

# Catch 22

## Mandela and Buthelezi must meet – but can't

**OSCAR DHLOMO** sees no hope of containing the conflict that is tearing Natal apart unless someone (perhaps our most meddlesome priest?) can achieve the seemingly impossible — bring together the two people who might be able to reconcile the ANC and the IFP.

**T**he assassination of the African National Congress's Reggie Hadebe earlier this week has exacerbated an already explosive situation in Natal where Inkatha and ANC leaders and supporters are engaged in a violent struggle for political supremacy. This tragic event might signal a new phase in this senseless violent struggle.

Firstly, the wave of killings and assassinations might now focus on senior leaders of the ANC and IFP, thus precipitating what might end up as a bloody civil war in the region. But since senior leaders of these two organisations are themselves far more protected from violence than their followers and supporters who are dying for them, we might perhaps see a spate of ferocious revenge killings whose victims will once again be defenceless people on the ground.

Secondly, the much touted meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi is no longer possible in the near future. Senior Natal ANC leaders from the three major regions have already ruled out this meeting. Therefore if Mr Mandela seeks their advice on this matter, as he is likely to do, the advice will discourage any such meeting.

Mr Mandela himself did indicate at the recent Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth that two such meetings in the past had achieved anything. Unfortunately,

Mr Mandela did not go on to ponder the reason why. Both the ANC and IFP know that their previous meetings did not achieve anything simply because they did not implement the accords they signed then.

For a start, the two organisations agreed that their leaders would address joint peace rallies in all areas where there was violence and appeal to their followers to practise political tolerance. How many such meetings have Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi held?

Then the ANC-IFP Accord also urged the leaders and followers of the two organisations to banish war talk and political vilification in dealing with each other. War talk and vilification have in fact intensified to such an extent that even the United Nations Security Council was recently given a startling demonstration of how good our political organisations are in vilifying each other and how poor they are in promoting peace, tolerance and reconciliation. Under such circumstances, obviously no

ANC-IFP peace meeting — either now or in the future — would achieve anything if both organisations are apparently determined that such meetings should not achieve anything.

Thirdly, the entire National Peace Accord initiative which, unfortunately has never really worked, is in danger of collapsing. Reggie Hadebe's untimely death was rendered even more tragic by the fact that he died on his way from a peace mission.

Obviously, if so-called local peace meetings are to become death traps for political leaders, how many organisations will still continue to send their leaders to these death traps? I recall that the Complaints Adjudication Board established by Inkatha and Cosatu about three years ago collapsed, inter alia, because witnesses who were prepared to give evidence on incidents of violence between the two organisations were followed up and killed by those who felt incriminated by the evidence. Similarly, if peace making among our political organisations is turning into a hazardous occupation, then violence will win the day.

What is the way forward? I honestly do not see any way forward which does not start with reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP. Neither do I see any effective and genuine reconciliation between the two organisations which does not start with a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting. I note that the ANC is suspicious about such meetings which, it alleges, are manipulated for media purposes to give Chief Buthelezi publicity and credibility. I must admit that I find this line of reasoning absolutely callous and insensitive, considering the number of ANC and IFP people who die every day. Besides, I do not see how Chief Buthelezi's credibility, or lack of it, after nearly 40 years in public life, is affected one way

or the other by a four-to-five-hour meeting with Mr Mandela to talk about peace among their people. Neither do I see how Mr Mandela's political stature is diminished by such a meeting.

I also note that the ANC believes a mere meeting between the two leaders cannot stop the violence. I do not think that is in dispute. Nobody in his sober senses would believe otherwise. Yet there is no doubt that such a meeting would send a positive signal to IFP and ANC followers and the meeting could in fact even go further and

review why previous meetings have not achieved peace. Any black South African who does not see anything strange and un-African in the fact that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, who both speak to President de Klerk and other white leaders, are themselves not on speaking terms would indeed be hypocritical. I would personally expect that whenever there was a violent incident affecting their people, the two leaders would be free to communicate, even by telephone, and exchange condolences and ideas on what could be done about that violent incident.

I have an abiding faith in the ability of the church to bring about reconciliation. Can't someone like Archbishop Tutu, without any press fanfare whatsoever, arrange a highly secret retreat for both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi without any of their lieutenants? At such a retreat, lasting for at least three days, the two leaders would be left alone to engage in a wide ranging discussion covering the areas where they feel they don't agree.

Such a meeting would also remove the ANC's aforementioned reservations about a public meeting and would also enable both leaders to be more open with each other in the absence of their lieutenants and followers. If needs be, a more inclusive meeting could then follow later.

Finally, one hopes that President De Klerk, in particular, and the other leaders in general, will not be deterred from moving forward briskly and restarting negotiations leading to the installation of an interim government of national unity and reconciliation. The violence we are experiencing should not be accepted as a stumbling block to further and faster negotiations, but rather as an expression of a sense of urgency in this regard. In this sense I agree entirely with the United States Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, that the last thing we need to do at this difficult time is to throw our hands up and proclaim that there will be no negotiations and no elections because of the violence. If we did that we would be playing into the hands of the forces of violence and darkness, and allowing anarchy to triumph over law and order.



16/1/11

## Reggie Hadebe was militant and fearless

By SIBU MNGADI

"THE great valley of the Umzimkulu is still in darkness, but the light will come there ... But when that dawn will come, of an emancipation, from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear, why, that is a secret."

This passage from Alan Paton's book *Cry the Beloved Country* echoed in Shakes Cele's ears on Tuesday as he helplessly watched his dying comrade, Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe.

The killers opened fire from both sides of a hairpin bend while the ANC leader's car was ascending the Umkhomazi valley – a 30-minute drive from Umzimkulu.

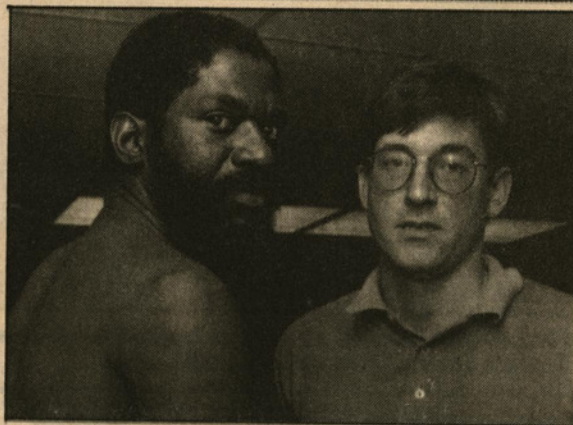
The driver, Natal Midlands deputy secretary and lawyer John Jeffreys, who was lucky to escape unhurt, is convinced Hadebe was the target.



Hadebe, the hardline ANC leader, remains an enigma.

Inkatha leaders, members and supporters loathed him as a warlord, whose wartalk shocked even the most hardened Inkatha warlords.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi once described him as psychotic and capable of



**GUNNED DOWN . . . Reggie Hadebe, left. Shakes Cele, above left, and lawyer John Jeffrey escaped death.**

assassination. For this, Inkatha impis knocked him unconscious in 1980, minutes after being capped for a bachelor's degree by Buthelezi, chancellor of the University of Zululand.

To the ANC, Hadebe was no ordinary deputy chairman. "He was both an intellectual and a theoretician. A dedicated and fearless freedom fighter,"

said Natal Midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala.

Beneath Hadebe's militancy, which reduced fiery Gwala to a nun, was a God-fearing Catholic, he told City Press recently.

In September this year, he refused to apologise for presiding over a mock trial which, the National Peace Committee found, had sentenced Buthelezi

and other IFP leaders to death.

He knew he was on a hitlist but he, like other Natal Midlands ANC officials, was "careless and negligent", according to Cele.

On Tuesday afternoon, Hadebe, Cele and Jeffreys had no security escort and were unarmed when their car was pumped with bullets by unknown gunmen.

"In spite of several assassination attempts – the most recent being three months ago – Reggie believed whatever the resources the ANC had should be put to better use, to create permanent peace instead of building war-machines around the ANC leadership," Cele said.

Natal is now abuzz with fears that next on the hitlist are southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe and northern Natal ANC chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu.



Sunday Tribune 01-11-92

# Messages for peace

**W**hat is the answer to the violence? Already youths in the townships are asking: Can the problems be solved only by violence? This week some prominent churchmen and political observers gave their views.

**Acting chairman of the Natal Church Leaders Group, Bishop NORMAN HUDSON, has:**

- Urged local churchmen to become more focused at grassroots level in peacemaking efforts — and to become more active in Local Dispute Resolution Committees, and in building the credibility of LDRCs. Bishop Hudson said grassroots initiatives had proved successful in a number of areas, and pointed by way of example to “the Mpumalanga experience, where two local people’s involvement brought peace”.

- Urged local clergy to maintain “a presence” in strife-torn areas, to make themselves available for funerals for all victims of violence, and to minister to all victims of violence.

- Called upon all Christians to pray “as never before” for God’s guidance — and for the courage to become involved in helping strife-torn communities. He also suggested

**Brian King**

prayer vigils take place at grassroots level.

**Dean JOHN FORBES, Vicar General for the Anglican Church in Natal, says:**

- An interim government has to come as soon as possible.

- It is important that political leaders got around a table as soon as possible.

- He was encouraged during the last week at reconciliation moves at Wembezi (Estcourt) and Ezingonyameni (near Umlazi) between warring factions.

- Churches are praying daily for an intervention of God’s grace in the situation.

- All Christians should pray daily for an intervention of God in the Natal situation.

**Bishop STANLEY MOGOBA, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and vice-chairman of the National Peace Committee, says:**

- Politicians must stop using violence as an electioneering means, because there may not even be an election if the violence continues.

- National political leaders and the members of the National Peace Committee will have to make the first move — they must be held accountable for situations in which people are dying. The country is in crisis and people are looking for signs of hope.

- An integrated peace-keeping force — comprising the SADF, SAP, MK and security/military wings of the self-governing territories, the PAC and AZAPO needs to be established under an international command. “Without such a peace-keeping force, we’re really just playing.”

- A meeting between the Dr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and President De Klerk has to come off — or we face doomsday.

**Dr ANTHONY MINNAAR, chief researcher at the Centre For Conflict Analysis at the Human Sciences Research Council, says:**

- Political leaders need to show more commitment to stopping the violence. The practicalities of the National Peace Accord have to be

enforced by the signatories. Parties have to say: Our supporters won’t attack you or retaliate. We won’t vilify you in the press.”

- Guidelines for political competition need to be established — something like the guidelines which have been drawn up for peaceful protest. For example, you don’t walk around armed, you don’t intimidate others, you don’t stone taxis and place barricades across roads when you’re having a demonstration, you don’t burn down houses, and so on.

- A national witness protection programme is needed.

- The structural hangovers of apartheid, like the homelands and the multiplicity of security forces, must be addressed.

- The land rights allocation issue — a significant aspect of the “warlord” phenomenon — must be resolved.

- Both the IFP and ANC need to reimpose control over the “loose guns” among their respective ranks.

- There needs to be a programme educating people about democracy.

- There is an urgent need for a political settlement. Political parties have to accept the existence of their rivals. Some regional government structure may have to be accepted to accommodate IFP fears.



16/1/11

# No secret deal — ANC

C/ PRESS 1/11/92

## State claims amnesty was for the ANC

THE ANC effectively denied yesterday that it had made a secret deal with the government on amnesty.

The organisation was reacting to a report quoting NP official Johan Steyns as saying it had backed the Further Indemnity Bill by calling for the suspension of a murder trial against ANC members on the grounds that indemnity legislation was underway.

"This is an unscrupulous distortion of the court record and the Record of Understanding," said ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa.

"We want to reiterate our position that only an interim government can grant amnesty and this we made clear to the judge in the matter referred to," Phosa said.

The Further Indemnity Bill was rammed through on Friday by the President's Council after its passage was blocked in parliament a few weeks ago.

The NP outvoted the united opposition of the other parties by 38 votes to 14 endorsing the Council's Constitutional Affairs Committee recommendation that the State President sign the legislation.

### Condemned

The recommendation also proposed the early amendment of the Act in terms of amendments put to the Parliamentary Joint Committee and amendments of its own aimed at reducing secrecy surrounding the granting of indemnity.

It makes provision for the indemnification of persons who committed crimes with a political motive before October 8 1990; the creation of an Indemnity Council whose members are to be appointed under the State President; functioning under chairmanship of a judge; and advising the State President on applications made for indemnity.

It also provides for the privileged hearing of evidence presented by an applicant, confidentiality of the proceedings.



