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- T lwr Lfâ\200\224/p;)%).:
- X Admiration on the wane
- JOEL MERVIS observes the parting of the ways between the
- : liberals and the ANC

were more rightly than John Kane- days of 1990. How does he feel  $\tilde{man}$ , notes that the link  $\tilde{a} \geq 0.01$ 

than South Africaâ $\200\231s$  Berman,  $\alpha\200\230executive$  director now, after 30 months of ANC between liberals and the ANC

in 1990, of the SA Institute of Race activity? was a forced relati nship.

Nelson Mandela was released Relations. i Dr De Beer does not beat «Apartheid threw us int o

from jail and the ANC As is well known, the insti- about the bush. Addressing a each other  $a\200\231s$  arms. We had

unbanned. How times have tute is not a politic  $200\231$  organi- DP congress in the Free S tate little else in common. But

changed! : sation but primarily 2 fact- last month, he warned the nOW that we know eac - In the 30 months that have finding body. Despite its ANC to break with the Com- better, we find there are

elapsed, the ANC has not only liberal orientation, it is com- munist Party or  $\hat{a}\200\234$ be dragged more and bigger things that

" $^{\circ}$  od to offend and alien- mitted to sticking objectively into ever-increasing stubborn d ivide us. $\hat{a}\200\235$ :

 $\mid$  ateits white liberal admire: to the facts ~and violent conductâ\200\235. Mrs Sheena Dunca n, for-

| but it has virtually driven : - The clear implication was mer president of the Black | them into the arms of the Mr Kane-Berman 10 doubt that the ANC was already Sash, says the organisation

| Nationalists. had at his disposal the facts jnvolved. Dr De Beer went was always in broad sympa-

The event is notable not on which he based his recent on:  $a\geq00\leq34$ The greater the polarisa - thy with the ANC $a\geq00\leq31$ s objec-

only as an example of a stun- remarks to the Pietersburg . tionbetween the ANC and the tives, but a g2p between them

ning switch in political tti. Chamber of Business. These NP, the greater the likelihood was developing. e,

\_tudes. The change of heartby  $\mbox{YWere}$  reported in the Star on that the security forces would  $\mbox{Dr Willie}$  Breytenbach,  $\mbox{a}\mbox{200}\mbox{230a}$ 

the white liberals carries September 18:  $\hat{a}$ 200\234The major jintervene. Civil war and total political authority from the

with it the explicit censure of Treason for violence in SA was  $\,$  destruction of the economy University of Stellen h,

ANC strategy and deeds. the ANCâ\200\231s strategy to make would follow.â\200\235 Strong w ords said recently:  $\hat{A}$ «pisillusion-

The liberals, after all, are the country ungovernable. indeed.  $\tilde{}$  ment with the ANChas clea r- |

not burdened with art- 1R ANC's strategy of a Expressions of liberal dis- 1y made its appearance in

heid millstone around their = People s War was formulated appointment with the ANC liberal circles.  $\hat{a}$  \200\235 B,

necks. They occupy the high Inthe 30s to focus on the goV- have comg from many The liberal s have made

moral ground. They i ernment. It was also a decla- sources. Dr Frederick vanzyl clear the ir strong disapprov-

their disappro ration of war against sections Slabbert, former leader of the al of the ANC s trategy on  $% \left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{$ 

not as a suspect enemy. Th of the black community. Progressive Party and aman violence, mas

s action and the

were, until recently, a warm Further evidence of the ippe! 1 i rtant ; &

friend, filled with goodwill i Dr Zachde P i A the ANC, in turn,

and eager to help 2 people  $\,$  Beer, who speaks decla imself to be ; itself where it went wron g in  $\mid$ 

suffered not merely largest liberal base in the mirer of Mr Mandela and in alienating white friends.:

for 40 years but for genera- country. Formerly leader of sympathy with ANC aspira- The answ  $\,$ er seems to lie in

ions. the Progressive Party and tions. But he warns the ANC its eagerness t0 gain political That is the stated case. Nor now of its largest successor, to give up its links with the power. But there can be no

is there any shortage of evi- the Democratic Party, Dr De SACP.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ If they don $\hat{a}\200\231$ t, they quick fix for our problems.

dence to prove the white Beer has for years fought for donâ\200\231t get my vote,â\200\235 says Dr These are massive and their

liberals have indeed become the political emancipation of 4 solution must take  $\hat{A}^{c}$  disillusioned. Nobody has blacks, and never more hope-  $\hat{a}^200^230Mr$  Tony Leon MP, succes- patience and for

conveyed this more forth- fully than in the euphoric sor in Houghton to Helen Suz- all sid es.:

time,

### Collusion evid

E ANCâ\200\231s Southern Natal region this week claimed it had  $a\200\234$ once againâ\200\235 uncovered collusion between the securité-police and Inkatha leadership.

'ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said  $a\200\234$ extensive investigations  $a\200\235$  had revealed that facsimile messages to and from the ANC  $a\200\231$ s regional offices in Durban were diverted to the security forces.

 $a^200^2340$ ne of these messages was sent to Inkatha leader

Mangosuthu Buthelezi by the security police,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he

said. \

The claim follows Butheleziâ\200\231s disclosure of the facsimile message at a news conference in Durban this week. The document named Umkhonto weSizwe offi-

cials who are operating in Natal which, the IFP leader said, proved that MK was behind violence in the nce  $^\prime$ 

o Thaï¬\201Ã@uage was sent by MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe yanda.; Makhaye said MK was a legal organisation with

messages were being

ence â\200\224 ANC
Y ;4
rulichne Redakontrias. N w149

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We never intended to make these appointments a secret, so what Buthelezi showed to journalists was not a political bombshell.

 ${\hat a}\200\234$  The bombshell is that the IFP/security force collusion continues unabated even after the Inkathagate scandal.  ${\hat a}\200\235$ 

He claimed ANC regions in Natal knew facsimile verted to the security forces, :ind no longer used the machines for sensitive informa-

#### on.;

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The only way Buthelezi could have received that fax is through the handlers of Inkatha within the security forces,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Makhaye said.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi denied police had delivered the document to Inkatha and described the ANCâ\200\231s allegations as â\200\234very unfairâ\200\235.

IF:eapokuman Ed Tillet declined to comment and referred queries to Butheleziâ\200\231s office. â\200\224 Sapa

/

he African National Congress has thrown

a security ring around released Umkhonto we Sizwe bomber Robert McBride  $\hat{a}\200\224$  after an attempt on his life in prison and numerous death threats.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed yesterday that after high-level meetings with

\*ANC security personnel in Johannesburg

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ extra precautions and manpower $\hat{a}\200\235$  were sent to Durban to  $\hat{a}\200\234$ protect the comrade $\hat{a}\200\235$ .  $\hat{a}\200\234$ It would have been irresponsible for us

not to have deployed stringent precautionary

measures for Robert. His life is in jeopardy now. that he has been released and the ANC will serve to protect him,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Mr Niehaus said.

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

In another surprising move this week, Mr McBride told the Tribune that police were ap-

 $\hat{a}$ 200\230parently  $\hat{a}$ \200\234watching a family member of a

victim $\hat{a}$ 200\235 killed in the Magoo $\hat{a}$ \200\231s bombing in 1986 which left three women dead and 69 injured.

Mr McBride also claimed police were passing on  $a\200\234$ intelligence information $a\200\235$  to himself and the ANC.

However, police spokesman Major Coert Marais denied that police were carrying out surveillance on victimsâ\200\231 families.

The moves by the ANC follow an incident being investigated by the police under the Explosives Act, where Magooâ\200\231s bombing victim Angelique Pattenden brother caused an explosion at his home, and suffered burns to his face, arms and chest.

Police believe Clive Pattenden was  $a\200\234$ working with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance, and had a two litre plastic bottle $a\200\235$ .

Mr Pattendenâ\200\231s fiance, who would not give her name, said:  $\hat{a}$ \200\234The family are concerned

STRYDOM: HAVE DONE

Terry van der Walt

about his eyes which were burned in the chlorine explosion. He is covered in bandages and has been attended to by a skin specialist.  $\hat{a}200\234$ Clive is a wonderful person. Sometimes it upsets him but he realises his life must go on but I think he cracked with all the pressure

NOTHING WRONG . . . HIS OWN STORY  $\hat{a}\200\224$  PAGE 3

Ring of security around McBride after  $a\200\230$ hit $a\200\231$  fears

## REVENG

and publicity surrounding his (Mr McBrideâ\200\231s) release,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 said the fiance.

The explosion was an accident, she said, and Mr Pattenden had no intention of harming his sister $\hat{200}$ 231s killer.

Mr Pattenden has been receiving therapy to help him deal with his sister  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31s$  death.

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

Tng I â\2027 Hiol 12

reconciliation to Mr Pattenden, and said he would  $\hat{a}\200\234$ do anything in my power to assist where I can and I am willing to meet him if that will help $\hat{a}\200\235$ .:

He was  $\hat{a}\200\234deeply$  concerned  $\hat{a}\200\235$  about Clive Pattenden, he said.

But Mr Pattendenâ\200\231s fiance said:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Clive says he wants to be left alone and he does not want to speak to anyone right now. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

| McBride, pictured here with / his wife / Paula, says he wants â\200\234reconciliation with the brother of a Magooâ\200\231s | blast victim. Picture:

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

 $\mbox{$\hat{a}$\200\234I}$  was planning to speak to the families, to actually approach them, running the risk of

To Page 3

Wy t

Lmmeâ\200\224

THE SA Defence Force has been ordered by a Supreme interfering with members of a coloured community who are refusing to move from

their homes in the centre of the

Army Battle School at Lohatla. The interim order was Thursday by Mr Justice JJ Kriek, judge

judge to stop

president of the Northern Cape division of

Court

granted on

the Supreme Court, after an application

for an urgent interdict by a Khosis resi-

dent, Mr Joseph Free.

