gi?;l;g%ar [ Jamie will make his find-

attacking the NPâ\200\231s pre-miership candidate, Mr Hernus Kriel, and his â\200\234skollieâ\200\235 candidates.

The leaflet, in Afrikaans, says the alleged â\200\234skollieâ\200\235 candidates, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and Mr Mali Hoza, were leaders of â\200\230â\200\234Witdoekâ\200\235 conspirators who destroyed 30 000 houses in Cape Town.

DP protests at PAC â\200\230violenceâ\200\231

THE Democratic Party will lay a complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission against the PAC following calls by its Western Cape premiership candidate Ms Patricia de Lille to chase DP election

ships.

DP Western Cape

workers out of the town- |

leader Mr Hennie Bester Â\$

\

said the call â\200\234incites vio- :  
lence and intoleranceâ\200\235.  
â\200\224 Political Staff, Sapa

ing today.

AN1

Kriel hits out at Cape Times

responded:

make a messâ\200\231

Staff Reporter

DEPUTY Foreign Af-  
| fairs Minister Mr Lam-  
pie Fick told a Bellv'ille  
1 South meeting last night  
1 the ANC â\200\234will makï-\201a a  
| mess of this country .  
Addressing a growd of  
4 apout 350, he said Presi-  
dent FW de Klerk had  
" kept his promises.

In townships where  
the ANC had control, he  
had seen â\200\230â\200\230rows of  
houses burnt down".

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent  
THE STRAND. â\200\224 The National  
Partyâ\200\231s premier candidate in the  
Western Cape, Mr Hernus Kriel,  
said last night he was tired of  
being â\200\234a gentleman with the Cape  
Timesâ\200\235.

e slammed the newspaper for  
â\200\234cIr{iticising you just when they  
want to but when they want some-  
thing itâ\200\231s â\200\230Please give us some in-

39

formationâ\200\231.  
The minister told a public

meeting in the civic centre here  
that the Cape Times should in  
future go to its â\200\234allyâ\200\235, the Demo-  
cratic Party, for information.

Â«See where you get with this  
bunch of people. You will get no-  
where â\200\224 the National Party is  
going to govern the Western  
Cape,â\200\235 he said to extended ap-  
plause from the 150-strong audi-  
ence. '

When an excited NP supporter  
called for the Cape Times report-  
er covering the meeting to be  
thrown out of the ha

â\200\234No, let him stay. Heâ\200\231s not so  
bad ... just a little misguided.â\200\235

The original attack on the Cape  
Times was apparently prompted  
by an editorial in the newspaper  
yesterday on the implications of a  
recent opinion poll showing a  
surge of support for the Demo-  
cratic Party in the Western Cape.

Mr Kriel said that if the NP was  
supposed to have stolen the DPâ\200\231s  
policies, why was the DP fighting  
the NP in the Western Cape in-  
stead of the ANC.

11, Mr Kriel

e â\200\224



\_pniens o

([Y\r) f/,,{,â\200\231ï¬\201\;) )? v â\200\2317[ â\200\231 7/7/

RECENT events in Bophuthatswana had all the ingredients of the African nightmare ... rioting, looting, bloodlust, freebooting white irregulars, undisciplined black troops â\200\224 In a word, chaos.

The background was entirely different, but the images that flashed around the world of wounded Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging men being mercilessly gunned down in the dust of Mmabatho immediately recalled the

THIN blue line and

a thicker khaki line

are what make orderly po-

litical transition a more

likely scenario in South

Africa than chaotic uhuru.

Zimbabwe is a better anal-

ogy than Angola or Mozambique.

In Angola and Mozambique the Portuguese troops â\200\224 and the police structures â\200\224 withdrew almost overnight (as in the earlier Belgian Congo), leaving a power vacuum.

Looting and disorder took over, then civil war. Portuguese civilians fled with what they could carry.

â\200\230In Zimbabwe, Ian Smithâ\200\231s

| police and army stayed in

place. The transition was or-

| derly and the army later inte-

grated with guerrilla forces.

| Most of the white civilian

population stayed on, many today enjoying a lifestyle barely distinguishable from

before. i

South Africa is in the grip of social and political upheaval far beyond what happened in Zimbabwe, in spite of the scale and ferocity of the bush war. But South Africa also has in place a large and efficient police force and, to back it up, the most effective military machine south of the Sahara. b

Citizen Force and commando reserves have been called up for later this month to keep the lid on disorder. More can be called up if necessary. They will be used to patrol and protect city centres and

| suburbs as well as the town-

HE security forces face

four phases of potential disorder in the election process.