16/1/11

**ANC threatened with  
100 000-strong force**

MUSA Myeni, above, threatened to send in 100 000 armed men to attack the ANC if it didn't stop its "political violence." Myeni, like Themba Khoza, is a member of the IFP's central committee, and had to apologise for unilaterally forging a local non-aggression pact with the AWB.

Myeni, articulate, and often charming, has had a fall-out with Themba Khoza as both men struggle for supremacy in the Transvaal.

Anderson says it was Myeni who went to meet Renamo's president Afonso Dhlakama in Nairobi last year.



# ANC heavyweights in bid for Natal peace

AN explosive situation has arisen in southern Natal as the ANC and Inkatha battle for control of turf.

**ROY RUDDEN and CHARLENE SMITH** report

we can run into serious difficulties."

While political leaders are battling to bring peace and get talks resumed, violence is eating into communities along the Natal coast.

At least 8 000 people have been killed in the province during the last eight years. With a current rate of 100 deaths a month, large areas of the province are involved in what National Peace Accord committee chairman John Hall describes as a low-intensity civil war.

Mr Hall, who was this week engaged in shuttle diplomacy — involving meetings with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and President FW

de Klerk — aimed at removing obstacles to peace, believes a major factor in the ending of violence lies in bringing together Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Both were convinced a meeting of the signatories of the Peace Accord, including themselves, was vital. But they were equally adamant that an ANC/IFP summit would be pointless until a way was found of removing the obstacles to such a meeting. These consisted largely of charges and counter-charges between the two organisations.

Meanwhile, Mr Dominic Mitchell who, as a member of the secretariat of the regional dispute resolution's committee in Natal is as close as any to the conflict, said: "The Peace Accord in this region is more unsteady than ever since it was drawn up in September 1991. We are facing serious challenges.

"There is a hardening of political attitudes. Previously, a hardline atti-

tude prevailed at grassroots level. But it is now appearing in the leadership as well. The latest outbreak of violence is symptomatic of this hardening of attitudes.

"We are at a watershed. We will know if there is going to be a full civil war or not within weeks."

Hopes of an accord were dealt two devastating blows this week. The first was the killing of seven ANC-connected people at Folweni, south of Durban, last Friday. Then came the mass slaughter of 20 people in the Inkatha-aligned Mpumshini Reserve near Umbumbulu, also on the South Coast.

While the province was still reeling from these disclosures, news broke of the assassination on Tuesday of Mr Reggie Hadebe, the ANC's Natal Midlands deputy chairman who was enormously popular with his followers but regarded as a major thorn in the flesh of the IFP.

Sporadic incidents of killing have occurred since then, and this has led to the massive security crackdown announced on Thursday by President de Klerk after meetings of the Cabinet and the State Security Council.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett claimed the Transkei Defence Force was training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres "at the South African taxpayers' expense" and trafficking illegal arms to be used in hit-squad missions against IFP leaders and activists in Natal.

"The unrelenting killing of IFP leaders and supporters in military-style killings is directly linked to the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the proliferation of arms caches. The government appears reluctant to address the issue."

The ANC, not surprisingly, claims it is the victim of the attacks.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said the violence against ANC members was accompanied by a tense psychological

warfare unleashed by the IFP, the National Party and the security forces. The "hullabaloo" against the so-called MK infiltration into Natal from Transkei was part of this psychological warfare.

It was clear from reports by monitors of violence, including the Human Rights Commission, that the ANC was on the receiving end of the violence, he said. In August, 70 ANC members were killed, with 74 slain in September and October.

"The violence in Natal has become a national crisis," Mr Makhaye said. "Unless every peace-loving South African stands up against this violence, it will engulf the whole country."

The police view was best expressed by SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo, who said: "The IFP and the ANC have accused each other of being responsible for the violence. As far as the police are concerned, both parties are involved."

● See Page 25

11/11/91



16/1/11

# Secret ANC plan backs deal to share power with Nats

*Sunday Times 1/11/92*

By NORMAN WEST and CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC is considering a power-sharing deal with the National Party after the next general election.

The suggestion is contained in a draft policy document which was circulated in secrecy among delegates at the Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

The ANC plan also suggests that it would be prepared to cut private deals with the National Party on critical issues such as regional powers and the future of the white-dominated civil and security services.

Although the plan is likely to encounter fierce resistance from other political groups who might feel left

out, it is being offered by the ANC as a way to break out of the present political deadlock.

ANC sources revealed that the document had been drawn up at an ANC lekgotla (meeting) on October 14 and 15.

It will be discussed with other ANC allies and sent to ANC regions next week.

The document is important because it sets out formally an ANC proposal that the National Party and the ANC share power even after the interim government phase.

"Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players," says the document.

The document also notes: "Some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of multilateral (Codesa-type) agreements. Other elements of the settlement package would take the form of bilateral agreements between the ANC

and the NP — such agreements would bind the two parties."

The document identifies two main areas which could be subject to bilateral agreements: the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa and, secondly, the future of the security services and the civil service — elements which the document suggests could be severely destabilising after a non-racial government is installed.

"It may therefore become imperative to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

The basis for the new thinking was set at a late-night meeting on October 9 in Cape Town between government negotiators and ANC members. The next week the ANC lekgotla endorsed SACP leader Joe Slovo's document on negotiations which envisages power sharing.



*Sunday Telegraph*



## WORLD WATCH

### Marching Zulus defy arms ban

THOUSANDS of Zulus marched through Durban with clubs, spears and sticks yesterday in defiance of a ban on the public display of weapons, after the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Buthelezi, had called for a meeting with Nelson Mandela, ANC president, to discuss the recent violence.

Chief Buthelezi told the crowd: "The violence comes from AK-47s, not traditional weapons." — AFP

*1/11/92*

*London*

### ANC searches for the key to power

● The African National Congress (ANC) likes to boast of being ready to take over governing South Africa. But is it? A Scandinavian journalist recently went to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters to complain that the organisation was inefficient, failed to keep appointments and never answered phones. A senior official assured him that was no longer the case. The two shook hands and made their way to the door, only to find they had been locked in. "Don't panic," said the embarrassed official, "I'll just phone someone to come and let us out." When he picked up the phone, it wasn't working. The two were finally rescued by a cleaner.

*The Sunday Times*



Mail on Sunday  
1/11/92 - London

**MR NELSON** Mandela certainly seems to have married off his daughter Zinzi in some style.

First of all there was a wedding at Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church and then another, more traditional, African ceremony in Soweto.

There were also two receptions. One in a leading Johannesburg hotel and a second at Mr Mandela's home in the formerly exclusive white suburb of Lower Houghton.

### **Guests**

The festivities lasted for 24 hours and were attended by more than 1,000 guests including, so it is reported, singers, entertainers and leading business and pro-

## **The big Nelson riddle**

fessional people of all races. Some of the guests are said to have been flown in and provided with cars at Mr Mandela's expense.

How much did it all cost? The bill is estimated at more than £400,000.

While I am all for a father doing the right thing for his daughter, where does someone like Mr Mandela get that sort of money? From a whip-round, do you suppose, among the poverty-stricken shanty-dwellers he is supposed to represent?



# Comrades killed boozy MK guerilla

SCA 2 4/11/92

## ■ MK execution:

Umkhonto we Sizwe executed one of its own members in Alexandra in the late 1980s as he was considered to be a boozy and boastful and security risk.

By DAVID BREIER  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

AN Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter supposedly killed by security forces in Alexandra in the late 1980s was in fact killed by his comrades who considered him a security risk.

The revelation was made recently in court by ANC National Executive Committee member Matthews Phosa who confirmed the incident to the Sunday Star this week.

He recalls only that the MK guerilla's code name was "Bruce".

Phosa said the ANC leadership in exile assumed he had been killed by security forces, but they later found he had been executed by his own comrades.

"He frequently went to shebeens and harassed people and told them he was a trained guerilla. His comrades felt he was a threat to their security and executed him."

Phosa first revealed the incident in public earlier this month when he gave evidence in the

Pretoria Supreme Court for the postponement of the murder and robbery trial of MK member Elias Mabena, who is charged with planting the Hallmark minibus bomb.

Phosa said MK members in those days received broad instructions without specific details. They were allowed to take "on-the-spot decisions" and then report to their commanders.

The court record was released in the President's Council which approved the Further Indemnity Bill after it was turned down by Parliament earlier.

The Nats released the record to show that the ANC in practice supported the Bill despite its public opposition to it.

## 'Dishonest'

For in evidence, Phosa also said: "We are in favour of the legislation which is going to ensure that people in respect of whom we have a brief get out of prison".

However Phosa told the Sunday Star the tactic in using his evidence was "dishonest and disingenuous" as "we could never argue in favour of sweeping government crimes under the carpet".

He said President Fw de Klerk's existing powers were sufficient to grant indemnities in terms of the Record of Understanding with the ANC.

16/1/11



## Who will break the shackles of intolerance?

WHICH, if any, of our political leaders wants peace at this particular time? Tragically, the evidence suggests none. So thousands of South Africans have become victims of violence and thousands more will probably die before the political war in Natal is over.

It is a sad indictment of the political leaders that their lack of tolerance for each other's viewpoints cascades downwards to their followers. In the townships, it is dangerous to disagree on politics. People are dying for causes because the culture of political intolerance is so deep-rooted that it predates apartheid.

Yet the seeds of tolerance must be sown. Without tolerance of differing viewpoints there will be little progress to a new political dispensation.

The government might be able to contain the violence, but it cannot end it.

Two men currently have it within their power to begin the process to do this. Politicians, academics, and peace facilitators will tell you that political considerations make it naive to expect Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet. Yet meet they must. There is no other way.

In the interests of all South Africans they need to signal the requirement that their followers must be more tolerant of each other. Only then will there begin to be a staunching of the flow of blood. The question is: which of them has the courage to take the first step?

## Talks on again this month, says Mandela

**Prakash Naidoo  
and Glenn McDougall**

TALKS between the government and the ANC are planned to resume this month, announced ANC president Nelson Mandela in Spain yesterday.

And Inkatha president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, after leading a march of about 20 000 Zulus through central Durban yesterday, said he would have to meet the ANC leader before the signatories of the Peace Accord could meet.

Dr Buthelezi said although he did not believe that a meeting between the two leaders would result in "magic" that would summarily end the violence, it might have the effect of reducing it.

In another move, the ANC said it planned to send its heavyweights Walter Sisulu, Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma and Thabo Mbeki to Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday in a bid to halt the warfare.

In Spain yesterday, Mr Mandela, co-winner of a peace prize with State President FW de Klerk, disclosed in a conciliatory tone that

negotiations would resume on November 22.

Mr Mandela said the talks would focus on establishing an interim national unity government aimed at easing the transition to multiracial democracy.

The march in Durban yesterday fell far short of the expected figure of 50 000, due to a problem with buses, according to IFP spokesman Ed Tillet.

Dr Buthelezi, surrounded by spear and stick-wielding "amabutho", addressed the crowd before a petition was handed over to a police officer.



Dear Chief Buthelezi.

Since my last letter to you a week ago — it has been confirmed.

- (a) That the Transkei is the base for Xhosa initiated attacks on the Zulu authority and that  
(b) The NP/ANC alliance to the exclusion of other parties is a plan well past the formulation stage.  
(c) It is also pertinent to note it is Inkatha — and not the old Madiba of the ANC which is being targeted.

All Zulus must be made aware of the fact that under the cover of attacking KwaZulu and Inkatha, the Xhosa-Jewish-Indian led ANC is aiming at the jugular vein of the Zulu nation.

(B)

## Secret ANC plan backs deal to share power with Nats

SUNDAY TIMES 1/11/92

By NORMAN WEST and CHARLENE SMITH

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The suggestion is contained in a draft policy document which was circulated in secrecy among delegates at the Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

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(a) CITIZEN Saturday 31 October 1992

## T'kei a springboard for MK, says SADF

Citizen Reporter

THE Transkei was being used as a springboard by Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army for acts of violence against the people of South Africa, the South African Defence Force said yesterday.

The SADF said it had

information about MK and Apla infiltrations from Transkei into South Africa and this information was being used to expose the perpetrators of violence.

A SADF statement followed denials by the ANC and Transkei's military rule, Major-General Bantu Holomisa of any MK activity in the home-

land, as well as their accusing the SA Government of being behind the violence in the region.

The SADF said Transkei was also being used as a channel to smuggle weapons into South Africa and that all these actions were being committed with at least the knowledge of the Transkeian Government.

