

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

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JANUARY — APRIL

Israeli diplomat denies Inkatha combat training

118 2/11/92

STAR 2/11/92

By Patrick Laurence

Reports that Israel gave military training to 200 Inkatha men were devoid of all truth, Israeli Ambassador to SA Zvi Gov-Ari said in a New Year's interview.

"We have never, as the government of Israel, been involved in this kind of activity with any political group or party from South Africa."

Israel had only been involved — "and proudly so" — in training members of the black community in medical, agricultural, educational and developmental skills, the ambassador insisted.

Some 600 black South Africans had been trained in these spheres over the past three years, Mr Gov-Ari said, adding: "We will continue to do so. It is the only way we find appropriate to help the people of South Africa."

Asked whether it was possible that non-government agencies in Israel had given Inkatha men military training, Mr Gov-Ari replied: "I have no knowledge of it. I'm sure that no private company could do it without the knowledge of the authorities."

Mr Gov-Ari stressed that Israel's non-military training courses were open to blacks across the political spectrum, without discrimination in favour of people from one ideological camp rather than another.

He acknowledged that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had visited Israel as a guest of his government about four months ago, but said a visit by ANC leader Nelson Mandela was in the offing.

"(King Goodwill) was interested in aid in the agricultural field. We promised to send a group of experts to KwaZulu to

assist in agricultural training and cattle raising. We have the knowledge and can assist."

But, Mr Gov-Ari hastened to add, Mr Mandela had also been invited to visit Israel: "He has accepted. It is a matter of co-ordinating a time."

The conversation turned to the ANC's pro-PLO sympathies and to Mr Mandela's view of PLO leader Yasser Arafat as a comrade.

"The ANC tried to identify with the PLO but it is extremely different. They are struggling for democratic rights in their country. The PLO has been recognised as an international terror organisation."

"The PLO is different from the Palestinian people. We are ready to speak to them. We have already met them twice, in Madrid and in Washington. On January 7 we will continue discussions in Washington."

ANC, Inkatha leaders to discuss peace

PATRICK BULGER

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet early this year in an attempt to normalise relations between their organisations. (11B)

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed that the third high-profile meeting between the two leaders since Mandela's release from prison would be held.

Although no date has been set and no agenda agreed on, the meeting is largely intended to defuse tensions between the organisations at grassroots level. Both are

signatories to the peace accord and both are taking part in Codesa, but violence between their supporters continues.

Vos said Inkatha felt it was important that a high-profile meeting take place to demonstrate to supporters that both movements were seriously interested in peace.

The meeting is being arranged by Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and the ANC's Jacob Zuma, who has played a leading role in previous attempts to broker peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

SIDNEY 3/1/92

Mandela Buthelezi to meet soon

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet early this year in an attempt to normalise relations between their organisations.

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Inkatha and ANC agree on talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

STAR 6/1/92
(11A) (11B)

The executive committee of the ANC and the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party have agreed to meet in an effort to normalise strained relations.

The planned meeting has been confirmed by both organisations, but a date has yet to be decided.

The aim of the meeting would be "to normalise relations between us", said IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos. "After many many months of contact, the ANC has finally agreed to meet the IFP", she added.

The ANC suspended bilateral contact with the IFP during the "Inkathagate" scandal in the middle of last year, with ANC president Nelson Mandela saying IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had allowed himself to be used by the Government and that there was therefore no difference between him and the Government.

ANC, Inkatha to meet

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Soweto
6/1/92

THE executive bodies of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have agreed to meet at a date still to be decided on "to normalise relations" between them, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos confirmed on Friday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will almost

certainly lead the two delegations.

"The aim of the meeting will be to normalise relations between us," Vos said. It would be similar to that between the IFP and ANC on January 29 last year.

"After many, many months of contact the ANC has finally agreed to meet with the IFP," Vos

said.

She emphasised though: "There has only been a general agreement to meet. No date has been agreed on. That will depend on everybody's schedules.

"The meeting will be between the national executive committee of the ANC and the central committee of the IFP."



NELSON MANDELA

An ANC spokesman was unavailable for comment. - Sapa

Buthelezi and Treurnicht meet

STAR 7/1/92

11B

202/2

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — In a “friendly” meeting yesterday — the second of a planned series between the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — Dr Andries Treurnicht remained deaf to the urging of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that South Africa needed the CP at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The two leaders, accompanied by senior members of their parties, conferred in private and then met the media.

Earlier, while pressmen waited for 80 minutes, a handout from Chief Buthelezi was circulated in which he urged the CP to take part in Codesa.

He said he believed that no talks, in which a

party with the substantial constituency of the CP did not take part, could succeed. All trends had to be represented in constitution-making and no constitution could succeed which did not satisfy the aspirations of all citizens.

Chief Buthelezi said he found it incomprehensible that there were people at Codesa who imagined they could omit anyone who could show any visible constituency.

Questioned at the conference later, Dr Treurnicht said that since changes were said to be irreversible and there was a declaration of intent for a unitary one person, one vote central government, there was no sense in the CP attending Codesa.

He said the CP felt strongly about self-determination in respect of the Zulu people as well as its own people.

Both men denied they were talking in terms of

an alliance. But if any agreement could be reached in the interests of the people of both sides, they would consider such an agreement.

A joint statement issued at the press conference said the meeting had reviewed the political situation since their last meeting and had concentrated on Codesa.

The CP delegation had expressed its horror and concern at the violence which had engulfed the entire country, particularly in Natal/KwaZulu.

● King Goodwill Zwelithini will meet President de Klerk on Friday in Cape Town to present his views regarding the recent Codesa talks, Chief Buthelezi said.

Commenting on his absence from Codesa, the chief said: “If my most natural constituency is excluded — the Zulu people and the king — it is not possible for me to attend and I have no right to attend.”

IFP asks CP to join Codessa

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party met in Durban yesterday to discuss the negotiation process and Codessa.

The IFP expressed the need for the CP to be part of Codessa and of the redevelopment of South Africa's political landscape.

In a memorandum to CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said as part of the indigenous people of the country, the rightwing had a role to play in Codessa.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

"For years now I have been ridiculed in certain black and liberal circles, both here and abroad, for daring to say that although we suffer from colonialism and imperialism, just like many parts of Africa and the Third World in general, that we in South Africa are nevertheless not faced with a

colonial situation here," Buthelezi said.

He said no answer will be found if it is not accepted that whites in this country were indigenous people.

"We must all accept this premise if we are going to succeed at all in finding a solution that will guarantee any peaceful existence for all the people of this land," Buthelezi told Treurnicht.

He also said that he was "perturbed" by Treurnicht's absence at Codessa. The exchange of pleasantries continued when

Treurnicht "complimented" the IFP on its refusal to sign Codessa's Declaration of Intent.

A joint statement released in Durban yesterday said that Treurnicht supported Buthelezi's stand on Codessa, and "particularly his rejection of the 'solemn commitment' to an 'undivided South Africa' and other stipulations, relevant thereto which appeared to be premature before the actual negotiation process start". The meeting was the second between the two parties in recent months.

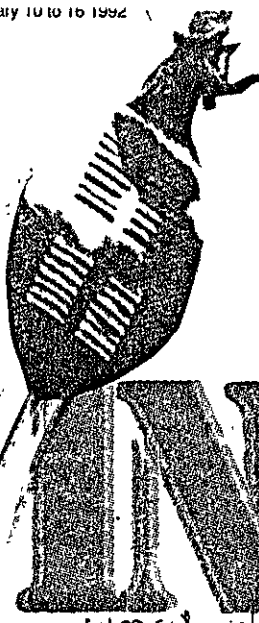
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Sowetan 7/1/92

One man's story of why he joined ... and why he left

JOINED Inkatha because I wanted to work for the freedom of the black man. I left it because I felt I was no more than an SADF agent. "I started by believing Inkatha's claims to be working for a democratic society by peaceful means. The deeper my involvement, the more I realised I was a vehicle for instigating conflict among blacks, for undermining legitimate organisations and maintaining the status quo."



INSIDE

INKATHA

A disillusioned former central committee member tells of visits to army bases to pick up anti-ANC pamphlets, resentment among senior members at interference from whites ... and a seemingly endless stream of unexplained funds for an organisation which could barely pay its office bearers

THE words are those of Mbongeni Khumalo, once the powerful leader of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and an Inkatha Central Committee member over a three-year period. Khumalo's decision to go public was sparked by a recent attack on him by Inkatha's Natal mouthpiece, *Ilanga*, in which he was branded an African National Congress agent paid to leak damaging information about Inkatha to *The Weekly Mail*. He strongly denies the allegations, and plans legal action against *Ilanga*.

Ousted from Inkatha in 1979, he says for raising questions about its policies, he was personally lured back to the fold by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and installed as assistant national organiser of the Youth Brigade in 1987. At Inkatha rallies, Buthelezi proudly introduced him from the stage as an important catch for the organisation, he says. This was despite the fact that the Inkatha leader was well aware Khumalo had previous convictions for minor criminal offences.

In 1989, when the Youth Brigade national organiser, Ntwe Mafole, was jailed for arson, he took over as acting national organiser. From being an observer at Central Committee meetings, he became a fully-fledged member.

By the time of his resignation in March last year, his disillusionment was total, he says.

Khumalo is the most senior Inkatha official to break ranks in recent years.

At 33, a married man with a house in Ulundi, he does not strike one as a typical activist. But Inkatha clearly valued his administrative and organisational skills — in a short time, he had won a significant following among the youth.

Articulate, with an immaculate command of English and an encyclopaedic memory for detail, he trained himself in political analysis through correspondence courses and was extensively used as a political instructor in Inkatha's youth wing. As acting national organiser he was the Youth Brigade spokesman, and gave numerous press briefings and conferences on youth affairs.

In hours of interviews with *The Weekly Mail*, he provided a fascinating insight into the dynamics of the controversy-dogged organisation and its leaders.

Mysterious 'clean-cut' guys were collecting money from the Ulundi office — apparently for doing nothing

He believes that without Buthelezi's drive and political cunning, and the massive and long-term assistance of the South African Police and Military Intelligence, Inkatha would long ago have withered on the vine.

He is also convinced that Buthelezi is well aware of the nature and extent of security force support for the movement he controls, and that men close to the Inkatha leader — notably his personal secretary MZ Khumalo — are "closely linked" to Military Intelligence.

MZ, described by Khumalo as "a very dedicated man; he works a 24-hour day for his master", took the rap during last year's Inkatha funding scandal and resigned his position. Khumalo understands MZ still covertly works for Inkatha and draws a salary.

His introduction to the seamier side of Inkatha came shortly after his recruitment, when he observed "mysterious, clean-cut guys" collecting salaries from Inkatha offices in Ulundi — apparently for doing nothing.

These, he would later learn, were the 200 Inkatha members trained by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip and in Israel in 1986. Two years later, when he gave them political training at aMatikulu, he noted that they were both highly disciplined and politically sophisticated.

Pooh-poohing President FW de Klerk's claim that the Caprivi training was for "security and VIP protection", he says the men were essentially schooled in assassination techniques and guerrilla warfare.

"They were divided into four units on completing their training: offensive, defensive, contra-

mobilisation and aides," he says. "Regular members of the kwaZulu Police Force (KZP) were the natural candidates for bodyguard work. The trainees were loyal Inkatha members chosen from all Inkatha areas, to ensure that the organisation's interests came first."

He also points to the intense secrecy surrounding the training — a policy of which Buthelezi must have been aware. The whereabouts of the Namibian camp was carefully concealed from the trainees, who were warned that they faced death if they divulged details of their training, he says.

In 1989, after passing through an Inkatha youth camp in aMatikulu and a secret camp at Mkuze, in northern Natal, the 200 were absorbed into the KZP — which Khumalo describes as "the military wing of Inkatha".

Violent crimes committed by the Namibian graduates subsequently make it clear, he says, that Inkatha hitmen are still about their grisly work. *The Weekly Mail* last year provided names of hit squad trainees currently being sought by police for murder and other crimes.

Some had joined the reaction unit at kwaMakutha; these were explicitly mentioned by the KZP's Sergeant Mthembu in a supreme court action last year. Fearing that he was earmarked for assassination, Mthembu applied for an order preventing his transfer to kwaMakutha, where he said hit teams were active.

Khumalo says the cream of the Caprivi 200 were retained at Ulundi where, out of uniform, they "loitered around, waiting for the call".

"Hit squads exist to ensure there is no political opposition to Inkatha and its leaders. If anyone emerges as an opponent, they are rubbed out," he comments.

In 1989, Khumalo was brought into direct and extensive contact with two other mysterious

organisations, the Pretoria-based Adult Education Consultants (AEC) and the Durban-based Creed Consultants.

He was asked to co-ordinate a series of leadership courses for Inkatha leaders at the secret Mkuze camp, beginning early in 1989 and ending in late 1990, conducted by whites from AEC and Creed. With a heavy bias against the ANC and its allies, this training set out to upgrade Inkatha and convert it into a major national force which could pose a political challenge to the ANC.

Creed's managing director, Guy Boardman, was fond of telling the trainees that if Inkatha didn't pull up its socks, it would be no more than a line in the history books," Khumalo says.

He soon learnt that all aspects of the training, including the establishment of the Mkuze camp's infrastructure at a cost of some R600 000, the purchase of vehicles valued at about R350 000, and the feeding and transportation of course participants over a two-year period, were paid for by Creed.

"Inkatha had a huge overdraft at the time — there was no way it could have paid for such an expensive project."

Also based at Mkuze for a four-month period were the 200 Caprivi graduates. Creed paid their salaries — a minimum of R900 a month — and MZ Khumalo personally supervised the collection of wages from Creed on a monthly basis.

On seeing Creed's Boardman at the Mkuze camp, some of the Caprivi graduates had immediately recognised him from Namibia, where they said he had been involved in training them.

"It became abundantly clear to me that the army was involved in setting up this camp because the beds in the barracks and the stove in

MILITARY Intelligence (MI) gave systematic secret training to Inkatha's top decision-makers over a two-year period in a bid to shore up the organisation in its political battle with the ANC.

According to Mbongeni Khumalo, the former chief of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and the co-ordinator of the training, two MI front organisations provided leadership and political education courses for members of Inkatha's top executive body, the central committee, and kwaZulu cabinet ministers. kwaZulu MPs, youth activists and even school inspectors were also trained.

The training was heavily weighted against the ANC and its allies, Khumalo says. Participants were told that if Inkatha "failed to pull up its socks, it would be no more than a line in the history books".

He also revealed that the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had instructed central committee members to attend the courses on pain of dismissal. kwaZulu cabinet ministers who had attended courses

included MM September, minister of welfare and pensions; Chief Nxumalo, deputy minister of finance; and VB Ndlovu, deputy minister of works, he said.

Millions of rands were poured into the training, conducted by two MI fronts, Durban-based Creed Consultants and Pretoria-based Adult Education Consultants, at a secret camp at Mkuze in northern Natal between early 1989 and late 1990. It was discontinued after reports of the camp began to surface in the press.

The Weekly Mail has already reported that the Mkuze camp was used as a temporary base for 200 Inkatha members trained in guerrilla warfare and assassination techniques by the SADF in Namibia and in Israel.

But according to Khumalo, its principal purpose was to provide leadership, organisational and political training for Inkatha.

Courses were offered "seven days a week" by whites, some from Creed and some from Adult Education Consultants. Among the Creed trainers were managing director Guy Boardman, Greg Dawson and Mike Davis.

Creed had carried out extensive research into Inkatha's strengths and weaknesses before initiating the training, Khumalo said. During the courses, trainers laid repeated emphasis on Inkatha's loss of support in the townships, particularly among the youth; its lack of a media strategy and poor media profile; its inadequate resources and the central committee's lack of commitment to the Inkatha cause.

Inkatha leaders were encouraged to appear on television and to initiate development projects in order to win popular support. "Negative references were constantly made to the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement," Khumalo

said. "The courses were biased. Their aim was to erode Inkatha's support."

Khumalo bluntly stated that the training was biased. He said that independent *Weekly Mail* reporters had used the training as a source of information in recent editions. Khumalo said that the training had been marked as such.

He relates how the first members, nearly ended in a bid to win support, objected that "the CCIB". Only after the press had reported the training, did the closest aide, MZ Khumalo, say that the training had been borne by

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Why he joined ... and why he left

SIDE MHA

member tells of visits to army bases ... among senior members at ... endless stream of unexplained ... and barely pay its office bearers

MEMBERS OF THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (MDM) ...



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the kitchen all had official SADF stamps on them," K h u m a l o declares

An elaborate veil of secrecy was also drawn over the Mkuze camp. A notice at the camp entrance, personally signed by MZ Khumalo, warned that it was a no-go area, and training abruptly ceased when press reports about the camp began to appear. On a visit to Pretoria with Creed staffers, (Mbongeni) Khumalo was introduced to Dr Louis Pasques, the head of AEC, and other AEC employees. The tenor of the discussions made it abundantly clear that the two organisations were linked and that AEC was the parent body. Pasques was referred to by the Creed men as "Doc", and Creed regularly phoned him from Durban for advice.

Ebenezer Maqina, which would be able to tap overseas funding sources closed to Inkatha because of its tainted image.

Pasques said R11-million was available for such a project, and sidestepped questions about the source of the funding, Khumalo says. "It is interesting that Buthelezi asked no questions about where this huge sum was to come from. His only concern was that he might lose control of the new organisation."

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At a later stage, he says, Creed also paid for an Inkatha recruiting drive by the Caprivi graduates in schools at Mzumbane, on the Natal south coast — hardly the standard task of a bona fide independent consultancy.

In 1989, Khumalo witnessed a presentation by Pasques and Boardman at an Inkatha Central Committee meeting, also attended by Buthelezi. At this Pasques proposed the creation of an Inkatha-sponsored "democracy movement", drawing in "moderates" such as the Zion Christian Church's Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyane and Ama-Afrika's

The SADF drafted and printed pamphlets for Inkatha, which were picked up from Natal Command

Khumalo concluded that both AEC and Creed were SADF fronts. There is overwhelming independent evidence for this, much of it published in recent editions of *The Weekly Mail*.

Security force support for Inkatha was not limited to leadership and military training. Khumalo helped stage Inkatha's now-notorious King's Park rally in November 1989, and knew of the R250 000 provided by the SAP for its organi-

He also made most of the logistical arrangements for an Inkatha rally at Mzumbane last year, which police also funded — long after the alleged

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... said. "The courses were not objective; there was a lot of bias. Their aim was to make Inkatha a major political player." Khumalo bluntly states that both Adult Education Consultants and Creed were MI fronts, confirming independent *Weekly Mail* information, extensively reported in recent editions. Khumalo says beds, bedding and stoves used at Mkuze were provided by the SADF and clearly marked as such. He relates how the first course, for all central committee members, nearly ended in disaster when youthful participants objected that "they were being addressed by the OCB". Only after the personal intervention of Buthelezi's closest aide, MZ Khumalo, did the training continue. The costs of the training were immense, and could hardly have been borne by the notoriously cash-strapped

Inkatha. Khumalo says the establishment cost of the Mkuze camp — including accommodation, a canteen, ablution facilities and a lecture room — were R700 000. Running and maintenance costs were born by Creed, which also purchased four Toyota minibuses, a Toyoda Hilux, a 2.5-ton Toyota Dyna and VW Jetta, collectively worth R350 000, for the project.

Meals for a single three-day course, generally attended by about 40 people, would have cost close to R5 000. This suggests that food alone may have cost R500 000 a year.

Transport was provided for participants, and there is also the small matter of payment for the training. Khumalo says Creed billed Inkatha for the training in order to maintain the fiction that it was an independent consultancy, but that the cheques were never banked.

As an indication of what MI front operatives were paid, disgruntled former MI man Dr Ben Conradie has told *The Weekly Mail* that he was offered a university professor's salary with a 25 percent weighting to work for AEC.

suspension of state support for Inkatha. He scoffs at police claims that the gathering was a non-party political affair, aimed at countering crime.

Spearheading the police involvement in the rallies was Major Louis Botha, whose relationship with Buthelezi was "closer than close", Khumalo says. Botha openly boasted that he controlled Buthelezi's bodyguard and visited Ulundi two or three times a week.

The SAP also produced a propaganda video for Inkatha's use, which pinned the blame for the Pietermaritzburg violence on the ANC and which was shown to a full meeting of the Inkatha Central Committee, attended by Buthelezi. Commentary throughout the film was provided by a police officer named Major Conradie, making its SAP origins crystal-clear, Khumalo says.

Khumalo also reveals that throughout 1989, in collaboration with Inkatha, the SADF's Natal Command had drafted and distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in Natal townships vilifying the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

MZ Khumalo was deeply involved in the joint pamphleteering operation, attending strategy meetings with SADF personnel and receiving leaflets drafted by the military on his personal fax machine for approval. The Defence Force paid for the printing of the pamphlets, Mbongeni Khumalo says.

"I was personally present when some of these faxes from Natal Command arrived on MZ's fax machine and it left me with no doubt that he had close links with the military," he says.

This is the first direct evidence to back the widely held belief that MZ Khumalo Buthelezi's right-hand man, acted as Inkatha's chief liaison with Pretoria's security forces.

Mbongeni Khumalo has an in-depth knowledge of Military Intelligence's role in providing this form of propaganda back-up to Inkatha, as he had been present at numerous pamphlet drops, carried out by a self-confessed SADF member called Izwelehlile Zulu at midnight in such areas as Inanda, Ndwedwe, kwaMakutha and Umlazi.