One is the run-up during which groups with low political tolerance try to intimidate one another, as well as other parties whose tradition of tolerance is perceived as weakness. This has already begun, the process already marked by events such as the Johannesburg massacre, the intensification of communal violence in Natal/KwaZulu and on the East Rand and a\200\224 on a decidedly lower key a\200\224 the breaking up of NP and DP meetings. A

Next is the polling period when intimidation is likely to intensify (especially if the IFP stays out of the election and the very act of voting be-

- comes a public political state-

ment). Confusion and panic

stations, where most voters have absolutely no experience of the process. Attempts to interfere with the polling process are possible, while tensions could be created by people marching in large groups to cast their vote, out of a sense of insecurity.

A period of over-exuberance could threaten public order immediately after the re-

sults are made known â\200\224  
disorderly and provocative  
victory parades. It would be  
exacerbated if the ANC

HE big let-down of the

political transition so far  
has been the National Peace-  
keeping Force, formed in  
terms of the Kempton Park  
negotiations and intended to  
become an elite public order  
policing unit ;on the French  
model, with a role to play in  
the election process.

Critics maintain that it  
mustered far too late to be  
trained in time and its num-  
bers are too few to be effec-  
tive. Its early reputation for  
grqnl(\_eness, â\200\234desertion and  
indiscipline is @ matter of re-  
cord.

Dr Jakkie Cilliers, director

of the Instituge for Defence

are possible â\200\230at the polling

1960s image that captured the horror of the  
Belgian Congo â\200\224 and also went around the  
world â\200\224 a Belgian crouched beside his car

ship flashpoints. The military  
back-up has been severely  
stretched by commitments in  
Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, the  
Ciskei and Natal/KwaZulu, as  
well as on the East Rand, but  
the authorities are neverthe-  
less determined to keep a  
firm grip.

The police have put togeth-  
er a comprehensive plan for  
the period leading up to elec-  
tions, the days of polling and  
the post-election phase. Mea-  
sures include â\200\234maximum visi-  
bility in all areas by means of  
intensive patrols in all resi-  
dential areas and on routes to  
polling stationsâ\200\235. Spotting  
will be done from the air and  
fixed observaticn posts, while  
there will be maximum use of  
video cameras.

â\200\234By the day of the election  
our forces will be at a peak,â\200\235  
says Major-General Gert Op-  
perman, a former infantry  
commander who is now direc-  
tor of communications at De-

fence Headquarters. â\200\234We will be in a position to contain any situation that might arise.â\200\235

He says the frequency of incidents needing security force attention is expected to pick up as the election date approaches. The troops will stay in place after the election, to help the police. If conditions warrant, the call-up could be extended:

â\200\234We will still be in place in the post-election phase, to provide the security we regard as essential for transition to a new dispensation and democracy.â\200\235

General Opperman emphasises that, in consultation

should register the kind of runaway victory that could encourage some of its supporters to press for a scrapping of the power-sharing mechanisms of the Interim Constitution.

Elements of the disadvantaged classes might have totally unrealistic expectations and might stream into the suburbs to claim their houses, swimming pools and cars. And the losers could seek to give forceful expression to their rejection of the outcome.

Finally, a phase of disillusioned anger is almost certain, and this could occur after the military reservists have been demobilised.

Chris de Kock and Charl Schutte, of the Human Sciences Research Council, examine this question in depth in an empirical study of the question of violence over the elections.

They note that posters promoting voter literacy pose the question: â\200\234Why vote?â\200\235 then answer: â\200\234Education, housing, jobs and peace.â\200\235 They ask if the compilers are ignorant of the theory of rising expectations or whether they want to pass on a subtle message stimulating such expectations. 3

â\200\234Whatever their reasons,  
there can be little doubt they  
are doing an elected transi-  
tional government a great

Policy, describes the NPF as  
â\200\234a symbolic force of less than  
5 000 men and womenâ\200\235.

â\200\234Gone are the heady days  
at Kempton Park when the Â«  
ANC and the SADF agreed  
that the NPF would be pri-  
marily responsible for law  
and order in the run-up to and  
during elections.

â\200\234At best the NPF could be  
deplo%râ\200\230ed in a few select ar-  
eas. This is an experiment  
that must succeed. The prece-  
dent that could be set y the  
failure of the NPF for the in-  
tegration of military forces  
that is to follow after the  
elections is a dangerous one.

â\200\234Therefore if sound minds

which had been shot up by \_United Nations  
troops, killing his wife and his mother.

The Belgian family were entirely innocent,

whereas the AWB men were not. But What

the images have in common is horror, Pathos

and the fact that the slaughter was inflicted  
by supposed upholders of law and order.  
That is one of the costs of political chaos.  
The Congo (now Zaire) has ever since  
been a benchmark of chaotic political  
transition in Africa. Countries can be  
measured against its excesses. Kenya, for

instance, would score very low on the Congo

with the police, military units  
will patrol urban and subur-  
ban areas, as needed, as well  
as rural areas and townships.  
No part of the country will  
lack a security force pres-  
ence.