## Then there were two

OF 32 Inkatha branch chairmen in the Natal Midlands in 1987, there were only two still alive in 1991; 80 percent of them were killed in violence. 1/11/92

Between the beginning of September and October 21, there were more than 30 attacks on Inkatha members — one in less than every two days. In total, 123 Inkatha officials have been killed in the Midlands alone since the mid-80s.

It is a mortality rate that makes the trenches of the First World War or the Battle of Britain safe in comparison.

SUNDAY 1 OCT 92

Regards A. CHARLIE.



Mr H.P. Juremicht  
Dr M.G. Buthelezi  
Mr A. Beyers  
Dr O.J. Looze  
Mr Lucas Mangope  
The Media

425 P01 01.11.92 12:46  
P.O. Box 186120  
Sancton 2141  
1 November 1992

Mandela announces S.A. Government capitulation to ANC  
Parties representing more than half of population  
of South Africa completely ignored

Parties Opposed to NP/ANC/SACP must convene a  
Summit Meeting without delay

J.A. Lambson  
Chairman  
University Freedom of Speech Association

SUNDAY STAR NOVEMBER 1 1992

## Talks on 22nd, says Mandela

Oviedo (Spain) — The African National Congress and the South African Government will resume negotiations on November 22 in an effort to end white minority rule, ANC President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela said the talks would focus on establishing an interim national unity government aimed at easing the transition to multi-racial democracy.

Political observers last night believed Mandela was referring to the "bosberaad" between the Government and the ANC which has been on the cards for weeks.

Bilateral talks between the two parties, which were suspended by the ANC after the Boipatong massacre in June, started again on September 26.

"We are now going to have a meeting between the delegations of the African National Congress and the Government to discuss a wide variety of topics we think it is urgent and important to resolve," Mandela told reporters in this northern Spanish city.

"And top amongst the issues that we'll discuss is the setting of a date for the installation of an interim government of national unity."

Mandela, whose ANC had questioned De Klerk's sincerity about putting whites and blacks on equal political footing, had few harsh words for De Klerk or the peace process yesterday.

"Mr de Klerk is the leader of the party that has created formidable difficulties as far as the majority of the people are concerned, but our idea at the ANC is to let bygones be bygones," Mandela said.

The two men are co-winners of the prestigious Prince of Asturias Prize for International Cooperation, which was to be presented later in the day to Mandela and South Africa's ambassador to Spain. De Klerk did not make the trip to Spain.

Mandela also condemned the Government's proposal to grant amnesty to people accused of politically motivated crimes, including police, soldiers, ANC members and others. — Sapa-AP



## Peta Thornycroft and Jacques Pauw

GUNS and military explosives have been smuggled into South Africa for the past year from Mozambique rebel movement Renamo to the Inkatha Freedom Party, claims a senior Inkatha politician.

However, Inkatha officials have denied the allegations by Johannesburg man Bruce Anderson that the smuggling operation was set up after Inkatha Central Committee member Musa Myeni met Renamo chieftain Afonso Dhlkama in Nairobi last year.

That meeting was set up by former Rhodesian Special Air Services and SADF Six Reconnaissance unit commander Garth Barrett, who also arranged the weapons pipeline with his Renamo contacts, claimed Mr Anderson, who was expelled from the country in July and is now living in England.

His claims came at the same time as a senior researcher at the Human Science Research Council, Dr Anthony Minaar, said Renamo was smuggling AK-47 rifles through Swaziland into Natal for Inkatha. A police spokesman in Natal has confirmed that special investigator Major Frank Dutton is probing allegations that Renamo fighters had infiltrated into Natal over the past four weeks with the aim of training Inkatha members and fighting alongside them against the ANC.

Mr Anderson claimed the weapons were stashed in an arms cache in Roo-depoort and handed out to hostel dwellers, many of whom are members of the Inkatha Freedom Party's military wing — men who were brought into the Transvaal from Natal two years ago.

He said weapons were obtained from the IFP's ally, Renamo, because local sources of weapons from the Department of Military Intelligence dried up last year.

Mr Anderson himself never participated in any military activity, nor did he transport any weapons, but alleged some senior IFP officials must have known, if not in detail, then in broad outline what was going on.

Mr Anderson claimed also that he had drawn up a plan for the destabilisation of the ANC after meeting with military intelligence officer Commandant PJ van den Berg in 1988.

The plan envisaged the mounting of "special operations" against the ANC/SACP alliance and the use of "revolutionary terror" against its supporters, with the ultimate objective of preventing the holding of a one-man one-vote election for between three and five years.

He claimed the train violence, some of which is allegedly carried out by hostel dwellers who are paid for their efforts, is

## Claims a 'pack of lies'

### — Mdalose

Dr Frank Mdalose, national chairman of the IFP "emphatically" denied Mr Anderson's allegations, describing them as "a pack of lies", and said the organisation had formally asked the Goldstone Commission to call Mr Anderson to give evidence before the Commission.



Bruce Anderson:  
Expelled in July

part of the psychological warfare. He also said "PJ" and others in military intelligence supplied the IFP with money.

A SADF spokesman also called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate Mr Anderson's statements, calling them "vague and devoid of any truth".

Garth Barrett was in America this week but his wife confirmed she had sent him a fax containing Mr Anderson's allegations. At the time of going to press no reply had been received from Mr Barrett.

Sun Tribune 1/11/92



that he organised Renamo AK47's

# of a gunrunner

plan read: "Through special operations expose the myth of the ANC/SACP alliance. Destroy the ANC/SACP alliance's credibility to control the township and protect both its members and supporters through special operations. Ensure that it is not possible for a one man-one vote election for between three to five years. We must redefine our overall strategy to ensure that the ANC/SACP alliance does not at some stage take power in South Africa." Anderson suggested in the plan that the ANC/SACP alliance would use all means, including its military, to disrupt Inkatha, "a pro-Western liberal democratic party". He said "revolutionary terror" should be used against the ANC.

## Train violence

Anderson says the train violence, some of which, he said, was carried out by hostel

dwellers who were paid for their efforts, was part of a psychological warfare plan.

INSIGHT has no proof of this plan, or parts of it, were accepted by Military Intelligence, although Anderson says in his affidavit to the Sunday Star that "PJ" told him some parts had been accepted and implemented.

Firearms have killed hundreds of people, both members of the IFP and the ANC, around Johannesburg in the past year. Many were shot with AK47s but there is no proof that any of Anderson's guns were used in these attacks.

In 1990, Anderson formally joined Inkatha. He continued meeting "PJ" both at his home and at restaurants where "PJ" would give him information about the ANC, and Anderson would bring his friend up to date about the IFP and its needs. He also says "PJ" and others in military intelligence supplied IFP members with money, and claims that at least one senior

official is paid a monthly salary of R3 000 from secret Government funds.

Anderson says in early 1991 when there was a shortage of weapons, he reactivated a friendship with Garth Barrett, former commanding officer of Six Reconnaissance and visited Barrett at his Northcliff home to ask for supplies — a journey repeated several times in the next year.

## Meeting

Barrett, with his contacts with Renamo, said he would be happy to oblige but suggested a meeting between IFP members and Renamo. Anderson says Renamo president Alfonso Dhlakama met Musa Myeni, members of the IFP central committee, in Nairobi last year.

And, according to Anderson, the weapons began arriving soon afterwards. Anderson

whose IFP role was mainly political, continued his involvement with the hostels and with IFP members in Hillbrow and central Johannesburg, sometimes giving "pep talks" before the men went out on military operations.

INSIGHT has confirmed independently of Bruce Anderson that he did indeed address IFP men in Johannesburg in the basement of Burton Court, a block of flats in Hillbrow. The men were to go on an attack later that night.

Anderson himself never participated in any military activity, nor did he transport any weapons, but, he says, some senior IFP members must have known, if not in detail then in broad outline, what was going on in the IFP's military efforts to repulse or attack ANC members. However he says "almost no white members of the IFP" knew anything about the IFP's military wing.





## INSIGHT

SHADOWY MAN: *Inkatha denies ex-member's claims*

# Confessions

**SPEAKING OUT:** Former Inkatha Freedom Party senior member Bruce Anderson, a man with a shadowy past, claims he was a gunrunner for the members of the organisation. He also claims that the SADF was involved. Both the IFP and the SADF have denied the allegations vigorously (see DENIAL1 and DENIAL2 on the right).

TWO Johannesburg men, Bruce Anderson, a senior Inkatha politician, and Garth Barrett, a long-time Renamo supporter, have been bringing in guns and military explosives for IFP members from Mozambique for the past year.

Anderson, expelled from the country in July, claims these guns were hidden in an arms cache somewhere in Roodepoort and handed out to hostel dwellers, many of whom are members of the IFP's military wing — men who were brought into the Transvaal from Natal two years ago. He says weapons were obtained from the IFP's ally, Renamo, because local sources of weapons from the Department of Military Intelligence dried up last year.

## Assistance

Anderson's claims were backed up this week by Dr Anthony Minnaar, chief researcher in the quasi-Government Human Sciences Research Council, who said Renamo rebels were supplying Inkatha with AK47s smuggled through Swaziland.

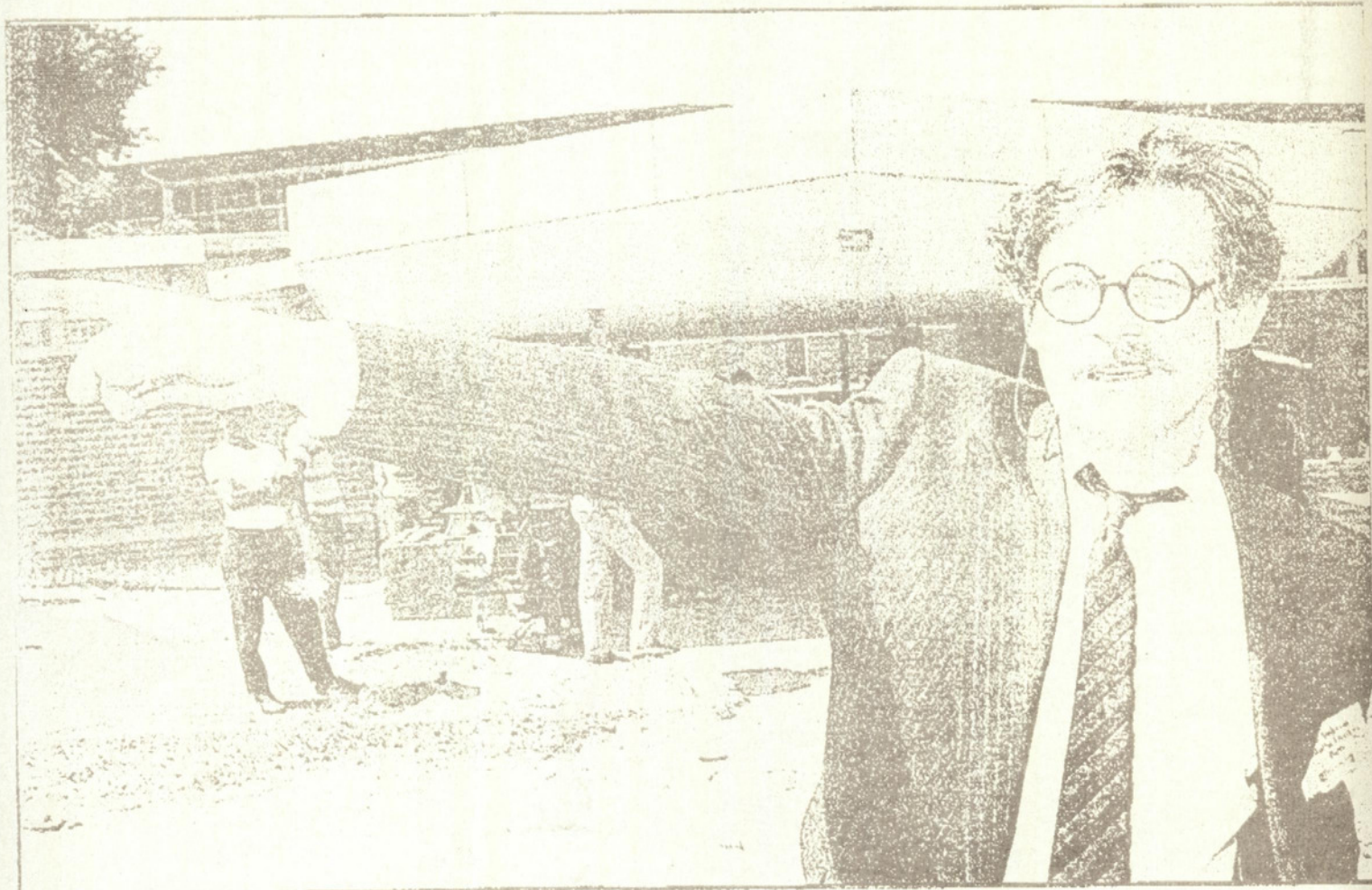
Anderson also says without covert assistance

from DMI and the SAP in Natal during the 1980s "Inkatha would have lost out".