On one occasion, he personally witnessed Zulu enter the Natal command and emerge with leaflets for distribution.

The pamphlet drops took place at midnight, and strategic public places such as taxi ranks and shopping centres were targeted. The two would return during the day to check how many pamphlets had been picked up.

Khumalo says the pamphlets were intended as a response to MDM initiatives such as stayaways and school boycotts, and vilified such organisations as the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Some were unmarked, others were marked as coming from Inkatha.

Khumalo produced written reports on the operations for MZ, which would "definitely" have been forwarded to Buthelezi, he says.

His allegations have been put to the SADF which refused to comment.

Khumalo lists two other issues suggesting further security force links with Inkatha. He asks how the Central Committee came to possess the sensitive internal ANC documents it frequently analysed and debated.

He also says the military bought two 2.8-ton Toyota Cressidas for Buthelezi's bodyguards — all former Caprivi trainees — and that the vehicles are currently parked at Buthelezi's private residence at Nkomjeni.

Khumalo has no doubt that Buthelezi knew of all the various forms of assistance given Inkatha by the security forces.

"Nothing happens in Inkatha without his knowledge and approval.

"He once told us that he would make use of the devil if it would promote the organisation. As far as I'm concerned, that's exactly what he has done."

State 'trained Inkatha'

JOHANNESBURG. — A former Inkatha central committee member says the SAP and the SADF trained Inkatha militants before the organisation's push into the Transvaal in 1990, the Weekly Mail will report today.

A spokesman for the newspaper yesterday said the former central committee member alleged that trainees included Inkatha Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza.

Former Inkatha central committee member Mr Mbongeni Khumalo says Military Intelligence (MI) — in a bid to strengthen Inkatha against the ANC —

trained Inkatha leaders at a secret camp for most of 1989 and 1990.

MI produced anti-ANC pamphlets for distribution in Natal in collaboration with Inkatha and the SADF.

And in an interview with a local radio station yesterday Mr Khumalo said Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew MI and the police force were secretly assisting his party.

"Nothing happens within Inkatha without Buthelezi knowing it," he said. — Own Correspondent and UPI

(IB) ET 10/1/92

Army aided Inkatha ex-official

113
2/1/92
STAR
Staff Reporter 10/1/92

A former senior Inkatha official claimed today in *The Weekly Mail* that the organisation and the South African Defence Force had collaborated in attacks on the ANC.

Mbongeni Khumalo said he had resigned as leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade and his membership of the Inkatha Central Committee because he believed the organisation was a vehicle for instigating violence.

He said Transvaal Inkatha leaders, including Themba Khoza, received training from Military Intelligence before Inkatha's "bloody push" on the Reef which sparked the violence of 1990.

He also alleged a KwaZulu police officer led a gruesome attack by what police described as "unknown gunmen" on an ANC funeral in Wesselton in 1990.

He was apparently released and the AK-47s used in the attack were allegedly returned to Ulundi by the SAP.

Mr Khumalo claimed Inkatha's top leadership received systematic secret instruction from Military Intelligence over two years to strengthen the organisation against the ANC.

The sooner political negotiations deliver a settlement, the more squeezed out will extremists find themselves. ■

TALKS FM 10/1/92 (11B) (11B) (11B)
Something in common

Perhaps spurred on by the Codesa talks, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Zulus seem ready for more dialogue with third parties.

There was this week's cordial meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and CP leader Andries

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FM 10/1/92 (11B) (11B) (11B)
Treurnicht. More meetings between the two are said to be in the pipeline.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is scheduled to meet President F W de Klerk in Cape Town today.

More talks between Inkatha and the ANC are due soon. Venues and dates have not been decided but the agenda seems to have been settled.

Dumisani Makhaye, the ANC's media officer for Southern Natal, stresses the talks will be at national level, with delegations from Inkatha's central committee (led by Buthelezi) and the ANC's national executive committee, led by Nelson Mandela.

At the top of the agenda will be the violence and the Convention for a Democratic SA, but the discussions will be wide-ranging.

Makhaye says: "In short, they will be doing at national level what is happening at local level between the two organisations. On issues such as violence, for example, we frequently arrange meetings with the police and political parties, including Inkatha."

The DP's Peter Gastrow sees little significance in Inkatha's readiness to talk. "It has always been keen on dialogue between itself and whoever will listen, including the DP. There was a meeting between the CP and Inkatha last year. What is different is that we're seeing a flurry of talks. This new urgency is perhaps brought about because other organisations suddenly see it as important to talk to Inkatha which could play a sensitive role in the smooth running of Codesa or create problems for it."

Gastrow adds that Inkatha prefers to play down ethnicity but the issue is important to both itself and the CP. Some interesting alliances could evolve at Codesa. ■

Inkatha 'is not SADF front' says angry Buthelezi

PATRICK LAURENCE and
MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

(115)
ARCT 11/1/92

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has angrily dismissed claims that Inkatha was an "SADF front", declaring that if his movement really had hit squads, "there would have been nothing left of our opponents".

He rejected claims by a former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser, Mr Bongeni Khumalo, that the Defence Force controlled Inkatha.

"He is a convicted thief" said Chief Buthelezi. "That is why he did not get a job in my department. He is a bitter man."

However, he admitted that 200 Inkatha men had been trained for "VIP protection" after the African National Congress sent a hit man, one "Derrick Lionel", to the Kwa-zulu capital, Ulundi, to assassinate him.

He accused the Weekly Mail — which published Mr Khumalo's comments — of being a "loyal sycophant of the ANC" and an anti-Inkatha propaganda organ.

However, at a news conference, hosted by Weekly Mail — which yesterday ran another series of articles detailing the alleged links between the IFP and military intelligence — Mr Khumalo said: "Inkatha does not exist as an organisation. It is controlled by the security forces."

As a former member of the IFP central committee, Mr Khumalo is the highest ranking man to break ranks and endorse allegations that the party has been the recipient of taxpayers' money, channelled via the police and the SADF, and of advice and training from military intelligence.

Mr Khumalo affirmed many of the allegations contained in Weekly Mail articles over the last few weeks, including the training by the SADF of 200 Inkatha personnel for "hit squad purposes", the role of SADF men in collusion with Inkatha activists in the printing and distribution of anti-United Democratic Front pamphlets, and the suspected role of Inkatha "hit men" in the gunning down of ANC sympathisers at a funeral in Wessleton in August 1990.

Inkatha accuser CT 11/1/92 (11B) 'feels threatened'

JOHANNESBURG. — A former Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member, Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, feels under threat after addressing a news conference yesterday in which he made unsupported allegations that the IFP received "massive financial, military and academic support from the SADF".

Mr Khumalo, 33, whose claims were first published in the Weekly Mail, said at the news conference here that Inkatha was controlled by the security forces and was nothing more than "an extension of the government".

He said Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was aware IFP members were receiving "hit squad" and "anti-ANC training" from the SADF.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday labelled his allegations "a blatant lie".

Mr Khumalo, who owns a house in Ulundi, said he felt "under threat" after going public with his allegations, but had not arranged for any protection.

He said he hoped others in the IFP would follow his lead. — Sapa

SADF controls IFP ex-Inkatha organiser

STAR 11/92

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is an "SADF front" and not an independent political organisation with its own agenda, Bongeni Khumalo, former organiser of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, charged yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference hosted by the Weekly Mail — which yesterday ran another series of articles detailing the alleged links between the IFP and Military Intelligence — Mr Khumalo said: "Inkatha does not exist as an organisation.

It is controlled by the security forces."

Mr Khumalo himself raised a counter-allegation from the pro-Inkatha Ilanga newspaper that he is "an ANC agent paid to leak damaging information to the Weekly Mail". He did so to refute the allegation.

Noting that he had instructed his lawyers to deal with the allegation, he added: "Inkatha and Ilanga

will live to regret (their) ill-conceived move."

Asked whether he had any relationship with the ANC, Mr Khumalo said: "I have no relationship with the ANC. I have no intention of joining it. I am going to resign from Inkatha and sit down and observe the situation. I know who I will vote for."

As a former member of the IFP central committee, Mr Khumalo is the highest-ranking IFP man to endorse allegations that the IFP has been the recipient of tax-

payers' money — channelled via the police and the defence force — and of advice and training from Military Intelligence.

Mr Khumalo insisted that IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could not have been unaware of the payments made to Inkatha by State agencies.

Referring to funding for the King's Park rally in November 1989, held in the wake of a large pro-ANC rally in Soweto, Mr Khumalo said: "R250 000 was paid into Inkatha's account with Buthelezi's full knowledge as to the exact source and amount."

Mr Khumalo, who originally joined Inkatha because he regarded it as a "genuine liberation organisation", added: "Buthelezi controls Inkatha like his own household. He even signs for petty cash (withdrawals)."

Mr Khumalo confirmed many of the allegations in many of the articles over Weekly Mail articles over the last few weeks, including the training by the SADF of 200 Inkatha personnel, for "hit squad purposes", the role of SADF men in collusion with Inkatha activists in the printing and distribution of anti-United Demo-



IT'S A FRONT: Former IFP member Bongeni Khumalo.

cratic Front pamphlets, and the suspected role of Inkatha "hit men" in the gunning down of ANC sympathisers at a funeral in Weston in August 1990.

Declaring that his decision to come clean had been prompted by his conscience once he realised that by remaining in the IFP he had become an "SADF agent", Mr Khumalo said: "Inkatha has systematically, consciously and intentionally received massive financial, military and academic training from the SADF."

Buthelezi hits out at Weekly Mail

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed allegations of collaboration between his party and the SADF, and accused the editor and staff of the Weekly Mail of being "loyal sycophants" and propagandists of the African National Congress.

Chief Buthelezi, who accompanied the Zulu king to a meeting with President F W de Klerk, was asked to comment yesterday on disclosures in the Weekly Mail by former IFP central committee member Mbongeni Khumalo that Inkatha lead-

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ers and members had received training from SADF Military Intelligence in a bid to counter the ANC.

He said Mr Khumalo was bitter because he had tried unsuccessfully to get a job in the department of the IFP chief minister.

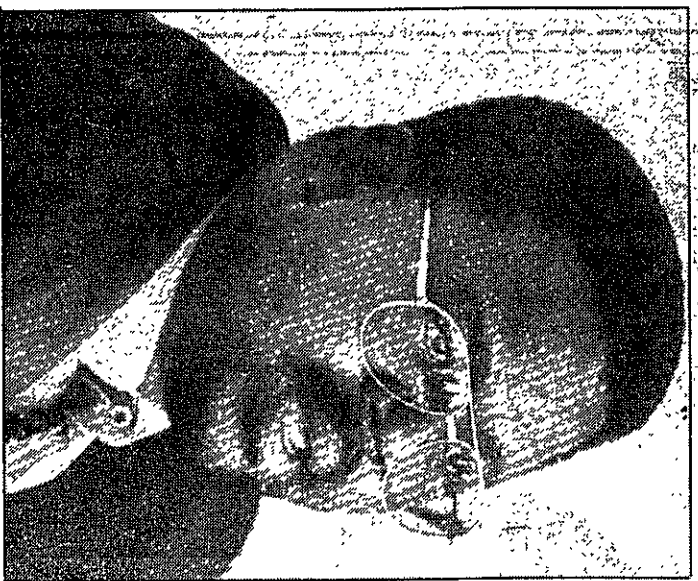
Allegations that IFP personnel had received training from the SADF were "a blatant lie".

He acknowledged that "some young people" received training in VIP protection after disclosures of

an alleged ANC plot to assassinate him (Chief Buthelezi). "These people were later reintegrated into the KwaZulu police," he said.

He said allegations of complicity between Inkatha and the security forces were deliberately put out before major events to discredit him and the IFP.

President de Klerk said he had dealt fully with secret funding and operations at his post-Inkathagate news conference in July last year and that legislation on the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced. — Sapa.



MBONGENI KHUMALO ... More allegations against the IFP.

Top Inkatha man reveals M

By **SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa** 11/8

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is controlled by the security forces and has 200 highly trained hit squad members based at various KwaZulu police stations, a former senior party official claimed on Friday.

Mbongeni Khumalo, who was a member of the organisation's central committee, made the claims at a press conference in Johannesburg.

Khumalo, 33, also told the conference that Inkatha was fast losing support and was now confined to some pockets of Natal and KwaZulu only.

He also confirmed several allegations made by *The Weekly Mail* concerning the involvement of Military Intelligence (MI) in training Inkatha's top members,

including KwaZulu Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, youth activists and school inspectors. They were taken on leadership and political education courses.

Inkatha, claims Khumalo, also assisted SADF operatives in many efforts to undermine the now-defunct United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement. Some Inkatha members helped by distributing pamphlets critical of the UDF, MDM and Cosatu.

Khumalo said Inkatha had no political programme or agenda of its own and that the security forces had "greatly infiltrated" it to the point where they effectively controlled it.

The former acting chairman of Inkatha's Youth Brigade said Buthelezi was aware of the organisation's links with the security forces.

"Buthelezi runs Inkatha like his own personal household," he said. According to *The Weekly Mail*, the 200 Inkatha hit squad members were trained by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip and in Israel in 1986.

Inkatha has repeatedly denied that these men have been trained for hit squad purposes, saying they were trained to provide security for KwaZulu VIPs.

In its report, the newspaper said seven of these 200 men had been linked to hit squad activities.

Among the claims endorsed by Khumalo are that Buthelezi was fully aware of the source and amount (R2,50 000) paid by the police for an Inkatha anti-sanctions rally at King's Park Stadium in 1989.

Last year, Buthelezi denied that he was aware this rally was funded by the police and his personal as-

sistant, MZ Khumalo, subsequently took the rap for "not informing his leader".

An Inkatha Youth Brigade official had said they were responsible for attacking mothers at a funeral in Wesselton in the eastern Transvaal.

During the attack, the mourners, mostly ANC sympathisers, were forced to flee and the three coffins were opened and corpses sprayed with bullets.

Khumalo, who lives in Ulundi with his family, says he now regrets having joined Inkatha, which he initially thought was a liberation movement. He says he is prepared for any consequences as a result of his allegations.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Buthelezi has dismissed allegations of collaboration between his party and the Defence Force and

"These people were later re-integrated into the KwaZulu Police," he told reporters. Buthelezi said allegations of complicity between Inkatha and the security forces were deliberately put out before major events to discredit him and the IFP. De Klerk said he did not know anything about the latest disclosures. He said he had dealt fully with his post-Inkathagate news conference in July last year and said legislation relating to the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced. "Many of these issues relate to a different time and different circumstances, when we had to fight terrorism. But we have now adapted to the new circumstances and we have nothing to hide," said De Klerk.

accused the editor and staff of *The Weekly Mail* of being "loyal sycophants" and propagandists of the ANC. Buthelezi, who accompanied the Zulu king to a meeting with President FW de Klerk on Friday, was asked at a news conference after the discussions to comment on Khumalo's allegations. Buthelezi said Khumalo "is blatant lie". However, he acknowledged that "some young people" received training in VIP protection after disclosures of an alleged ANC plot to assassinate him (Buthelezi).

Connections



**MBONGENI
KHUMALO**

Buthelezi ^{11B} blasts Weekly Mail over new disclosures

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INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed allegations of collaboration between his party and the SA Defence Force.

In doing so Buthelezi accused the editor and staff of the *Weekly Mail* of being "loyal sycophants" and propagandists of the ANC.

Buthelezi, who accompanied the Zulu king to a meeting with President FW de Klerk on Friday, was asked at a news conference after the discussions to comment on disclosures in newspaper by a former Inkatha central committee member, Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, that Inkatha leaders and members had received training from SADF military intelligence in a bid to counter the ANC.

Buthelezi - stating he did not "wish to waste my breath in replying to this nonsense" - made various allegations about Khumalo and added:

"He is bitter because he tried to get a job in my department, the department of the chief minister, but was not successful."

Buthelezi described allegations that IFP personnel had received training from the SADF as "a blatant lie".

However, he acknowledged that "some young people" received training in VIP protection after disclosures of an alleged ANC plot to assassinate him (Buthelezi).

"These people were later re-integrated into the KwaZulu police," he told reporters.

Buthelezi said allegations of complicity between Inkatha and the security forces were deliberately put out before major events to discredit him and the IFP.

"It is grossly irresponsible for people to continue wasting their time and throwing this muck at me," he said.

De Klerk said he did not "know anything" about the latest disclosures.

He said he had dealt fully with secret funding and operations at his post-Inkathagate news conference in July last year and said legislation relating to the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced.

"Many of these issues relate to a different time and different circumstances, when we had to fight terrorism. But we have now adopted to the new circumstances and we have nothing to hide," de Klerk said. - Sapa

IFP is a front for SADF - ex-youth brigade leader

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By MOKGADI PELA

The Inkatha Freedom Party was not an entity on its own but a front for the SADF, according to former Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Mr Mbongeni Khumalo.

This is one of the startling claims made by Khumalo at media briefing at the *Weekly Mail* offices on Friday.

He says "Inkatha has systematically received massive financial, military and academic training from the SADF."

"The partiality of the security forces is therefore in question. It is obvious that the SADF and NIS have strategies.

"Whereas in the '80s they would assassinate people like Steve Biko, today they pay blacks to do the dirty work for them," Khumalo said.

A former IFP central committee member, Khumalo confirmed allega-

tions that the organisation has benefited from taxpayers' money. Among other claims made by Khumalo were that:

R250 000 was paid into Inkatha account in November 1989 for the King's Park rally;

The multimillion rand project undertaken by Creed Consultants was funded with the full knowledge of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi;

Police paid R100 000 for the Umzumbe youth rally which was held in Natal; and

Inkatha T-shirts were initially designed by the SADF.

IFP rejects Khumalo's claims in Weekly Mail

There were "glaring mistakes" and "untruths" in allegations about the Inkatha Freedom Party made by former senior Inkatha official Mbongani Khumalo, who allegedly had a criminal record, the IFP has said.

His allegations, in a Weekly Mail interview last week, included claims that the IFP was a front for the South African Defence Force and had collaborated in attacks on the ANC.

Mr Khumalo said he had resigned as Inkatha Youth Brigade leader and terminated his membership of the Inkatha central committee because he believed the organisation was a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

Reacting to these and other allegations, the IFP denied that the organisation had ever been given R11 million by anyone.

It also denied that Mr Khu-

malo had been the former chief of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, claiming Musa Zondi had been leader of the brigade for many years, including the period in question.

"Regarding the 'consultancy services' (Adult Education Consultants and CREED) referred to by Mr Khumalo, these services were offered but the IFP refused to avail themselves of these for lack of money.

"Mr Khumalo was dissatisfied with the low salary the IFP was paying him and applied for a position in the KwaZulu government's department of the chief minister.

"It was then discovered that Mr Khumalo had a criminal record, which made it impossible for the KwaZulu government to consider his application," said the IFP.

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Commission told of 'Inkatha on rampage'

MARITZBURG — The Goldstone Commission heard yesterday how hundreds of heavily armed Inkatha supporters allegedly went on the rampage through the White City section of Mooi River in December.

According to a witness, Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly member David Ntombela was seen at the hostels from where the attacks were allegedly launched, shortly before the

massacre which left 18 people dead.

The witness also said reinforcements were dropped off at the hostel before the attack and Inkatha supporters were heard singing war songs.

Residents fled towards the highway as the attackers charged into White City and a woman cried out for help as several men stabbed her to death, he said.

Bruntville Inkatha leader David Sosibo also testified and described the situation in the area as "very tense" prior to the incident because of alleged ANC intimidation.

He denied telling newspaper reporter Lakela Kaunda that Inkatha supporters were responsible for the massacre and denied threatening her on the telephone. — Sapa.

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Former IFP man flees after hit squad claims

South 16/11 - 22/1/92

By Thandiwe Ngijima

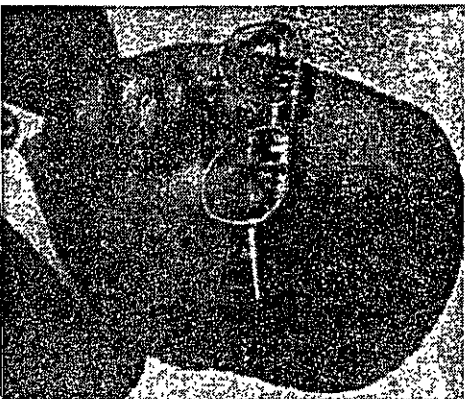
FORMER Inkatha Freedom Party assistant youth organiser and central committee member Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, who broke ranks last week to disclose the inner workings of the IFP, has fled Umtata. Khumalo resigned as assistant organiser for the Inkatha Youth Brigade in March last year because he felt he was being used as an "agent of the SADF" to kill black people.

Following his revelations of a 200-member SADF-trained Inkatha hit squad, he said the IFP was on the verge of bankruptcy and rapidly losing support in its Natal stronghold.

According to statistics he gathered as an organiser, the IFP had fewer than 500 branches and a membership of less than 500 000.

"If you were to remove violence, Inkatha would no longer exist," claimed Khumalo. He said since 1984 Inkatha had a vested interest in violence because it had to eclipse the UDF.

"Violence in Natal happened when



Mbongeni Khumalo

Inkatha was unable to outmanoeuvre other political organisations in debates. They had to resort to the politics of fear.