The application, brought against the Defence, came after the removal of some residents to the settlement of Jenn-Haven, 140km from Khosis,

Minister of

starting on September 12.

They were among some 125 families who found themselves living in the centre of the battle school after the Gathlose

Maramane RÃOserve was appropriated in

1977.

About 20 000 of their black neighbours were forced to move to Bophuthatswana,

but the Khosis people remained behind.  $\hat{a}$ 200\230

Last month, about 80 families relocated tq houses in the new settlement, provided by the House of Representatives. But 41 families refused to

go  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 and they are fighting:

to stay on the land they claim has been theirs for five generations.

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

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

He told the court that since the removals began,

the 41 families had been

subject to:

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

had barred his path while he was on his way home and threatened to shoot him if he tried to enter the area.  $\hat{A}$ ® The withdrawal of transport to and from Khosis for people employed at the battle school. ® Intimidation by armed soldiers and military police, who entered Khosis on September 23 and parked in front of the home of a woman opposed to leaving.

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

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

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

â\200\234The effect of such intimidation are severe. We are-spending sleepless nights contemplating a future in a community devoid of services, wondering what intimidatory tactics the SADF will use next, \( a \) 200\235 Mr Free told the court.

He said the community was particularly worried by the SADFâ\200\231s applied assumption in an earlier affidavit that they would

move. An SADF statement said  $a\200\234$ the gate will in any case be handled as before

once the Khosis community has been relocated  $200\235$ .

Restricted

In an answering affida-

vit, the Lohatla Battle Schoolâ\200\231s Colonel Johannes du Toit said security had been' stepped up because the ANC had intensified activity in the military area.

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

Colonel Du Toit denied there was any talk of issuing Khosis residents with access permits, but said visitors needed passes to travel through the battle

school and residents were

required to show their ID

documents at the gates. In certain cases, move-

ment was restricted while

military manoeuvres were in progress, he said.

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

The entire school was being moved to Jenn-Haven, and children remaining at Khosis were free to attend any school of their choice. He denied threats had been made to shoot people trying to enter the area, that Khosis residents had been prevented from retrieving their livestock or that the SADF had used excessive force during the move. But if there had been such instances, they were contrary to his direct orders.

 $\hat{a}\200\234At$  no time were any of the inhabitants intimidated into leaving. Those who wanted to move left, and those who didn $\hat{a}\200\231t$  stayed,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said Colonel Du Toit.

The SADF had information that the ANC had  $a\geq 00\geq 34$  tried every possible tactic to disrupt the relocation of those who wanted to move  $a\geq 00\geq 35$ .

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

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

- strangers found within the

perimeter.

## Threats

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The decision to step up security measures followed various threats to members of the Khosis community on the eve of their relocation,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said Colonel Human.

â\200\234These included threats to burn their houses, that they would be necklaced, that they would be prevented from moving and that photographs of them would be taken while they were in the process of moving and kept by the ANC, which would deal with them in due course.â\200\235

In addition to ruling that the SADF should not interfere with the remaining Khosis families, Mr Justice Kriek ruled that Miss Bridget Murphy, a legal field worker employed by Deneys Reitz be given reasonable access to her clients, subject to â\200\234the normal formalitiesâ\200\235.

He also ruled that the SADF â\200\224 which, the court was told, had stopped Miss Murphy from visiting her clients in recent weeks â\200\224 should escort her to Khosis, but remain at least 100m from where she consulted people.

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

The SADF has until November 2 to make further submissions.

## Bullets

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

Legal Resources Centre deputy national director Geoff Budlender said yesterday the court order was  $a\geq 0$ 0\234symbolically significant  $200\geq 3$ 5 because it sent a strong signal to rural communities that they could rely on the protection of the courts.

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

 $a\200\234$ While direct force is not

being used, the state is

resorting to its classic old style of squeezing people out,  $\hat{a}$  200\235 he added.

â\200\234In this case, they have engineered consent to leave by making life intolerable for the community, whizzing bullets over their heads, shutting the school, paying pensions elsewhere, cutting off all services and buying off leaders.â\200\235

Hanekom said the people of Khosis  $\hat{a}\200\234$ have been living there for generations and we believe they are entitled to the land $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The only reason why it is dangerous for them to live there is because they have been surrounded by an army which insists on carrying on with its silly exercises,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

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

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

Surveys on forced removals documented by the Surplus Peopleâ\200\231s Project show that the SADF has benefited from at least four forced removals.

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

In 1973, 1500 people

Fl dé land battle Judge orders

army to stop interfering with people living 1n middle of battle school

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

were moved from Riemvasmaak farm near Upington when the area was declared a military zone and 3500 people were moved from the shores of Lake St Lucia between 1968 and 1979 when a missile test range was established.

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

#### I YWORLD NEWS sx»

Desperate Buthelezi |  $\hat{A}$ »: $\hat{a}$ \200\230 plays power gambit

Johannosburg

Allister Sparks )

S  $\hat{a}\200\224$  CHIET Mangosuthu Buthelezi is playing  $\hat{A}_{\kappa}$  final, desperate hand to try to stay in the fast lane of South African politics. In stotming oul of negotiatinns just when President F, W, de Kicrk and Nelson Mandcla had put them back on track, he exemplified the fact that ne black political party has proven legitimacy,

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

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

Chief Bathelezi epitomises this. He ¢njuys an international reputation that far exceeds his local sdpport. Pretoria presents him as one of the big three lead-vrs, alongside De Klerk and Mandcla, But, while his Inkatha Freedom Porty may be the third lacgest, it js poor third.

Mote seriously, the news-papers toutinely present Rughe-lezi ay  $a\geq00\geq30$ the Zulu leader $a\geq00\geq31$ . Itisa thoughtless picce of labelling which carries the connhotation that, as leader of South Africa $a\geq00\geq31$ s biggest and most renowned

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watrior tribe, which inflicted a famous defeat on the Rritish  $\tilde{A}$ ©rmy at the Battle of Jsandhlwana in 1879, he is indeed a force 10 be reckoned with.

In fact, Buthele2iâ\200\231s claims to this status are highly question-able. Opinion polls are frustrat-

ingly inadequate. J'he lack of telephones in rura) areas makes polling thiere difficult and expensive, and polisters do not venture into strife-torn parts of Natal and KwaZuly Even if they did, the fear und suspicion there would invalidate the responses.

Buat such indicators as there are suggest Buthelezi may not cnjoy majority support even in his own tribal heartland. The few opinion polls that have been conducted in urban atcag, including Durbun and Pieter-matitzburg in Natal, have found national support for the ANC to be above 60 per cent and Inkatha suppaort 85 low ag 2 per cent,

- Research in townships has indicated the same situation. One researcher reported that her respondents, who included Zulus in the Witwatersrand area, regarded Inkatha â\200\230with loathingâ\200\235 and preferred De Kierk to Buthelez,

The ANC's  $\hat{a}\200\230$  mass action $\hat{a}\200\231$  strikes support these findings. More than 90 per cent of blacks have nesronded to the peneryl strike calls in Durban and Pictermaritzburg,

There was a tine, in the

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Sixties and Seventies,.. Butheleziâ\200\231s support in hisâ\200\231 region was solid. cnjoyed support . in othet regions, as he exploited hig  $a\200\230$ Bantustan $a\200\231$  platform  $a\hat{A}$ ¢ g tite when the ANC and other libargs tion movements were banned, But fiom the mid-f-?ighties, a4 the great black uprisin began, young Zulus began ra ying to the ANC's surrogate, the United Democratic Front, With Mandela's release in 1990, the trickle of desertions beecame 4 flood. Buthelezi, always thin-skinned, becume increags ingly aggressive, first towatds

the UDF, then the ANC. = . What tnight have becomie  $\hat{A}S$  liberationist alliance turned into

He â\200\234svef

a bitter power struggle and then endemic civil war. As the war has raged, Buthelezi â\200\224 backed by his ruthless police force s has steadily lost support among young Zulus and city dwellers, shrinking his constituency to the fustness of tribal Zululand, Assessing where this leaves Buthelezi nationally is difficult, Outside the Zulu tribe he hag nothing, except for some whiteg

 $\hat{a}\200\230$  inditect rule $\hat{a}\200\231$  instincts who are looking for a black surs rogate 10 oppose the ANC. Assuming 45 per cent of Zulus back him, that gives him three million supporters in # national population of  $3\hat{A}$  million  $\hat{a}\200\224$  or just over 8 per cent coimpared to the ANC's 60-plug per cent and 25 per cent for 1Je

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*ANC man
~tried to Kkill
" Vilakazy
! By Kaizer Nyatsumba
| Political Reporter
[ The man who recently attempt
t \hat{a}\202¬d 1o assassinate former ANC-
| PWV regional deputy secre-|.
tary-general Bavumile Vilakazi
in Sebokeng was a member of
the ANC and the local self-de-
tence unit (SDU), 1t was re
vealed yesterday ;
i Making this disclosure at a
press conference in Johannes-
 burg, ANC PWYV regional chair-
! man Tokyo Sexwale said the
man, whose name was not re. | -
 leased, had a^200^230a^200^234a^200^230voluntarily ap-1.
 proached the ANC and con-.
{ fessed to the shooting 200\235 L
The man, Sexwale said, told-
{ the ANC he had shot Vilakazi
|because he had mistaken himâ\200\231
! for a policeman
{ "He further alleged that the
decision to attack Vilakazi was
an individual one and not that
of the SDU to which he be-
longs.\hat{a}\200\235 Sexwale said
[ Vilakazi left a Johannesburg
j chinic yesterday, He was shot
{on September 17 as he left his-
brother's hardware store
He will not prefer charges
against the would-be assassin.
? S
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 $\hat{a}\200\230Gunrunner\hat{a}\200\231$  Bruce expelled from IFP

Political Reporter

Selt-confessed Inkatha Freedom
Party (IFP) gunrunner Bruce
Anderson â\200\224 who was summarily deported from South Africa
D June this year â\200\224 has been
| expelled from the party's Sandton branch.