â\200\234I suggest communities  
who feel anxious about their  
security should get in touch  
with their regional police  
commands so adequate ar-  
rangements can be made. Our  
operation will be very much

hearth and home â\200\224 protec-  
tion of the ordinary civilian.â\200\235

He is bemused by specula-  
tion that the military call-up  
later this month will be poor-  
ly answered.

â\200\234We have no evidence at all  
to suggest this. The call-up  
hasnâ\200\231t happened yet, so how  
do people make these claims?  
We have every confidence the  
call-up will be answered, as it  
always was before. It doesnâ\200\231t  
make sense for people to re-  
fuse when itâ\200\231s law and order  
and their own security that is  
at stake.â\200\235

After the elections the  
SADF will continue to be a  
stabilising force, says Gener-  
al Opperman. :

â\200\234We are not a colonial pow-  
er about to return home. We  
will integrate with other  
forces over a period but we  
wonâ\200\231t lose our efficiency. We  
will be an effective fighting  
force.

â\200\234Internally we act as a  
back-up to the police but, in  
the end, the SADF is the only  
force with the numbers and  
resources to stand firm  
\_against chaos and-anarchy.â\200\235

Dangerous phases which  
' could spell disorder

disservice. Expectations of  
immediate gratification in  
terms of housing, education,  
work and peace are being  
aroused in the largest seg-  
ment of the South African  
population.â\200\235

They say no transitional  
government could meet such  
expectations in a short peri-  
od, which will cause high lev-  
els of frustration and aggres-  
sion to be exploited by  
enemies of the transitional  
government.

â\200\234One should also not lose  
sight of the faet that the  
black population in particu-  
lar, after a decade of ungo-  
vernability and not paying for  
services and alternative  
structures, will not recognise  
the authority of a transitional  
government that does not â\200\230de-

liver the goodsâ\200\231 overnight.â\200\235

In their survey, De Kock and Schutte found that 67 of respondents believed their standard of living would rise during transitional government, seven believed it would stay the same and five believed it would fall.

â\200\234The dynamics of violence before, during and after the

election indicate that the like- |

lihood of violence will be greater than ever in the year or 18 months after the election.â\200\235 i :

The thin blue line and the

slightly thicker khaki line |

could find themselves busy for some time.

â\200\230Eliteâ\200\231 peace force not up to handling the hot spots

prevail the NPF will be deployed in fairly large numbers in small areas which are not too hot or where the existing security forces have to some degree managed to stabilise the unrest situation.â\200\235

He sees the most important potential contribution of the NPF being a freeing of three SADF battalions for deployment elsewhere, plus being a model for future integration of military forces.

â\200\234Beyond that I can see little remaining value'in the NPF as a force capable of contributing in any substantial manner to our ability to

deal with social unrest.â\200\235

down the road when an Indian continge

tion patrol

The blue and the khaki stand between orderly transition and chaos

Scale, Angola and Mozambique rather high.

And what about ourselves as we go into elections that legitimately can be compared with the uhuru process? Do the Johannesburg massacre and the continuing



depravity in Natal/KwaZulu not automatically  
group us with Angola and Mozambique on  
the Congo Scale of Hopelessness?

Or do the authorities have a realistic  
strategy to contain disorder and shepherd in  
a reasonably secure future? Argus  
Correspondent GRAHAM LINSOTT weighs  
it up.

FLASHBACK TO THE CONGO IN 1963: A Belgian worker pleads for mercy. He had been driving  
nt of the United Nations forces opened fire on his car,  
killing his wife.

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ngCape Times

FRIDAY, APRIL 8 1994

Poll delay is  
not an option

HE question whether the election should be

postponed has to be answered in the  
negative, not because conditions are ideal  
throughout the country for going to the polls, but  
because the consequences of delay at this point  
are likely to be worse than the consequences of  
going ahead.

It is important to note that the acute  
problems of violence are for the most part  
concentrated in areas in Natal/KwaZulu and in  
parts of the Witwatersrand where tensions  
between hostel-dwellers, mostly migrant Zulus,  
and township-dwellers are still running high.

. Elsewhere, in the greater part of the country,  
orderly polling is certainly possible.

The logistical and organisational problems  
of postponing the elections are of course  
horrendous but it would be necessary to accept  
such a burden if a clear benefit was to be gained.  
There is no such benefit in evidence.

Nobody imagines that the Natal violence  
would stop on the turn if there was an

announcement that the election was to be postponed, either nationally or only in Natal. On balance, it seems clear that any postponement would merely prolong the agony of Natal.

In its national interest, South Africa cannot allow the current political hiatus and economic stagnation to continue for very much longer. The sooner we have a government of national unity in place the better, so that the country can start settling down and attracting essential foreign investment, beginning the process of reconstruction and development which is the only ultimate guarantee of peace.