"People in Inkatha still argue that they have support in Natal. I held 54 meetings at schools and at halls and I can say that this is not true."

Khumalo also disclosed details of coercive methods Inkatha used to recruit members in Natal.

"The chiefs would force people in the rural areas to attend Inkatha ral-

lies. If a man did not attend he would have to answer to the chief."

As a youth organiser, Khumalo also witnessed meetings and rallies arranged at schools through circuit inspectors and principals.

"I would go to a circuit inspector and would be given three hours of school time to talk about Inkatha and to play SAP videos which blamed the violence in Natal on the ANC," said Khumalo. He said the organisation's biggest pitfall was its lack of democracy and political programme.

"There is a lack of political understanding in the Inkatha central committee. People worship (Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and nobody dares to question him."

"The resolutions of central committee meetings which are faxed to the press are typed a day before the committee meets."

Khumalo said: "I have no personal grudge against Gatsha. I joined Inkatha because I thought it was a genuine liberation movement."

"All that we have as Zulus is a history of strong warriors. Buthelezi is making Zulus look like we're used by the state to kill our own people."

KHUMALO ALLEGES:

- Inkatha received funds and military training from two SADF front organisations — the Durban-based Creed Consultants and Pretoria-based Adult Education Consultants.
- Creed bankrolled the purchase of seven vehicles for the IFP.
- 200 Inkatha members were trained as hitmen at Caprivi in 1986. Their salaries, paid by Creed, amounted to R180 000 every month. They have since been incorporated into the Kwazulu police.
- In 1990, Transvaal Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Mr Thamba Khoza was trained by military intelligence under the auspices of the Adult Education Consultants.
- Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his secretary Mr M Z Khumalo signed the cheques of R250 000 from the SADF for the Kings Park rally in 1985.

Convicted murderer acted for Inkatha in Driefontein

Wim van der Merwe 11/11 - 23/11/92

FORMER Inkatha official Mhongenani Khumalo, who made startling allegations about the links between the security forces and Inkatha last week, told *The Weekly Mail* how he was requested to help a certain Chief Samuel Yende turn Driefontein — a rural area in the south-eastern Transvaal — into an Inkatha stronghold.

The Weekly Mail visited Driefontein this week to verify his claims that Yende was behind the elimination of several African National Congress-aligned residents in the area and had links with a certain Gerry Mojoko, according to Khumalo "one of the most feared hit-squad men who was known to me and who had received extensive training".

When Driefontein inhabitants were threatened with forced removal in the early 1980s, Yende allegedly tried to get the area incorporated into KwaZulu under his chieftaincy.

Although the people of Driefontein, who have title deeds to the land bought from white farmers by their ancestors in 1912, won a court settlement preventing their removal, Yende has persistently tried to get the area incorporated into KwaZulu by proving it to be an Inkatha stronghold.

Khumalo said he had visited Driefontein at Yende's request in 1989, where he saw "Gerry" emerge from his house. "I told him he must convene a meeting and identify people who were pro-Inkatha." But, Khumalo said, he lost interest when it was clear there was little or no support for Inkatha.

Yende's brother Lazarus, an ANC supporter, told *The Weekly Mail* the chief has obvious links with security

A Driefontein chief convicted of murder has been trying for years to turn the area into an Inkatha stronghold.
BY PHILIPPA GARSON

forces and described how Yende was found guilty of murdering a youth leader who was sjambokked to death at the chief's home in May last year.

Yende was arrested for the murder of Themba Dlamini only after Black Sash lawyers intervened.

Yende was sentenced to three years' jail and is out on bail pending his appeal. Residents alleged he was behind the murders of several other youths over the past few years, whom he claimed were stealing from his store.

Lazarus also described how Gerry — who residents said frequently visits the area and struts around firing his gun into the air — attacked him in March 1990, tearing his ANC T-shirt and "promising to kill me if I did not resign from the ANC. He told me I could get a study bursary if I joined Inkatha".

Youths told how Gerry offered them boxing and karate lessons at Yende's house in December 1991, but instead lectured them on why they should join Inkatha.

One youth, Esmond Mkhonza, said Gerry had accosted him and a friend, Vusi Sibisi, during the December holidays, "threatening to shoot us for no reason. I managed to trip him and we took his gun away".

The two youths were arrested the next day and were taken to Piet Retief

police station, where they were charged with attempted murder. Mkhonza alleges they were taken to a nearby forest and beaten by police (while "Gerry stood and laughed") before being imprisoned at Dirkesdorp police station. Charges were dropped after the two appeared in court on January 6.

Driefontein ANC chairman Yunus Cagee said he discovered last year that Yende wanted to kill him when he was approached by a would-be hit-man recruit who told him of Yende's plans.

He added that Yende had made repeated attempts to turn the area into an Inkatha stronghold by calling meetings "which people from Umlandi came to address".

Cagee said the government's department of development aid had attempted to install Yende as chief of Driefontein, but had dropped the plan after the intervention of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee and human-rights lawyers.

In 1983 community leader Saul Mkhize, who spurred Driefontein's inhabitants to resist forced removal, was shot dead by police. His wife, Beauty Mkhize, told *The Weekly Mail* that Yende was behind his death because her husband was ruining the chief's plans to control Driefontein.

When *The Weekly Mail* visited Yende's home, his family regarded us with suspicion, questioning our motives. One of his three wives said he was away on business in Piet Retief. After his son gave us Yende's business telephone number, he ran back to the car and snatched back the paper on which the number was written, saying "we can only act on his orders".



Guilty of murder... Chief Samuel Yende

Federalism will not be enough – but a KwaZulu/Natal breakaway is enticing

Chief Buthelezi may be seeking right to secede

11B
STAR 17/1/92

THERE are grounds for suspecting Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi may be quietly laying the basis for a secessionist movement.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the reasons the Inkatha Freedom Party gave for refusing to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent last month. The issue was overshadowed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to boycott the convention because of its refusal to include a delegation representing the king of the Zulus in addition to the IFP and the KwaZulu government.

In fact the IFP objected to a phrase in the declaration committing participants to bringing about "an undivided South Africa with one nation" sharing a common citizenship...

It also objected to a phrase stating that this new South Africa should be a country "in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory".

The reasons given for these objections, that the phrases gave the impression Codesa was pre-committed to a unitary state and would prevent the IFP from putting its case for federalism, are patently spurious.

The Democratic Party is strongly in favour of federalism. So, for that matter, is the National Party in its new incarnation. Neither saw any contradiction between the declaration's phrasing and the federalist proposals both will in due course lay before the convention.

With good reason. There is nothing incompatible between the concepts of federalism and an undivided nation. Federalism does not mean disunity, merely a decentralisation of power. When Americans take the oath of allegiance to their country, the quintessential federation, they swear loyalty "to one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all".

In any event, there is another clause in the Declaration of Intent that states that "the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the convention any proposal consistent with democracy". So there can be no question of the phrasing preventing the IFP or anyone else from putting forward their federalist proposals.



Allister Sparks

What is more, the phrasing was initially accepted by the IFP delegates who did attend Codesa. It was drafted by a working group headed by Walter Felgate, a leading IFP member, and Mr Felgate himself presented it to the steering committee for approval.

The decision to object to the phrasing and not to sign the declaration was taken at an IFP leadership meeting after that, presumably at the behest of Chief Buthelezi, who had not been part of the Codesa drafting process.

The question is, why? If the reason given is not the real one, as it cannot be, what is the motive for not signing?

One can only assume there must be some compelling reason for not wanting to be committed to the principle of "an undivided South Africa". In other words to leave a door open for a secessionist option.

Not just a KwaZulu secession, I venture to suggest, but a Natal/KwaZulu secession; a revival in new guise of the old secessionist spirit in that part of the country which was always a half-hearted member of the Union and where there have been periodic "Natal stands" and breakaway threats.

Add to that the sense of amity between white and black Natalians which evolved during the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba and you begin to see that the prospect of carrying this region, of being its leader, represents the last best hope still open to Chief Buthelezi.

He is a shrewd politician and, in spite of his claims that the IFP is a national party, he must know it has negligible support outside of Natal and its extended constituency of Zulu migrant workers.

Even in its heartland its support is slipping: growing numbers of young Zulus and urban Zulus are turning to the ANC and other nationalist movements, as Natal's fratricidal war and stayaway figures in Durban and Maritzburg indicate.

Repeated opinion polls suggest that the IFP is unlikely to poll more than 12 to 15 percent of the vote in a national election – not enough to give Chief Buthelezi the significant role he obviously wants. So his politician's eye turns increasingly inward to the regional base that he can be reasonably sure of still dominating, provided Zulu ethno-nationalism is whipped up sufficiently.

Hence the dramatising of the Zulu king's cause, and the attempts to present the Inkatha-ANC conflict as a tribal war between Zulus and Xhosas.

Other strands of circumstantial evidence point in the same direction. The IFP has been quietly meeting with several right-wing groups, all avowed Boerestaat secessionists, including a meeting last week between Chief Buthelezi and Dr Andries Treurnicht. This has led to speculation of a possible alliance between the Conservative Party, the IFP and Bophuthatswana (which also refused to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent).

As Dr Treurnicht put it after the meeting: "We took note of the IFP's basic objection to Codesa. This was the notion of an undivided South Africa under one central government, entrenched in the Declaration of Intent."

Then there was the appearance at Codesa of a conservative American constitutional lawyer, Albert Blaustein, as an adviser to the IFP, who apparently had a hand in the decision to object to the declaration's phrasing.

Professor Blaustein claims also to have been an adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the catalytic figure in the break-up of the Soviet Union into a cluster of secessionist republics.

Has he perhaps sold Chief Buthelezi on the idea of a "commonwealth" of independent South African states, similar to Mr Yeltsin's commonwealth of former Soviet states?

Is it coincidence that Dr Treurnicht draws on the Russian analogy and talks of the CP's vision of a South African commonwealth – "per definition an association of states"?

Or that Chief Buthelezi, in his preface to Inkatha's constitutional proposals, writes: "The IFP ... has taken serious note of what has happened in the USSR, in East Germany and in the Baltic states as country after country and region after region gave evidence that no amount of powerful centrist political power could overcome the inherent difficulties in an ethnically heterogeneous population?"

How ironic if the man who, more than anyone else, stymied the Nationalists' Bantustan policy by refusing to accept independence for South Africa's most populous tribal "homeland" were to end up leading a new drive for Balkanisation just when the Nats have at last abandoned their schismatic schemes. □

Court acquits

CT 18/1/92

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Inkatha leader

VANDEBILPARK — Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade leader Mr Themba Khoza was acquitted of charges of illegal possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives yesterday.

Mr Khoza told the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court on Thursday that since his car was unlocked and had been moved several times, anyone could have planted the weapons in his car.

He added he would not have been so stupid to park a car filled with illegal arms and ammunition next to policemen.

Mr Khoza was arrested on the morning of September 4, 1990 after arriving at the scene of a massacre of a number of Sebokeng hostel residents by a gang of more than 100 men.

The attackers, allegedly Inkatha members, were trapped in the hostel complex courtyard by a large crowd of angry hostel residents. Police separated the two groups.

Mr Khoza said he had gone to the hostel to assist with attempts to stabilise the position and to reduce the tension that had developed.

The magistrate, Mr F W Strydom, said Mr Khoza's story was coherent while the state witnesses' stories were contradictory. — Sapa

1971/192

Farmer gets top IFP job

BY ROY RUDDEN

INKATHA has appointed well-known Natal farmer, socialite and polo player Maurice Mackenzie as chief executive of its new national office to be established in central Durban.

The IFP is about to acquire 126 Umgeni Road from Argus Holdings using funds donated by the United States last year.

It is understood that Mr Mackenzie, 55, was nomi-



MAURICE MACKENZIE

nated for the position by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mackenzie, a Midlands timber farmer, holds the sport and environment portfolios on the Inkatha Central Committee.

Mr Mackenzie, a former Natal polo player, said he was looking forward to the challenge. "I spoke Zulu before I spoke English. I have tried to serve the Zulu people, with whom I have had a deep affinity, all my life," he said.

on.

Inkatha stands firm on Umkhonto issue

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is refusing to sign the code of conduct for the SA Defence Force until "the issue of the ANC's private army", Umkhonto we Sizwe, is resolved.

Its decision is sure to raise serious problems for the National Peace Accord, which in recent weeks appeared to be making progress, particularly in relation to Inkatha-ANC fighting in Natal. *SI Times 19/11/92*

The code of conduct for the SADF is an essential component of the accord, signed in August last year.

The government has already made clear its willingness to sign the code of conduct, which is being drafted with the help of the SADF and other signatories to the accord.

In a statement the IFP said it felt that the issues of the SADF and MK would be better dealt with in the context of the Convention for a Democratic SA. It called for the sub-committee drafting the SADF code to adjourn until the MK issue was resolved.

Inkatha said that for the ANC to argue that liberation armies were not private armies "makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic

By CHARLENE SMITH

values".

The first report-back of the National Peace Committee on Friday acknowledged that the sub-committee on the SADF code of conduct, private armies and dangerous weapons was experiencing difficulties.

Violence

Committee chairman John Hall said the establishment of six local dispute committees was of special significance in the quest against violence.

He welcomed the formation of a seventh local committee in the Mooi River/Bruntville area, at which ANC and Inkatha leaders pledged to support the initiative.

IFP slams killings of black policemen

11B 20/1/92

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday added its voice to those of organisations which have deplored the killing of black policemen.

Transvaal leader of the IFP Youth Brigade Mr Themba Khoza said the recent killing of policemen should be condemned.

Addressing IFP supporters at Jabulani Hostel in Soweto, Khoza said: "We condemn the killings. Something must be done to stop this.

"We appreciate that Apla (Azanian Peoples Liberation Army), the military wing of the PAC, has its independent right to do what it thinks is correct, but we are appalled because the brutal killings are on our brothers.

"By so saying we do not want to interfere in Apla's affairs. However, we are on record as having said the armed struggle will not achieve its aims.

"Granted, police have killed our members as well. But to kill policemen, black policemen for that matter, should stop. It is a fact

that even if Apla can take over power, it will still need policemen. At the same time we call on the police to stop killing our people," Khoza said.

The rally approved a proposal that the IFP approach Apla or the PAC for an explanation on the killing of policemen.

Khoza also said the IFP was perturbed that provocations on its members were still going on in trains on the Johannesburg-Vereeniging line.

"ANC members are often seen heavily armed and police are doing nothing. We are afraid that if action is not taken, something is bound to happen," he said.

Mr Amos Mazibuko of the Hostel Dwellers Association said they were surprised that nothing was being done to improve living conditions at hostels.

Inkatha's power base remains unchanged

Sowetan 21/11/92

11B

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi remains a powerful player in South African politics despite damaging charges that his party received covert backing from the South African Defence Force.

The allegations by a former senior Inkatha official have tarnished Buthelezi's international image but have not unlocked his grip on his Zululand power base, political analysts say.

"At the grassroots I don't think there has been any change in his support. He has not been sidelined," said Professor Herbert Vilikazi, professor of sociology at the University of Zululand.

Mr Saki Macozoma, an official of the rival ANC said: "The revelations have damaged Buthelezi's potential to recruit more blacks, but it's unlikely to have affected the numbers (of existing supporters).

"That support is based on his control of resources in KwaZulu - of pensions, jobs and security."

Buthelezi is Chief Minister and Minister of Police of KwaZulu, one of 10 tribal homelands created for blacks under the now crumbling apartheid system of race segregation.

KwaZulu and adjoining Natal province are home for most of the six million Zulus, the country's biggest tribe, and scene of a decade of strife between pro- and anti-ANC Zulus.

As the country's reform talks gather pace, the pressure is on rival politicians to muster popular support and leverage.

But Buthelezi received a setback this month when former aide Mr Mbongeni Khumalo broke ranks to charge that army intelligence had

FOCUS

Sapa-Reuter

for years promoted Inkatha to counter the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela's anti-apartheid movement.

He said Inkatha members had received financial, academic and military training from the army, adding he quit because he believed Inkatha was instigating interblack violence.

One of his most damaging allegations was that the army gave military training to Inkatha's Johannesburg leaders just before the outbreak of a war between Inkatha and the ANC for control of the city's townships in August 1990.

Buthelezi described the allegations as nonsense.

"It is grossly irresponsible for people to continue wasting their time throwing this muck at me," he said.

Khumalo echoed ANC allegations that the security forces orchestrated the Johannesburg unrest in a divide-and-rule plan to perpetuate white supremacy. The violence cost 3 000 lives.

Buthelezi survived disclosures last year that police funded Inkatha rallies, causing an "Inkathagate" scandal that prompted President FW de Klerk to demote his police and defence ministers.

But police recently admitted fresh allegations that they had funded an Inkatha rally in January last year, nine months after De Klerk said funding of Inkatha had stopped.

In a further blow to the Govern-

ment's credibility, detailed newspaper reports last month alleged that more than 15 front organisations, founded by army intelligence in the 1980s to oppose the ANC, continued to operate after De Klerk freed Mandela from prison and legalised his organisation in 1990.

The organisations, mostly innocent-sounding companies registered under individuals' names, allegedly gave military training at secret rural camps, hired gangsters to destabilise black townships and promoted "moderate" anti-ANC groups.

"It was the classic counter-revolutionary strategy of promoting moderates to counter radical opposition," said Mr Albert Venter, Rand Afrikaans University professor of politics.

De Klerk has said merely he knows nothing about the latest disclosures, adding that legislation on the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced this year.

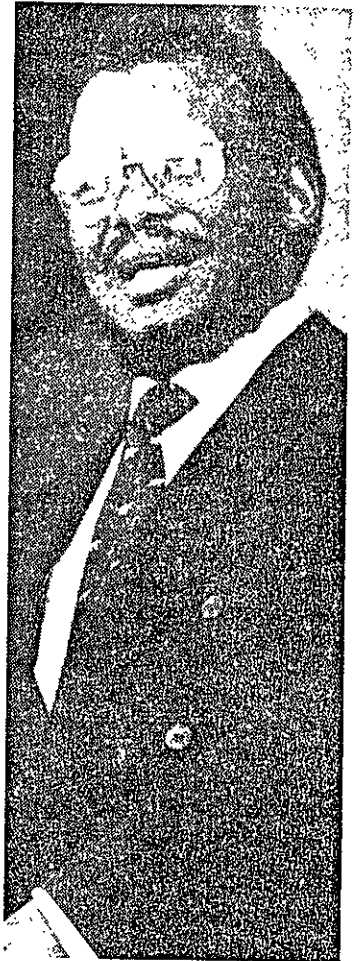
"Many of these issues relate to a different time and different circumstances when we had to fight terrorism. But now we have nothing to hide," De Klerk said.

Liberal newspapers said that while Buthelezi's credibility was in shreds De Klerk was less at risk because, unlike Buthelezi, his political survival was essential to democracy talks.

Most of Buthelezi's supporters do not understand English and are unlikely to know much of the newspaper allegations.

"For liberal whites and urban blacks, the damage was already done by the first Inkathagate scandal last year. For his rural supporters it's neither here nor there," said Venter.

Buthelezi, moreover, is enjoying a surge in support from con-



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

servative whites. A recent survey gave him 60 percent support among Afrikaans speakers against 41 for De Klerk.

The Inkatha leader favours a decentralised constitution to allow Zulus self-government, something that appeals to whites seeking their own homeland free from black majority rule.

The pro-apartheid Conservative Party is considering some form of alliance with Inkatha to campaign for decentralisation.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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We won't sign while MK exists, says IFP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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The Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the National Peace Committee's subcommittee on an SADF code of conduct is hanging in the balance over the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Its objections were sent in a memorandum to the National Peace Committee on Friday for arbitration, and the IFP has asked that, pending the resolution of the matter, the subcommittee be adjourned.

In terms of the constitution, the SADF is the only lawful national defence force in the country.

"If the Government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's private army, MK, being resolved, the IFP is not.

"To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency and spoil its

reputation for consistency and honest dealing," the IFP said. "The time has come for straight talking."

The IFP noted that the National Peace Accord prohibited private armies. "This principle was fundamental to the IFP's willingness to enter into the National Peace Accord, as it directly addressed the position occupied by MK," the memorandum said. STAR 22/11/92

The ANC's argument that MK was a liberation army and not a private army was "logically and legally untenable."

"This revolutionary posture by the ANC/SACP alliance in relation to its armed wing, MK, while claiming the right to participate in the political process through negotiation, makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic values of a non-Marxist-Leninist variety," the IFP said.

'IFP to decide prof's status'

NEW YORK. — American Professor Albert Blaustein, whose participation in talks to draft a new South African constitution sparked a clash on Monday, said yesterday the Inkatha Freedom Party would decide his status.

The ANC and the SACP objected to including Prof. Blaustein as a member of the constitutional working group, saying he was not an SA citizen.

Prof. Blaustein, a specialist in constitutional law and professor emeritus at Rutgers University in New Jersey, said his anti-communist views may have prompted the criticism. Sapa-Reuter

23/1/92
(118)

THE MISSING LINK IN A MONTHS-LONG MYSTERY: HOW GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL

KILLE

How a small group of hitmen he

By EDDIE KOCH and PHILIPPA GARSON

TWO "Black Cats", members of a pro-Transvaal town of Wesselson in a grip of fear, have come forward to explain how professional hitmen are able to spread civil strife through a volatile township.