Anderson said after the SAP raided the KwaMadala hostel in Alexandra township last year he made sure the men were re-armed, and claims 50 KwaZulu policemen were sent to shore up the hostel's defences. He said the KZP men returned to Natal a few days later.

In 1983, in anticipation of the unbanning of the ANC, Anderson drew up a plan for the destabilisation of the ANC after meeting military intelligence officer Commandant PJ van den Berg. The two men were to form a close relationship until Anderson was deported without official explanation in July. The SADF has denied that the men discussed the destabilisation plan.

The plan, Anderson claims, included the influence of the Soviet Union as a reason to destroy the ANC/SACP alliance. Part of the



**TAKING RISKS ...** Bruce Anderson on familiar territory, the troublesome hostel in Alexandra township — a hostel he was to re-arm a few days later.

PICTURE: DUIF DU TOIT.



## IFP seeks probe into allegation

### DENIAL 1

DR FRANK Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, replied to Bruce Anderson's allegations: "Inkatha Freedom Party emphatically denies that it has ever bought arms or acquired arms in the way in which Mr Anderson said it has, or in any other way whatsoever."

"IFP emphatically denies that it has any kind of army, and it denies that it is assisted as a political party by the KwaZulu Police."

"IFP emphatically denies that it was ever involved in the acquisition of arms, and it denies that its leadership had any knowledge of the events Mr Anderson refers to."



APPALLED ...  
Frank Mdlalose.

"The IFP is appalled that the Sunday Star intends printing a pack of lies simply because Bruce Anderson made assertions in an affidavit."

"The IFP has formally requested Mr Justice Goldstone to call Mr Anderson to give evidence to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation."

"Evidence from Mr Anderson under cross-examination, circumstances (sic) will reveal the truth and will clear the IFP's name."

"The IFP request to Mr Goldstone to call on Mr Anderson to give evidence to his commission, and our demand for open and public hearings in the matter, should convince all right thinking South Africans that the IFP has nothing to hide."

### DENIAL 2

## 'Vague, devoid of truth' — SADF

AN SADF spokesman has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate statements made by senior IFP official Bruce Anderson, but says his allegations are vague and devoid of truth.

The spokesman said that Commandant PJ van den Berg, the Military Intelligence officer alleged to have been involved in drawing up a plan to destabilise the ANC, has admitted, however, that he knows Anderson.

According to the SADF, Van den Berg met Anderson twice, once in his own office in 1988 and once at Anderson's home in early 1989. The SADF gave no particulars of the meetings, but said there was no discussion about plans to destabilise the ANC. As far as Garth Barrett is concerned, Van den Berg saw him only once in 1988 when he bought a bomb blanket from him.

The spokesman said Van den Berg has never had any contact with Inkatha or Thembu Khoza of the IFP. The commandant had never been involved in any gun smuggling.

The SADF could not react to what appeared to be gossip with no substantiating facts, the spokesman said.



## Exiled IFP man 'rats' to halt a civil war

BRUCE Anderson is a fanatically loyal member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the organisation he felt proud to represent at Codesa. His allegations damage both the IFP and two of his close associates, Garth Barrett and Commandant PJ van den Berg. He says he hopes his frankness will persuade ANC "moderates" to bring their "radicals and communists" into line to avoid "a major civil war." Exiled to his native Britain, Bruce Anderson hopes his revelations about the IFP's inner workings will help bring peace to the South Africa he yearns to return to. He's a man with shadows in his past, membership of the ultra-right wing National Front in Britain, brushes with the law in Britain and Zimbabwe, all of which was known to the IFP when they asked him to be one of their advisers at the multiparty negotiations. He says he drew up a document for Military Intelligence in 1988 in anticipation of the unbanning of the ANC, proposing political and military tactics against it in case it started "a campaign of violence" against black political opponents. Anderson is prepared give evidence to the Goldstone Commission on what he told INSIGHT, if he is allowed to return to South Africa.

### 'Simply stupid'

Speaking out after giving 16 years of his life to causes in Africa he believes were in pursuit of "liberal democracy", such as Renamo, the IFP, and anti-Robert Mugabe factions in Zimbabwe, he says it is "simply stupid" for the IFP to deny it has an armed wing in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Anderson is no hypocrite. His views are ingrained in the soul of his being. Because they believe, neither Anderson nor others in the IFP can be dismissed easily.

His devotion to African politics has gained him nothing financially; in fact it cost him dearly. Taking enormous risks for his beliefs, he neglected his job as an estate agent in Johannesburg, spending night after night out in the hostels giving pep talks.

In 1990 Anderson formally joined Inkatha and last year he became chairman of its Hillbrow branch and a high-profile committee member in Sandton. He went on to become one of the IFP's 20 Codesa representatives. This year, when fighting around Alexandra's M1 hostel was at its height as IFP supporters took over surrounding shacks, Anderson was in the front line, standing between the IFP members, their opponents and police. Pleasant to talk to, often amusing, there is a side of him which is deeply hurt that his friends in the IFP did nothing to help when he was deported from South Africa in July.

### Bloodied hands

He says whatever he has done for the IFP — and he is critical of some of its less-than-democratic procedures — has been in the name of anti-communism and of countering what he sees as the "radical thugs" in the ANC. His views are probably similar to many whites who believe the ANC are "communist terrorists" and that the IFP offers, in his words, "the best chance for the future". He says: "Our hands are full of blood, no doubt about it, but it is in response to the ANC campaign to destroy the IFP. If the ANC can bully De Klerk into a corner and make a deal with him and we have a unitary state, then there is civil war. "And then we are prepared for it. The ANC will lose it." And because of the war, Anderson has been prepared to rat on his friends, except that he sees it as bravery, not a betrayal.



# Natal facing 'Dark Age'

## ■ Battered outpost:

There are real fears Natal's black community may slide into a fearsome civil war. All leaders say the situation is critical.

By Own Correspondent

STRIFE-TORN Natal is teetering on a knife edge, and a miracle is needed to stop it plunging into anarchy.

From all quarters, it's clear Natal is facing the biggest crisis in its history: Maritzburg mayor Pat Cornell this week warned of a "New Dark Age" coming if the spiral of brutality and killing continued.

Chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu

Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (NKRDRC), MC Pretorius, says the peace accord in Natal has reached a "critical stage".

Ageing ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala says the atmosphere in Natal is so highly charged that "you could light a matchstick and everything would explode".

Responding to the situation, a powerful delegation of 15 ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) members, headed by deputy president Walter Sisulu, is to hold consultations with representatives of the ANC's regions in Natal this week.

The delegation includes heavyweights like Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma and Thabo Mbeki.

Many township youths are telling unrest monitors: "There's no way

out but to fight."

But many people in the street are heartily sick of the violence.

Peace Now, a national petition campaign which started in Natal this week to decry "the obvious lack of concern of politicians of all parties in resolving the many crises that afflict this country", predicts it will have 10 000 signatories by next weekend and reports that the overwhelming response is that everyone is fed up with the violence.

An Omnichek survey this week tends to confirm this.

Polls among black adult men indicated a marked slump in confidence in the three key leaders, President De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



# Killers track victims from meetings

By Political Correspondent

EVIDENCE is growing that peace meetings are being exploited by political killers as a way of tracking their enemies for assassination.

This horrific development threatens the ailing National Peace Accord as people attending dispute resolution committee meetings risk ambush on the way home.

This week two such ambushes of opposing political activists took place in Natal.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe was murdered in an ambush on his way home from a Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) meeting in Ixopo.

And leading IFP member David Ntombela was fired on while driving from a RCRC meeting in Durban.

This development means that political activists attending peace meetings have become easy targets as their movements and vehicles can be easily tracked.

And it means that the peace process itself has been cynically used

by killers as a convenient tactic.

Wits-Vaal RDRC vice chairman Rupert Lorimer said: "I hope that is not going to be a continuing pattern. There are serious implications if it is. There has been a degree of danger for some time for anybody who comes into the Peace Accord structures. This makes it worse."

Lorimer said there had to be a concerted drive from political leadership among their followers to stamp out the practice.

But despite the accusations flying, he did not believe the ambushes were sanctioned at high level.



## THE MEN WHO ANDERSON USED

### Dog of war 'turns from Renamo to aiding Inkatha'

GARTH BARRETT, who fanned the whirlwind which would destroy Mozambique, has now embarked on a war of a different kind. For the past year he has, according to his old friend and confidant Bruce Anderson, provided Inkatha with weapons and ammunition although he is not a member.

Barrett, the former Rhodesian commander of the Special Air Services and the SADF's 6 Reconnaissance Unit which led the raid on Matola in 1981, has allegedly secured weapons for Inkatha through Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama.

Barrett, remembered by one of his former troops as a ruthless but brilliant soldier, is regarded as a right-wing crusader who helped train the fledgling Renamo rebels shortly after they were formed in Rhodesia. Today, however, his links with the guerrillas are stronger than ever, says Anderson.

Barrett has long been accused by the Mozambicans of being actively involved in military aid to Renamo, and complained to the Department of Foreign Affairs earlier this year that as recently as September last year he was still ferrying arms to his friends in northern Mozambique via Malawi.

Still a wanted man in Mozambique, he now runs a company clearing away some of that country's worst war debris for a handsome fee. His company, Minerva, has been contracted by Escom to remove land mines buried by his friends in Renamo along the power line between Ressano Garcia and Maputo.

Barrett was once on Bruce Anderson's payroll when he was a representative of Zimbabwean exiled politician, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. He acted as an instructor of Sithole's armed wing, in Botswana and Mozambique and Anderson says he paid Barrett R5 000 per month for his services.

Anderson adds that because of his southern African military background, he used a Zimbabwean front company to tender to the United Nations in Kenya to lift landmines in Somalia. But he did not get the contract.

Barrett is in partnership with a former Armscor subsidiary who supplies the technology for the mine-lifting operations.

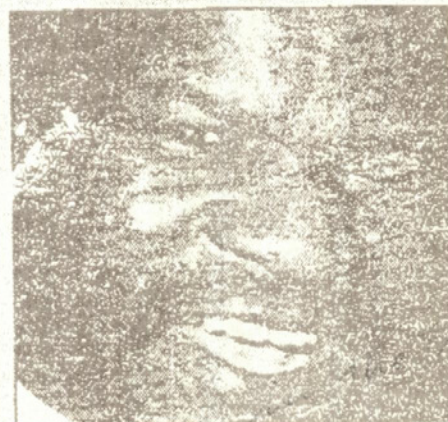
He is quite open about his past allegiances. "We fought each other. We killed a few in Matola (in Mozambique) and I served in the Rhodesian SAS and Special Forces. But so what, I worked for a government? Now we are into humanitarian work."

Garth Barrett was in America this week, but his wife confirmed she had sent him a fax containing Anderson's allegations.



### Volatile youth leader linked to Reef attacks

THEMBA KHOZA (33), above, is the IFP's volatile youth leader. He is quick to lose his temper, and as quick to burst into tears when talking about lives lost in South Africa's on-going low-level civil war. Bruce Anderson considers Themba Khoza a friend, and admires his bravery. While Themba Khoza commands huge loyalty, particularly in the hostels, his name has also appeared in several affidavits linking him to a number of attacks on the Reef. Last year he was acquitted of illegal possession of AK-47s found in his car.



### ANC threatened with 100 000-strong force

MUSA MYENI, above, threatened to send in 100 000 armed men to attack the ANC if it didn't stop its "political violence." Myeni, like Themba Khoza, is a member of the IFP's central committee, and had to apologise for unilaterally forging a local non-aggression pact with the AWB.

Myeni, articulate, and often charming, has had a fall-out with Themba Khoza as both men struggle for supremacy in the Transvaal.

Anderson says it was Myeni who went to meet Renamo's president Afonso Dhlakama in Nairobi last year.

### PJ leading light in 'dirty trick's dept' and spy ring

COMMANDANT PJ van den Berg is a familiar figure in the SADF's "dirty tricks" department. He was one of the leading members of the notorious Johannesburg spy ring that spied on and attacked leftwing activists.

In 1990 Van den Berg hid two spy ring operatives, Dick Greyling and Paul de Swardt, to prevent them from being questioned by police in connection with Dr David Webster's murder.