In a statement issued today by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office, the partyâ\200\231s Sandtcn branch said it had resolved to expel Anderson from the branch and to recommend his total expulsion from the IFP

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

The branch felt that Andersonâ\200\231s â\200\234self-confessed alleged complicityâ\200\235 in the alleged infiltration of arms supplies from the Renamo and SADF Military

Intelligence to the IFP, and his public disclosure of his affidavit  $a\200\234$ containing such information $200\235$ , represented  $a\200\234$ a $200\230$ a totally unacceptable course of conduct $200\235$  against the interests of the IFP, and it dissociated itself from them.

Andersonâ\200\231s behaviour, the Sandton branch said, represent- ed â\200\234a flagrant breachâ\200\235 of an undertaking made following a disciplinary enquiry against him in September last year. %

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

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HE STAR, WEDNESD
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ANC policy on regional powers
! By fsther Waugh
Political Reporter
  The ANC has spelt out the
 powers of regional governp-
' mehts but has not identified
the regions.
The discussion document, in
the possession of The Star, said
thelcentral government would
\hat{A}¢ have \hat{a}\200\234concurrent and overrid-
ing Jurisdiction\hat{a}200\hat{a}235 regarding leg-
' isl; fâ\200\230iv yaad executive powers.
e Wlocument said: â\200\234The
¢y approach to regions
 is that of building and reuniting
- mot gedividing \hat{a}\200\224 a pation.\hat{a}\200\235
fhwgs of regional govern-
mests o ould be entrenched in
ANE
the constitutions.
Areas designated as regional
government powers include: the
imposition of taxes In terms of
national guidelines, education
other than tertiary education,
health secvices including hospt-
tals; welfare; housing; transport;
markets; traffic control; the er-
vironment; industrial develop-
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ment; horseracing and gambling; and town and regional planning.

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

On fiscal powers of the regions, the ANC said:  $\hat{a}$ 200\234It s clear

that both regional and local goverament must have some powers to raise revenue The National Party's recent proposals appear to give all power over taxation te the regional level. This is viewed by the ANC as unworkable.â\200\235

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

The ANC specified no fixed boundaries or numbers of reglons.

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

first identified 10 regions while the second favoured t6.

â\200\234In view of the cost of maintaining- between IC and 16 regional governments, this proposal suggests a maximum of 20 regional councillors. This would mean a total of between 200 and 320 such councitlors.â\200\235

The ANC proposed that regitonal elections should not take place simulianeously with aational elections. Instead a four-year term  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 as oppased to the five-year parliamentary term  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 would be served by regional councillors,

The regional administrator would be elected by an absolute majority.

"HE STAR, WEDNESDAY 04 OCTOBER 1992

Advance guard digs in in Natal

Own Correspondent

DURBAN â\200\224 Troops who have arrived in Maritzburg and those mobilising in Durban today are the advance guard of reinforcements expected to double security forces between the Transket border and the Tugela in the Natal Midlands

Operation Peace, 3 major joint police and South African Defence Force crackdown on violence, was announced in Durban yesterday

At dawn today, traffic backed up at Royal Durban Light Ini fantry headquarters in Marriott

Road, Durban, with men SWop-

ping business suits for uniforms

to report for duty.

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

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

Group 10 units would back up troops who were already in positlon wherever they were need. ed, covering the area from the Tugela  $a\200\230$ along the Natal South Coast, he said.

Security forces would attempt to change the aggressive

- attitude of the local people in

areas troubled by violence. Some Citizen Force and com--mando units in Natal will be called up to bolster the security units. Reservists are reporting today to camps in Natal. Operational bases have been - et up in the  $a\200\234flashpointa\200\235$  areas of Maritzburg, Greytown; Rich-.meond, Kokstad and Ladyamith. ' Tactical headquarters will be t at Richmond. The Wartburg and Table Mountsir districts have experienced viclence frequently in recent months and both areas will BB s g T T Ladysmith "'éï¬\201hisrékahse, 0 Howick(s Piefe!nâ\200\230xariuburg, O Edendalely Tabte â\200\230SHEDSIO!IE i Natal trouble spotsï¬\2011 - ©Warthurg Folweni oy ¥/ Richards Ba gl 1 GHAPRIC L2 WARDE )

be monitored closely.

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

ple.

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

The security forces $\hat{a}\200\231$  commanders want their men to be on good terms with the people.

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234We$  want a less aggressive community

â\200\234Serious traffic violations, for instance, often spring from the attitude â\200\230I own the road/land and I will fight youâ\200\231,â\200\235 divisional! commissioner Brigadier Chris Wolhuter said.
© Transkel military ruler
Major-General Bantu Holormusa said yesterday it was possible
South African troops were being sent into Natal as a ploy to stage a coup in his hormeland.

Last week, Defence Minister
Gene Louw charged that Transkei was training and housing
armed cadres of Umkhonto we
Sizwe,
® A meeting of a National
Peace Committee executive,
comprising the Government,
ANC and Inkatha Freedom
Party, has been postponed to facilitate a visit today by the ANC
leadership to Natal.

#### ZDDAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

Watch the Bisho massacre  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 for just R65

EAST. LONDON The ANC is selling video cassette recordings of the Bisho massacre for R65, and  $\hat{A}$  this is because people  $\hat{a}$  200\234need to know the full story after inadequate coverage by the SABC $\hat{a}$  200\235,

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus said there had been a stropg demand to see what had happened, and the ANC was making the video  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$  which was being marketed by New Nation newspaper  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$  available for that purpose,

Niehavs said:  $\hat{a}^200^234$ The video is priced to cover costs  $\hat{a}^200^24$  the ANC is not making a profit on the video.

## [ Own Correapondant J

 $\hat{a}\200\234$  The aim of selling the video is to distribute information.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

The 25-minute video, Bisho  $a\200\224$  the Story Behind the Massacre, is described in ap advertisement as a dramatic portrayal of  $a\200\234$ the march, the speeches, the shootings and the funeral  $a\200\235$ ,

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

ANCâ\200\231's Border branch spokesman

Mcebisi Bata said the video had beenmada

by the ANC's video unit.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ It has a place in our history and should be documented to ferve as a reminder "

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

Asked about the paper's decision to sell the video, a New Nation spokesman said that it was  $a\200\234$  for South Africans to see what happened on the day in question  $200\235$ ,

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

# COMMENT fo o

## A visionai?y leap

HE heightened verbal conflict . between the ANC and Inkatha, and the physical conflict that it both provokes and feeds off, can arguably be traced back to the collapse of Codesa last May. Itis far more difficult for political leaders to tolerate armed warfare between their followers when they are talking to each other two or three times a week than when there is little or no contact at all  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 as has been the case for almost the ast six months. It is because of the value of such personal contact that many have made it an article of faith that a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi would effectively end the violence. The Jatest protagonist of this view is Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel The reality is more complex. The very idea of such a meeting has become a political football. Buthelezi generally sees a face-to-face meeting with Mandela as a demonstration of his own importance and as an opportunity to build his own stature. Mandela, under pressure from his embittered grassroots constituency in Natal and aware of the dangers of escalation should the meeting fail, is unwilling or unable to play along. And Kriel and some of his colleagues pass the buck to Mandela and Buthelezi to camouflage their own inability to bring the

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

violence under control,

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

What this points to is the need for

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

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

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

#### ZDDAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

Federalism  $\hat{a}\200\230$ a likely outcome $\hat{a}\200\231$  POWER-sharing negotiations would Jeaq FH $\hat{a}\200\230$ "W

ystem of government for SA, :

\$ Bertus de Villiers Predicted Competencies, and that the general princy.yesterday, ples of a constitution he applied on aj

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234 ) levels of government.

 $\hat{A}$ £ It can be concluded from the negotia- However, constitutionalism within the 197 process that 3 new constitution will be context of regionaj Eovernment had ey a federal type, Praviding for r $\hat{A}$ © gional goy.  $\hat{A}$ © Boah in ful] h )

.  $k : \hat{A}$ » yet been ccepted in fy by the countryâ\200\231s

eroment and Justiciable bin of rights, â\200\235 politica) organisations,

 $^2\^2\$  Villiers, head of the councila  $^2\$  Centre for While most agreed that a pey COBs tity-

Constitutiona] Abalysis, told delegates tg 5

. PN : tion should he Sovereign, it Still needed to Tomposium on the feder alist principle in be seen whether tneygrv) vould be satisfied  $\operatorname{rg}$ .

when their le islative and other acts wera and the ANO had .  $\rm i$ 

debate on feder. &10nal government, 45 well as on the protection of minoritieg,

While there was disagreement op Whether regiona] authority should pe pProvided for by a unitary or federa) structure, it hagd been agreed that regiona) government should be able to delegate its (adequate) mem - ® W s e

5 WOS-IFF @3 NG i

peration Peaceâ\200\231 laun

OPERATION Peace, 4 Joint SA Police and Defence Force crackdown on the bloody Natal violence, was launched Yesterday.

And business had become involved {n negotiations with the ANC and In-katha in a desperate hid to find solutiens to the deepening crisis, an ANC official said yesterday

ANC southern Natal official Bheki Cele said ANC regional leaders, In-katha and busipess representatives were engaged in low-profile negotiations aimed at removing obstacles to a4 meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Our politica) staff reperts that hundreds of Natal servicemen are being called up to help stem the viglence ravaging the province,

The army said yesterday Natal citizen force and commando unjts would have to be called up to supple-

ment troops being transferred to the

province from other areas.