The history of the gang and reign of terror it has imposed on the people of Wesselson since the middle of 1990 provides a vital clue to the way in which mystery "third force" gunmen have been able to fan the violence that is now endemic in the Transvaal.

The evidence and the two Black Cat members are being placed before Mr Justice R Goldstone, who is heading a special inquiry into Military Intelligence involvement in violence.

The picture that has been pieced together from interviews with the Black Cat defectors, as well as a number of other sources in the military and Inkatha, looks like this:

Around October 1990, some "kwaZulu

W/mcd 24/11 - 30/1/92

police men" (known as KZPs) travelled from Ulundi to the township near Ermelo — where tension was running high because of a rent boycott and campaign by the African National Congress-aligned civic organisation to depose local town councillors — and recruited about 32 young boys and girls from the Black Cats.

These mysterious men from Ulundi were, in fact, part of a 200-strong paramilitary group trained for Inkatha in mid-1986 by the South African Defence Force's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip in the art of "offensive warfare" that included use of AK-47s, Browning machine guns and explosives.

After their training, the 200 DMI "graduates" were housed and paid by a military front organisation called Creed Consultants. One of their bases, a secret barracks near Mkuze in northern Natal, was run by Creed. In mid-1989 the "boys from the project", as they were called, were formally incorporated into the kwaZulu Police.

(11B)

The "KZPs" took the Wesselson youngsters in two mini-buses to Ulundi, where they were housed in the old police barracks. The Black Cats stayed in the kwaZulu government offices for two months, where they received political education and generally "just loitered around".

"Some of us would go to the township to commit robberies because we needed money. They gave us everything, but not cash. They even bought us cigarettes," says one of the defectors known as Themba.

Later the gangsters were transferred to the Mkuze camp and a select group of about 22 were put through an intensive course in how to shoot with AK-47s, 9mm handguns and shotguns. They were also taught how to apprehend people, search and detain them.

"One Sunday night while we were in Ulundi, Mashabane (the clan name for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former private secretary MZ Khumalo) said we were leaving for Mkuze," says Themba.

(11B)

At a secret base in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, a 200-strong paramilitary group is trained in the use of AK-47s, Browning machine guns and explosives. These men form the core of what later becomes known as the "Third Force".

The youths were driven to Mkuze in the same two mini-buses. "We were met by Joyful Mletwa (one of the 200 Caprivi Strip trainees). We slept in barracks at Mkuze. The blankets on the beds were like those used in prison. There were RSA stamps on the beds," says Themba.

"Peter Msane taught us in English about leadership. We once watched a video of *Shaka Zulu*. Msane also taught us practical skills, like how to hijack people by covering their mouths and dragging them into cars. "We were told how to rescue our comrades if

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they were in leave them b Our trainer, wanted to tea gave them ca to a shooting about 2km fr with pumpgi 9mm P38s (a "They spent shooting ran like me stave We never had ate food from the boxes of f Mbongeni defector whc Mkuze camp, how the Black Khumalo poi clan name for guerrilla who



KILLERS COULD REPEATEDLY TERRORISE TOWNSHIPS ... AND GET AWAY WITH IT

held a township to ransom

WJW cat 24/11 - 30/11/92

(113)

they were injured in fights, so we would not leave them behind for the enemy — the ANC. Our trainer, Mandlanduna, chose 22 people. He wanted to teach them how to shoot properly. He gave them camouflage uniforms and took them to a shooting range in the Lebombo mountains about 2km from the camp. They learned to shoot with pumpguns (pump-action shotguns) and 9mm P38s (a make of handgun).

"They spent at least seven hours a day at the shooting range. The girls and the young boys like me stayed behind, working in the garden. We never had to worry about food because we ate food from the police. There was writing on the boxes of food which said CID."

Mbongeni Khumalo, high-ranking Inkatha defector who was frequently stationed at the Mkuze camp, has confirmed the description of how the Black Cats were recruited and trained. Khumalo points out that Mandlanduna is the clan name for Daluxolo Luthuli, a turned ANC guerrilla who was trained by DMI in Caprivi and

is now, according to Khumalo, "a professional assassin".

Khumalo also confirms that Msane is an ex-Caprivi trainee and currently an official at Inkatha's Ulundi head office.

When the two-month training programme at Mkuze was completed, the gangsters were given seven home-made guns (*qwashas*) and were taken back to Wesselson.

"The ANC was now afraid of coming to our area — Wesselson Extension," says Themba. "The training helped us to overcome the ANC. We were aware of strategies we were to use before we fought. We would plan our attacks."

Back in Wesselson, aided by some of the "boys from the project", the gangsters taught another group of some 40 Black Cats how to shoot.

"We met at the home of Chris Nywenya (leader of the gang and a graduate from Mkuze) and we practised how to shoot with a .45 and a 9mm parabellum. I like the parabellum because it is

very powerful," says Themba.

Lucas, the other defector, adds: "When they came back from Ulundi, they recruited a number of youngsters who joined the group. They offered them training in the use of guns. This was done at Chris' place, inside his house."

"They also offered me training. They gave me AK-47, two 9mms and four *qwashas*. They gave us the weapons without bullets and showed us how to shoot. About 40 youngsters immediately joined them and we became a group of about 80."

The gang then went on the rampage. Backed by a handful of Caprivi graduates who routinely visited Wesselson as members of the KZP, including Mandlanduna, they attacked members of the ANC, bombed the offices of a local human-rights lawyer and participated in a grisly attack on mourners at the funeral of a victim of their violence.

They received intensive backing from white police officers in Ermelo, who failed to arrest

Black Cats involved in violence and went so far as to release kwaZulu policemen apprehended by the SADF (See accompanying story).

The manner in which the Black Cats were recruited and trained followed an "each one teaches 10" principle: small groups of professionals trained by the DMI teach a larger group of gangsters how to use firearms and then this group provides a bigger cohort of the gang with the rudimentary skills of killing. In this way Inkatha obtains command over a three-tiered group of trained fighters to use in its contest with the ANC for control over the township, and the level of violence escalates dramatically.

The latest victims of the Wesselson violence were two residents, including a member of the ANC who was stabbed to death by gang members over the Christmas period.

And the Black Cats, acting in concert with men trained by DMI and imbued with a sense that they are immune from arrest, continue to terrorise the township.

INKATHA REACTS

CP asked to join talks

11B
ARG 25/1192

Dateline: DURBAN

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on the Conservative Party to enter formal negotiations for a future South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday welcomed President De Klerk's proposal that the principle of self-determination be put on the agenda of

the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, which he said had opened the way for the CP to participate in the talks.

Chief Buthelezi also welcomed Mr De Klerk's proposal that change be introduced in a manner which fully used the parliamentary process.

The IFP, he said, had always argued that the new South Africa be "governed into existence". — Sapa.

'Massive' investment needed

SOUTH Africa needed massive investment to open up the country as a gateway for the development of the whole of Southern Africa and beyond, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Friday. CP ref: 26/11/92

Opening a luxury hotel in Paarl, he said he found it inexplicable that "when the needs are so vast among my people", the ANC still said financial sanctions must remain in place.

"There is grinding poverty in our black communities which can only be countered through the rolling of huge bank loans to the government," said Buthelezi.

Reports by CP Correspondents, Sapa, Reuter, AP.

Uwusa in bid to branch out

C. P. van der Merwe
INKATHA'S labour wing, the United Workers' Union of South Africa, has applied for its registration to be extended into major industries in the Transvaal and Natal. These include the mining industry, steel and engineering sectors, textile and clothing, manufacturing and the motor industry.

Any registered union which objects to the application is invited to lodge its objection with the Industrial Registrar at the Department of Manpower in Pretoria by February 10.

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Inkatha aims to extend labour wing

By Shareen Singh

Inkatha's labour wing, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), has applied for its registration to be extended into major industries in the Transvaal and Natal.

These include the mining industry, steel and engineering sectors, textile and clothing manufacturing and motor industry.

The union has also applied for registration to

cover the Sasolburg and Welkom magisterial districts.

Any registered union which objects to the application is invited to lodge its objection with the Industrial Registrar at the Department of Manpower in Pretoria by February 10.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said it would definitely challenge Uwusa's application but it would consult its lawyers to make sure the

challenge would be "an informed one".

For Cosatu, the continued existence of Uwusa is a thorn in the flesh.

Uwusa and Cosatu members have a history of violent clashes on the factory floor and Cosatu had often alleged that certain companies were colluding with Uwusa against its affiliates.

Revelations by the press last year of Government funding of Uwusa had angered Co-

satu affiliates, particularly the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Union of Metalworkers which were most affected by rival clashes.

Both unions had called for the immediate de-recognition of Uwusa at all companies in South Africa.

Cosatu had also reported to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on companies which it claimed colluded with Uwusa.

STAR 27/1/92

(113)

Inkatha involvement in violence 'bullshit' - Buthelezi

By Alan Robinson **STAR**
Star Bureau 28/1/92

LONDON — Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed all allegations of Inkatha involvement in black-on-black violence in South Africa in a single word: "Bullshit".

He said it three times for the benefit of the television cameras and his words were broadcast in millions of British homes during prime viewing time last night.

The angry denials came during an ITV documentary that purported to pinpoint the guilty party in the endless township killings. In every case, Inkathas were labelled the assassins, egged on by the police and army.

Apart from Chief Buthelezi, there was nobody to refute the claims that there was a deliberate state-sponsored campaign to kill ANC leaders and destroy their support.

The (unidentified) narrator in the film, produced by Nick Hayes, said: "We wanted to get the comment of the South African Government, but suddenly every Minister was unavailable."

The programme concentrated on anti-ANC violence in Natal and the Transvaal and accused the security forces of recruiting assassins at the Wolmaransstad prison.

It further alleged that about 200 Zulus had been given training in "offensive" operations and were subsequently taken into the Kwazulu police force, some to act as hired killers.

"Bullshit," said Chief Buthelezi. "It's all bullshit. I am a Christian and all my life I have been committed to the precepts of Christianity."

Former military intelligence officer Nico Basson said the Government had set out on a deliberate path to destabilise the opposition.

"The object is to preserve white power," ANC leader Nelson Mandela accused the Government of "talking peace to us while at the same time conducting a war."

Mr Mandela added: "The Government has been funding organisations which are hostile to the ANC even after President de Klerk assured us that it had stopped."

He said there was a strong efficient and well equipped security service in South Africa which "if they wanted to could stop it (the violence) in one day."

Buthelezi sums up UK allegations in one word

The Argus Foreign Service

every cabinet minister was unavailable." ARG 28/1/92

LONDON. — Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed all allegations of Inkatha involvement in black-on-black violence in South Africa in one word: Bull...!

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"Bull..." said Chief Buthelezi. It's all bull... I am a Christian and all my life I have been committed to the precepts of Christianity."

Former military intelligence officer Mr Nico Basson said the government had set out on a deliberate path to destabilise the opposition.

"All this black-on-black violence is a deliberate ploy to deceive the outside world. The object is to preserve white power."

Declaration wording in conflict with IFP manifesto, writes Suzanne Vos

Codesa decision 'democratic'

SM 30/1/92



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ALISTER Sparks, in his article in *The Star* (January 17), rightly refers to IFP president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as "the man who, more than anyone else, stymied the Nationalists' Bantustan policy" and frustrated their "schismatic schemes". Much of the rest of the article is, however, simply incorrect.

Mr Sparks speculates that the IFP decision to object to the phrasing of the "Declaration of Intent", signed by other participants at the first plenary session of Codesa, must have been taken "at the behest of Chief Buthelezi".

In view of the persistent attempts to portray Dr Buthelezi as some sort of scheming and implacable autocrat, it may surprise readers to learn that the IFP is a genuinely democratic organisation and that its committee decisions are not dictated by Dr Buthelezi or by any other individual.

The decision not to sign the declaration was taken by a near-unanimous vote of the IFP's delegation. We did not act at the "behest" of Dr Buthelezi but in response to fears expressed by the team, including legal advisers. Our views were only then communicated to Dr Buthelezi who, quite independently, had drawn similar conclusions and had similar reservations.

As Dr Buthelezi was not at Codesa the delegation had the full authority of the leadership of the party to act by majority decision with dissenting views (one) noted.

Mr Sparks claims that our "conservative" American constitutional adviser, Professor Albert Blaustein, apparently had a hand in the decision to object to the Declaration's phrasing.

Professor Blaustein was one of many eminent legal experts, here and abroad, consulted by the IFP delegation on the issue. They all confirmed that our re-



No dictator . . . Dr Buthelezi believes in democratic decisions.

KwaZulu/Natal break-away is exciting."

We hadn't given this any thought at the time but now that he has planted this option in our minds, looking at South Africa as a whole, we now believe the concept of the right to secede deserves further consideration.

The reasons for our decision not to sign the Declaration were stated on December 20:

1: The wording of the final provisions of the Declaration (under the heading "We agree") seems to commit the signatories to the proposition that decisions taken at Codesa must necessarily thereafter be given force of law even though they may never have been democratically validated by referendum. If other parties are prepared to commit in the coming into effect of binding legislation in this manner, the IFP most certainly is not.

2: The Declaration is reasonably capable of being interpreted in a manner which is in direct conflict with the IFP's position, in that references to "an undivided South Africa" which "sovereign" in

point in the direction of a unitary rather than a federal state (and to exclude the possibility of a confederation of states).

Mr Sparks attempts to show that the IFP's reasons for objecting to this phraseology are disingenuous by pointing out that "when Americans take the oath of allegiance to their country, they quitesentential federation, they swear loyalty "to one nation, indivisible . . ." and by stating that "there is nothing incompatible between the concepts of federalism and an undivided nation."

Whether or not federalism is compatible with the idea of an undivided nation depends, however, upon which of several possible interpretations is given to the word "undivided".

The United States is in one sense most certainly not an undivided nation: it is a nation divided into states, each having a constitutional right to regulate its own affairs and pass its own laws (subject only in respect of certain limited matters to the laws of the national legislature). It is definitely not a nation in which "sovereign authority" (if by

tion to all possible areas of legislation and executive action) is 'exercised over the whole of its territory'.

Mr Sparks's recital of words uttered by Americans when taking their oath of allegiance is not in point, because those words are uttered within the context of established constitutional arrangements which are of such a nature that they can only mean one thing.

It is quite understandable, and in the best interests of South Africa we believe, that the IFP should refuse to commit itself in terms of such ambiguous language when one reasonable interpretation — reinforced by the reference to "sovereign authority exercised over the whole territory" — is completely at odds with its known manifesto position.

Others at Codesa may have been prepared to gamble with the integrity of their principles for the avoidance of momentary embarrassment in an institution of one day's standing, but the IFP was not. It is quite as simple as that.

It is our opinion that the idea of a confederation of states, each having a constitutional right to secede is one which should be examined on its merits and which may have much to commend it.

We hope that the new South Africa will prove to be a paradise on Earth, but in the event of it turning out to be a bankrupt totalitarian hell through no fault of the residents of State or province X or Y, is it far from obvious why State or province X or Y should not be permitted to separate themselves if the majority of their residents so decide? Indeed, it seems wholly in keeping with democratic principles and quite in keeping with the trend in other parts of the world that they should have the right to do so.

● Suzanne Vos is an executive member of the central committee of the IFP, and writes on be-

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course

Cosatu objects to Uwusa move

By DREW FORREST

THE United Workers Union's (Uwusa) application to extend its registration scope may trigger a counter-move to have it entirely de-registered.

Cosatu's Sam Shilowa said this week Cosatu would not only lodge an objection, but might ask the industrial registrar to "strike Uwusa off the roll" on the grounds that it could not serve workers' interests. *W/Ment 3/11/92*

During last year's Inkatha funding scandal, the government admitted it had funded Uwusa to the tune of R1,5-million, while internal police documents described it as a security police project. A confidential report by the Inkatha Institute, commissioned by the kwaZulu government, revealed the chaotic state of the union's finances and administration.

In addition, Uwusa members have been accused of extensive factory violence.

Currently registered only for the milling industry in Inanda, the union has applied for registration throughout the Transvaal and Natal, as well as Sasolburg and Welkom, in the iron and steel, local authority, textile, clothing, motor transport, motor industry and commercial and distributive undertakings.

As always, Uwusa general secretary Dumisani Dlodla was unavailable for comment this week. But the registration move suggests the union is back on the offensive.

Financial considerations may be crucial: in terms of the Labour Relations Act, unions can only ask the Manpower Minister to compel employers to provide stop-orders for union dues if they registered for the relevant area and industry.



BLACK CAT boss Chris Ngwenya, leader of a criminal group that terrorises members of the African National Congress in the Transvaal township of Wesselton, has ordered the assassination of two dissident colleagues who spoke out last week about the gang's links with Inkatha.

Ngwenya ordered his men to "eliminate" the pair just days before they are due to give evidence at Justice Richard Goldstone's commission of inquiry into the violence that now sweeps the country, according to a third member of the gang who defected this week.

The three former gangsters have provided detailed evidence about how a band of Black Cats was recruited by Inkatha and given paramilitary training at a camp run by a front company for the South African Defence Force in preparation for attacks on members of the ANC who live in the township near Ermelo.

A team of lawyers, led by David Soggot SC, will have the three Black Cat defectors with them when they fly to Cape Town next week to present evidence and witnesses to the commission about the gang's violent activities in Wesselton and their links with Inkatha and a front company run by Military Intelligence.

The Weekly Mail has informed Justice Goldstone about the threats to potential witnesses at his commission's hearing next week and sent an urgent message to Police Minister Henrus Kriel asking him to ensure the safety of the witnesses.

Kriel's office replied by saying that requests for residents of Wesselton to be protected from the gang have been sent to the regional police

The Black Cat order goes out: Kill them

Black Cat gangsters are under order to find and kill two dissidents due to testify before the Goldstone commission next week. By EDDIE KOCH and PHILLIPA GARSON

commissioner in the eastern Transvaal. According to evidence supplied by the defectors, the pro-Inkatha gang works closely with white policemen based in Ermelo and appears to have been protected by the very SAP officers investigating a string of crimes and killings in which they have been involved.

The third defector, who wishes to remain anonymous, this week said a hit squad assembled by the Black Cats was sent to Johannesburg this week in order to find and kill *The Weekly Mail's* informants.

Meanwhile, frightened civic members in Wesselton report that since the Black Cat dissidents went public with their story, there have been numerous instances of intimidation and

death threats from the gang, which is attempting to prevent others from coming forward.

Gang leaders reportedly held a meeting late last Saturday night with the policemen from Ermelo police station implicated in the vigilante onslaught against township residents.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, a Wesselton resident, Morris Mthembu, was shot by unknown people in a white Nissan Skyline. And residents report that a white Jetta with kwaZulu registration plates has been patrolling the township.

According to one informant, the occupants of the car — two men from Ulundi, a hit-squad member known as "Sugar" who has been linked to several deaths in the township and a local Black Cat gangster known as "Papa" — are on a mission to assassinate three key civic members.

Police public relations headquarters have responded to *Weekly Mail* reports of the gang's collaboration with SAP members in Ermelo by saying the incidents are being investigated by the Special Investigating Unit headed by Major-General Gloy and are at an advanced stage.

Major-General Leon Mellet, spokesman for

the minister of law and order, said this week that allegations of police complicity in the intimidation of witnesses were serious.

"You are requested to make such evidence available to the Goldstone Commission or alternatively to the regional Commissioner, to investigate. Should it prove to be true, the necessary action would most certainly be taken," he said.

Justice Goldstone's hearing, which will probe *Weekly Mail* reports of extensive links between the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence and a roving team of paramilitary hitmen from Inkatha who appear to have the support of some SAP members, begins in Cape Town on Tuesday next week.

Two teams of lawyers will address the commission and present it with military documents and at least six witnesses, including defectors from the Black Cats, former MI front operators and former Inkatha leader Mbongeni Khumalo.

The Weekly Mail's legal team is led by David Soggot SC, assisted by Paul Kennedy and instructed by David Dison. The ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have instructed a team from Cheadle, Thompson and Hayson to represent them.

●The Inkatha Freedom Party this week submitted a 25-page "dossier of death" to the Goldstone commission, outlining "a campaign to assassinate IFP officials, particularly in areas of Natal". It gave details of the killing of 78 IFP officials and supporters and the injuring of another 75 since last September. ANC members were blamed for most of the incidents.

Just bullshit!

Buthelezi's

TV outburst

113
W/May 3/11-6/2/92
Weekly Mail Reporter, London

MILLIONS of Britons this week witnessed a fascinating contrast in styles between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a Granada Television documentary examining the violence gripping South Africa.

The African National Congress leader, speaking firmly and calmly, told his interviewer: "The security forces have taken over the violence and they are now using certain black organisations as a smokescreen in order to carry out the violence themselves, and the purpose is to prevent the ANC from taking over power."

The leader of Inkatha displayed anger and aggression when his questioner sought his views on issues he seemed to regard as awkward.

After showing sequences of armed Inkatha impis on the march, the documentary switched to Buthelezi responding to the interviewer's assertion that "even conservative white newspapers say that the majority of the violence is caused by Inkatha".

Plainly enraged, Buthelezi exploded: "That's bullshit! That's all I can say!" He paused slightly, then turned to an avowal of his Christian faith which he said has driven him throughout his political life. But his dedication to Christian principles did not inhibit him from reverting to the expletive again and again in response to straight questioning.