Hannes Gouws, a fellow spy ring member testified before the Hiemstra Commission that Greyling had told him that de Swardt assassinated David Webster.

Shortly afterwards two agents were picked up by "PJ" and sent into hiding at a desolate railway siding between Messina and Louis Trichardt in the northern Transvaal.

Van den Berg was a senior staff officer, Intelligence, at Wits Command until the end of 1989, when he was transferred to Army Headquarters. One of his commanders at Wits was present Chief of Military Intelligence, General Joffel van der Westhuizen.

Among the projects carried by the Johannesburg city spy ring was an attack on two actors appearing in an anti-war play and the disruption and teargassing of a concert by singer Jennifer Ferguson.

Other operations were the surveillance of ANC President Nelson Mandela's house, burning two vehicles owned by Albertina Sisulu, a petrol bomb and hand grenade attack on a house and garage in Soweto, the petrol bombing of a house in Orange Grove and a handgrenade attack on two businesses.

Bruce Anderson claims he became involved with Van den Berg in 1988 when "PJ" asked him to prepare a document on countering the ANC. By that time, Anderson says, Van den Berg and Barrett already knew each other.

Anderson claimed that over the past few years, he has had regular contact with Van den Berg and used to meet in restaurants in Johannesburg and Halfway House to discuss politics and exchange information.

He said he last met "PJ" in early 1991 in a restaurant in Melville. Anderson said "PJ" arranged a monthly salary for a senior IFP official when the party ran short of money.

He added that without that cash, the official would have had no option but to return to Natal.



# AGENT: HOW IFP GOT ITS AK-47s

A SENIOR Inkatha official claimed yesterday that arms and ammunition were channelled from the Mozambican rebels, Renamo, to Inkatha by SADF Military Intelligence.

Bruce Anderson, deported from South Africa in July amid rumours of arms smuggling, said in an affidavit that he had arranged a supply of arms for Inkatha last year after being approached by

## SUNDAY TIMES REPORTERS

Inkatha Freedom Party foreign affairs head, Musa Myeni.

Mr Myeni had told him that weapons and ammunition were desperately short and supplies from normal sources were drying up.

Mr Anderson's remarkable claims, certain to have wide political repercussions, have been flatly denied by the IFP and the SA Defence Force.

"We needed to counter attacks by the ANC," said Mr Anderson yesterday. "The IFP needed to retaliate with AK-47s and other military hardware."

He claimed he had met Renamo's representative in South Africa, Lieutenant-Colonel Garth Barrett, a former commanding officer of the Rhodesian SAS.

A meeting was arranged between Mr Myeni and Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama last May or June in Nairobi to facilitate the delivery of the weapons, which were "collected and distributed by the SADF's Directorate of Military Intelligence" according to Mr Anderson.

## Probe

His claims will now be the subject of an investigation by the Goldstone Commission which announced this week that it was to set up a special probe into the flow of AK-47s into the country.

Mr Anderson made his startling admission from his new home in Britain "because I want to warn the ANC that the forces they seek to destroy are in a position to, at the final resort, wage a successful civil war against them".

He claimed that before joining the IFP, he had drawn up for Military Intelligence a programme to counter the ANC in the event of violence after the organisation was unbanned. He said he presented the document to his contact in Military Intelligence.

Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at the allegations saying Mr Anderson was "A fraud, cheat and a liar" who had "five passports and a long criminal record".



## Then there were two

OF 32 Inkatha branch chairmen in the Natal Midlands in 1987, there were only two still alive in 1991; 80 percent of them were killed in violence.

Between the beginning of September and October 21, there were more than 30 attacks on Inkatha members — one in less than every two days. In total, 123 Inkatha officials have been killed in the Midlands alone since the mid-80s.

It is a mortality rate that makes the trenches of the First World War or the Battle of Britain safe in comparison.





# Warlords, like jackals, fight over a carcass

**I**N THE killing fields of Natal almost as many people have been dying as in Bosnia, and there is precious little that the lame-duck government of President de Klerk can do to stop the bloodletting.

The ferocity of the conflict has been obscured by the fog of the accompanying propaganda battle, a nauseating affair in which both sides try — often through white mercenaries — to fix the blame on each other.

This week's assassination of Reggie Hadebe, the ANC's second-in-command in Natal, was a turning-point. It somehow carried that dirty little war beyond the ability of mere propaganda to conceal its true nature: it is a struggle for power between factions of the black community.

White South Africa stands on the sidelines, impotently wringing its hands, or serves black masters as gun-runners, or moneybags, or professional liars. The white community, still viewed as a ruling class, is too weak to make peace and too broken in confidence to put responsibility where it belongs — on the warring parties.

President de Klerk's government, making a show of governing, has doubled the number of troops in Natal. They will have no greater effect on the struggle than the long-suffering British Army has on the warfare of Protestant and Catholic in Ulster, or the United Nations on the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia.

Gone forever are the days when the viceroy of the great white queen across the sea could send a district commissioner with a handful of sepoy, or askaris, to clear up a bit of trouble in the bush. Gone are the days when Clive of India could tie rebellious subjects in front of his cannon and blow them to smithereens.

The process of change in South Africa, as in India in 1947, is entirely, irretrievably out of hand.

That's not necessarily a bad thing, for India or for us. The Natal war only makes explicit what most South Africans, in the backs of their anxious minds, already know: the struggle (if it may revert to the quaint terminology of yesteryear) has altogether bypassed the System.

Apartheid died more or less bloodlessly. The future, thanks to demography and economic growth over the past half-century, has passed into the hands of the majority. The minority is ... well, a minority.

The only important political question that remains is whether the majority will organise itself as a democracy or whether, like a pack of jackals, it will simply rip the carcass of the apartheid state to pieces. Like Yugoslavia, black South Africa has come to a hinge of history; like Bosnia, it falls victim to the worst of human nature.

Political attitudes, as usual, lag behind reality. Abroad, the anti-apartheid movement, given a whiff of a chance, works itself into a comical fury over the rugby tour. Tut, tut. We whites can't play rugby any better than we govern, and for the same reasons: there are not very many of us, and we have wallowed too long in self-indulgence.

If the rugby tours were called off, what would it matter? We rank behind Australia, New Zealand, France and probably the English, but ahead of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Yet if we thumped the entire world, what would it prove? That the aged Danie Craven is still a national hero? Frankly, I don't give a damn.

At home the PAC, nicely positioned on the crazy wing of the ANC, is said to be planning a campaign of terror against synagogues and churches. I am not alone in perceiving a new, rather nasty, tide of anti-white racism in the country. Alan Paton's worst fear — that when "we" turned to loving, "they" would have turned to hating — begins to look prescient.

**I**T'S nasty, but it's also ludicrous. Much as the PAC likes to blame everything from drought to Halley's Comet on apartheid, the real threat to black aspirations lies not with the dwindling white population but with the power-hungry leaders who feed the war in Natal, and feed off it.

The essential difference between South Africa and Yugoslavia is that, thanks to a community of more-or-less apolitical

and benign managers, South Africa still functions. The telephones work, the water is drinkable and comes, very often, by pipes; hospital interns labour 100 hours a week to stitch up AK-47 wounds, and white missionary ladies, aglow with virtue, hand out AIDS pamphlets.

The war swirls around the farms and villages, but the irrelevant whites are remarkably untouched, except by common gangsters. In the serious business of carving up the future, whites may sometimes be helpful, sometimes a hindrance, but usually they don't really matter. Everybody senses that the civil war is serious business; the Struggle against the System is a game, a posture, a charade for ageing anti-apartheid groupies.

**N**OBODY, neither white nor black, thinks that white rule can be repaired, or that white racism will again dictate the course of South African life. But everybody wonders which faction, which system, which black ruler, will seize the sceptre that threatens to drop from the weakening hands of the whites.

History is not defied but confirmed: the shape of the future South Africa will be determined absolutely by the manner of its birth. War throws up its own tyrants and revolutions consume their children; democracies are born of negotiations and peaceful transition. Unless Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and Mr Slovo and the other warrior leaders can bring this conflict to an end, it will consume their dreams, their hopes, and them.

On the other hand, if the new South Africa is created by negotiation among the many tribes and factions of this land, the result may well be the world's newest and most modern democracy, with the rule of law, and freedom even for marketeers, and an independent central bank, and a rugby team as multi-coloured as Joseph's coat that will strike terror into the heart of France.

All it needs is for black men to make peace with each other.

**KEN OWEN**



# Lingering fear and sudden death

IT has become so commonplace as to be often beyond comment: the corpse slumped in a burnt-out home, sprawled along a railway line, stumbled upon in the grass of the dry veld. These are the victims of the political violence which has brought some parts of SA to the brink of all-out civil war. They number over 12 000 — a legion of dead, testimony to the slide towards chaos.

In southern Natal the slaughter is sometimes greater than in Yugoslavia

as the ANC and Inkatha battle for territory. In the Ciskei and Border region the incidents of violence have soared since the shooting of ANC marchers by Ciskei government troops on September 7. On the Reef the murder of train commuters continues — and the police confess they are powerless to prevent it.

Here are the stories of only two ordinary people swept along on this tide of madness...

## Bullets and blood at ritual

By RYAN  
CRESSWELL

LAST Saturday night, the Sabelo kraal on the side of a hill at Mpushini, south of Durban, was preparing for a happy event.

A young sangoma, Nakeni Abigail Sabelo, 19, was the central figure in the celebrations. On this night she would become a woman in a traditional Zulu coming-of-age ritual, and her sangoma colleagues would be feted by her proud father, Mr Mbonwana Sabelo.

Throughout the afternoon, family, friends and sangomas gathered at the kraal, a cluster of four homesteads overlooking the nearly dry Izim-

bokodwe River, a 20-minute drive from Durban.

Two oxen had already been slaughtered and prepared for the big occasion.

The joyful ritual got underway, with Nakeni wearing the stomach-fat of a cow and dancing with a ceremonial spear presented by an uncle. But there was uneasiness among some of the guests.

The previous night, seven ANC youths had been killed a short distance away, across the main road to Umbumbulu in Folweni. The killers wore balaclavas but residents in the area believe they were Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

Death is no stranger in this corner of the Natal killing fields. In the burgeoning poli-

tical war between the IFP and the ANC, massacres have become almost commonplace.

At the Sabelo kraal last weekend, guests knew the situation was tense, but the ritual went ahead. Stress cannot be allowed to influence daily life in the troubled settlements south of Durban. If it did, life would come to a full stop because the threat of sudden death is constant.

At about 10pm, the Sabelo guests were dancing and singing while some of Nakeni's young friends gathered in a hut to receive meat from her father.

A small boy playing near the party noticed figures with guns crouching in the long

grass — but before he could shout a warning, the first shots rang out, choking the sounds of celebration.

Then the screaming began.

By the time the shouting and shooting had stopped about 30 minutes later, Nakeni Sabelo's mother, a sister and three brothers lay dead, along with 15 of their guests.

"We were dancing, and then somebody came to give me a message that my father wanted me to come and get some meat. I called some friends and we went into a hut," said the still shaken young woman this week.

"While my father was giving out the meat I heard gunshots and screams.

"People had come to share my special occasion and were killed or wounded."

When the shooting started, Mr Sabelo shouted to the young people to lie down on the floor. They lay there for nearly half an hour as bullets bounced off the walls, smashed through windows and the door.



# Scene is set for violent showdown on Transkei border

**A** bloody spectre of shootouts between South African, Transkeian and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers is looming on the Natal/Transkei border.

This follows claims by Minister of Defence Gene Louw that the SADF had "irrefutable proof" of MK guerrillas being trained by the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) for attacks on Inkatha Freedom Party supporters. And with the announcement this week that

## Graham Spence

the SADF would patrol the border — coupled with fiery denunciations of "interference" by Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa — the scene is set for a violent showdown.

Claims of MK and Transkei Defence Force complicity in attacks on the IFP have been denied as "blatant lies"

by the ANC. Statistics show that apart from the high-profile murder of ANC Midlands leader Reggie Hadebe, almost all those killed in the past three months have been living in IFP areas.

But the bottom line is that Natal is teetering on the precipice of a possibly manipulated civil war. Killings on both sides are simply too professional for mere civilian revenge attacks.

This is the IFP side of the story. KwaZulu Minister of Health Ben Ngu-

bane:

"Our information is that highly mobile, highly efficient MK members, dressed in military-style uniforms, are based in from the Transkei. They move quickly, digging up hidden arms caches, killing community leaders and whoever else is in the way, then they bury their guns again and flee back across the border. Whenever arrests have been made those convicted have almost all claimed to be ANC mem-

bers. Also the SADF has evidence that MK is being trained by the TDF — and at South African taxpayers' expense."