Wild talk

ATRICIA de Lille, the PAC's candidate for the Western Cape premiership, hardly contributes to the cause of peaceful elections, to which she pays lip service, with her call to PAC supporters to chase away canvassers for the National Party and the Democratic Party.

Intimidation - Skl Nenglstay

Opinion

THE tragedy of Natal and the Zulus, which has claimed thousands of lives of men, women and children in the last decade, will not be easily or quickly resolved because it has been a long time in the making.

As preparations for today's peace talks began at a secret venue, armoured units of the SADF were moving into the Zulu kingdom, just as their mounted ancestors in the Imperial and Natal colonial forces rode into Zululand more than 100 years ago.

Aggrandizement

~ This time the circumstances are very different. The Zulu war in the last century was an un-

Hopes of peace  
as armoured  
cars roll in

necessary war of colo-

nial aggrandisement,  
leading to the capture  
and banishment of the  
Zulu monarch and the  
subjugation of his  
people. Now the troops

\_ Political  
Survey  
By GERALD SHAW

are going in to keep the

peace between the Zu-

lus themselves. For it :

is Zulus who are killing Zulus.  
This is happening, in some mea-

sure, because a shameless appeal is

being made to Zulu ethnic pride and

~ militarism, inciting the traditional-

ists in Zulu society against their fel-  
low Zulus, including the young and  
sophisticated, who favour moderni-

\_sation and are keen to vote in this

monthâ\200\231s election.

It is easy to over-simplify a conflict  
which is rooted in complex social  
and economic history. But the effort  
to explain what is going on in simple  
terms must be made, because the  
level of disinformation both at home  
and abroad at present is threatening  
to stampede people in panic.

The posh Sunday newspapers in  
Britain are the worst offenders in  
misleading people, both in their ten-  
dentious reporting and in their shal-  
low, ill-informed comment which  
suggests that Zulus are dying be-  
cause of disagreements over federal  
powers and other constitutional is-  
sues. This is at best a half-truth.

Who did not feel a pang for the  
thousands of young tribesmen and  
migrant labourers who were  
psyched up into demonstrating in  
central Johannesburg recently, be-  
coming cannon fodder for snipers  
bent on stirring up violence and de-  
laying the elections?

And who, by the same token, did  
not feel a pang for the brave young

policemen, hopelessly outnumbered,

who battled to keep the peace in the streets?

The hapless Zulus, brandishing their sticks, spears and knobkieries, had been persuaded that the honour and dignity of their King was at stake. Sadly, it is easy to manipulate people politically by playing on their ethnic pride and loyalty, as the history of Afrikaner nationalism amply shows.

The Zulu heritage a proud history of military glory and, in its wake, humiliation at the hands of a mighty colonial power, provides an explosive mixture.

Buthelezi

What is the role of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had the misfortune to be drawn into the total strategy of the Botha security establishment, becoming compromised by the clandestine SADF strategists who sought to divide the Zulus against themselves in the interests of maintaining white supremacy?

Zulu was set against Zulu, Inkatha was secretly funded from the taxpayers' coffers and guns were run into Natal and the migrant hostels on the Reef. The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance was not slow in responding. The bloody slaughter has continued almost without respite for a decade.

The story is well documented enough for those who really want to

" Inkatha and the other ha

Know what happened. The result is a

country people which is split down the middle, with one half favouring In-

) the ANC and a province which can barely be kept in order by a state of emergency.

Chief Buthelezi, who seems to have accepted that Inkatha, if it stands, will fare badly at the polls at the national and provincial levels alike, appears to be abandoning Inkatha as a power base and placing his hopes on revival of the traditional Zulu kingdom, in alliance with the

\_ Afrikaner right wing, in which he  
would figure as the King's principal  
\_councillor without benefit of elec-  
toral process.

~ King Goodwill himself is claiming  
the restoration of the early 19th Cen-

- tury boundaries of Zululand!
- Yet there is certainly scope for
- compromise between reasonable

men, on lines suggested on this page,  
for example, by Heribert Adam, who  
believes that a referendum of Zulus  
over secession and even a re-draw-  
ing of provincial boundaries should  
be considered if it would be helpful  
to do so.

Certainly, it would be a tragic mis-  
take to disregard the reality of  
wounded Zulu pride and self-re-  
spect, even if these factors are being  
cynically exploited for political  
ends. By the same token, the deep  
emotional need of some traditional-  
ist Afrikaners for ethnic security in  
a Volkstaat of some sort is likewise a  
political reality which will be disre-  
garded at our peril.

Whether our statesmen can begin  
at their meeting today to make some  
headway remains to be seen. If we  
discount the sinister forces in the  
shadows, an accord embracing both  
Zulus and Volkstaters is not impos-  
sible. Let us hope and pray for  
peace.