Cele said the ANC's three Natal Tegions were opposed to a Mandels-Buthelezi meeling until the resoju-

VCDDAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

[ wnson zwant ] tion of certain problems, including the bar on ANC members using school buildings in KwaZuly-controlled areas for political meetings, and the withdrawal of Inkatha from several local dispute resolution committees.

Natal-KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee chairman M  $\hat{A}^{\updownarrow}$  Pretorius refused to comment on the business/ANC/Inkatha negotiations, He said to comment could jeopardige the process.

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

But the shift is unlikely to bring the desired change in attitude that will Eet the two organisationsâ\200\231 leaders Speaking to one another in a summit or at a peace meeting,

ANC spokesman Car | Niehaus said yesterday the organisation would

ched in Nata]

NoWw express Itself with more caution, even though it stilt had problems with Inkatha sticking to these agreements, He said the ANC would enter into agreements with Inkatha as long as these agreements government. -

were supported by

â\200\234We have found that if government

does not support agreements, then Inkatha does not feel bound to keep to them and has kept breaking them in the past,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he sajid.

Meanwhile, last nightâ\200\231s meeting of the national Peace committee's executive was postponed until tomorrowbecause ANC officials could not attend as they were travelling to Natal to work on defusing tensions.

Commenting on the decision to deploy more roops, Niehaus said the ANC had  $200\234$  grave concerns .. -in light

of President FW ge Klerk's state-ment that one of the Specific duties would be to bunt down MK peopleâ $\200\235$ ,

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson welcomed the move ang said the or-. ganisation had called for this step several months ago.

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SDDAY 04 OCTOBER 1992

SAP fails td act as train killers shoot 5

SEVEN commuters died in two separate incidents of train violence yesterday, just days after police spokesman Col !%avid Bruce said certain officers showed a â\200\2341ack of commitmentâ\200\235 to ending train violence.

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

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

The failure of police to stop the 80-minute killing spree has been criticised by the ANC, who said police telephones were not answered as commuters tried to call them to the scene of the killings.

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

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

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

The attackers boarded the train at Kwesini station at 5.30am, They were carrying Makharov pistols.

The first three victims were shot dead

n the platform of Pilot station, with 3

#### : e b RAY HARTLEY )

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

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said at a news briefing the fact that the train was not stopped after the first attack was  $a\200\234$ mind boggling $200\235$ .

He said three policemen arrived on the Scene of the first killing at  $8.30am \ \hat{a} \ 200 \ 224$  about three hours after the event  $\hat{a} \ 200 \ 224$  and did not take statements from witnesses,

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

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234As$  he ran towards the station, he heard shots being fired from the direction of Lindela station. On arrival there he found two people dead and several injured.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Again he tried to contact the police and ambulance service, but there was no response,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Mamoepa said.

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

He confirmed no arrests had been made,

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

## ,"/ZCDDAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

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

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

Sexwale told a news conference in Jo-

hannesburg yesterday that the ANCâ\200\231s investigations into the incident on September 17 in Sebokeng found that a member of a self-defence unit had shot Vilakazi after mistaking him for a policemen,
- Sexwale said while it was understandable for self-defence units to defend their tommunities, â\200\234indiscriminateâ\200\235 attacks on pelicemen were depiorable.

ANC gunman â\200\230ta

rgeted policeâ\200\231
\_\_\_ WILSON 2WANE e

He sald the ANC and its allies  $\hat{a}200\224$  Cosatu and the SACP  $\hat{a}200\224$  were trying to restore peace to the conflict-ridden Vaal Triangle and efforts to normalise the situation included bringing policemen back into the area.

The Vilakazi shooting was hampering such efforts, Sexwale said, and he  $\hat{A}$ ¢zlled on the people of the Vaal Triangle to  $\hat{a}$ \200\234distance themselves from such an incident $\hat{a}$ \200\235

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

Vilakazi, who was discharged from Johannesburgâ\200\231s Garden City Clinic yesterday, said he bore his assailant no grudges.

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./ZDDAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992
Don't blame
ANC, FW tbld
BILLY PADDOCK
iâ\200\230 PRESIDENT F W de Klerk
was responsible \hat{a}\200\234all by
E nimselfâ\200\235 for any damage t0
his popularity, ANC spokes-
 man Carl Niehaus sald
yesterday.
He was responding to De
Klerk's complaint on TV1's
Agenda programine on
Monday night that the ANC
had embarked on a a\200\234a\200\230nega-
tiveâ\200\235 campaign against him
after the referendum be-
cause he was becoming 100
popular.
De Klerk said his grow-
ing popularity had been
perceived by the ANC as a
threat and this had led the
organisation to embark on
the campaign.
Niehaus said De Klerk
and governmentâ\200\231s lack of
movement towards democ-
. racy, and its lack of com-
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The president should look

' to himself and not others to blame for his political misfortunes, Niehaus said. U.DOAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

DAL T T Bl e | LE

NEws

Seven killed in reef train violence

SEVEN commuters died in two separate incidents of train violence yesterday, just days after police spokesman Col David Bruce saigg certain officers showed 3 lack of sommitmentâ\200\235 to ending traip violence

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

The ANC sajqg police telephones were nat answered as commuters tried to call them (o the scene of the Killings. Page 2 \_

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visie o

ANC rejects

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

Ramaphosa told a media conference the recently gazetted transfer of 320 000ha to Lebowa and 52 000ha to QwaQwa could be reversed by a future ANC government.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Any foren of unilateral restructuring by a discredited government should stop forthwith,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said,

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

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234\mbox{Where there 1s conflict between central and regional government, the central gov-$ 

7, T7LIBDAY 04 OCTOBER 1992

ki srani

{ RAY HARYLEY 1

ernment should prevail,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

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

The ANC's latest draft document on | regional policy, released yesterday, said | regions should be allowed limited fiscal | powers to help them a\200\234carry out their func- | tions effectively and efficiently

" $\hat{a}\200\234$ A permanent Advisory Fiscal Commission structured on 3 non party-political basis, in which  $\hat{A}$ certain powers for advising on the structure and mechanism of fiscal decentralisation would be vested,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  would have to he established.

The document said the ANC was not  $a\200\234$ too concerned with the labels  $a\200\230$ unitary state and federation $a\200\231$  P

Between 10 and 16 new regions should be considered for a future  ${\tt SA}$ , according to the document.

Force ANC to name torturers, FW urged

A GROUP of former
Afncan Nauonal Congfess members appealed
to President De Klerk
yesterday to compel the
ANC 10 disclose names of
leaders accused of torrure
10 its camps

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

The Wecekly Mail recently published names, following its own invesd. gation, of the people it said had been responsible for the atrogities

The ANC has not made the identities public

In a lerter to Mr De Klerk, released yester-day, the Returned Exiles Committee said it Ustrongly believes thart you (Mr De Klerk) can persugde the African Nat-

â\200\224 wâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

ional Congress president (
Nelson Mandela 1o meert |
our ... demands as soon
as possibieâ\200\231â\200\231. !

The REC demanded | that the ANC should | name its alleged torturers, relcase people allegedly still being held in its | camps -in Tanzania andithat International Rcd! Cross workers should be alowed to visit these camps, i )

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We strongly oppose | the idea of an intenm | government until such | tume that the ANC has met our demands,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  the letter said  $\hat{A}$ ¢!

â\200\234We forsee the erup- |
ton of violence in our |
country if those ANC |
leaders who were ip- |

volved in atrocities should :
piay any role in a furure |
government.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa :

T HEh -.\_'@:-.\_r\_%- OS-IFP\_444 3195 CITIZEN, WED.DAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

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war (The Citiyou

an exaggeratio  $\hat{A}$ » apd tbat  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  the only time We will pave a civil war 18 if Whites openly join  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ . Yet you admit that 1t jg awar, 3 frightening an fngmfu\b T34

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1 respectfully draw your attention 19 your OWD debnition of civil war: â\200\234A war between citizens oL (he same country it ne less you deny citizenship of South Afnca to either

Ρ

civil
Khosas, Zulus of both,
your comment is meghly
mcons\stem!

Asa conscwative Afn-

kanet SAVIDG freedom of my YV cannot, however, the fact that at this point in tme, Zutus and Xhosas alike afâ\202¬ citizens of South

dence yet
ic

Therefore, We <chould admit that what we are having here is 2 civil war, an stop hiding pehind technicalities like 2 war betweenp â\204¢0 organisationsâ\200\231

Only when you, the guvemmer.t of the day

warl

and the gouth African population at large finally accept this fact can We <tart working at resolving the civil war in Natal, which 1% spreading

throughout the country.

After all, 2 civil war represents the final proof that an exshing torm of governiuent over various nations s;ntolerable.

{a my humble opinion, the only solution pesides massive annihilation o ope nation By the ciber is w Bve each nauon its freedom in S own tand, thus removing the need for political supremacy-

BL GOEDE Benobi

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THE CITIZEN. WED.DAY 04 OCTOBEK 1992

Seven killed in train violence on the Reef

Chizen Reported

! SEVEN people died in

different violent inaidents

on Reef trains yesterday

! tions on

while

Five died in an attack by gun-wielding men on three different truin stathe East Rand, two bodies of two who had been

10015 Nl

men

stabbed and thrown from

Johannesweie

ycs-

trains on the burg-Soweto

discovered by terday morning.

nne

police

Three bystanders were killed at Pilot Station and

two more at Lindela Stanon.

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

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

KwaZï¬\201â\200\2301â\200\230u asks FW to host new talks

ULUNDI. â\200\224
cus of the
Legislanve Assembly
vesterday called on
President De Klerk to
host a nariosal mulnparty confererce of review to assess the peace
process, and what it
called the incffeenveness of peace structures
and the negotation proCEss.