This is the ANC side: spokesman Carl Niehaus could not be contacted at the weekend, but in an earlier statement said claims that MK were using the Transkei as a springboard were a "pack of lies". He said it was obvious the slayings had been done by people who did not want to see peace.

The ANC believed it could be the work of a Third Force that knew the movements of peace workers.

And General Holomisa, who works closely with the ANC, warned that any action by South Africa against Transkei nationals would be severely dealt with. "If they do that to our nationals, we will do it to theirs. Let it be recorded: Fire with fire."

But perhaps one of the most puzzling aspects of the alleged Transkei connection are claims of a former SADF spy, Pte Emmanuel Nkosinathi Mkhulisi, who infiltrated alleged anti-IFP insurgent camps on the Natal/Transkei border. One was at a TDF base at Saint Paul where he claimed MK cadres were being trained, and the other an ANC base in Lusikisiki — visited regularly, he claimed, by MK commander Chris Hani.

Pte Mkhulisi gained the confidence of the ANC to such an extent that he was allowed to take photographs of their marches. He would hand over one set and the negatives to the ANC, and another to his handlers in the SADF.

He was exposed last month and severely beaten up by TDF soldiers, before being released with instructions to spy on the SADF. His "abduction" created a furious war of words between the Transkei and South African governments.

However, SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said he was unaware of photographs of ANC camps in the Transkei taken by Pte Mkhulisi.

This has sparked off angry IFP reaction, with demands that the SADF release all their evidence. "If they had done so in time, many of the recent massacres would not have happened," said spokesman Ed Tillet.

But whoever is to blame, Dr Ngu-bane — one of the most respected KwaZulu cabinet members — said there was undoubtedly a move away from the townships where violence was already endemic with attacks now spilling into the IFP-controlled rural areas. He said the strategy was obvious.

"If you kill community leaders, that community becomes rudderless and this is where we believe the ANC will try to step in and wrest control."

"The ANC say they will win at the ballot box in Natal/KwaZulu. Why then are they killing our people? They would not have to if they truly believed they will win."

He said this was one of the prime reasons for the IFP demand that MK be disbanded. "The ANC Natal Midlands leadership have said that if MK were disbanded they would become 'loose cannons', instead of operating within ANC structures. Consequently we must assume that the recent massacres of IFP leaders are on ANC orders."

"The difference between the IFP and the ANC is that we operate on the ground. Our branch leaders live with their communities, they share in their sufferings — and perhaps that's why they are more vulnerable. We do not have an elitist group, like the ANC leaders, who live in wealthy suburbs."

"That's why they're targeting KwaZulu. The British said last century that when they defeated the Zulus, they would control South Africa. The ANC believes the same, but it's not going to happen."

However, he said although South Africa was already involved in a low intensity civil war, despite the tragic events this week he did not believe this would spark into a full-blooded conflict.

"I don't think that the rest of the world will allow it to happen. Should South Africa go under, it will drag the rest of Africa down with her. This whole region's future relies on this

country's stability, and the United Nations and OAU know this. Because if there is a civil war, it will make Yugoslavia look like a picnic."

What then is the bottom line for peace?

"Basically this: the ANC must realise it is not the sole spokesman for oppressed South Africans," said Dr Ngubane. "Once they acknowledge this, we will be able to work with them."

"Also the ANC cannot persist with their concept of centralism. KwaZulu/Natal will simply not accept it: there is no doubt that federalism is the solution in a diverse country such as ours. In Natal 84 percent of whites voted 'yes' in the last referendum; and Zulus hold no grudges. We will forgive and forget, and concentrate on the future."

"I also believe that when people — particularly those at the frontline of violence — are persuaded that there actually are prospects for genuine peace with a revitalised economy, more jobs, more schools and homes and a chance for a better life, the hatchet on both sides will be buried."

"People are bitterly angry. But they are also sick and tired of burying their loved ones."



"When the shooting stopped I stepped out of the hut on to a body. Then I saw another one. I also saw about eight men dressed in camouflage running away. Somebody else saw other men running in another direction," said Mr Sabelo, 42.

"When I walked into another hut I found 12 bodies, including members of my family.

"In the other home I found another five dead people."

In all, 20 people were killed and 33 wounded by at least 10 men in balaclavas, firing AK-

47 and 9mm pistols.

Mr Sabelo has no idea why they came. Although many of his guests that night were IFP supporters, he believes very few were active in the movement.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet believes the massacre was part of a concerted effort by the ANC to attack traditional Zulu cultural events because they undermine the ANC's power base.

IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose blamed the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, but ANC spokesman Mdu Ngo-

bese said there was no link between the killing of the ANC youths and the massacre 24 hours later.

The simple truth is, no one knows why the Sabelo kraal was targeted, or why a young woman's special night was turned into a nightmare.

A special SA police investigation squad has been sent to the area to assist the Kwa-zulu police in tracking down the killers of both the ANC youths and the IFP revellers — but around Folweni and Mpumali, there's not much hope they'll be found.



## TALK IS CHEAP - AND SO ARE LIVES

Graham Spence

**W**ho is behind the highly-professional Natal massacres occurring virtually on a daily basis?

With the shooting of African National Congress regional leader Reggie Hadebe it appears to have been the work of a skilled hit squad.

With the scores of civilians and headmen in the tribal areas, it apparently is the work of highly-mobile units carried out with military precision.

The South African Defence Force claims it has irrefutable evidence the ANC is infiltrating Natal from the Transkei. The ANC says Renamo, the ill-disciplined Mozambican guerrillas, are training Inkatha Freedom Party soldiers to wipe out their supporters.

Perhaps both claims have substance. There is substance in that many Renamo AK-47s are ferried across the Mozambique border into Zululand. There is also substance in claims that Transkei, stout ANC territory, is at the very least integrating Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) fighters into its defence force.

But while no one denies that both groups are gearing up for a final showdown, claims of both Renamo and MK involvement should be brought into the open.

The SADF this week admitted to the Tribune it knew far more than it was prepared to go public with. Spokesman Colonel John Rolt said he was prepared to discuss evidence only "off the record" about Transkei involvement in the recent Natal massacres.

As far as Renamo is concerned, angry IFP officials say it's ludicrous for them to call in foreigners from a rag-tag army to "teach us Zulus how to fight". They have challenged the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to investigate ANC claims — "to show up ANC propaganda for what it is", says IFP spokesman Ed Tillet.

On the other hand, just as the IFP says it doesn't need a dubious bush army such as Renamo, it could be argued that MK guerrillas would not need tuition in clandestine warfare from a "homeland" army.

These are the accusations. They fly as fast as bullets. The only difference is that bullets kill.



# Inkatha gun runner says SADF was arms channel

Sunday Times Reporters

A SENIOR Inkatha official claimed yesterday that arms and ammunition were channelled from the Mozambican resistance movement, Renamo, to Inkatha by the SADF's Directorate of Military Intelligence.

Bruce Anderson, deported from South Africa in July amid rumours of arms smuggling, said in an affidavit that he had arranged a supply of arms for Inkatha last year after being approached by IFP foreign affairs head, Musa Myeni.

Mr Myeni had told him that weapons and ammunition were desperately short and supplies from normal sources were drying up.

Mr Anderson's remarkable claims, certain to have wide political repercussions, have been flatly denied by the IFP, its most senior officials and the SA Defence Force.

## Probe

"We needed to counter attacks by the ANC," said Mr Anderson yesterday. "The IFP needed to retaliate with AK-47s and other military hardware."

He claimed he had met Renamo's representative in SA, Lieutenant-Colonel Garth Barrett, a former commanding officer of the Rhodesian SAS.

A meeting was arranged between Mr Myeni and Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama last May or June in Nairobi to facilitate the delivery of the weapons, which were "collected and distributed by the SADF's Directorate of Military Intelligence," according to Mr Anderson.

His claims will now be the subject of an investigation by the Goldstone Commission, which announced this week that it was to set up a special probe into the flow of AK-47s into the country.

Mr Anderson made his startling admission from his new home in Britain "because I want to warn the ANC that the forces they seek to destroy are in a position to, at the final report, wage a success-

□ To Page 2

# Gun runner confesses

□ From Page 1

ful civil war against them."

He claimed that, prior to joining the IFP, he had drawn up for MI a programme to counter the ANC in the event of violence after the organisation was unbanned.

He said he presented the document to his contact in MI, Commandant PJ van den Berg.

Mr Anderson also claimed that MI "facilitated" the salary for IFP youth leader Temba Khoza "as the IFP did not have enough money to pay him".

He claimed Mr Khoza received a monthly salary of R3 000 and was allowed to buy a car "very cheaply" to keep him in the Transvaal. The money was taken from funds set aside to implement the anti-ANC programme he had drawn up for MI, he said.

Mr Anderson described himself as a senior party official. He represented the IFP at Codesa and on the Interim Alexandra Dispute Resolution Committee.

He said he had met Commandant van den Berg prior to joining Inkatha when he prepared the programme of action to counter the ANC.

"I proposed a comprehensive programme of political and military tactics. That document is still in my possession, and Commandant van den Berg told me that my proposals had been substantially accepted and implemented," he said.

"The trigger would be the ANC embarking on a campaign of violence in South Africa after their unbanning."

Mr Anderson said the IFP leadership knew "everything" about his past, as well as the activities of Lt-Colonel Barrett, Commandant van den Berg and the MI support.

"However, we protected Dr Buthelezi from having any specific knowledge," he said.

Mr Anderson said he frequently visited IFP strongholds in blocks of flats in central Johannesburg and Hillbrow "where I gave pep talks to members of the IFP's military wing at the height of violent attacks on our members, supporters and township residents by the ANC".

He said he firmly believed that his involvement in arms deals had not compromised his political position.

"It is the duty of a politician to protect his constituency," he said.

Kwazulu leader Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at the allegations made by Mr Anderson.

He claimed Mr Anderson was "a fraud, cheat and a liar" who had "five passports. He ran away from this country".

"I didn't know the man. I was introduced to him as a member of the IFP Sandton branch. He has a long criminal record," he added.

Sue Vos, another senior Inkatha official, denied being his confidante and rejected any suggestion that the IFP was involved in the purchase of weapons.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman, said Inkatha emphatically denied that it had ever bought arms or acquired arms on the way Mr Anderson described. Mr Khoza, Mr Myeni and Lt-Colonel Barrett were unavailable for comment.



# AK-47s AT R40 EACH

WEAPONS are pouring into SA across the Mozambican border and into the eager hands of ANC and Inkatha "self-defence units" who are arming themselves for open civil war.

Spokesmen for both Inkatha and the ANC confirmed this week that thousands of weapons were stashed around the country. Both parties said they would defend themselves from attack and would, if necessary, launch pre-emptive strikes against political foes.

The deluge of weapons, many of them sophisticated semi-automatic rifles, has contributed to the country's 300-a-month death toll from political violence.

Despite allegations from many quarters, including powerful Transvaal Inkatha organiser Thembu Khoza, that "there are thousands of AK-47s stashed all over the place", police have confiscated only 7 237 firearms this year compared with 6 006 last year.

## Direction

Most arms and ammunition come from Mozambique despite a two-year-old agreement under the Joint Security Commission — established as part of the 1984 Nkomati Accord between SA and Mozambique — to investigate illegal arms traffic between the two countries.

By CHARLENE SMITH

These investigations are under the direction of General Krappies Engelbrecht.

Sunday Times inquiries show that AK-47s sell for as little as R40 to R150 on the Reef and in Natal.

Prosecution and conviction figures are low. The most recent figures show that from July 1990 to June 1991 there were only 4 409 prosecutions (and 3 433 convictions) for the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and 59 prosecutions and 42 convictions for the illegal sale of arms and ammunition.

## Purpose

Both the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of military-style, hit-squad operations and justify their own attacks as self-defence.

In a speech at the University of Zululand last week Mr Khoza said: "Hostel-dwellers are involved in violence (because) they were first attacked. The government and ANC now seek to make self-defence a criminal act by fencing the attacked from the attackers."

Claiming that 260 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated, he said: "The war has been stepped up with one purpose in mind — the future election."

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda admitted in an interview that returned MK cadres may be involved in "defending communities".

"If there is violence on the ground and if they feel they face impending attack, people should defend themselves. We cannot prescribe that if people know they will be attacked, they should launch a pre-emptive attack. It's up to them to decide."