The 24-minute *World in Action* programme, entitled "Getting away with murder", at one point displayed a recent *Weekly Mail* front page which disclosed how Military Intelligence has been funding a variety of front organisations to disseminate National Party propaganda and to train Inkatha-related groups in death-squad activities.

Most serious British daily newspapers often quote *The Weekly Mail* in their coverage of South African affairs, but this was the first sight millions of Britons have ever had of it. The programme is also being distributed to TV networks in about 100 countries around the world.

Buthelezi was the only leading actor in South Africa's political drama who challenged the evidence presented in the programme. The producers had invited President FW de Klerk, Police Minister Hernus Kriel and other ministers to appear on behalf of the government, but all failed to show.

AKG 3/2/92
118

Inkatha and police collaborate — Hani

EMPANGENI. — SA Communist Party leader and Umkhonto We Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani says that Inkatha, assisted by the police, has banned the African National Congress in northern Natal.

Mr Hani was speaking at the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations in Empangeni yesterday, shortly after police had prevented his entourage from entering Enseleni township.

"The ANC is unbanned everywhere else but in northern Natal it is banned by the police and Inkatha. Here we're still illegal thanks to Inkatha," Mr Hani told a vociferous crowd of about 2 000 in Empangeni town hall.

He said police had refused ANC officials entry into Enseleni after a large group of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters with sticks and spears had massed at a police station near the entrance.

Mr Hani accused the police of collaborating with the IFP by not dispersing the crowd or ensuring the ANC officials a safe route through the township.

A Durban police liaison officer was not able to comment on the incident last night.

Mr Hani said the situation in northern Natal had to be urgently addressed by the ANC's national leadership and he urged supporters to work for unity in the region and build an "underground" — specifically defence units.

The MK leader said that Inkatha had "terrorised" people into joining the organisation in Zululand. — Sapa.

Hani alleges 'ban' by IFP

118
CT 3/2/92

EMPANGENI, Natal. — Inkatha, assisted by the police, had banned the African National Congress in northern Natal, Mr Chris Hani, SA Communist Party leader and uMkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, charged yesterday.

Mr Hani was speaking at the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations in Empangeni yesterday afternoon, shortly after police had prevented his entourage from entering nearby Enseleni township, where they were to view sites of political violence.

"The ANC is unbanned everywhere else but in northern Natal, where it is banned by the police and Inkatha. Here we're still illegal, thanks to Inkatha," Mr Hani told an excited crowd of about

2 000 packed into Empangeni town hall.

He said police had refused ANC officials entry into Enseleni as a large group of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, armed with sticks and spears, had massed at a police station near the entrance.

'Underground'

Mr Hani accused the police of collaborating with the IFP by not dispersing the crowd or ensuring the ANC officials a safe route through the township.

SA Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo denied that members of the force had physically barred Mr Hani from the township.

"Members of the riot unit had

conducted a patrol in the township and found the streets deserted and the area tense. They found a group of 3 000 people — presumably Inkatha supporters — at the entrance to the township.

"The police met Mr Hani — whose entourage was within sight of the crowd — and advised him that he should not enter the area in the interests of his own safety," he said.

The MK leader urged ANC supporters to work for unity in the region and to build an "underground" — specifically defence units.

He accused the IFP of provoking and attacking ANC supporters in the region and said it had "terrorised" people into joining it. — Sapa

IFP calls for economic freedom

By Esther Waugh

116

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party will propose an economic constitution at tomorrow's meeting of the Codesa working groups.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos confirmed that the proposal would be made in the working group on constitutional proposals.

Democracy in Codesa meant, in addition to equality in the voting booth, equality of economic opportunity for all South Africans, she said.

"It means equal freedom to secure employment, to enter into contracts, to engage in business activities and to own property."

It was the future South African government's task to ensure these rights, she added.

Achievement of economic equality involved the maintenance of a strong currency by the government, the encouragement of capital formation and foreign investment, the promotion of exports, and the advancement of education and training.

In order to achieve an economic constitution, Codesa should endorse the following:

- The Government should pledge judicial enforcement of all contracts entered into, provided they were not discriminatory or inconsistent with public safety.
- A sovereign government should have the power to expropriate private property, but only after establishing there was no reasonable alternative. Fair and immediate compensation should be given, and the

owner of the property should have an opportunity to challenge either, or both, the expropriation and the amount.

● There should be no licensing restrictions on private business.

● Taxes should be designed to encourage business operations, capital formation, foreign investments and exports.

"For example, it would be desirable to exempt saving bank interest from taxation," she said.

● A commission on privatisation should be mandated in the future constitution.

● An autonomous central bank should be constitutionally mandated. It should be given the power to control the emission of money and set interest rates.

● An independent, autonomous auditor-general should be provided for.

57AK 12/92

Inkatha trained by SADF claim

113
Sowetan 6/2/92



Former Inkatha Freedom Party member Mr Bongani Khumalo arriving at the second day hearing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

ABOUT 200 hand-picked Inkatha members were flown in an SA Defence Force aircraft to the Caprivi strip for military training, the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

This was contained in evidence by former Inkatha member Mr Mbongeni Khumalo at a public sitting of the commission in Cape Town.

His evidence was read into the record by an advocate, Mr JJ du Toit.

Khumalo said the Inkatha members were trained at a base named Hippo by SADF personnel members and a Mr Guy Boardman.

They were instructed in the handling of weapons, urban guerilla warfare, unarmed combat, winning the support of local

populations, identifying ANC or UDF members and persuading residents to be hostile and aggressive towards ANC members.

The training and instruction of the group was arranged and organised by Creed Consultants CC, of which Boardman allegedly was a member.

Trainees

Khumalo said trainees were paid from a secret account held at a Durban bank.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, had signing powers.

Mr Chris Ngwenya, head of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, became directly involved in organising and carrying out acts of violence with members of the Black Cats and became leader of the group,

Inkatha 'at SADF camp'



ALLEGATIONS . . . Former Inkatha member Mr Mbongeni Khumalo arrives for hearings of the committee. He has alleged military involvement in the training of Inkatha supporters to combat ANC adherents. Pictures: AP



THIRD FORCE INQUIRY . . . Mr Justice Richard Goldstone (left), and legal counsel for the African National Congress, Mr Mathew Phosa, leave the building after a session of the committee established by the Goldstone Commission.

By PETER DENNEHY

INKATHA members allegedly trained at a Defence Force camp in the Caprivi Strip were still employed by the KwaZulu Police or government, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation heard yesterday.

This was one of the allegations made by former Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Mr Mbongeni Khumalo to the committee of inquiry established by the commission.

He gave a mass of detailed allegations of Inkatha, police and SADF collaboration in anti-ANC violence.

After Mr Khumalo's statement was read and his evidence led, counsel for the SADF, Mr Carl Rabie, asked for an adjournment before cross-examination.

"As a result of the changed terms of reference of this committee and the detailed nature of the allegations and evidence this morning, it would not serve the interests of justice if I start cross-examining now," he said.

Among the allegations were:

- Some of a group of about 200 selected pro-Inkatha men, who later became Inkatha and KwaZulu Police members, had been trained in 1986 by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip "with a view to identifying political opponents for the purpose of attacking and eliminating them".

- Mr "Big Themba" Xesibe, who was at one stage the leader of the 200, was with Mr Khumalo in an Inkatha car in the Maritzburg area in 1990. Mr Khumalo had been asked to take a wounded Caprivi trainee who was in hiding to hospital. A policeman stopped the car, noticed its registration plates number did not correspond with the number on the licence disc, and asked them to go with him to the police station.

Mr Khumalo asked why Mr Xesibe did not present his KwaZulu Police card. Mr Xesibe allegedly replied: "If we produce it here, we will be arrested because we have committed so many murders here."

- Trainee Mr Da Nkenhli, of Hammarsdale, told Mr Khumalo he had been "on a mission" at an ANC funeral in Wesselton, Ermelo, on August 11 or 12, 1990, along with seven other people from Ulundi. He named at least four of them.

"They went and attacked the ANC funeral procession," Mr Khumalo recounted. "They had AK-47s."

Rifles were returned

- The men involved in the funeral attack were later arrested by the SADF "only to be released a few days later . . . they were relying on the explicit intervention of Mr M Z Khumalo (a former senior Inkatha official). Their rifles were confiscated upon arrest, but were later returned by the SAP Ermelo to Inkatha. This latter information was told to me by Assistant Commissioner Mr Kennel Nzimela, who is number four or five in the KwaZulu Police," Mr Khumalo said.

- One of Inkatha's cheque accounts was so secret that even second-in-command Dr Oscar Dhlomo did not know about it. Only Mr M Z Khumalo and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had signing powers. Four cheques from this account were used to pay for transport to a King's Park Inkatha rally on November 19, 1989. Later it became apparent that the money came from the security branch.

(118)

CT 6/12/91

Goldstone hears of imported assassins

11B

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B/day 6/2/92
LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — A direct link between the escalation of violence in townships around Maritzburg and the deployment in the area of 200 Inkatha gunmen trained in Caprivi was alleged at the Goldstone commission of inquiry into alleged SADF funding of front organisations to instigate violence.

Former Inkatha central committee member Mbongeni Khumalo said Inkatha's support in Maritzburg townships was almost nonexistent in 1987. Its support had been mainly in rural areas but with the dethroning of a number of chiefs and headmen, a large number of people had turned to the ANC.

In 1987, on their return from Caprivi, the 200 men — who were issued with KwaZulu police appointment cards while receiving salaries paid in cash at the offices of Inkatha — were allegedly taken to Maritzburg where they were placed under the direct control of Inkatha leaders.

"We saw immediately the worst kind of violence that has ever been seen in Maritzburg. People were brutally murdered, houses were burnt and there was great interference with the public transport system. Drivers were killed, the education system was completely disrupted and people were forced to openly align themselves with Inkatha. There was a forced membership campaign," Khumalo said.

A lot of ANC/UDF members were killed and Inkatha was able to regain its strength in Maritzburg, he said.

He said another group of about 40 people from the Maritzburg area had received training at a camp at Amatikulu in late 1990. He added that Inkatha members were encouraged to go for training.

Khumalo said he had heard of collusion between the security police, SADF and Inkatha in the attacks on the ANC in and around Maritzburg.

He also alleged the group of 200 had been used to mobilise school students to join Inkatha and to give military training to the Black Cats of Wesselton, Ermelo, at a camp at Mkhuze, allegedly equipped with SADF supplies.

In about June 1989, the Caprivi trainees were broken up. Some were sent to man KwaZulu police stations; others were attached to the riot unit under the KwaZulu police; and others were posted to guard government buildings in Ulundi. Ten men were left under the command of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant, M Z Khumalo.

Khumalo alleged that the SADF had given logistical support to those members not absorbed into the police force and, through a front organisation, Creed Consultants, had as late as December 1991 paid the salary of Daluxolo Luthuli, who was allegedly responsible for a number of murders of ANC members in greater Maritzburg.

In Wesselton, the SAP had allegedly used the trained and armed Black Cats members to attack houses and kill members of the community hostile to Inkatha.

Another act of alleged violence cited by Khumalo was the attack on an ANC funeral in Wesselton when Inkatha members allegedly sprayed bullets into the flag-bearer of the ANC procession and into the dead man's corpse. Khumalo said a high-ranking official in the KwaZulu Police Force had told him those arrested for the shooting by the SADF were released a few days later by the SAP after M Z Khumalo intervened. Confiscated guns were allegedly returned by the Ermelo SAP to the KwaZulu police.

Khumalo's statement was interrupted by Inkatha legal representative Louis Visser SC, who objected to hearsay evidence being submitted.

But Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission was not a court of law and the hearsay evidence had to be heard.

SADF legal representative Carel Rabie said the detailed nature of the evidence had surprised him and he asked for his cross examination of Khumalo to be reserved. The SAP also reserved cross examination.

Today two unidentified former members of the Black Cats gang give evidence.

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'SADF and IFP trainees still in Kwazulu service'

South 6/2-12/2192
A GROUP of about 200 people trained at an SA Defence Force camp in the Caprivi Strip and later at an Inkatha facility, Mkuze, was still in the KwaZulu police and government service, Mr Mbongewi Khumalo, former Inkatha political lecturer, told the Goldstone Commission on Wednesday.

Giving evidence to a committee sitting to hear allegations of the SADF funding companies sponsoring violence, Khumalo said at least one of the people was up to a month ago paid a salary from one of the alleged front companies, Creed Consultants.

An Inkatha national youth organiser in 1988, Khumalo said he was told by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal secretary, Mr MZ Khumalo, to meet Mr Guy Boardman of Creed Consultants in Pinetown, who wanted him to liaise between the IFP and Creed.

Khumalo trained men at the Amatikulu Youth Camp in KwaZulu which was still being used as a police facility. He instructed them in politics for about two weeks.

The hearing continues — Sapa

'State paid for protection unit'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

MILITARY Intelligence funded the training and salaries of 150 Zulu men recruited to protect Kwazulu VIPs, the homeland's deputy commissioner of police, Brigadier Siphon Mathe, told the Goldstone Commission.

Under cross-examination yesterday, Brigadier Mathe said he initially did not know who funded the group, but he had done his own investigating and had found out it was Military Intelligence.

"It was initially referred to as a private company. It was not," he told the commission, which is inquiring into public violence and intimidation.

Brigadier Mathe said Military Intelligence paid their salaries from 1986 until 1989, when they were absorbed into the Kwazulu police.

In a statement — read into the record by advocate J J du Toit for the commission — he said he was acting commissioner of the Kwazulu police in 1985 when there was a dramatic increase in ANC activity in the area.

There had been a information that an Umkhonto we Sizwe unit was being trained to cross the border to assassinate Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Cabinet ministers, deputies and other VIPs had death threats.

"The threats sounded genuine and I decided effective action should be undertaken to protect the Chief Minister."

In April 1986 he selected 150 "loyal young Zulus", who were trained by a security company in Namibia.

Under cross-examination, he said this statement had been a "slip" and conceded that his statement that he had selected the men was also incorrect.

Although he was a member of the Inkatha central committee until last year, he did not tell his colleagues on the committee about the group's existence, he said.

But Chief Buthelezi was aware of their existence.

Brigadier Mathe said no files were kept on the men and a list of their names was missing.

Cross-examined by Mr David Sogget, for the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, he said the Kwazulu police had not had funds for the training of the men.

He had consulted Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr M Z Khumalo, who said he knew of a company willing to help.

He said Mr Khumalo, who subsequently paid the salaries, had kept the company's name a secret.

Buthelezi death plot



REC 7/12/92

IFP damper on interim govt issue

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter 118

STAR 7/2/92

The first day of the "real McCoy" in Codesa negotiations ended with progress in some working groups — particularly regarding the re-incorporation of the homelands — but there was an apparent setback to hopes for early agreement on the key question of an interim government.

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday released its proposals for transitional government — and served warning that the party's vision was poles apart from those of both the Government and the ANC.

There had been rapid convergence between the Government and ANC positions over the past week, leading to unprecedented optimism about the prospects for the installation of a transitional authority within six to 18 months.

Agreement in Codesa on a "package" for transitional rule is seen as an essential requirement for progress towards referenda, elections and a new constitution. The IFP bombshell has forced some negotiators to consider amending their optimistic timetables.

In its hard-hitting submissions made at yesterday's Codesa working group meetings, the IFP proposed that the present Parliament continue to govern and a new constitution be fashioned by a constitution drafting convention (CDC).

The IFP said it refused to take a "constitutional leap into the dark" and set out several conditions for its participation in Codesa.

Among these were an insistence on the right of "self-governing" territories to decide their own fate and a reiteration of the demand that King Goodwill Zwelithini be represented at Codesa.

The IFP also wants "private" and "liberation" armies to be disbanded and outlawed.

The IFP proposals include:

- There would be a transitional government of reconciliation, constituted under the State President and responsible to Parliament under the existing constitution.
- The existing constitution

would be amended to repeal "own" and "general" affairs legislation.

- The main function of the transitional government would be to organise the holding of an election and the adoption of a new constitution.

- There would be a representative multiparty Cabinet, including the self-governing territories.

The Democratic Party also produced written proposals for a transitional government. The DP suggestions include a council of leaders which, in conjunction with the State President, would form the executive.

The council would be appointed by Codesa. Each Minister should be assisted by a multiparty committee in the running of this portfolio, also appointed by Codesa.

The State President and the Council of Leaders should oversee the implementation of Codesa decisions and should a deadlock arise, the matter should be referred to Codesa.

Deliberations in other working groups yesterday were less controversial.

In the group discussing the future of the TBVC states, the majority of participants expressed support for the re-incorporation of the homelands.

The Transkei called for the dissolving of the tricameral Parliament and homeland parliaments. The ANC said the TBVC states were part of South Africa and the Intando Yesizwe Party supported re-incorporation.

The Venda government said it wished to be re-incorporated and the Dikwankwetla Party called for the dissolution of the TBVC states.

The Inyandza National Movement said re-incorporation was an inextricable part of dismantling apartheid.

The Government and the NP said the right to choose whether or not to opt for re-incorporation into South Africa under an interim constitution remained the option of the governments and people of the TBVC states.

The Ciskei government said it was willing to be re-incorporated, but only when a new government was established.

Bophuthatswana, by contrast, favoured retaining its independence.

The working groups will hold further sessions next week.

From page 1

"strengthening of confederal arrangements between independent countries" CT 7/2/92

It proposed other alternatives, but was determined that a unitary South Africa would not entice it into reincorporation.

The IFP's pre-conditions will amount to a serious stumbling block for Codesa.

Although it now appears that King Goodwill and other traditional leaders will be invited to the talks, it is improbable that the 17 parties and organisations that have already signed Codesa's Declaration of Intent will agree to having it changed.

Yesterday's developments delighted the CP, which held a series of meetings with leaders of six homelands, including KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. NB

'Important'

After a meeting with Ciskei Military Council chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this week Dr Treurnicht said the CP was exploring the possibility of a conference of leaders committed to self-determination.

Yesterday he said the IFP pre-conditions were "extremely important".

The IFP also called for a transitional government of reconciliation constituted under the president and responsible to Parliament under the existing Constitution, with certain entrenched clauses amended to make this possible. It would have a broader base than Codesa.

SADF deployed Inkatha 'troops' to kill ~~the~~ hearing told

115 Sowetan 7/2/97

THE deployment in the Maritzburg area of 200 defence force-trained Inkatha members resulted in unprecedented levels of violence, brutal murder and the disruption of education and transport.

Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, former personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told the Goldstone Commission inquiring into public violence and intimidation this week that 200 hand-picked Inkatha members were given military training by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip.

They were taught, among other things, how to kill selected people, demolish houses, kidnap, collect intelligence and the use of psychological methods.

Replying to a question by Mr David Soggot, representing the ANC, Cosatu, and the SA Communist Party, he said the men were deployed in Maritzburg in 1987.

Referring to interference in an ANC funeral in Wessellon, he said he had been told that eight people armed with AK-47 rifles had been involved.

"They shot at the man carrying an ANC flag in front of the coffin. The people ran away."

The men opened the coffin, firing into it, and the man carrying the flag was fired on at close range.

The men were arrested by the SADF and their rifles confiscated. But they were handed to the police, who released them after the intervention of Mr MZ Khumalo.

Their guns were returned to the KwaZulu police.

Replying to a question about a secret Inkatha bank account at the Smith Street, Durban branch of First National Bank, he said the signatories were Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr MZ Khumalo.

"No one else had access to the account ... not the secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo or his successor, Dr Frank Mdlalose."

Khumalo said he had visited an Inkatha training camp at Nhlazantshe, near Vryheid in 1990 and early last year.

The staff collected information and their findings given to Buthelezi.

"The information was given to Mr MZ Khumalo to be used for purposes of hit squads." - Sowetan Correspondent.

No interim rule this year ^{IB} IFP, DP

Suelem
7/2/92

~~IB~~

By JKE MOTSAPI

SEVERAL parties to Codesa yesterday rejected the Government and ANC proposal to hold elections for a transitional government sometime this year.

The groups, the IFP and the DP, voiced concern over the move and said they needed clarity on the issue.

The IFP however warned that any constitutional process mooted by the Government and the ANC will be "revolutionary".

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos also blasted the Government for what she termed as "monopolising proceedings at Codesa by having two separate delegations, the National Party and the Government".

The IFP is not opposed to an interim government in principle.

But it must be "all-inclusive" with a wide representation. The IFP also insists on a major debate about future regional structures.

They also want the Zulu king to be represented at Codesa.

Some of the demands listed are:

- * Agreements on the IFP's reasonable amendments to the declaration of intent;
- * Proper consideration in Codesa to the issue of self-determination; and
- * Agreement on the composition of the transitional government of reconciliation to ensure its all-inclusivity.



INKATHA'S SUE VOS



No interim rule this year - IFP, DP

Sowetan
7/2/92

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By IKE MOTSAPI



INKATHA'S SUE VOS

SEVERAL parties to Codesa yesterday rejected the Government and ANC proposal to hold elections for a transitional government sometime this year.

The groups, the IFP and the DP voiced concern over the move and said they needed clarity on the issue.

The IFP however warned that any constitutional process mobbed by the Government and the ANC will be "revolutionary".

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos also blasted the Government for what she termed as "monopolising proceedings at Codesa by having two separate delegations, the National Party and the Government".

The IFP is not opposed to an interim government in principle.