The caucus issued the call in a series of resulotons after a meeting held in Ulundi, KwaZu-

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

T'he Can-KwaZulu

"o now rccognise rhat only a multi-party en deavour could put negotations on track and smengthen the peace processâ\200\235

In another resolution, the assermblyâ\200\231s caucus, whose members all be: long to the Inkatha Freedom Panty, lled on African Nanonal Congress president Neison Mandela to hold bj-fateral talks with [Fp leader and KwaZuln Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelczi, as the first step towards pcace among the wo groupsâ\200\231 supporters. â\200\224 Sapa

PAC  $\hat{a}$ 200\230unlikely to aid

(xoldstone on a

THE Pan Africanist Copgress would in all proba bility not agree 10 a request by the Goldstone Commission to participatc in ap inquiry into attacks agajnst policemen. PAC director of publicity and information

Waters Tobou yesterday

said the commission's request would be forwarded to PAC secretary-general

Benny Alcxander for his consideration,

Mr Toboti however said: â\200\234My. own recommendation would be that the PAC (and its militany wing, the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation Army) should pot participate in the inquiry.â\200\235

The hearing is set to start shortly following ajlegations by the SAP that Apla and the African

\* National Congressâ\200\231 myli.

tary wing, Umkhogto we Sizwe, were responsible for some of the attacks on policemen during the past IWO years,

More than 20 policemen have been killed a  $\frac{3}{200}224\frac{3}{200}224$  T ICQ 3

ttacksâ\200\231

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

Questioned on the PAC and or Aplaâ $200\231s$  participation in the commis. sion of inquiry, Mr Tobou

said the fact that the hearing was a result of security force complaints made it impossible for the PAC to participate.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Apla 1s engaged in a war with the sccurity forces and untd there is a legiimate government this wall comtinuce 1o be the case,

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We have no control over the Apla commanders,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said Mr Tobou

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WEDDAY 04 OCTOBE

Shot man mistaken for policeman

Citizen Reporter

AN ANC â\200\234seif-defence unitâ\200\235 member hag <onfessed that he shot ANC PWV regionaj execurive commitiee member, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, on September 17 becayse he had been mustakenly identified a5 2 policeman, according 10 the ANC,

Mr Viakazi, who wag discharged from Garden City Clinic yesterday, has decided not 10 press cnmimal charges against the assailant, who told the OTganisation the decision to shoot Mr Vilakazi had been an individual one.

Mr Vilakaz was wounded in the heaq and hip outside his brothers hardware shop in Zone 7, Sebokeny

The ANC said that the following  $a\200\234$ media specu-

lauonâ\204¢ on the incident, had started aq investigation, the findings of which were recently submitted 10 the PWYV executive committee,

"During the investigation an SDY member vol. untanly approached the ANC apd confessed o the shooting, According to the SDU member, Mr Vilakazi was shot because he was mistakenly ident; fied 35 a policeman,

The ANC expressed it  $\hat{a}\200\234$ horror and dismay $\hat{a}\200\235$  that an SDU member could summarily decide 10 make an attempt on the life of  $\hat{a}\200\234$ a leader of My Vil akazi's stature $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Itis even more repugnant that the attempt was ostensibly made becayse the SDU member be-

### : ANC

lieved thae Vilakazi wag a member of the South African Poljce. The ANC calls on the community to distance ityelf from such and other similar behayiour,â\200\235

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law angd Order, Capt Craig Kotze, said the ANC had a moral obligation to hand over detajis of the alleged artacker,

â\200\234The question is, what is the ANC going 10 do about taking steps against this man. The fact of the marter is that a crime has been commirted and the PErpetrator myse be brought 10 justice.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ne can only hope that Mr Vijakazi has not becn intimidated into not laying charges. -

D SR -

R 1992

ANC wa;\fs transfers of public land frozen

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

In addition, the movement wamed it will not consader itself 10 be bound to honour any such transactions if the ANC came tG power.

â\200\234Pretonaâ\200\231s recent agreements to transfer 380 000 hectares of land to the control of Lebowa and 52 000 hectares to the control of Qwa-Qwa 1s a reversion to the apartheid policy of Bantustan consolidation,â\200\235 ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told 2 media conference in Johannesburg.

In taking unilateral decisions to transfer the South African Development Trust land to the rtwo homelands, the government inhibited any cooperative efforts to resolve the â\200\234difficult but explosive issues of landiessness, homelcsspess and rural povertyâ\200\235, Mr Ramaphosa added

Much of the land to be transferred had been identified in the govemnment's White Paper of Land Reform to provide the basis of settlement for

emergent farmers, he
said.
Mr Ramaphosa said the

transfers were â\200\234extremely disingenuous in light of ongoing negotiations dealing with the re-jncor-poration of the 10 banrus-tans into South Africaâ\200\235.

The transfers were also an abuse of a number of 1ssues central to South Africaâ\200\231s negotiations process, including the debate around second-tier government and an abuse of

minonty power by  $a\200\230a\200\230re-inforcing discredited institutions whose future is a matter for negotiations <math>a\200\231$ , he said.

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

A recent spate of urban land disinvestments by

" THE CITIZEN, WEDDAY 04 OCTOBER 1992

state departments, local authoritics and some parastatal ~ organisations had the real possibility ot pre-empting the process of reconstruction of the countryâ\200\231s urban areasin a | non-racial and sociaily in- | tegrative way. â\200\224 Sapa.

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TAYWORLDNEWS %x»

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Desperate Buthelezi plays power gambit

Johannasburg

Allistor Sparks

CHIET Mangosuthiu Buthelezi is playing « (nal, desperate hand to try to stay in the fast lane of South African politics. In stonming out of negotiations just when President FOW, de Kivrk and Nelson Mandela had put them back on wack, he exemplhitied the fact that no black political party has proven legitimacy,

All ate pretenders, strutting and making exuggerated ol iims to b their influence ou the bargamimng process.

Some know their influence is greater now than it will be after the first election, which will cut hem down to size or wipe them

sltogethicr, and <o they are

1 what impact they can untiy is bhemng held to

y a desperate minority.

t Buthelezi epitomises

 $\hat{\mathbf{A}} \ \, \hat{\mathbf{c}} \ \, \text{enjoys an int} \tilde{\mathbf{A}} \ \, \text{@rpational}$  xceeds his

ort. Pretona presents

y one of the big three lead-

, alongside De Klerk and

d But, while his Inkatha
Freedom Parey may be the third
largest, it 3s & poor thard
) seriously, the newspresent Butlie-

u leader $\hat{a}$ \200\231 It is a

thoughtless labelling which carries the conhotation hat, as leader of South Africaâ\200\231s t and most renowned

picce of

warrior tribe, which inflicted a famous defeat on the British srmy at the Battle of Jsan-{hlwana in 1879, he is indeed a force 10 be reckoned with.

In fact, Butheleziâ\200\231s claims to this status are highly questionable. Opinion polls are frustratingly inadequate. â\200\230The lack of telephones in rural areas makes polling therce difficult and expensive, and pollsiers do not venture into strife-torn parts of Natal and KwaZulu BEven if they did, the fear and suspicion there would invalidate the responses.

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

Research in townships has indicated the same situation. One researcher reported that her respondents, who included Zulus in the Witwatersrand area, regarded Inkatha â\200\230wjth loathingâ\200\231 and preferred De Klerk to Buthelezt.

The ANC's  $\hat{a}\200\230$ mass action $\hat{a}\200\231$  strikes support these findings More than Y0 per  $\hat{a}$ ent of blacks have responded to the general strige calls in Durban and Pictermaritzburg,

There was a tisne, in the

Sixties and Seventies,.. when Rutheleziâ\200\231s support in his home region was solid. He "even | cmjoyed support in other regions, as he exploited his â\200\230Rantustanâ\200\231 platform at a time when the ANC and other liberation movements were banned., But from the mid-Eighties, as the great black uprising began, young Zulus began rallying to the ANC's surrogate, the United Democratic Front. With

Mandelaâ\200\231s release in 1990, the irickle of desertions became a flood. Burhelezi, always thin-skinned, becume increasingly aggressive, first towards the UDF, then the ANC. w'hat might have become g liberationist alliance turned into a bitter power struggle and then endemic civil war. As the war has raged, Buthelezi â\200\224 backed | by his ruthless police force  $\hat{a}\200\224$ has steadily iost support among young Zulus and city dwellers, shrinking his constituency to the fastness of tribal Zululand. Assessing where this leaves Buthelezi nationally 1s difficult. Outside the Zulu tribe he has nothing, ¢except for some whites ! with  $\hat{a}\200\234$ indirect rule $\hat{a}\200\231$  instincts who are looking for a black surrogate to oppose the ANC Assuming 45 per cent of Zulus back hum, that gives him three mmullion supporters in 8 nationul population of 35 nullion  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 or just over & per cent | compared 10 the ANC's 60-plus per ¢cent and 25 per cent for De

Goldston MK attack

DURBAN. â\200\224 lokatha 18 to ask the Goldstone Commission to nves-gate the role of the African Navonal Congressâ\200\231 armed wing in attacks on the mamly Zalu party, it was anpounced yesterday.

Whi $\neg$ \202c wdmmmg the

increased deployment of security forces in the Natal Midlands, the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday caid it would ask the Compussion 10 inveshgate Umkhonio we Sizwe's (MK) alleged role in fuxthering violence.

e must probe s role: 1P

Inkatha spokesman M Kim Hodgson said m a statement his party would also ask the Goldstone Commission 10 nvesn-

gate the status of MK |

arms caches.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We arc convinced that such arms, ammumion and explosive devices are being used by the ANCHn their military operanons."  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

He sad an wmpartial i vestigation would rcwal whether the arms had been stored and were not

being used to further pol

itrcal violence.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The IFP demands of the government that i make known all informa tion and facts about the deployment and trawning of MK from, and in, the Transkel

â\200\234The government nas

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claimed it has prrefutable |
    proof of such activities

- Sapa

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fHE STAR, WEDNESDAY 04 OCTOBER 1992

Train attacks: 4 more hur¢ 1/

By Bronwyy Wilkigson wards Johannesburg ang be: wered.