He said he did not believe this fuelled violence: "Apartheid breeds violence, transition breeds violence; it will lessen if there is a political solution. Political contest increases the danger of violence. People such as warlords develop a stake in violence, ordinary people are drawn in when family members are slain."

Mr Nyanda said MK cadres had returned from exile to live in violence-torn areas — "they are highly trained and have come back into an economic depression".

## Help

"Communities are fed up that MK is not helping them. It is our responsibility to help our people if they are attacked."

The South African Institute of Race Relations, which says that more than 14 000 people have died in political violence since September 1984, notes that firearms were used in 36 percent of deaths last year.

For the first time AK-47s are being used in moving trains despite police and railway claims of increased security measures.



# ANC plan for deals with Nats

By NORMAN WEST and CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC is considering a power-sharing deal with the National Party after the general election.

The suggestion is contained in a draft policy document circulated in secrecy among delegates at the Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

The ANC plan suggests that it would be prepared to cut private deals with the NP on critical issues such as regional powers and the future of the white-dominated civil and security services.

Although the plan is likely to encounter fierce resistance from other political groups who might feel left out, it is being offered by the ANC as a way to break out of the present political deadlock.

ANC sources disclosed that the document had been drawn up at an ANC meeting on October 14 and 15. It will be discussed with other ANC allies and sent to ANC re-

gions next week. The document is important because it sets out formally an ANC proposal that it and the NP share power even after the interim government phase.

"Even after the the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players," says the document.

The document also notes: "Some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of multilateral, Codesa-type agreements. Other elements of the settlement package would take the form of bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP — such agreements would bind the two parties."



By RYAN CRESSWELL

MORE than 20 000 Inkatha supporters marched through Durban yesterday to protest against the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC.

Members from all over Natal marched from Curries Fountain to the city hall.

Women and children carrying banners declaring: "Cultural weapons don't kill our husbands," or "Secret deals won't work," led thousands of chanting warriors armed with shields, knobkerries and spears through the streets.

Inkatha organisers said supporters travelled in about 2 000 buses and by train and taxi to get to the event.

At the city hall a memorandum was handed to a senior policeman for transmission to State President FW de Klerk charging that the government had "leaned over backwards" to appease the ANC/SACP alliance and signed the Record of Understanding.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, dressed in a black safari-suit and with three red feathers in his hair, told the crowd he was protesting in his capacity as Kwazulu Chief Minister and that the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly had ordered the march.

The memorandum — signed by Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha chairman

## 20 000 IFP members in protest march

Frank Mdlalose and read out by Minister of Works Inkosi Simon Gumede — said the record alienated millions of South Africans from the government and heightened tensions which had already spiralled following the ANC/SACP alliance's mass action campaign.

### Weapons

He said: "We regard the signing of the Record of Understanding as the second betrayal of the Zulu nation by President de Klerk's government. The first being the endorsement of the ANC/SACP alliance's insistence that his majesty the king (King Goodwill Zwelethini) and the Kwazulu delegation be excluded from Codesa.

"We cannot see that anyone who wants a democratic future could imagine any new constitution that is written without our participation as the largest single nation in South Africa," he said.

The memorandum criticised the banning of "Zulu cultural weapons" and the "fencing in" of hostels.

Mr Gumede said the escalation of violence could be laid at the doors of the ANC/SACP alliance and the government because of "perceived collusion".

A police spokesman said there were "no major incidents" but a few pedestrians had been harassed by some of the participants and urged to join the march.



## Arms planted in councillor's car

By WISEMAN KHUZWAYO

ARMS caches were discovered on properties belonging to three Soweto councillors this week in yet another development in an inter-councillor feud that is becoming bloodier by the day.

On Thursday, Mr Jabu Mnguni, chairman of the council's new management committee, which was installed last week following a coup against the Old Guard, found two Russian-made hand grenades and 20 AK-47 rounds in the boot of his car.

A council bodyguard, who had occasional use of Mr Mnguni's car, was arrested by the Soweto police on Friday morning.

On Thursday morning, similar caches were found in the front garden of councillor S Seheri and in the outside toilet at the house of councillor MM Mazibuko.

The feud has already claimed the life of one councillor, who was stabbed through the heart by four men



## Traditionalists want a say

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa should be part of the negotiation process, its president Chief Sango Patekile Holomisa told Contralesa's annual meeting in Kwandebele.

"As overall leaders of our people and as direct descendents of the original rulers of this land, we do not accept the view that, since we may not be politically aligned, we have no interest or business in the search for a negotiated return of rule to the owners of the country."



### Youth caned for assault

A GAZANKULU teenager who assaulted a linesman after a soccer game was given a five-year suspended sentence of R2 000 or six months by a Saselamani magistrate this week.



2A

FIFTEEN senior ANC members under the leadership of deputy-president Walter Sisulu will visit Natal this week in an effort to calm tensions.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has cancelled a trip to the US to be available the minute any chance of peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party appear likely.

A senior Cabinet Minister yesterday also warned that unless the violence was brought under control there was a danger of countrywide anarchy.

The ANC is pinning its hopes on a meeting of Peace Accord signatories to discuss ways of ending the violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a ray of hope could be found in the talks taking place: approaching bi-lateral talks between the government and the ANC, exploratory talks between the government and other groups, including the IFP, and the Patriotic Front conference held last week.

Warning of conditions of anarchy in parts of Natal, a senior Cabinet source, said: "If all leaders don't get together and resolve these problems

## ANC heavyweights in bid for Natal peace

AN explosive situation has arisen in southern Natal as the ANC and Inkatha battle for control of turf.

ROY RUDDEN and  
CHARLENE SMITH report

we can run into serious difficulties."

While political leaders are battling to bring peace and get talks resumed, violence is eating into communities along the Natal coast.

At least 8 000 people have been killed in the province during the last eight years. With a current rate of 100 deaths a month, large areas of the province are involved in what National Peace Accord committee chairman John Hail describes as a low-intensity civil war.

Mr Hall, who was this week engaged in shuttle diplomacy -- involving meetings with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and President FW

de Klerk -- aimed at removing obstacles to peace, believes a major factor in the ending of violence lies in bringing together Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Both were convinced a meeting of the signatories of the Peace Accord, including themselves, was vital. But they were equally adamant that an ANC/IFP summit would be pointless until a way was found of removing the obstacles to such a meeting. These consisted largely of charges and counter-charges between the two organisations.

Meanwhile, Mr Dominic Mitchell who, as a member of the secretariat of the regional dispute resolution's committee in Natal is as close as any to the conflict, said: "The Peace Accord in this region is more unsteady than ever since it was drawn up in September 1991. We are facing serious challenges."

"There is a hardening of political attitudes. Previously, a hardline atti-

tude prevailed at grassroots level. But it is now appearing in the leadership as well. The latest outbreak of violence is symptomatic of this hardening of attitudes.

"We are at a watershed. We will know if there is going to be a full civil war or not within weeks."

Hopes of an accord were dealt two devastating blows this week. The first was the killing of seven ANC-connected people at Fotweni, south of Durban, last Friday. Then came the mass slaughter of 20 people in the Inkatha-aligned Mpusibini Reserve near Umhombu, also on the South Coast.

While the province was still reeling from these disclosures, news broke of the assassination on Tuesday of Mr Reggie Hadebe, the ANC's Natal Midlands deputy chairman who was enormously popular with his followers but regarded as a major thorn in the flesh of the IFP.

Sporadic incidents of killing have occurred since then, and this has led to the massive security crackdown announced on Thursday by President de Klerk after meetings of the Cabinet and the State Security Council.

IFP spokesman Ed Tittle claimed the Transkei Defence Force was training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres "at the South African taxpayers' expense" and trafficking illegal arms to be used in hit-squad missions against IFP leaders and activists in Natal.

"The unrelenting killing of IFP leaders and supporters in military-style killings is directly linked to the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the proliferation of arms caches. The government appears reluctant to address the issue."

The ANC, not surprisingly, claims it is the victim of the attacks.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumiso Makhaye said the violence against ANC members was accompanied by a tense psychological

warfare unleashed by the IFP, the National Party and the security forces. The "hullabaloo" against the so-called MK infiltration into Natal from Transkei was part of this psychological warfare.

It was clear from reports by monitors of violence, including the Human Rights Commission, that the ANC was on the receiving end of the violence, he said. In August, 70 ANC members were killed, with 74 slain in September and October.

"The violence in Natal has become a national crisis," Mr Makhaye said. "Unless every peace-loving South African stands up against this violence, it will engulf the whole country."

The police view was best expressed by SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo, who said: "The IFP and the ANC have accused each other of being responsible for the violence. As far as the police are concerned, both parties are involved."

● See Page 25



# SADF accused of supplying arms

SOUTH AFRICAN Military Intelligence and the American International Freedom Foundation (IFF) have been accused of supplying Renamo with 30 tons of weapons in September last year.

The claim was made by Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano to the Deputy Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Derek Auret, in a meeting between the two governments on February 11 this year.

Chissano informed the South Africans that on September 12 and 14 last year, two Hercules C-130 aircraft of Safair delivered 30 tons of weapons and ammunition to Renamo via Malawi.

The Mozambicans claimed that Military Intelligence and the IFF supplied the weapons, but that Garth Barrett and a person called "Jemison" acted as purchaser of the equipment.

In a highly secret Department of Foreign Affairs document, a top official, Gert Grobler, is ordered to investigate the president's allegations and report back to him.

The Mozambican government has maintained that despite the signing of the Nkomati Peace Accord in 1984, prohibiting any aid to Renamo, the South African military has continued supplying the guerrillas with weapons. South Africa has denied this.

As early as 1988, Mozambican intelligence revealed that SA Military Intelligence was now supporting Renamo via Malawi.

An organisation called Freedom Incorporated was set up to channel South African aid to Renamo.

Freedom Incorporated is headed by Robert MacKenzie, who served with Barrett in the SAS in Rhodesia and helped him train Renamo.

Grobler said on Friday, in response to Chissano's allegations, that Foreign Affairs informed the Mozambicans that two Safair planes went to Malawi on September 12 and 14 last year, but that the freight was ammunition from Armscor for the Malawian government.



DE KLERK ... investigation

## FW ORDERS PROBE INTO CROSS BORDER WEAPONS TRADE

INSIGHT has established that President de Klerk has launched an investigation into the huge numbers of weapons coming into and leaving South Africa.

A military intelligence major based in Nelspruit is being investigated. INSIGHT is also in

possession of a "top secret" document which spells out Mozambique's concern that 30 tons of weapons were delivered to Renamo late last year.

And in Mozambique, on October 22, at least two people whose names are known to INSIGHT were

arrested for allegedly trying to smuggle AK-47s and pistols into South Africa.

At least one of those held in Maputo, according to highly placed sources there, is believed to be a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

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A14 Sunday, November 1, 1992 THE TORONTO STAR



REUTERS PHOTO

**MILITANT MARCH:** About 10,000 Zulus carry traditional clubs and spears on a march through Durban, South Africa, yesterday.

## Zulus protest weapons ban, demand end to ANC army

**JOHANNESBURG (AP, Reuters)** — About 10,000 Zulus marched through Durban yesterday to protest a ban on tribal weapons and to demand that the African National Congress army be disbanded.

It was the second such march since the ANC and South African government agreed to outlaw tribal weapons at political rallies. Most marchers flouted the ban, waving spears, clubs and sticks.

Police monitored the demonstration but did not intervene.

The Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom party said the march was a cultural rather than political rally and not subject to the weapons restrictions. But the protest was clearly aimed at Nelson Mandela's ANC.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi led the march and carried a statement demanding the

President F. W. de Klerk and Mandela met in September for a one-on-one summit, and the ANC agreed to return to negotiations after the weapons ban was approved.

Buthelezi then withdrew Inkatha from negotiations in protest. Mandela yesterday said his ANC will meet the South African

government on Nov. 22 to set a date for creating a national unity government.

"We have lived three centuries of apartheid but I believe the peace process has been satisfactory and the errors of the past must be forgotten," Mandela told a news conference.



Expelled IFP man's shock weapon-smuggling claim denied by Mdlalose

# HOW INKATHA GETS ITS GUNS

**Peta Thornycroft  
and Jacques Paauw**

GUNS and military explosives have been smuggled into South Africa for the past year from Mozambique rebel movement Renamo to the Inkatha Freedom Party, claims a senior Inkatha politician.

However, Inkatha officials have denied the allegations by Johannesburg man Bruce Anderson that the smuggling operation was set up after Inkatha Central Committee member Musa Myeni met Renamo chieftain Afonso Dhlkama in Nairobi last year.