But it must be "all-inclusive" with a wide representation. The IFP also insists on a major debate about future regional structures.

They also want the Zulu King to be represented at Codesa.

Some of the demands listed are:

- * Agreements on the IFP's reasonable amendments to the declaration of intent;
- * Proper consideration in Codesa to the issue of self-determination; and
- * Agreement on the composition of the transitional government of reconciliation to ensure its all inclusivity.

Goldstone hears of secret account

11/2 - 13/2/91

A SECRET account held by Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and kept hidden from his most senior officials, was used by the South African Defence Force's department of military intelligence (DMI) to finance trained killers, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence was told this week.

It was an Inkatha account, but it was concealed from two successive secretary generals, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlalose. Former Inkatha official Mbongeni Khumalo described to the commission how the cheque book for the account was kept by Buthelezi's personal assistant, MZ Khumalo, in a special bag with the words "After signing by Chief Buthelezi, please return to MZ Khumalo".

Nobody but Buthelezi and MZ Khumalo had access to the account; Mbongeni Khumalo only knew about it because, as a trusted official, he had often been asked to carry the bag between the two men.

MZ Khumalo last year resigned from Inkatha after being implicated by *The Weekly Mail* in covert government funding of the organisation. Mbongeni Khumalo, a former acting national organiser of the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, resigned last year because of disillusionment with its links with the military.

The commission is sitting to hear evidence flowing from *The Weekly Mail's* reports that military intelligence (DMI) front companies were promoting violence.

The secret account — the same one used to channel security police covert funding for Inkatha rallies exposed in *The Weekly Mail* last year — could turn out to be the key to unlocking the extensive relationship between security forces and Inkatha.

Mbongeni Khumalo said the military paid money into the account for the wages of 200 Inkatha personnel whom they had trained. Several of the trainees became assassins.

Creed Consultants, a DMI front company in Durban, used the account to pay the men R900 each, a total of R180 000 a month.

President FW de Klerk has confirmed the military involvement in the training of the 200-strong elite Inkatha unit, but said it was intended to guard VIPs and government buildings.

But the former Inkatha Youth Brigade leader, who was personally involved in training of the unit and was a link-man with the military spon-

Evidence placed before the

Goldstone commission this week about a secret Inkatha account could be the key to unlocking the extensive relationship between security forces and Inkatha.

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

them and made such reports. "He added that he now feared being killed by the gang.

"Mr A" said he knew that 200 Inkatha youths from the Pietermaritzburg area were trained in the use of pump-action shotguns and gnm handguns and that these people received the same training he had been through at Mkuze.

He said he was personally present when a Warrant Officer Van Zweek of Ermelo had instructed a group of Black Cats to attack the offices of human-rights lawyer Steve Ngwenya. The office was then burnt down.

11/3

Buthelezi knew about secret SADF training

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew about the covert South African Defence Force training of 200 "loyal Zulus", according to Brigadier Sipho Moses Mathe, deputy commissioner of the kwaZulu Police.

Giving evidence to the Goldstone commission of inquiry late yesterday, Mathe said he had selected the group to protect Buthelezi and other cabinet ministers. He later said that Buthelezi's right-hand man, MZ Khumalo, had taken over and organised the training and funding for the recruits. He kept the source of training and funding for the men a secret, even from the Inkatha central committee.

At the beginning of the week, Justice Richard Goldstone, sitting with his full commission of five people, announced that the terms of reference for the hearings would be widened. While there was no direct evidence of current funding of violent activities by the SADF or its front organisations, he set up an inquiry into these fronts and the 200 Mkuze trainees. The hearings continue.

Under cross-examination by Advocate David Soggett SC, Mathe said that Buthelezi, as minister of police, knew about it. Mathe also said that the recruits did not have files with the kwaZulu Police, even though President FW de Klerk himself has said that they were legitimately absorbed into the homeland police force after their special training. Mathe said a list of their names, ages and place of origin had been misplaced. He promised the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, that he would supply the list and a firearm register at the beginning of next week.

● *The Weekly Mail* is represented at the commission by Paul Kennedy, instructed by David Dixon. They also represent Lawyers Trust for Human Rights and the Media Defence Trust. David Soggett SC is instructed by Norman Manóim and Peter Harris on behalf of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

sors, this week named members of the unit involved in killings of African National Congress supporters. He also cited occasions when agents for DMI called Inkatha to pass on warnings that the men were in danger or under threat of arrest.

These men then hid at the Mkuze camp, one of three covert bases described by Mbongeni Khumalo this week as places where Inkatha and DMI or its front companies worked together.

Khumalo, speaking calmly and confidently, gave further details of many of the allegations he had made in *The Weekly Mail*. Lawyers for Inkatha, the police and the SADF reserved their right to cross-examine him.

On Thursday, the commission heard evidence from a member of the Black Cat gang in Ermelo — scene of much violence in the past two years — about reports in *The Weekly Mail* of DMI training of Black Cat members who were also Inkatha members.

Named "Mr A" to protect his identity, he explained how Black Cat members were recruited by Inkatha and, after staying at the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) office in Ermelo, were taken to Ulundi and then the Mkuze training camp. "In the camp, we used beds with RSA painted on the bunks, received physical training, drilling, lectures in politics and such skills as how to abduct people or rescue our friends if attacked by the enemy," he said.

The Black Cats are still led by Chris Ngwenya, now Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman in Ermelo. Of the 32 Black Cats who went for training at Mkuze in 1990, about 25 are still active in Ermelo together with various others that they recruited, "Mr A" said.

Asked why he didn't report their activities to police, he said: "The police would simply inform the Black Cats and say I had been to



Springbok Patrol's new recruits go through their paces at the De Deur training camp

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Inkatha-linked firm to guard stations

THE private security company — Springbok Patrols — hired by Spoornet to guard troubled PWV and Natal stations has had close links with Inkatha.

The company is alleged to have trained Inkatha men implicated in anti-African National Congress violence in Alexandra.

Spoornet spokesman Jacques Pienaar confirmed this week that Springbok Patrols is used to bolster the Spoornet security department in the PWV and Natal.

Where there have been arrests following train attacks, suspects have been Inkatha members.

According to a former senior Inkatha official, who asked not to be named, in January 1991 Springbok recruited about 100 young men from the Emandleni Youth Camp in Ulundi.

"I know this happened because I dealt directly with senior Springbok officials at the time, and was lecturing in politics at the youth camp," said the former Inkatha leader.

"The youths were also provided with paramilitary training at the camp. The man who was then the Springbok operations director, Gavin Answerth, insisted on getting people who were strongly pro-Inkatha, and we gave him the people he wanted.

"These men were then transported to Johannesburg, and trained by Springbok, at their expense. They were then assigned as Springbok

Controversial security company Springbok Patrols, which has links with Inkatha, has been given a Spoornet contract to guard railway stations.

GAVIN EVANS reports

armed guards and used to patrol stations. I know that these chaps killed a number of people in the Durban area," he said.

According to three Springbok Patrol guards previously interviewed by *The Weekly Mail*, the course involved training in the use of a pump action shotgun, a rifle and a 138 revolver, unarmed and armed combat.

The Inkatha source said there was a very close relation between Springbok and Inkatha.

"I got to know Wahl Baartmann when he was in Natal, and worked closely with his brother Francois, who was managing director in Durban, and with Answerth, who is now a very enthusiastic Inkatha member.

"On one occasion Francois asked me to take him to Buthelezi, in order to kill an ox in appreciation of the close relation with Inkatha, but in the end this fell through. In his office

there is a big picture of Buthelezi and another of King Goodwill," he said.

Francois Baartmann did not return *The Weekly Mail's* calls, but fellow director and former Springbok rugby player Wahl Baartmann said the allegations about the company were not true, and insisted there was no political bias in the company.

"When we recruit we don't worry about a guy's politics. If he is qualified for the job then he can join us. If a man is Inkatha it is not my problem, but we have no particular relation with Inkatha. I also recruit from Nelspruit, Rustenburg, Cape Town, all over, and I'm not interested in politics."

He acknowledged, however, that Answerth was an enthusiastic Inkatha supporter, but said he had resigned from the company eight months ago, and now had his own company, Coastwatch Security.

"Maybe he could have favoured some people but he is no longer in our employ."

Answerth confirmed that he was a member of Inkatha but said he would not comment on whether 100 Inkatha youths were recruited from Emandleni camp, "because I no longer work for Springbok and I don't want the Baartmanns on my back".

Last year, however, father Abraham Baartman, who is the company managing director, confirmed to *The Weekly Mail* that a group of 60 Zulus, whom he assumed were from

Inkatha, had been sent to Springbok's De Deur training centre from Natal.

Asked whether they were recruiting Inkatha members from the province, he said: "This is quite correct," adding that he believed that "all Zulus are Inkatha".

At the time *The Weekly Mail* interviewed three Springbok security guards who said that some of the Inkatha trainees had taken part in battles with African National Congress supporters in Alexandra.

The Inkatha members were described as an "elite" group who were "arrogant and aggressive", and remained apart from their fellow trainees.

They also said that the SADF and the police had visited the De Deur base to recruit the Springbok trainees. Abraham Baartman confirmed these visits but said they were trying to "poach" his instructors, and not his trainees.

Last year Abraham Baartmann and Springbok Patrols were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court of 707 charges of unlawful possession of firearms.

Springbok Patrols has been one of the country's most controversial private security companies. Each of the guards interviewed by *The Weekly Mail* cited cases of their colleagues being prevented from leaving after having been recruited, being assaulted by their superiors and fired if they complained.

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had known about a project to train 150 "loyal young Zulus" to protect him, the homeland's deputy commissioner of police told the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town this week.

Brigadier Sipho Moses Mathe told the commission the men were recruited to protect KwaZulu VIPs. They were trained in Namibia by the SADF.

Although it was his idea, initially he did not know who funded the group, but he had done his own investigating and discovered it was Military Intelligence.

"It was initially referred to as a private company. It was not," he told the commission which is inquiring into public violence and intimidation.

Buthelezi knew about training of 150 loyal Zulus, says his deputy

They were paid in cash by Chief Buthelezi's former personal assistant MZ Khumalo.

The men were absorbed into the KwaZulu police in 1989.

No files were kept on the men and a list with their names had been misplaced, he told the commission.

Few people knew of the group's existence and the brigadier, a member of the KwaZulu central committee until last year, did not inform his colleagues.

However, Chief Buthelezi was aware of their existence.

He said he had selected 150 "loyal young Zulus" in April 1986, who were trained by a security company in Namibia - who turned out to be the SADF.

But under cross-examination, he said this statement had been a "slip" and conceded that his statement that he had selected the men was also incorrect.

Two members of the Black Cats which operated in Wesselton near Ermelo, who arrived at the commission wearing balaclavas, told how their group had subjected the township to a reign of terror.

One of them, identified as Mr A, said an Uwusa official, Isaac Hlatswayo, promised the Black Cats help in their fight against the Wesselton Action Committee if they joined Inkatha.

He said: "Most of the Black Cats (32 of us) were then taken by Inkatha to Zululand to be trained."

In an interim Goldstone Commission report tabled in parliament this week, the commission says policy on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public should be determined and made public as a matter of urgency.

Spears, sticks

The report, on violence at Mooi River on December 3 and 4 last year, said both the police and public appeared to be confused over the carrying of weapons for cultural purposes.

"The commission finds it quite unacceptable that men in the Mooi River/Bruntville area walk the streets, and indeed attended the hearings (of the commission) in the town hall, carrying spears and sticks.

"The law obliges the police to confiscate such weapons and prefer criminal charges against such persons. That should be made clear."

It said the evidence suggesting that members of the SA Police in the area favoured Inkatha Freedom Party supporters was a matter of concern and if correct would aggravate negative attitudes towards the police by many members of the community.

"Urgent and effective steps should be taken to educate and explain to all members the absolute necessity of unbiased policing."

CP Correspondent

ARMY 'police' for imps'

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False plates

The practice of conducting raids without warrants, in plainclothes and in a vehicle with false number plates, should be prohibited forthwith.

The police should make every endeavour to bring the perpetrators of the violence committed at Mooi River - in which 19 people died - to justice and the Attorney-General be requested to assist.

It was in no way suggested that the security forces were to blame for the violence at Mooi River. The blame for that fell squarely on those who were participants in attack and counter-attack, irrespective of which party they supported, said the commission.

The attacks by IFP supporters that led to the death of 19 residents of Bruntville township near Mooi River in December last year came after a year of violence initiated by supporters of both the IFP and the ANC, the commission said.

The police were already giving urgent attention to several of the issues raised by the Goldstone Commission's report on violence at Mooi River, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said this week.

Inkatha

MP killed after plea for peace

By TERRY van der WALT

CONTROVERSIAL Inkatha leader and Kwazulu MP Winnington Sabelo was gunned down in his shop at Umlazi near Durban this week — just days after he appealed for peace in the troubled township.

In an effort to avert bloodshed which political observers fear could follow, Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee co-chairman Mr MC Pretorius yesterday called for all parties to "remain calm" and not to allow the killing to inflame the township.

Police said that on Friday night Mr Sabelo was serving a man who asked for cigarettes when the customer fired three shots at point-blank range, killing him instantly.

He has survived repeated attempts on his life in the past.

His wife, Evelyn, was killed in a gunfire and handgrenade attack on his home in August 1986.

Clashes

At the time KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the "black civil war" he had warned about had begun.

Mr Sabelo appealed for peace on television news on Wednesday following clashes between IFP hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting squatters in the Ekuthuleni area of Umlazi.

He had played a leading role on the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee and his contribution would be "sorely missed", said interim chairman Gary Cullen.

Mr Sabelo was instrumental in the launch of the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa on May 1 1986.

More proposals on transition to be thrashed out

STAR 10/2/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Codesa working group on transitional arrangements will tomorrow continue thrashing out the 19 groups' proposals for the road from apartheid to an interim government.

The five working groups meet tomorrow at the World Trade Centre for the third time.

It is understood that time allowed for only some of the groups to make their submissions at Thursday's meeting. The other groups will put their proposals tomorrow.

The Inkatha Freedom Party transitional proposals appear to fly in the face of both ANC and Government options.

And, with the acceleration during the last few weeks of ANC and Government timetables for the transitional period, they appear to have been pulled back by the IFP proposal that the interim period last until the expiry of the existing Parliament's life in 1994.

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last week expressed optimism that a transitional government could be in place within between six and 18 months.

The main difference between

the three sets of proposals is that the IFP wants the existing Parliament to govern during the transitional period with a multiparty Cabinet.

In terms of the IFP proposals, the IFP wants a transitional government of reconciliation, constituted under the State President and responsible to the existing Parliament under the existing constitution, which should be amended to repeal own and general affairs legislation. It proposes an all-inclusive multiparty Cabinet in which extra-parliamentary groups and self-governing states are represented.

Political observers have expressed surprise at this aspect of the IFP proposals as the extra-parliamentary groups, which include the IFP and ANC, would be excluded from Parliament but would be included in the Cabinet, and most IFP supporters are disfranchised.

In terms of the IFP plan, Codesa's last meeting should compile a document comprising general constitutional principles. This would be put to a referendum, and a constitution-drafting commission would be established to draw up a new constitution.

An interesting spin-off of the IFP proposals is that it retains the structural role of the Con-

servative Party in Parliament.

The ANC's foresees Codesa agreeing on constitutional principles, Parliament dissolving itself, a nominated interim government being appointed to oversee elections for a constituent assembly, and an elected constituent assembly compiling the new constitution.

The IFP has rejected an elected constituent assembly because South Africa did not have a democratic culture which would render elections free from intimidation.

Other objections were that it would effectively exclude minority parties from a meaningful say in the constitution-making process and it would place such a process in a constitutional vacuum.

The Government, on the other hand, proposes Codesa agreeing on a transitional government package which would be put to a referendum in which the white vote would be counted separately. Should the measures be approved, Parliament would pass legislation to dissolve itself, and elections would be held for a transitional government to compile a constitution.

The IFP has rejected these proposals because it envisaged the holding of elections or referendums under an interim constitution on the way to the final constitution.

Codesa to meet over Zulu king

STAR 10/2/92.

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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that the Government and IFP have less in common on transitional arrangements than the ANC and the Government.

Codesa's management committee will meet today to consider the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his delegation.

The key difference between the three sets of proposals centres around the IFP demand for the existing Parliament to remain in place.

A subcommittee, appointed to discuss the matter, will today report its findings to the management committee.

In what is widely regarded as a major breakthrough in the negotiations process, the Government has accepted the need for an electoral body to draw up the new constitution.

Other issues on the agenda are the applications of at least 20 groups to join constitutional talks as well as the operations of the five working groups.

This development might leave room for compromise between the ANC demand for an elected constituent assembly and the Government's option of an elected interim government to fashion a new constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Crucial

Last week, real political bargaining began, but it immediately became clear how difficult it would be to reach consensus soon on a transitional government.

The chairman of the management committee and the daily management committee, Pravin Gordhan, said significant progress had been made at the meetings of the working groups on Thursday.

The Inkatha Freedom Party does not, as the Government does, want an elected interim government.

It is understood that the steering committee of the working group on constitutional principles is compiling a working document for tomorrow's meeting of the working groups.

It also does not, as the ANC does, want a nominated interim government.

The IFP wants the existing Parliament to rule with an all-inclusive multiparty Cabinet until the expiry of the current Parliament's life in 1994.

Participants in this group last week spelt out perceived common ground and differences on constitutional principles between the 19 participating groups.

The IFP proposals, submitted last week at the meeting of the working groups, could also provide a crucial test for the principle of sufficient consensus, on which agreement is reached at Codesa.

The document will be based on these discussions.

On the face of it, it appears

● More proposals on transition

— Page 6

Will of nation the key to democracy

Sowetan 10/2/92

A FUTURE democratic system in South Africa would face serious challenges were there no reconciliation, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned.

Speaking in Florida in the United States, Buthelezi said there was no national will in South Africa yet for democracy to work.

"Reconciliation between the centre and the right must be balanced with reconciliation between the centre and the left," he said.

Reconciliation was crucial to drawing up a good constitution, developing a national will to make it work and to keep democracy functioning, he said.

Referring to the uneasy relationship between the IFP and the African National Congress, Buthelezi said reconciliation was needed at grassroots level to end the feuding.

He again demanded the disbanding of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

~~11B~~ ~~11B~~ 11B
"There can be no normalisation of relationships between the IFP and the ANC unless the ANC does the politically honourable thing now of disbanding its private army and putting itself at the mercy of constituency politics and the opinions that will prevail in a future election.

"There is a desperate need for reconciliation at black grassroots levels before we can even begin seriously tackling the curbing of violence and the reconciliation between black and white," he said.

Buthelezi made it clear that white rightwing extremists posed a greater danger to a future democracy.

While "we cannot be held to ransom by fear which has no basis in fact" he urged the provision of "every possible protection of individual and group rights that is commensurate with democratic principles".

"It is the size and vehemence of the white backlash that is the consideration," he said. - Sapa.

Codesa's test has begun

Codesa is now getting into full swing. **IKE MOTSAPI** covered last week's sessions and found that strong differences were already emerging on some issues.

LAST Thursday afternoon Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Housing said: "There is a lot of mistrust among delegates at Codesa and this creates a lot of tension."

Wessels added: "What we have to do here is remove this and work towards the establishment of a new country."

His words could hardly have been more apt, for serious differences between the participants are beginning to emerge as this assembly now gets down to the real work.

Today and tomorrow some working groups of Codesa meet at the World Trade Centre to continue the negotiations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party rejects an interim government, which the ANC and Government hoped would be in place before the end of the year. There are other disagreements on various issues.

Some of the delegates spoke to us on condition they are not quoted as a ban had been placed on individuals not to make known to the Press what was being discussed

Opposition

Firstly, delegates could not agree on the holding of elections for a transitional government.

While the ANC and the Government are in agreement on the issue, serious opposition came from other delegates.

The IFP also says such a move will be revolutionary.

The Democratic Party's Dr Dennis Worrall says: "We are surprised that the Government has now announced that it was going to hold elections for such a temporary authority.

"We at the DP have not as yet discussed the formation of a new Government."

Other parties, in addition to the DP and IFP, also do not want this to happen.

For some it will mean the end of the road for they are not likely to gain a single seat in the proposed structure if elections are held.

Worrall said he was also shocked because members of the public have not been given a chance to submit their recommendations on the type of Government they want in the new South Africa.

"I think this would be the right step in the right direction," he said.

Many of the smaller groups fear they are being used by the ANC and Government, a claim made by the PAC, and denied by the ANC and Government, when it pulled out of Codesa.

These organisations say they are always asked to "rubber-stamp" agreements reached between the ANC and the Government.

Why, they ask, should the Government

agree to the ANC's demand of elections for a transitional government without consulting other participants?

Inkatha has now attacked the Government by saying: "The foundations for the future multiparty democratic order need to be carefully laid down and sufficient time should be allowed for reconciliation.

"The new South Africa must be responsibly and well governed into existence and the IFP will strenuously resist any suggestion that there be constitutional leaps in the dark trying to get there.

"The current Parliament is the only legal authority capable of changing the current constitutional dispensation. Any other approach would in effect be revolutionary.

"The IFP's position and proposal in short is that it is willing in principle to the establishment of a government of transition for two reasons.

"First, it is important that the transitional authority be established without delay to create an all-inclusive constitutional forum or negotiating body with a much wider representation than is present at Codesa.