Crime Reporter . tween New Canada ap The train left for Lindela Sta.

S e e PN ns on and the caller r

Four more Commuters were jp. < and, on hig way,

Jured in Reef train attacks Th coming from Lindela.

early today, following attacks jured, The commuter said he again

yesterday in whion Seven com- - As the train pulled in to\_Jo. . tried to cal] the police but

t got

muters were murdered, police hannesburg Station at about g response, .

Said, 7.15am, ap assistant constable - The train thep moved on to

five people, in. apparently noticed 2 man op Kauehong Station, where two

policemen Platform ¢ wity 2 gun. He alleg- more commutery wepe Injured,

i edly opeped fire, Wwounding two

policemen and three commyt.

ers, Opperman sajig, 3 i ated, byt it was possibie

He said the shooting wag er had ttiedanumberat

was in being investigated  $\hat{a}^200^234$  yery gur. police statjon other than the  $\hat{a}_f$ 

faet 3 Plainclothes péllceman gentlyâ\200\235, charge otgice. on patroj, Yesterday, five peogle died â\200\230Tgose People do not get to ed w.

and two were injur  $\hat{a}^202^D$  guD- work ynti) about 8am  $\hat{a}^200^235$  pe said. Mmen opened fire op Commuters In other gatung for traing at three Fast

ns

Âf to an â\202¬vewitness

Long- account Supplied tg monitoring
on. He suffered seri- group Peace Action, the gunOus injuries. fened fire on commuters

Another man waiting for 3 ot Station gt about peeding train
train at Cleveland Station, was \$.25 am. i Anyone with information on
shot by Someone on 4 passing Kauebong police sta- train violence can eall toll-free
train. The train then went on to- tion, but the call was upaps. Rumber 080-111-0141.

â\200\224 e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

T IS interesting to note that while we are moving into the new, non-racist. non. sexist South Africa, and are trying hard to disregard our culfural differences, we still have  $a\200\234$ cultural departments $200\235$ , What are they there for if not for culfural pires-

I am not supporling the CP, but they do have a point when they talk about different values and cultures, although they streich it too far. If we are going to make South Africa successful, we need Lo take {hese matiters seriously. In trying to combat racial problems, we have waged a war against cultures. it is row difficult 10 stop the war, because people are not fighting for political recognilion any more, but for cultural preservation,

ervation and understanding?

The silwation of the comservative Zulus is obviously {he best example, and the extreme case is the now notorious KwaMadala Hostel.

The ANC alliance, with the press and so-¢ cailed public opinion in general, is demanding

that the Zuhis get out of KwaMadala. | believe [ most KwaMadala residents would like nothing

better than to get out of KwaMadala, where they live under virtual siege

However, there is one big flaw in the de-

mand that they leave This is expressed in

' Shaka's words: "Niygobuyelaphi na?â\200\235 (Where

i will you relurn to?) which convey that men

About that famous trouble at the hostel Politically Correct about it, let

т. /

Butch Cassidy

who retreat under threat would be shunned and despised by everybody. (in Shakaâ\200\231s time, it in fact meant they would be killed).

Sore readers will have seen (he film a\200\234Butch

Cassidy and The Sundance Kidâ\200\235. In one scene, Some men are {rying to force the Sundance Kid, a renowned gunfighter, out of lown. Sundance flatly refuses to leave, while Butch, who knows that if Sundance draws his sixguns there will be corpses, pleads with the men who are Irying lo force Sundance out

Buich appeais to these men 10 ask Sundance lo stay. The men think Butch is crazy, but Butch knows best. Sundance won't leave while he is being pushed. In the end, the men swallow their pride and say: â\200\234Won't you please stay?â\200\235 So Sundance (urns aroungd and walks off, saying: â\200\234No thanks, I was just goingâ\204¢.

#### i e e

S...i#f the idea is to end it, rather than to be S mention the unmentionable, namely Zulu culture

Thal is exacily the situation that applies not only in KwaMadala hostel, but {o many Zulus} The men in the hostel would like to forget about this gloryless war and return to their wives and children in Natal, but {hat would be retreat, which their cuiture does not aliow.

Instead of the politicians irying to build higher walls belween residents and hostel inmates, Jet representatives from the COmmuni-Lies call a ceasefire. This should be done without {he mention and involvement of the ANC/IFP at all. Independent clergymen, businessmen and other people of no political slanding should take the initiatives. To the uninitiated, this would be nuriuring the pride of the Zulus, but careful scrutiny would reveal an understanding of somebodyâ\200\231s culture and the respect thereof.

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

For most purposes we can ignore elhni $\hat{A}^{\varphi}$  generalisations, or consider it impolite to {ocus on them. When it comes (o serious issues hLke the violence related 10 the hostels, we ignore these things at our peril.

vty 441

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\_\_\_\_ SUNDAY TIMES, October 4 1952

FURY AS 11 MORE THUGS

By CHARIS PERKINS, SHARON CHETTY and DE WET POTGIETER

McBride ELEVEN other hardened criminals were released along with gangster Lucky Malaza as  $\frac{3}{200}$  political prisoners  $\frac{200}{231}$  last week-

= end in terms of the deal between President De Klerk and guarded ANC president Nelson Mandela, the Sunday Times has

- after assaujt

Neither the ANCnor the = ::

established.

mYSterY yesterday now they ome Faultless Vlek

The  $\hat{a}200\234$ dirty dozen $\hat{a}200\235$  included men convicted of stock theft. robbery, house-breaking and possession of drugs, as well as murder,  $\hat{a}$ ¢ ulpable homicide and

\_ to be released.  $a\200\235$  Prison officials referred ADRJAAN VLOK, the minister in charge as to a list drawn up by the of prisons, refuses to be reld responsible g Human Rights Commis- for the release of gangster, train robber sion last November. But and cop killer Lucky Malaz. He says it's By RYAN CRESSWELL the HRC sald it had  $a\200\234$ no the ANC's fault FRIENDS and eighbours idea $a\200\235$  which list had been Well, well.  $a\200\231\r\a\200\234$  we k{;f;\_.wv who IS running bave thrown a security net used to determine who the prisons. What we don't know wh around the Durban home would go free And the Mr Vlok gets paid for not running then

[ released Magooâ\200\231s Bar ANC claimed it velled on orober Hobort  $MeBridoa\200\231s$  uates gived by the Corgegs family. tional Services depart-

This follows an incident Ment s on Wedpesday in which FPublic n $\ddot{}$  202.ge(-mgb the brother of one of three ed since the refeases began women killed at the a week ago beachfront bar wax

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Okay,

OPINION Whither De Klerk?

RESIDENT Te Klerk has

done his besâ\200\231 during the past

ten days t¢ lifi the mood of a

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

The President tried to put a gloss on matters hy appearing on television, but he was not effective. Later in the week, he subimitted to a piess conference, but that. tov. fell flar. The magic, 1t would seeiri, has gone out of his leadership

foreign dipioinats insist in 'oud stage-whispers, that the iatest meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela was the result of intense toreign pressure and, depending on who is talking, they assign the credit for the meeting variously to the British Foreign Secretary, the United Nations, the European Comimunity, or the International Monetary Fund - - or all of the above,

The President is vulnerable to such pressure. aid the cause is obvious: the collapsing economy Can no longe: sustain the profligate adminisiration of the National Party, aud the country Is running inwo debu at & frightening pace. No arve the remedies abvious: t¢ cu. gown the government would aiteiate an army of

civil servants and their dependent elites; to raise taxes would drive the country deeper inic depression; to cut socâ¢ial spending risks more civil cotnmotion and = further flight of confidence and capital.

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

There is, however, according w siren voices in both business and diplomatic communities, one escape from this dilemma: an interim government would oper, the way to IMF filancing. foreign loans and aid payruenis and perhaps even to toreign private investment. All i cquires ic for President De Kleik to yieic up prisoners, to abaidoi & bloch ing mechanism, to forsake Chie; Mangosuthy Buthelez . . The ANC, percelving weakness stands firm on its demands despite jts own declining intei national status and dwindling finances.

President De Klerk s foliowers too, are not entirely stupid. They may be mistaken about details, and bemused about negotiations, but they recognise a retreat wher. they see one. Presiden: De Klerk apparently without long-tern plans, offers no vision, nc convincing explanation. no leadership to off-set the linage of forced retreat. If he kinows where he is going, he is not telling any body, and 0 a desponden: natior draws it own somble conchis sions g

# a new nat EHE New South Africa, t beast whose hour has at last, slouch in gre moral turpitude The multitudes cheered when ANC iller Robert McEride proffered 4dols ichmann's ex¢ for szlaughtering s following or For Israelis exec { rongh t =i Eienand the Americans jailed Lt v, the murderer of My Lai Not that MeBride wag the we } Barend Strydom $\hat{a}\200\230$ ison clutching a contrac Btory $\hat{a}$ 200\235 of mass murder $\hat{a}$ \200\224 whije is victimns, sacrificed befors (L ous statue of Hans Strijdom, was still inguishing, crippled, in hospital The government tried to pretend at 5 roleased rst that Barend Strydom w part of a deal with the AN spirit of conciliation and for t Mr Neison Mandela quick!: ted that suggestion. The gove appeared, had released & Iy tore up ils right flank, tainting iri¢ of conciliation with cymicizm and litical expediency. Under the circumstances, it came a pinic rejief to discover that an i lite ordinary gangster, onc lalaza, had been released in erro risonsâ\200\231 authorities threw up inds: they were, like MeBride, ain

F a dozen other common <

nt free.

ppeared on the ANMC's list, ¢

Did nobody check the names? Well, pparently not. The list has been amed on the Human Rights Comeroason, 3 self-appointed tribunal which believe, generates more imag