That meeting was set up by former Rhodesian Special Air Services and SADF Six Reconnaissance unit commander Garth Barrett, who also arranged the weapons pipeline with his Renamo contacts, claimed Mr Anderson, who was expelled from the country in July and is now living in England.

His claims came at the same time as a senior researcher at the Human Sciences Research Council, Dr Anthony Minaar, said Renamo was smuggling AK-47 rifles through Swaziland into

Natal for Inkatha. A police spokesman in Natal has confirmed that special investigator Major Frank Dutton is probing allegations that Renamo fighters had infiltrated into Natal over the past four weeks with the aim of training Inkatha members and fighting alongside them against the ANC.

Mr Anderson claimed the weapons were stashed in an arms cache in Roo-depoort and handed out to hostel dwellers, many of whom are members of the Inkatha Freedom Party's military wing — men who were brought into the Transvaal from Natal two years ago.

He said weapons were obtained from the IFP's ally, Renamo, because local sources of weapons from the Department of Military Intelligence dried up last year.

Mr Anderson himself never participated in any military activity, nor did he transport any weapons, but alleged some senior IFP officials must have known, if not in detail, then in broad outline what was going on.

Mr Anderson claimed also that he had drawn up a plan for the destabilisation of the ANC after meeting with military intelligence officer Commandant PJ van den Berg in 1988.

The plan envisaged the mounting of "special operations" against the ANC/SACP alliance and the use of "revolutionary terror" against its supporters, with the ultimate objective of preventing the holding of a one-man one-vote election for between three and five years.

He claimed the train violence, some of which is allegedly carried out by hostel dwellers who are paid for their efforts, is

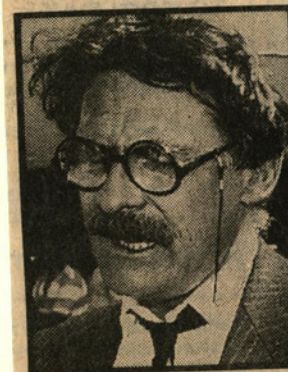
part of the psychological warfare. He also said "PJ" and others in military intelligence supplied the IFP with money.

A SADF spokesman also called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate Mr Anderson's statements, calling them "vague and devoid of any truth".

Garth Barrett was in America this week but his wife confirmed she had sent him a fax containing Mr Anderson's allegations. At the time of going to press no reply had been received from Mr Barrett.

**Claims a  
'pack of  
lies'  
— Mdlalose**

DR Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP "emphatically" denied Mr Anderson's allegations, describing them as "a pack of lies", and said the organisation had formally asked the Goldstone Commission to call Mr Anderson to give evidence before the Commission.



**Bruce Anderson:  
Expelled in July**





IFP president  
Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi  
arrives at  
Durban City  
Hall with his  
"amabutho" at  
yesterday's  
march.

Pictures:  
Puri  
Devjee





Above: Part of the 20 000 crowd as they marched through Durban city centre.

↓ Right: Keeping an eye on things, a Goldstone observer, closely watching the crowd.





# Scene is set for violent showdown on Transkei border

**A** bloody spectre of shootouts between South African, Transkeian and Umkhonto'we Sizwe (MK) soldiers is looming on the Natal/Transkei border.

This follows claims by Minister of Defence Gene Louw that the SADF had "irrefutable proof" of MK guerrillas being trained by the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) for attacks on Inkatha Freedom Party supporters. And with the announcement this week that

## Graham Spence

the SADF would patrol the border — coupled with fiery denunciations of "interference" by Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa — the scene is set for a violent showdown.

Claims of MK and Transkei Defence Force complicity in attacks on the IFP have been denied as "blatant lies"

by the ANC. Statistics show that apart from the high-profile murder of ANC Midlands leader Reggie Hadebe, almost all those killed in the past three months have been living in IFP areas.

But the bottom line is that Natal is teetering on the precipice of a possibly manipulated civil war. Killings on both sides are simply too professional for mere civilian revenge attacks.

This is the IFP side of the story. KwaZulu Minister of Health Ben Ngu-

bane:

"Our information is that highly mobile, highly efficient MK members, dressed in military-style uniforms, are based in from the Transkei. They move quickly, digging up hidden arms caches, killing community leaders and whoever else is in the way, then they bury their guns again and flee back across the border. Whenever arrests have been made those convicted have not all claimed to be ANC mem-

bers. Also the SADF has evidence that MK is being trained by the TDF — and at South African taxpayers' expense."

This is the ANC side: spokesman Carl Niehaus could not be contacted at the weekend, but in an earlier statement said claims that MK were using the Transkei as a springboard were a "pack of lies". He said it was obvious the slayings had been done by people who did not want to see peace.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 01-11-92

01-11-92



# APARTHEID PARTY GAINS NEW VOTERS

Mixed-Race South Africans,  
Resistant to Black Rule,  
Join Ex-Tormenters

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

MITCHELL'S PLAIN, South Africa — David Valentine, one of the three million mixed-race South Africans classified in the apartheid caste system as "coloreds," was 7 years old when the governing white National Party stripped his people of their right to vote.

He was 17 when a National Party Government evicted his family and 60,000 neighbors from their homes in Cape Town and scattered them across the windblown flats of the Cape Peninsula.

David Valentine is now 43 and works for the fastest-growing political franchise here in South Africa's largest mixed-race city: the National Party.

For reasons of religion and language, pride and, perhaps most of all, fear, mixed-race voters are gravitating to the party of their former tormenters, in numbers that could make these most easily overlooked of South Africa's people the swing voters in the country's future.

## Control of Prosperous Province

"We suffered tremendously, but this regime is trying to set things right," said Mr. Valentine, who runs a small real estate and loan company when he is not working as a ward healer for the National Party.

His political pitch is that the party under President F. W. de Klerk represents security, morality and prosperity; the rival African National Congress represents violence, godless Communism and economic retribution. He insists the National Party can take 80 percent of the "colored" vote, an estimate more impartial political observers say is exaggerated but not inconceivable.

Mixed-race voters constitute a minority in a country that also includes 29 million blacks, 5 million whites, and a million Asians. They make up a little less than 10 percent of South Africa's voting-age population, heavily concentrated in the Cape Province, where they outnumber whites and blacks. But it is a critical minority in a country of untested political power.

A decisive victory among mixed-race voters in elections, widely expected by the end of next year, could be enough to deny the African National Congress firm control in the constituent assembly that will write a new, post-apartheid constitution. In the democratic order that is supposed to follow, it would assure Nationalist control here in South Africa's most prosperous province.

## Mixed-Race Indignities

The "coloreds" are, in effect, a people invented by apartheid, which defined them by what they are not. Mar-ike de Klerk, wife of the President, once summed them up dismissively.

"You know, the coloreds are a negative group," she said. "The definition of a colored in the population register is someone that is not black, and is not white and not an Indian. In other words, a nonperson. They are the leftovers."

(Last year the first lady was reportedly infuriated when the de Klerks' son, Willem, announced his engagement to a mixed-race woman; the couple broke off the engagement.)

As nonwhites, people of mixed race were subject to the indignities of forced relocation into designated townships, separate buses, separate schools, separate churches, thwarted aspirations.

As nonblacks, they enjoyed some privileges, including a hiring preference, intended to prevent blacks from moving into the Cape, which allowed them to corner the building trades and plant themselves firmly in the lower middle class.

## Leanings Toward Africaners

They are often likened to American blacks, because many are descended from slaves imported from Madagascar, India and Malaya. Their cultures and lifestyles owe more to Europe or Asia than Africa.

"We have no tribal structure, no chiefs," said Richard van der Ross, the retired rector of the predominantly mixed-race University of the Western Cape. "We do not speak any of the indigenous languages. We do not have such customs as polygamy."

Most mixed-race people in the Cape speak Afrikaans, a Dutch patois developed, in part, to simplify communications among slaves from different points of the globe. Many worship at the "colored" branch of the white Afrikaners' Dutch Reformed Church.

"The gut-level appeal is that we have more in common with Afrikaans-speaking whites than with blacks," said Mr. van der Ross. "The run-of-the-mill colored chap here doesn't know black people. He associates black people with the more menial tasks of society."

Mr. van der Ross founded an anti-apartheid party for people of mixed race, the Labor Party, in 1965 and recently joined the liberal Democratic Party.

"You'll find that coloreds love to talk about the white grandfather, but they don't speak of their black granny," said Robert McBride, who became a saboteur for the anti-apartheid underground after whites refused to accept him as an equal. He was recently excused from his life sentence for bombing a Durban bar.

Many mixed-race South Africans joined with blacks in resisting apartheid, including a few, like Mr. McBride, who joined the guerrilla underground of the African National Congress, and many others who found solace in the black consciousness movement.

In 1984, when the white rulers introduced separate and impotent parliamentary chambers for "coloreds" and Indians, more than 80 percent of the mixed-race voters boycotted the elections, a stunning repudiation of the Government's pretense of reform.

## Preferences Over Blacks

But people of mixed race have on the whole been more conservative, with the caution of those who have something — if only a little — to protect. Even ostensibly liberal, anti-apartheid mixed-race politicians fought fiercely to retain their job preference over blacks.

Now the end of formal apartheid has left them feeling more threatened by blacks scrambling up than by whites keeping them down.

The elimination of segregation laws has not transformed the lives of most mixed-race families, since attitudes and economic barriers are not so readily repealed. But it has enabled those with money to buy into previously white neighborhoods and put their children in white schools. Most of all, it has removed the formal slap of the law, and made it easier to forgive past insults.

## 'They Feel Marginalized'

At the same time, it has sharply raised their anxiety about the blacks who now pour into the Cape unchecked by pass laws, filling the squatter camps that abut Mitchell's Plain.



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clamoring for the share they were denied.

Mr. van de Ross said: "You hear it on the streets: Who's going to get the jobs when they take over? It won't be us."

On the campus of the University of the Western Cape in nearby Bellville, where black consciousness and militancy are the prevailing fashion, many students privately share the misgivings of their parents about being pushed aside in the rush to compensate blacks.

A recent study of student attitudes by two sociologists, Charlton Koon and Marianne Roux, found "colored" students deeply resentful of admission preferences aimed at increasing black enrollment. The students complained that "African students receive most of the privileges" and that they "exploit their suffering and oppression to advance themselves at the expense of coloreds," the study found.

"The feeling is among some colored students that politics are very much dominated by African students," said Mrs. Roux. "They feel marginalized."

#### National Party's Largest

Over the last year, the National Party has moved aggressively into Mitchell's Plain, courting businessmen and religious leaders, opening storefront offices, and dispensing the kind of largesse only the party in power can provide. New housing tracts, hospitals, old-age homes, and job-creating projects have sprung up, courtesy of the state.

The African National Congress, even some sympathizers admit, has either taken the people of mixed race for granted or written them off as a lost cause.

The congress's most prominent mixed-race representative in the cape is the Rev. Allan Boesak, a charismatic Dutch Reformed minister and anti-apartheid crusader. But in Mitchell's Plain, Mr. Boesak has become a political liability since his widely publicized extramarital affairs forced him to give up his Bellville parish.

THE NEWS JOURNAL Monday, November 2, 1992

## ANC weighs joint rule of S. Africa

### WORLD

ANNESBURG, South Africa — The African National Congress is considering a plan to govern South Africa jointly with F.W. de Klerk's National Party, an ANC official said Sunday.

The disclosure came a day after leader Nelson Mandela said the organization would discuss the plan with other government leaders on Monday for further talks on ending minority rule.

van der Merwe, national secretary of the governing National Party, confirmed a meeting was held but said the date was not set. The report in the Sunday Times newspaper said a draft document on power-sharing plan was disclosed last week at a meeting of the nation's leading

black group, and its allies.

Multiparty negotiations involving the ANC, the National Party and other groups broke down in May. De Klerk and Mandela met on Sept. 26 to get political talks restarted, but their agreements angered other political groups, which claimed the government and ANC were hijacking the negotiating process.

The ANC has long called for an elected constituent assembly to serve as an interim government and draft a new constitution. It then wants democratic elections for a new multiracial government.

But the document circulated at last week's meeting said a power-sharing arrangement with the Na-

tional Party may be necessary, the Sunday Times reported.

Issues such as changing the security forces and all-white civil service, and creating regional governments, could be resolved by private deals between the ANC and the National Party, the document reportedly said.

The national constitutional development minister, Roelf Meyer, said Sunday the government wanted multiparty political talks to resume quickly but denied it would reach agreements with any single group such as the ANC.

Chronic violence in black townships has blocked efforts to get the political talks restarted.

Much of the violence stems from a power struggle between the ANC and the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, its main rival.