"Secondly because the IFP strongly believes that no major changes should be made to the present constitution without at the same time dealing comprehensively with the question of a future regional structure."

The IFP also insists that King of the Zulus Goodwill Zwelithini be allowed to take his place at Codesa.

There is strong opposition from Transkei and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa regarding the move

They maintain that if he is allowed to take part they will be forced to bring chiefs as well.

This move was backed by the ANC which said traditional chiefs have a role to play in the future of the country.

Ethnicity

Further support came from Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, who said ethnicity was going to play an important role in the shaping of a new constitution.

Input by members of the public are vital when drafting a new constitution.

On the question of the homelands, Bophuthatswana said it wanted to remain independent while Ciskei said it would join the new government once it was in power. The rest committed themselves to being reincorporated into South Africa

Bophuthatswana, like the NPP, Inkatha and DP favour a federal government. The Government also supports this idea while the ANC, the PAC, Azapo and other black organisations demand a one-man one-vote majority rule government.



LEON WESSELS . . . to build a new country.

The new South Africa must be responsibly and well governed into existence and the IFP will strenuously resist any suggestion that there be constitutional leaps in the dark trying to get there.

Row looms over bid to alter declaration

B/day 10/2/92

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~~11B~~

TIM COHEN

THE thorny issue of Inkatha amendments to Codesa's declaration of intent is expected to be the most hotly debated issue at the body's management committee meeting today.

Daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday that there would be four main issues on today's agenda.

There would be progress reports from the working committee meetings held on Thursday last week, progress reports on investigations into the applications of new members to Codesa, a report back from the subcommittee on the participation of traditional leaders and a debate on Inkatha's proposed amendments.

Inkatha refused to sign the declaration of intent at Codesa's opening last year because no agreement had been reached on the participation of the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini.

Inkatha also objected to the words "an undivided SA" and the "sovereign authority ... over the whole territory" in a section which refers to the new constitution, because it said the words implied a commitment to a unitary state.

Inkatha members will be called on to argue their case at today's meeting, after

which it will decided whether sufficient consensus has been achieved.

Some delegates expressed concern on Thursday about the recommendations of the sub-committee on the participation of traditional leaders, and speculated that the recommendations would be referred back to the sub-group.

The management committee is not expected to decide finally on whether new applications to join Codesa have been accepted, but progress reports on investigations into the support of the applicants would be heard.

The committee will also hear reports on the discussions which took place last Thursday, when working groups met for their first round of substantive talks.

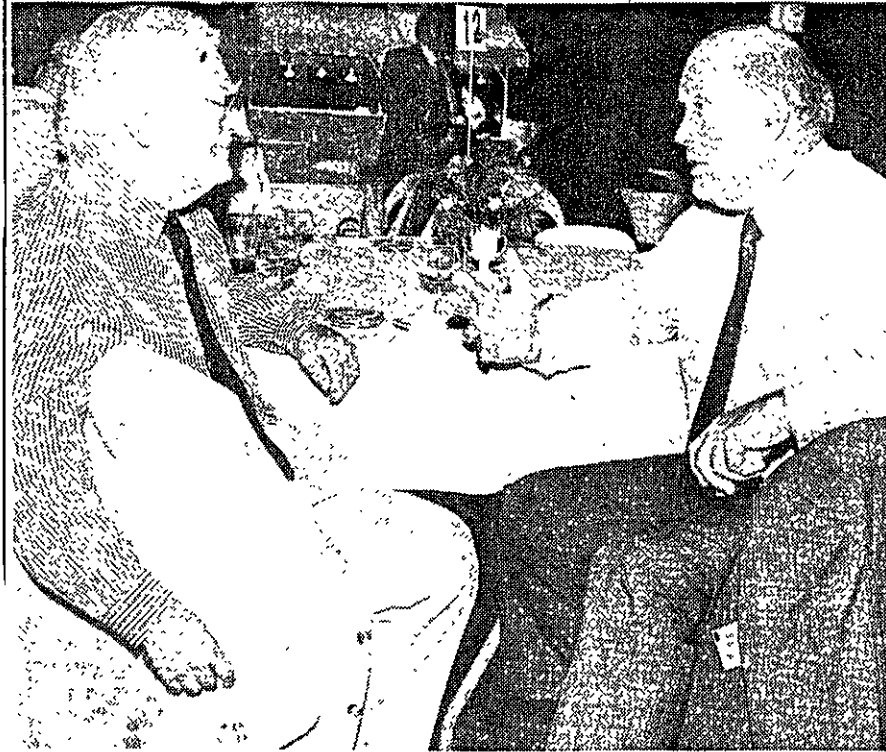
Cosatu president John Gomo yesterday reaffirmed Cosatu's application for membership of Codesa, following speculation that the federation would not pursue its application.

Gomomo said the decision to join was taken at congress level and hence remained the official position.

Cosatu, and other unions, needed to be present because worker rights under a new constitution would be discussed, he said.

Commission told of its...





SA Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo and DP MP Colin Eglin during a break in yesterday's meeting of the Codesa sub-committee which discussed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's participation in the forum. The issue was later referred back to an expanded sub-committee.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Issue of king's Codesa attendance not settled

INKATHA'S drive to see Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini participate fully in Codesa suffered a setback yesterday when the issue was referred back to an expanded subcommittee. *Blay 11/2/92*

The Codesa management committee referred the matter back to the subcommittee despite the original four-person subcommittee's recommendation that traditional leaders and their delegations be full participating members of Codesa.

The management committee made known for the first time yesterday the full list of applications to join Codesa, which shows that the World Council of Churches' application has been turned down.

The expanded subcommittee on traditional leaders, which includes organisations which oppose the full participation of traditional leaders in Codesa, has been given wider terms of reference.

Inkatha has repeatedly insisted that its participation in Codesa is dependent on the full participation of the Zulu king in the talks.

Inkatha delegation leader Frank Mdlalose put on a brave face yesterday, describing the management committee's move as "progress" and pointing out that no final decision had been taken.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan told a media conference that the subcommittee's earlier terms of reference were vague and insufficient and had been extended to allow a more in-depth look at the sensitive issue.

TIM COHEN

Inkatha's proposed amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent were also referred to a subcommittee.

Gordhan said the committee would also deal with Bophuthatswana's proposals for an amended declaration of intent, which are due to be made public soon.

The management committee yesterday stressed that it would welcome written and oral contributions to Codesa working groups, but asked that submission should reach Codesa by March 2.

The political groups that have applied to join Codesa are the Afrikaner Party, Boer-volk Party, Boerentia Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, the Freedom Party of SA, the Insika National Party, the Mighty Sofasonke Party, the National Seoposengwe Party, the PAC of SA (a breakaway faction of the PAC), the People's Party of SA, the People's Progressive Party and the Reform Party of SA. Two new applications have been received from the United Conciliation Party and the Venda National Party.

Lesotho's Basotho National Party application has been turned down.

Applications have also been received from nine interest groups, including the National Committee of Local Government Associations and the Returned Exiles Committee.

Cosatu's application still stands and a new application has also been received from Christians for Truth.

Setback for IFP Codesa drive over king

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha's drive to see Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini participate fully in Codesa suffered a setback yesterday when the issue was referred back to an expanded subcommittee.

The Codesa management committee referred the matter back to the subcommittee despite the original four-person subcommittee's recommendation that traditional leaders and their delegations be full participating members of Codesa.

The management committee made known for the first time yesterday the full list of applications to join Codesa. The expanded subcommittee on traditional leaders, which includes organisations which oppose the full participation of traditional

leaders in Codesa, was given wider terms of reference.

Inkatha repeatedly insisted its participation in Codesa was dependent on the full participation of the king in the talks.

Inkatha delegation leader Dr Frank Mdlalose put on a brave face yesterday, describing the management committee's move as "progress" and pointing out that no final decision had been taken.

Codesa management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan told a news conference

the subcommittee's earlier terms of reference were vague and insufficient and had been extended to allow a more in-depth look at the sensitive issue.

The political groups that applied to join

Codesa are the Afrikaner Party, Boerewolk Party, Boerentia Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, the Freedom Party of South Africa, the Insika National Party, the Mighty Sothsonke Party, the National Seoposengwe Party, the PAC of South Africa (a breakaway faction of the PAC), the People's Party of South Africa, the People's Progressive Party and the Reform Party of South Africa. Two new applications were received from the United Conciliation Party and the Venda National Party.

A Codesa working group recommended yesterday the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress

yesterday predicted rebellion in Codesa that would trigger walkouts by some of the participants.

Political affairs secretary Mr Mahlabi Mbandazayo said at a news conference here the PAC believed some of its partners in the Patriotic Front would pull out in favour of a more radical approach.

Mr Mbandazayo said the PAC would convene its national congress in the Transkei in April, where Codesa would top the agenda. The PAC would stage a rally at the weekend where key figures were expected to outline its programme to attack Codesa in a bid to crush its credibility and its capability to usher in a democratic future. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Buthelezi says elections would split country

SAN FRANCISCO. — Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi opposes a free election by both white and black South Africans soon because it would further split the country.

"We say that there can be no elections this year or indeed next year," Chief Buthelezi told the World Affairs Council of Northern California yesterday.

"Political parties are just not free to campaign in all communities or among all race groups for support," Chief Buthelezi, on a US

speaking tour, told the council that jumping into all-or-nothing political battles now would "set South African against South African".

He said he opposed ANC efforts to press for an early vote and an interim government during the transition from white supremacist government to black majority rule.

"So many areas of the country are dominated by one black political party or another that they are off-limits to free and

open election campaigns", Chief Buthelezi said.

"The ground is not equally level for all political parties when it comes down to political campaigning," he said.

"There are areas which are dominated by the ANC where no other political party dare attempt to hold a meeting."

During a question-and-answer session, Chief Buthelezi played down his differences with Mr Nelson Mandela, saying that although their organ-

sations differed on strategy, they had the same objectives.

"The problem is not with Mr Mandela," he said. "It is with the people around him."

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party held talks in South Africa yesterday with representatives of the ANC aimed at ending years of political violence in which more than 5 000 have been killed.

The talks were held after nine people died in weekend fighting in of Soweto. — Sapa-
Reuter.



Codesa progress, but tough battles ahead

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government is "heartened" by the rate of progress on key issues at Codesa, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpont said yesterday — but he warned that tough bargaining still lay ahead.

Dr Delpont, the Government's official spokesman on Codesa, was responding to reports that Tuesday's Codesa working group meetings had shown marked convergence between the ANC and the Government, particularly on the crucial issue of interim government.

He warned it was premature to assume that "all-embracing agreements on all issues" had been achieved.

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Sources close to Codesa told The Star that the ANC's flexible stance on a constituent assembly — the organisation's proposals for interim government for the first time countenance the possibility that such an assembly might also act as a legislature — brought it closer to President de Klerk's own wish that deliberations on a constitution take place within a transitional government.

Sources also played down the fact that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on a United States lecture tour, made speeches critical of Codesa which seemed out of tune with the atmosphere of optimism within the Government and ANC.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks were "part of political powerplays and positioning between groups", the sources said, and were not directly related to de-

velopments at Codesa.

Chief Buthelezi had alleged "connivance" between the Government and the ANC, and had come out firmly against an elected interim government.

Dr Delpont yesterday said the Government considered both the IFP and the ANC as important role-players in the negotiations process.

"The whole spirit of Codesa is to move away from confrontational politics, and it is therefore imperative that bilateral talks with various parties, including the IFP and the ANC, should continue as part of the process," he said.

"It is the duty of the Government to take initiatives to avoid confrontational politics and so facilitate the Codesa talks, where all parties will have to reach agreement on the important issues on the agenda," Dr Delpont said.

STAR 13/2/92

ANC 'may have shot own man'

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

STAR 13/2/92
The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said there was a "good chance" that the ANC was responsible for the murder of ANC Midlands executive member and peace negotiator Skhumbuzo Ngwenya.

The shock allegation was made to The Star by Kim Hodgson, of the Inkatha Institute's violence monitoring unit.

Mr Ngwenya was shot dead in the parking lot of a Maritzburg hotel on Saturday, after meeting a group of visiting Americans in the restaurant.

The killing was linked, Mr Hodgson said, to a confrontation IFP sources say Mr Ngwenya had had with Natal SACP and

ANC leader Harry Gwala.

The "bitter exchange", Mr Hodgson said, was sparked by Mr Ngwenya's commitment to peaceful co-existence with Inkatha in Natal.

He said Mr Ngwenya had "engaged in an open display of criticism" of Mr Gwala at a meeting of the ANC in Imbali from December 14 to 16.

The criticism was said to revolve around funding and the "giving of positions to friends and relatives" by Mr Gwala.

"We feel there is a very good chance Mr Ngwenya was killed by a faction within the ANC. His death has nothing to do with the IFP," said Mr Hodgson.

Reacting to the allegation, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC "rejected with

contempt" the idea that it would shoot its own member in order to settle a difference — "if that is the way Inkatha settles differences".

He emphatically denied Inkatha's claim that Mr Gwala and Mr Ngwenya had clashed at the meeting and said it was an attempt to divide the ANC.

In a further accusation, Mr Hodgson said ANC supporters and "professional hitmen" from Umkhonto we Sizwe were responsible for the recent spate of killings and attempts on the lives of its leaders in Natal, including KwaZulu MP and peace negotiator Winnington Sabelo.

Mr Macozoma described as "ludicrous" the allegation that the ANC had a hit squad.

Report attacks

STAR 13/2/92

'violent' Uwusa

By Shareen Singh

Cosatu's argument that the only expertise of the Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) lies in creating industrial violence and destabilisation would be supported by many labour and political commentators, according to an annual labour relations report.

The report, by Andrew Levy and Associates, said numerous commentators would agree with Cosatu that Uwusa had no legitimacy as a trade union.

It said Uwusa's attempts to gain footholds in organised factories had resulted in fatal clashes with Cosatu members.

Since its inception in 1986, Uwusa had not shown any real growth, and claims by the union that its paid-up membership was 100 000 were thought to be exaggerated, the report said.

"Because of its lack of continuity in leadership and the fact that as a 'non-violent' organisation it had been involved in many acts of violence, it is thought that Inkatha has gradually dissociated itself from the organisation and ceased to lend support," the report claimed.

In the aftermath of the exposure of Government funding of

Uwusa, many trade unions slammed the organisation and questioned its future existence. Despite this, Uwusa recently applied to the Industrial Registrar to extend its scope to other industries and regions.

Cosatu unions have already submitted objections to Uwusa's application. Nactu unions intend to do likewise.

Cosatu affiliates pointed out to the registrar that Uwusa did not comply with the definition of a trade union and should never have been registered. It should not therefore remain registered and its application to increase its scope should be disallowed.

The unions also referred the registrar to a report by Gavin Woods, commissioned in 1989 by the KwaZulu Minister of the Interior.

The report contains shocking allegations of corruption and power struggles. "Uwusa was never able to do its job properly — that is service its members," the report said.

The Industrial Registrar is expected to make a decision soon on Uwusa's application to extend its scope of registration.

Uwusa could not be reached for comment at the time of going to press.

SOURCES inside Inkatha's central committee report that Mangosuthu Buthelezi has taken a dramatic decision to quit as president of the ailing Inkatha Freedom Party and, instead, to enter the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the side of King Goodwill Zwelithini in the guise of *umdanankulu*, a traditional post in the Zulu state that carries the status of prime minister.

Buthelezi, who returned from a visit to the United States yesterday, scoffed at the reports when local Inkatha officials contacted him in San Francisco during the week.

But the sources insist they are correct. Buthelezi, they say, has abandoned the idea of winning national support through the IFP and has decided, instead, to bolster his position in Codesa by appealing to the nationalist sentiments of Natal's large Zulu population.

To achieve this, Inkatha will sever all formal links with the kwaZulu homeland and is to shift its headquarters to Durban. Midlands farmer Maurice Mackenzie (55) has been

Will Buthelezi give Inkatha the boot?

14/2 - 20/2/92

Whither the Inkatha Freedom Party? That's the question as rumours abound that Mangosuthu Buthelezi may resign in the wake of scandals linking the IFP with Pretoria's security forces and a survey showing he has the support of just three percent of urban blacks. BY EDDIE KOCH

appointed chief executive of the new national office to be housed at 126 Umgeni Road, Durban, a building Inkatha is to buy from the Argus group with funds donated by the US.

National chairman Frank Mdlalose or health minister Baldwin Ngubane are tipped as likely successors.

"Inkatha has been completely discredited by all these revelations of its links with the security police and military intelligence. Membership is at an all-time low and the movement has been immobilised as a political vehicle for Buthelezi."

That realisation, according to one

informant, lies behind Buthelezi's recent and sudden U-turn in favour of a devolution of power to a Zulu regional polity and his movement's strong opposition at Codesa to any mention of a centralised state in the new South Africa.

After some vacillation on the issue of Buthelezi's resignation, Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos contacted the Zulu chief in San Francisco and then issued an official denial that he intends quitting.

Because of the leaks and rumours that now abound it is probable that Buthelezi will bide his time before

making any dramatic announcements about his political future. There has also been slow progress in the Codesa sub-committee that is considering King Goodwill's admission to the negotiating body and the two Zulu leaders will want clarity on this before making their strategy public.

But the spate of reports, denials and counter-claims leave little doubt that Buthelezi, along with the movement he founded, are desperately treading water at the moment.

Evidence presented at the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence last week con-

firmed reports that Inkatha has deliberately been bolstered over the years by the South African Defence Force's department of military intelligence (DMI) as a conservative, and violent, bulwark against the African National Congress.

The commission also heard details about a secret bank account for covert projects which was operated jointly by Buthelezi and his former lieutenant, MZ Khumalo. Brigadier Mathe, kwaZulu's deputy police commissioner, also told the commission that Buthelezi must have known that Creed Consultants, a firm that provided extensive funding and training for Inkatha, was a military front. This is the first time the Zulu chief has been directly implicated in the organisation's clandestine links with the security forces.

"It is clear to me that Inkatha derived its power from the support it got from military intelligence and from Buthelezi's political skill and acumen. The movement's central committee was just a rubber stamp designed to give the organisation a civilian face," says top-ranking Inkatha dissident Mbozeni Khumalo.

There have not been elections to the central committee for three years. Its office bearers have never seen an audited statement of membership figures and this is likely to be well below 500 000 rather than the two million claimed by Inkatha.

"Now that the real power behind Inkatha has been exposed, Buthelezi has no other option but to claim he is the representative of seven million Zulus and go for the support he can get from the Zulu people's feeling of ethnic pride," says Khumalo.

This option for the Inkatha leader has been reinforced by the findings of a survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) which this week reported the ANC had the support of some 66 percent of African people polled while Inkatha got the support of just three percent. The poll excluded opinions of people who live in rural areas of Zululand

The new strategy of devolution is unlikely to find much support except among far-right groups. The dominant position among homeland leaders is in favour of their territories being reincorporated into a unified South Africa. Even the moderate government of Venda made strong appeals for Codesa to form an interim government within six months and that the independent homelands be dissolved by this body.

Things are also not going well in Codesa. If King Goodwill and his delegation is accepted into the negotiating forum, this will most likely be accompanied by a ruling in favour of the ANC Congress of Traditional Leaders. Buthelezi's status will be further diminished and he will be seen as just one among a number of traditional chiefs in Codesa.

And instead of being seen as one of South Africa's big three, along with Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk, the new scheme will present Buthelezi as a much lesser figure: the king's assistant.

South Africa's big three, along with Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk, the new scheme will present Buthelezi as a much lesser figure: the king's assistant.

But Buthelezi is clearly treading between a rock and a hard place. The new Zulu nationalist option contains a number of political dangers for him. "By moving away from a strong stand against homeland independence in favour of a new form of apartheid, Buthelezi has shown himself to be far to the right of even the National Party. This can only cost him dearly at the polls," said a political observer who once worked closely with the kwaZulu government.

research manager Lawrence Schlemmer noted that if this area had been canvassed the IFP's popularity would have been substantially boosted — indicating that Buthelezi's only real power base now is rural kwaZulu where feelings of traditional pride remain strong.

Focus on ^(11B) Buthelezi's ^{w/mant. 14/2 - 20/2/92} main man

Weekly Mail Reporter

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's right-hand man, MZ Khumalo, is to come under public scrutiny for the first time when the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry reconvenes later this month.

Khumalo, who has avoided the media since he emerged as the man responsible for the extensive links between Inkatha and the security police and the department of military intelligence (DMI) and was forced to resign from his position as Buthelezi's assistant, will face extensive cross-examination.

This week Khumalo found one of the Goldstone witnesses, Mbongeni Khumalo, and confronted him. Mbongeni Khumalo, a former Inkatha official, had been living at a secret venue since deciding to go public about Inkatha's links with the security forces. MZ Khumalo, however, located him and warned him that he was lucky not to have been killed while living in Ulundi.

Also under scrutiny will be the secret Inkatha account run by MZ Khumalo and Buthelezi. Mr Justice R Goldstone has subpoenaed full details of the account for the past two years from First National Bank in Durban.

Since the account was used for the payment of money from the police and South African Defence Force to Inkatha, the records could provide the first full account of the extent of covert support for Inkatha. It could also show the extent to which Buthelezi himself was aware of this activity.

The judge has also ordered the DMI front companies that are still operating — and who have been accused of an involvement in township violence — to present their books and records.