2tion than anybody sines ickens. The HRC's propag plenice has lately been subi orching criticism by Anthes I: the Institute of Race Relations per called Spotlight on Disinfrirms hn

By now, of course, our government | flustered by international preszures mass action, by rebellicuz hantu-Rps, by mounting debt and 2 Z~um-

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past haunts

(

 $ionâ\200\231s$  birth

bling economyv that it canâ $200\231t$  be expected to keep track of such smal) matters as the identity of its prisoners. If the ANC says, let our people go. the people go

But it does raise the question whar on earth does President De Kierk think heâ\200\231's dotng, rushing into half-baked  $a\200\230$ deals $a\200\235$  which must be cobbled together in rmarathon sessions so that Mr Mandela can icave for his important meetings in Beijing $a\200\235$ 

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

The answer, of course, is that the government has been unable to formulate a definition that will cover both the ANCâ\200\231s political offenders and its own The ANC defines political prisoners simply as pecople â\200\234incarcerated for their opposition to aparvtheidâ\204¢; the government has tried (o widen that to cover all people whe committed ofiences â\200\234on the assumption that a particular cause was being servedâ\200\231,

The alm, of course, is to protect not only those people, hke the killers of David Webster and Anton Lubowski, who  $\hat{a}200\234$ fellowed orders $\hat{a}200\235$ . It s  $\hat{A}$ °o protect also those who gave the orders: the generals, certainly. The security coun-

cil, perhaps. Maybe even members of the cabinet. All those, in other words, whe might face justice, or retribution, under a new government.

OR the government, the protection

of  $a\200\234$  political offenders  $a\200\235$  within its own ranks constitutes a second, hidden agenda, which has seriously weakened 1S negotiating position.

The problems, intellectual and political, of safeguarding hidden criminals under the pretext of pardoning known criminals have proved insurmountable in its etforts to get a  $a\200\234$ deal $a\200\235$  that would cover the political criminals hiddep in its  $a\200\235$  that government has offered one concession after another to the ANC. It has retreated from one untenable position to another.

It has fallen ahout in the most ridic ulous fashion, squandering its credibility.

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

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

MHEN followed thres amnesties in seven months. which spewed the contentz of the jails across the streets. The ANC wanted 4 000 prisoners, President De Klerk

gave them 57 000. The Sharpeville Six went free, and the unbalanced Davig Protter, and in Parliament the Minister of Justice whimpered that it was all Récessary L0 persvade the Americans te lift sanctions.

Now Robert McBride is free, and the Prisons Department is working blindly down the ANC's list, and thereâ\200\231s not much more that President De Kierk can give. But he still does not have ANC agreement for an indemnity for the generals, and the police, and the political jeaders who must be presumed to have committed erlmes too dreadful to confess, even to get indemnity

When President De Klerk threw open Mr Mandela's cell, it was an act of magnanimity and statesmanship that ignited the idealism of a nation trying to be born. Last weekâ\200\231's shabby deal gave us, instead, Barend Strydom and Robert McBride and a gangster released by mistake.

The New South Africa, the rough beast whose hour has come round at iast, still sleuches towards its birth, but

follows a path littered with broken hi')pe: $\hat{A}\ll$ ; and haunted by ghoqrs from oyr

© KEN OWEN

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

Monday's handgrenade attack on

a bus ferrying workers  $\hat{a}200\224$  which left one dead  $\hat{a}200\224$  prompted the Local Dispute Resolution Committee to ask the Goz\_dÂ\$tone COMUMISSION to investigate viclence in the township as a matter of urgency.

On Tuesday police opened fire on ahout 30 people protesptemg against the attack, sparking a meeting of the LDRC -- comprising SAP, SADF.
ANC and Inkatha representatives â\200\224 on Friday,

Report: KURT SWART Pictures: JOE SEFALE

Tension has been building since

July 22, when management at the -

Eskort bacon factory hired temperary workers to replace striking members of the Food and Allied Workers $\hat{a}$ 200\231 Unico.

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

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

FLASHPOINT

TANDA

Bus attack brings

Mr Shadrack Mayongo, who suffered shrapnel wounds in his leg, said: â\200\234We saw men armed with guns and petrol bombs at the side of the road. There was an explosion and [ felt dizzy. The bus wag still moving. Peopleâ\200\231 were screaming and â\200\230moaning. Shots were still Being fired at us. Vool

 $\hat{a}\200\234When$  the bus stopped there was blood and

injured people everywhere. Taxis stopped to take the injured to hospital. Then police shot teargas, rubber builets and birdshot at people trying to help us.â\200\235

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

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

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

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

. This was done for a fortnight, but on Monday the escort failed to ari TIVE,
The attack on the bus came as it passed the
Ratanda hostel, and resulted in the death of Mr
Thomas Tsoari and shrapnel and burn injunes to 32 other passengers.

Police have denied Mr Mavongo's allegations.

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

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

## Worse

Residents ¢laim 30 people were injured by rubber builets and birdshot, while police put the figure at 20.

In a further protest, resi-

denis staged a two-day
stayaway, returmng to
work on Thursdag.-

Friday's LDRC meeting -

took place amid a storm of

volatile township to brink of war

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The people doing th killing are notx-nfein;

brought to justice. M
5 e Many of |
the killers have been s};en !

, Walking freely ip  $\{grounds \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35 + T \in bostel \}$ 

Ratanda Civie Assocr.

i

ation chairman Mr Ezekie]

\_

Magcu said the conflict was act an ANC-Inkatha clash, but  $\hat{a}\200\234a$  case of hostel dwellers fighting the community, and an attempt at

union-bashingâ\200\235.

Malicious

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We understand that they caused havoc in the township afterwards, but that was beyond Eskort's

control,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 he said

Inkatha spokesman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu condemned the Ratanda violence, which he said had

claimed two IFP lives.

The homes of five

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

Ratanda ANC branch chairman Mr Obed Nkosi said the root of the problemn was the launch of an IF® branch in Ratanda a year ago.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The situation has worsened since the strike began on July 22 and many of our

people have been killed  $\hat{a}\200\224$  mostly in the presence of !

police, who ejther take no action or teargas residents irying to protect them

selves,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 he said.

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

â\200\234The IFP finds the action taken against Mr Biyela last Tuesday provocative and inciting. There has been no proof of Mr Biyela's involvement in this hideous act of violence against innocent people.â\200\235 added Mr Ndlovu.

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

â\200\234Ratanda has become
the focus of viclence which
obviously " cannot be
stopped by ANC and
Inkatha leaders, and the |
police have become the |
target of malicious and |
uncalled for propagandaâ\200\235
he said

Recommendations tabled at the LDRC meeting stated that:

@ Communication

between Fawu and Uwusa, the Inkatha-linked trade union, should be improved,

® The hoste! should be fenced and illegal tenants arrested;

As There should be heavy deployment of police in the township and especially at the hostel;

® Police should wear identity tags at all times and ensure fair treatment for everybody; and

@ The Goldstone Commission should Investigate |
the viclence as a matter of
urgency. 4

# i T [ L e (= s A

â\200\234That is rubkbish. People who want to propagandise for the ANC can do so, but the fact ig that our police are trained specifically to maintain law and order. If there are members who transgress and involve themselves in violence they should be dealt with. I have never, and would never, give them orders to kill people. This ANC propaganda really annoys me.â\200\235

His response to the fact that many were critical of his associations with people like Brig Gqozo and President Mangope, whose territories had taken the â\200\234independenceâ\200\235 road to which ne had been morally opposed, was: â\200\234Why? What rubbish is this? We are talking now about the new Southr Africa.â\200\235

By the same token, he said, what about the ANCâ\200\231s association with the government which was the founder of the universally hated system of apartheid? â\200\234And what about the ANC's consorting with Bantu Holomiga and similar people who are in cahoots with them?â\200\235

And, also by that token. he would not be associating with Mr de Klerk and with Mr Mandela whose ANC had continuously  $\hat{a}$ 200\234poured out vitriol $\hat{a}$ 200\235 against him and had even  $\hat{a}$ 200\230broadcast appeals in the past for his assassination.

~ â\200\234From a Christian point of view I also see this as a time for reconciliation, in the same way as there are convicted people who have heen granted amnesty. These accusations about my associ-

ations (with people like

Gqozo and Mangope and the

Conservative Party) are in-.

consonant with all this. $\hat{a}$ \200\235

n view of this attitude,

was he still willing to

talk to the ANC? Of

course he was. And what were the oâ¢bstacles to his getting together with Mr Mandela?

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ In fact, we do meet now and then and talk to each other er and even hug each other in front of everybody. What is the big deal about that? It is he who is the problem, not me 5

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It was in front of the UN Security Council that Mr Mandela called me and my organisation surrogates of

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

But, apart from that, he felt he owed something to the people who had been killed. â\200\2341 am troubled and hurt and grieve for the people who are being killed every day by the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. I have, for instance, & list of the. people â\200\224 with names and details â\200\224 sent out for training in Tanzania in June this year. 1 also have a copy of â\200\230a note written by the head of Umkhente, giving instructions for activating

Umbkhonto.  $\hat{a}\200\234\text{Now,}$  to come to me and

say,  $\hat{a}$ 200\230Are you prepared to talk

the National Party govern-

PR WP

to these reoyle?â\200\231 I mean, really! Really! I'm not unwilling to talk to them, but I donâ\200\231t know to what exient people think that the human lives of members of the IFP are not

worth the same as the lives of people who belong to the Aâ\200\230\Jg. There is never any hullabaloo or hue and cry when (our) people are killed, even in droves, every day ... 1 spoke to Archbishop Tutu to-

ay on that very izsue and he was also concerned about that very issue.â\200\235

What about accusations that he took câ¢riticisms, even from colleagues, badly?

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

S

ties. Zulus are very brave geo;:!e and even disagree

luntly with the king and with  $chiefs a \ 200 \ 235$ 

Would they use expressions like  $\hat{a}\200\234$ bullshit $\hat{a}\200\235$  or "bugger up $\hat{a}\200\235$ , for instance?

â\200\234I have never used those words to other people. I've never said that Mandela talks bullshit â\200\224 I have never insulted any leader or ever attacked Mandela personally. Such allegations are an insuit to me and to my colleagues. In my cabinet are some of the most brilliant people I have ever known.

 $\hat{a}\200\234T\hat{A}$ ¢ imply that they are just like sheep is very insult. ing to them and to me If people say otherwise they do 30 t0 make propaganda. It is nonsense to suggest that I am a dictator. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

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

 $\hat{a}\200\2341$  cannot say that I have the same relationship with Dr Zach de Beer as | had w Mr Colin Eglin or Dr Slabbert. I have neve

relled with him and 'y known him for a long tin But his remarks are ve constructive. He has aiways adopted the view that, if the ANC and the government de cide anything, then we must accept it â\200\234Even now he is saying that people must not interfere with what the ANC and the government are doing This is really unconstructiv: He is one of the people  $\hat{\mathbf{A}} \mathbf{w}$ are stoking the fires of con- $\{1 = \}$ ] flict = whether this is done wittingly, T donâ\200\231t know.â\200\235 HAT about suggestions â\200\230from some gquarters that there was resentment among his black colleagues because he allegedly had surrounded himself with whites whose advice he supposedly tended to follow? Names had even been mentioned.  $a\200\234$ These are racist allegations. 1 am 64 and my political career has spanned 30 . years. Where were all these (alleged white advisers) then? What, then, about pecple who speak for the ANC: people like Marcus, Niehaus, Slovo, Kasrils? 1 find this offensive and these things are said just to denigrate me. I am not wet behind the ears. $\hat{a}$ \200\235

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

â\200\234That is insulting. People donâ\200\231t ask questions because they want to get information from me. They do 50, under the cloak of journalism, to insuit me, This is because they are covering their backsides with the ANC, They insult me as if they want information, but ail they are doing is making propaganda for the ANC to denigrate me oblique—

ly.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Why$  shouldn $\hat{a}\200\231t$  I be annoved with that? I mean there is a booklet by the Institute of Race Relations on the mau-mauing of the Press,

 $a\200\234$ which indicates the extent of

the intimidation that is there in the media generally in this country. It is enormous. â\200\234When people want to cover their backsides I must get annoyed. I am really not keen on giving interviews an more because I often think they are just wasting my time in order to get an interview. It means I just promote propaganda againit myself.â\200\235

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## L | { lâ\200\230-iï¬\201 >

No Codesa 3 without, Buthelezi, say Nats

CODESA 3 could be underway by early November â\200\224 { if the government can get | digsident homeland leaders, including Inkaiha Freedom Party leader Mapgosuthu Butbelezi, back to the negotations table,

Both the ANC and the government, after a five raonth negotiations break

hich cost the country dearly economically and politi-  $\hat{A}$ ¢ally, are now eager o re-{sume talks, with the | prospect of elections i the secopd half of next year.

Late npext week ANC secretary-geaeral Cyril Rai maphosa and govemment { constitutional head Roelf ! Meyer will resume bilateral

i talks.

#### , : | By CHARLENE smmw

However, Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister
Tertins Delport said although the government was ready to resume megotiations immediately, â\200\234multilateral talks would defigiteIy not lake place without Mr
BRutheleziâ\200\235.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We can $\hat{a}\200\231$ t have multilateral talks excluding leaders within our present boundaries  $\hat{a}\200\224$  certainly not without Inkatha $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said

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

Gqoro, the Comservalive Party and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mavngope. The IFP leader bas yet to respond to the invitarion

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

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

A® An ANC a\200\234lekgotlaa\200\235 {meeting of key negotiators) goon after the return of Nelson Magpdela from abroad on October 11;

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

@ A meet of National
Peace Accord signatones
on Qctoher 17, This is seen
as critical as it will be the
blggeï¬\201t meeting of political
jeaders since the breakdown of Codesa;

® An ANC/goverament |

 $\hat{a}\200\234bosberaad \hat{a}\200\235$  in the last week of October.

Elections

Both the ANC and the government are hoping multtlateral negotiations

will begin immediately

after the bosberaad, then

break for Christmas, and

resume early in 1993
Provided outstanding
matters are resolved with—
out further breakdowns, the |
government expects e¢lec-!
tions for an interim govern—
ment and constitution—mak—
ing body could take place in
July next year. The ANC
believes elections will be

held in October.

Work is siready underway to sireamline the fanetioning of Codesa 3 lo speed up the practical implementation of agreements.

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Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been hailed by some as the guardian of democracy and reviled by others as a tribal despot. Like him or hate him, he cannot be ignored. ROY RUDDEN

went to find if the leopard has changed its spots

HIEF Mangosuthu

Buthelezi spoke out

this week about the

frustrations that bedevil his position asz a key figure on the country's haphazard road to a new dispensation.

In a frank but prickly interview, the Kwazulu apnd IFÂ¥F leader told of his aï¬\202ger at being misrepresented as the angry spoiler of South African politics,

And he told of his firm belief that what he called the  $\hat{a}\200\234\Von$  Ribbentrop/Molotov agreement $\hat{a}\200\235$  between the government and the ANC last week had resuited in his Inkatha Freedom Party being made the sacrificial lamb in towards resumed negofiations by the two main players.

In the process he:

- & Disclosed that he no longer looked on State President FW de Klerk with trust;
- @ Accused Democratic
- ~ Party leader Dr Zach de Beer

of  $a\200\234$ stoking the fires of confliet $a\200\235$ a $200\231$ ;

 $\hat{\mathbb{Q}}$  Defended his associations with people like the

Ciskeiâ\200\231's Brigadier Oupa

Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's

President Lucas Mangope and the Conservative Party;

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

A® Demed that his recent use of intemperate language Yike â\200\234bullshitâ\200\235 and â\200\234bugger upâ\200\235: indicated that he was running on a temperamental short fuse (colleagues in fact accused him of being teo patient, kind and Christian}); and accused most journalists who sought interviews with him of doing so \_with\_the hidden agenda of making propaganda for the ANC/SACP/

Cosatu alliznose

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

t was unacceptable for

Mr de Kierk to have made joint decisions with the ANC on the future securing of hostels and

the bann traditional weapons  $1\hat{A}^{\, \downarrow}$  Zulu people most affe jere. not included in discussions.

He had t the beginning,  $\hat{a}$ 200\234but I'm not sure

any more = I am defin not sure. $\hat{a}$ \200\235

Relations between him and the State President had ¢ ready deteriorated to the ex tent that Mr de Klerk, in talk on September 7 and 17, had said that Chief Buthelezi had hurt him. This was specifically bhecanse he had said Mr de Klerk wanted to sacrifice the IFP and the Zulus to please the ANC.

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

â\200\2306&.4(\

cord of Agreement
the still-awaitfin dstone recomdations and this was done

L0 get1 the ANC back to  $\hat{A}$ ¢ conference table.  $\hat{a}$ \200\234What

angers one is that, in this process, we have become the sacrificial lamb. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

The bilateral ' agreement

which provided for the single menâ\200\231s hostels becoming virtual concentration camps, and {mposed a blanket ban on traditional weapons  $a\200\224$  an issue which singled out the Zulus for deprivation  $a\200\224$  was going too far.

The Zulus were the only major social formation which was not armed with sophisticated weaponry. It was well

nown that both the whites the ANC, through its khonto we Sizwe, had aced immense arsenals, inng automatic weapons, natic rifles like AK47s id heavy artillery.

But what about accusations that the Kwazulu police were virtually the Zulugâ\200\231 army and that this was underlined by his own position as the Kwazulu Minister of Police?

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#### No surrender:

Klerk's National Party.
Although Butheleat proclaimed
"last . week that Inkatha was â\200\230a
national political forceâ\200\231, he has
¢learly abandoned his ciforts to
build a nationsl constituency
and is beating â\200\230the Zulu ethnic
drum in a frantc tad to consoli

date regional support

He is said to be trying 10 follow &  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$  Fran 7 - Joscet Strauss strategy', using his jepional base oproject hinself o od nationa stage.

But with even his regional base in doubt, he is becoming more frenctic, seckang alliances with other Domelandâ $\200\235$  Jeaders whom he onee despised, such s

### ORBRSERVER

Chilef Buthelezi, who canno

Rrigadicr Oupa

luyphmhmwanaâ\200\230s Lucas Manpope and the â\200\234buteher of Bisho', Gqozo. He s cven courting white extremists of the Conscrvative Party and Boerstaat Movement, in what looks suspiciously Jike an attempt o buld @ gecessionist alliance

The one thing Butheleei cannot afford s an election. The
1P will not participate in
(eonstituent assebly) election
and it will join forces with every
true democrat in South Aftica
who rejects an carly election, â\200\231
he declared in his walk-out
«atement last Sunday.

Clemly what South Aftica

IHEATHA

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{ claim fo be the one authentic Zulu lead 1

peeds with increasing utgen A
an clection, It must cleaf |

decks, sweep away the steay men and establish cleatly Wi speaks for whom  ${\rm \hat{a}}\mbox{200}\mbox{224}$  and fot N

mnany.

ers must then negotiate the constitution.

What it cannot afford prolonged campaign of ¥ clectioneering betweeft mujor playets, which ¢f thetr attempts 10 negoliate &8 tlement, and acts of sahotag the bit players who Wi stave off the electiont = which keeps the country n a motbid inltâ\200\230.ï¬\202â\200\230eï¬\202ï¬\202ï¬\201 frustration and violence.

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