Danger behind new liaisons

WIMAN 14/2 - 20/2/92

~~11A~~ ~~2011B~~ 11B

By GAVIN EVANS

LESS than a year ago, the government and Inkatha looked ready and willing for a spell of blissful cohabitation — at least for as long as negotiations lasted.

Now something totally different is taking place. The weight of the Inkatha scandal, opinion polls and the realities of power in the changing South Africa have forced a hasty parting of the ways, and the making of new, more dangerous liaisons.

While the international community, the media, the Democratic Party and many of those who fall under the title "big business" have welcomed the growing convergence between the government and the African National Congress — and in some cases have rather hastily predicted a marriage — Inkatha is understandably spitting mad.

Over the past fortnight, the main plot at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been the relative ease with which the government/National Party and the ANC/South African Communist Party have come round to each

other's positions.

But the often understated sub-plot relates to the vigour of Inkatha's resistance.

Some of this was summed up by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech in San Francisco this week. He spoke about "connivance" between the government and the ANC, came out strongly against the government proposal of an elected interim government over the next two years, and generally poured scorn on the notion that Codesa was getting anywhere.

Sources within the Codesa working groups confirm that similar themes have been stressed in their sessions, both by individual Inkatha speakers and through position papers presented to Codesa.

"When you read the Inkatha Freedom Party submissions as a whole, the implication is something close to an ultimatum," said one Codesa source.

"They are saying that unless the Zulu king is given full delegate status, unless their proposal of weak central and strong regional government is

accepted, unless there is no constituent assembly-type election and unless the Codesa declaration is amended to remove the words 'united, undivided South Africa', they will not go along with Codesa's decisions."

But this has not stopped the ANC or the government from being fairly optimistic in their prognoses.

The government's Codesa spokesman, Tertius Delpont, stressed that he was pleased with the rate of progress and the degree of convergence reached so far — particularly on the issue of an interim government — though he added that it was premature to assume "all-embracing agreement on all issues" had been reached.

An issue that is clearly causing a headache is that of deciding on the application for representation of the Zulu king and of the ANC-aligned chiefs' organisation, Contralesa.

The terms of reference of the sub-committee dealing with this issue have now been widened and a report is expected from it at the next full meeting of the Codesa management committee on February 24.

LEADERS BURIED

Sunday Times Reporters

AT LEAST 6 000 Inkatha

supporters, many of them

armed, streamed into the

King Zwelithini Stadium in

Durban's Umlazi township

yesterday for the memor-

ial service of local leader

Winnington Sabelo, who

was assassinated at his

store last week.

A heavy police and army

contingent kept watch.

Inkatha president Man-

gosuthu Buthelezi, in a

speech read for him, called

for the disbanding of the

ANC's military wing, Um-

khonto we Sizwe. (HB)

ANC mourners, mean-

while, attended the funeral

in Maritzburg yesterday

for Imbali branch chair-

man, S'khumbuzo

Ngwenya, who was gunned

down outside a city hotel

last weekend.

S/Times 16/2/92

Boesak hits out at IFP

THE international community and the tricameral Parliament came under fire yesterday when African National Congress Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak addressed several hundred people at a rally in Eersterus, Pretoria.

Few "coloureds" attended the rally or took part in the march.

The crowd consisted predominantly of people from Pretoria's black townships. There was also no sign of any of the National Party's newly acquired "coloured" MPs from the House of Representatives.

Boesak told the crowd: "Our destiny will not be decided by Washington, not (former-British premier Margaret) Thatcher, not Germany," he told the chanting and ululat-

ing crowd.

He said Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a leader because US President George Bush and the local white-owned newspapers wanted him to be one.

Referring to the tricameral Parliament, Boesak said: "We never trusted people in the tricameral Parliament. It must be dissolved."

In an interview afterwards, Mr Mike Dearham, of the Eersterus branch of the ANC, admitted there was a very low turnout by the local community.

He denied this could be seen as an embarrassing signal for the ANC in the battle for the hearts and minds of the coloured people.

IB
Sowden 17/2/92



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

'IFP ⁽¹¹³⁾ forced to sign to sign ^{Sowetan} peace' 17/2/92

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was "dragooned" into signing the Declaration of Intent at the first plenary session of Codesa in December, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He told a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States that the IFP had been obliged to sign the declaration despite reservations.

This was a result of collusion between the ANC and the Government.

"(ANC President) Mr Nelson Mandela said at the time he had reservations about signing (the declaration) but after discussions with the State President was persuaded to sign.

"We (the IFP) were pressurised during lunch to sign the declaration. There was an effort to dragoon the delegation into complying despite our reservations. Is that democracy?"

Asked if he thought the ANC and the NP were conniving on the issue of an interim government, he replied: "Your guess is as good as mine."

On the rumoured alliance between Inkatha and the CP, Buthelezi said no particular agreements had been reached between the CP and the organisation during recent discussions.

He said he had told CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that it would be a "good thing" if he put the party's views on self-determination to Codesa.

Buthelezi denied Press reports that he would soon resign as IFP president.

He said he would remain president of the IFP for as long as the party wanted him to.

Buthelezi returned from a visit to the US and Switzerland - *South African*

No plans to quit Inkatha — Buthelezi

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi returned from an overseas trip yesterday and denied reports that he planned to quit the party to attend Codesa with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

He told a news conference he would continue to lead Inkatha as long as its members backed him.

Chief Buthelezi also said his party was "dragooned" into signing the Declaration of Intent at the start of Codesa.

He added that no agreements had been reached between the CP and the IFP during recent talks. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

... and pointed out the case would have been on the roll for 15 months when the accused appeared. Fouche first appeared in court in March last year.

Stockbroker Andre Coetzee, right, leaves court on Friday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Buthelezi to stay with Inkatha

ADRIAN HADLAND

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi returned from an overseas trip yesterday and denied that he planned to quit the party to attend Codesa in another capacity. (113)

He told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport he would continue to lead Inkatha as long as its members backed him.

Recent reports indicated he might quit Inkatha which, according to an HSRC survey, now represents only 3% of potential black voters. Another survey, by Markinor, put Inkatha support among urban blacks at 1%.

It was reported at the weekend that Buthelezi would seek to take part in Codesa on the side of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Buthelezi claims a central role for Inkatha and himself in national negotiations.

"There is nothing that can be done in this country in which we have no say," he said yesterday.

Though the Inkatha leader does not attend Codesa, as he is still waiting for a subcommittee ruling on the participation of Zwelithini, he "orchestrates what the party does" in Codesa, he said.

"How much more can I be involved?" he asked. B1 Day 17/2/92

Buthelezi again criticised alleged NP-ANC collusion at Codesa, saying the Inkatha delegation had been "dragooned" into signing Codesa's statement of intent.

"It would be dangerous if Codesa was to become a rubber stamp where things are decided privately," he said.

Buthelezi said the participation of the CP in negotiations was vital if "an agreement that sticks" was to be achieved.

He said elections for an interim government would be impossible at present, given the climate of violence.

Codesa's deliberations so far have seen South Africa's politics throw up some curious alliances. But the most curious of all is the new bond between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his king. It signals the discrediting of Inkatha and the failure of the chief's bid to build a national, non-ethnic base, argues **QUENTIN WILSON:**

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has changed his tune. His insistence that King Goodwill Zwelithini gets a seat at Codesa directly contradicts his public position over the years.

When the king was crowned in 1971 as royal leader of the Zulu nation, Buthelezi took an equally insistent but very different stand to that he has now.

The king, according to Buthelezi at that time, should play nothing but a token role in South African politics.

Politics was beneath someone as important as the Zulu patriarch.

Again in 1986, the Kwazulu Indaba reached the same conclusion, with Buthelezi as adamant as before.

In fact, since Codesa, Buthelezi has not only changed his tune, he has swapped his traditional musical instrument.

Not only should the king be a key player at Codesa, but the IFP leader has been heard saying he would be prepared to forego his position as Inkatha leader if he could be a member of Zwelithini's delegation.

Why the sudden turnaround? Dr Seshi Chonco of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy gives two reasons.

For a start, Inkatha has lost so much credibility that Buthelezi needs a new image. The IFP has taken too many knocks from the Inkathagate scandal

Chief Buthelezi rides down the king's highway

South 20/2 - 26/2/92 (113)



King Goodwill Zwelithini

seems that, at one stage or another, those concerned with creating a new constitution carrying maximum legitimacy will have to deal with the king in some capacity.

There have also been strong rumours that Inkatha is moving its base of operations from the kwaZulu homeland to Durban.

Sources close to Inkatha say it may use some of its foreign funds to purchase a building in the city from the Argus Group.

Speculation is rife about the possible successor to Buthelezi. Inkatha national chairperson Mr Frank Mdlalose or health minister Mr Baldwin Ngubane have been tipped as likely leaders of the party.

Although Buthelezi is not expected to announce his decision soon, last week's popularity poll results from the Human Sciences Research Council places pressure on the IFP to rethink its position. According to the HSRC, the ANC enjoys the support of 66 percent of African people while Inkatha received support from only three percent.

Although the poll excluded opinions of people in the rural areas of Tugela, it clearly indicates that it is only in these areas that the IFP may enjoy broad support.



IFP LEADER: Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and its role in the wars on the Reef and in Natal.

Secondly, Chonco says, while Buthelezi's constituency might feel more comfortable distancing itself

from Inkatha, it is reluctant to lose its Zulu identity.

Zulu nationalism in Natal is alive and King Zwelithini is popular. Even a leading Cosatu organiser in Natal

was seen listening to "his king" at a rally.

Buthelezi could therefore jump from the sinking IFP ship, fall behind Zwelithini as "undunankulu" (Zulu prime minister) and move more openly and exclusively to concentrate on a Zulu support base which could deliver the Natal region for him in a new constitution.

On his return from his US trip last week, Buthelezi scorned this speculation about his future but informants within the IFP Central Committee are reportedly convinced this will be his next political route.

They argue that this probable new game plan explains why Buthelezi is advocating that South African elections only take place in two years' time, and within the framework of strong regional government.

Unlikely to capture votes outside Natal, he will need at least two years to establish Natal as his stomping ground, they say.

Although Buthelezi's national urban support has reached a record low, it is the Natal peasantry which could fall into the clutches of a revived Zulu nationalist bid.

The Codesa working group dealing with whether the Zulu king should be invited or not is stumped.

Twice they have had to postpone their deliberations and refer the problem to the management committee. Both times the management committee has thrown the dilemma back at them, demanding a decision by February 26.

Whatever they eventually decide, it

IFP's (113) 'stance distorted'

Sowetan
21/2/92

THE media always misinterpreted what Inkatha Freedom Party stood for, Mr Musa Myeni, member of the IFP's central committee, told listeners to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

He said its call for the representation of the Zulu King in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa had been distorted by the media.

Defending the IFP threat that they would withdraw from Codesa if the king was not represented, Myeni said: "As a big organisation with various constituencies, we have to listen to the Zulu constituency's concern."

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



Asked why the IFP refused to sign Codesa's declaration of intent and also threatened to withdraw, Myeni said: "We are an organisation with its own mind and are flexible. I do not see anything wrong in changing our mind. Even (ANC President Mr Nelson) Mandela said at Codesa he almost did not sign until De Klerk persuaded him."

Myeni added that there would be a constitutional deadlock if traditional leaders were left out.

Most callers also differed with Myeni on IFP's separate call for the representation of the Zulu king at Codesa.

The workers rally behind Mario, the improbable unionist

By FERRAL HAFSAJEE

11/12/192 - 2/12/192

THE one label you wouldn't think of pinning on Mario de Castro is that of trade union leader. Dressed in a neat pin-stripe suit and navy net tie, he chain-smokes and talks nimbly to the dozen, reminding one more of an insurance salesman or perhaps a computer technician.

Yet this unlikely unionist has a powerline construction company on the brink of a strike over his dismissal. De Castro, a Portuguese immigrant, came to South Africa in 1984 but still has an accent as thick as if he had stepped off the plane yesterday.

A qualified electrician, he learnt how to organise workers in Lisbon, where he was a shop steward for seven years. Soon after arriving in South Africa he found a job at Feraltin, on the East Rand.

At the beginning of last year, he says, he began to wonder why he didn't see any union organisers from the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) — the only union recognised by the company — at the workplace. Then a friend told him about the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

He got hold of Numsa literature detailing its campaigns and demands. Pleased at what he saw, he went to the union's offices in Nigel and advised it to start organising at his factory

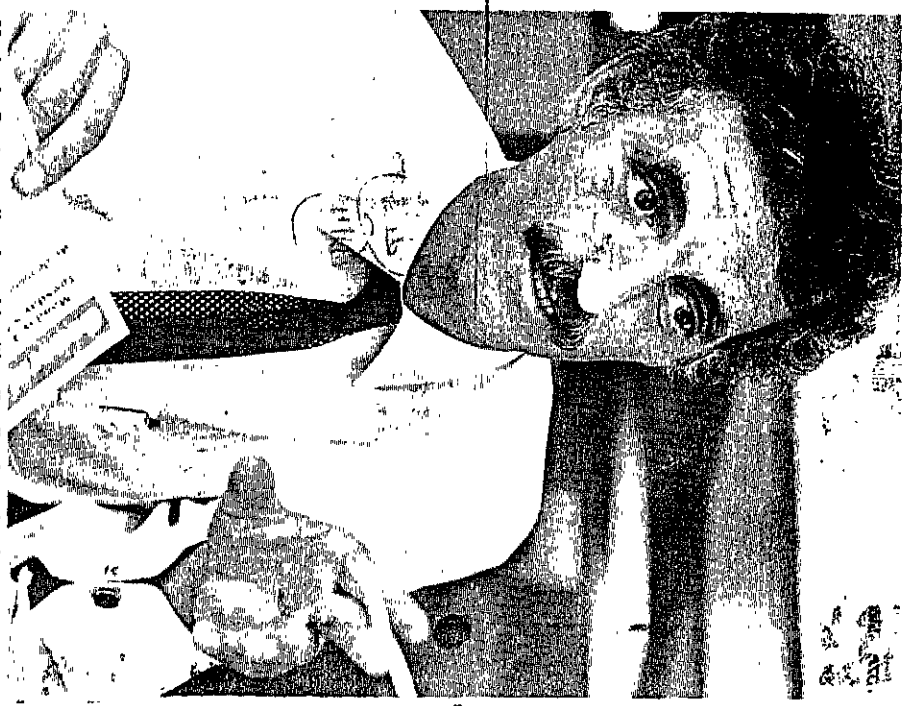
because "Uwusa was not representing the workers' interests". The union gave him a pile of registration forms and when he left the offices, he was an interim shop steward at Feraltin. Thus began De Castro's programme of urging the company to change its industrial relations practices.

Soon he had 100 members willing to leave Uwusa and join Numsa. He gave the managing director a copy of the National Peace Accord, "to show him where South Africa was going". He was called into another manager's office and told that the Congress of South African Trade Unions was "a union for the communists".

"I told them I am not a member of the African National Congress or the Communist Party — I'm a member of the union, and the union has the right to defend the rights of the worker," De Castro says.

He asked for permission to hold union meetings in the company's canteen. When this was refused, he took workers into the streets at lunchtime and held meetings there.

When a worker was injured by a machine, he took photographs of the wounds "so they couldn't deny it happened at the factory". Then he hid the film from a supervisor who had got wind of his action. De Castro was dismissed in



Mario de Castro... dismissed for 'the distribution of union literature' during the VAT strike

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

November last year. The reason given for his dismissal was "the distribution of union literature" during the strike against Value-Added Tax on November 5 and 6.

Numsa declared a dispute with Feraltin over his dismissal. In a show of support, 96 percent of the workers voted in favour of going on strike to demand his reinstatement.

The company alleges that De Castro acted in breach of an agreement with the union. The agreement referred to was concluded with Uwusa, restricting the display of all union literature to a noticeboard supplied by the company. Uwusa also agreed that anything displayed on the noticeboard would have the company's stamp of approval.

De Castro says the company made it extremely difficult for workers to leave Uwusa. For example, workers had to sign forms cancelling their

stop-order payments to Uwusa numerous times.

And Numsa shop steward, Rolihlala Xiphi, says the union is still struggling to earn recognition at the factory, despite its proven support.

Feraltin's personnel manager, Apostolidis, said this week that the company was not yet prepared to comment on the matter. However, in a circular distributed at the factory last week, the company set out its position on De Castro's dismissal. It accused him of misuse and abuse of company time, ignoring company rules and regulations, and of "unbecoming behaviour towards female employees".

"Any strike action will be unlawful," the circular said, "and employees embarking on an illegal strike or any other form of industrial unrest will be placing their job in serious jeopardy."

Buthlezi (18) conditions CT24/2/92

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has conditionally welcomed President F W de Klerk's call for a whites-only referendum.

Chief Buthelezi in a statement said one would have to wait to see the final wording of the referendum question, but he would offer support if it concerned the right of the government to continue multi-party race-free negotiations.

He suggested that the soon-to-be-held referendum would simply be a testing of white South Africa's support for progress towards a new constitution.

He urged Mr De Klerk to word the referendum question in such a way that it would not give white voters veto power over constitutional development. — Sapa

IFP 'is a mafia of murderers'

Souefan 26/2/92

FORMER assistant national organiser of the Inkatha Youth Brigade Mr Mbongeni Khumalo yesterday told the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry that the IFP was a "murderous mafia".

Testifying under cross-examination at the Ned Geref Kerk Sinodase-sentrum in Pretoria, Khumalo said in spite of this, he went on TV and radio and said the opposite.

The commission, chaired by Mr Justice RJ Goldstone, is investigating allegations of violence and intimidation by people trained in camps set up and funded by the South African Defence Force.

Khumalo admitted that "at times I am honest, and at times not". He, however, assured the commission that his testimony was honest.

Asked under what circumstances was he not honest, Khumalo said: "For instance, I observed that Inkatha was a murderous mafia, but I went on TV and radio saying the opposite.

"I was working - it was my job," he said.

Khumalo, who said he was an "active Inkatha organiser

Own Correspondent

with initiative", told the commission his ideological views at that time was different to what he held today.

He was forced to resign in March last year because of a personality clash with his superior, he said.

It was only in December when he read reports in the *Weekly Mail* that he decided to grant interviews to the newspaper supporting the allegations of SADF funding.

"It struck me because the allegations were similar to what I had experienced while with Inkatha," Khumalo said.

Another witness, Captain Andre Marais, Ermelo area police commander, testified that two men were killed after two separate funerals attended by African National Congress and IFP supporters in Wesselton on August 11 1990.

Marais said two men, an Inkatha organiser and a KwaZulu police reservist, were arrested.

But they were released after ballistics tests failed to link them to the murders.

Former ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Inkatha man tells of threats

PRETORIA — Former Inkatha Youth Brigade assistant organiser Mr Mbongeni Khumalo's life had been threatened several times by Inkatha members since he had made revelations about its activities to the Weekly Mail, a committee of the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Mr Khumalo told the committee that since he had given the information to the newspaper and testified before the commission he feared they would kill him.

Mr Khumalo said the reason for his resignation from Inkatha in February 1989 was that he had observed contradictions in the organisation that suggested it was not promoting peace.

He had observed "extensive links" between the SADF military intelligence and Inkatha and the fostering of violence by Inkatha.

The commission is to hear evidence on alleged hit squads controlled by Inkatha and KwaZulu officials. — Sapa.

Ex-Inkatha man's life 'threatened'

PRETORIA — Former Inkatha Youth Brigade assistant organiser Mbongeni Khumalo's life had been threatened by members of the organisation since his decision to make certain revelations about its activities to the Weekly Mail, a committee of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence and intimidation heard yesterday. (1/5) (2/2)

Khumalo told the committee sitting in Pretoria that since he had given the information to the Weekly Mail and testified before the Goldstone Commission, he feared he would be killed. B/Day

The committee of the commission is investigating allegations of SADF funding of front organisations sponsoring violence. 27/2/92

Khumalo said the reason for his resignation from Inkatha in February 1989

was that he had observed contradictions in the organisation that suggested it was not promoting peace. He had observed "extensive leaks" between the SADF military intelligence and Inkatha and the fostering of violence by Inkatha.

Asked by counsel for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, Louis Visser, why he had not brought his "disillusionment" with the organisation to its attention before resigning, he said it was not possible to do so and "still live".

Visser put it to Khumalo that what he had told the Weekly Mail and his evidence before the commission amounted to "gossip stories and inferences".

He said Khumalo had denied in an application for employment to the KwaZulu government that he had any criminal convictions, whereas he had several. — Sapa.

Officials net thousands for using own homes

B/Day 27/2/92

SEVERAL Cabinet Ministers, deputy Ministers and parliamentary officials are receiving monthly payouts varying between R5 998 and R8 700 to compensate them for using their privately owned homes instead of official state-owned residences, a Public Works spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The department's parliamentary official, Andries Meiring, said where qualifying officials owned homes in Cape Town and in Pretoria, which they used instead of state residences, they received a double payout, at present received only by Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff.

This week the Financial Mail reports that at least 25 officials are making use of the scheme, expected to cost the state at least R2,5m in the 1992/93 financial year.

Meiring said the estimated cost for the current financial year was R2,1m, or a R1,7m saving on the estimated costs of providing official residences.

According to the Financial Mail, Cabinet and Ministers' Council members participating in the scheme included Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Adriaan Vlok, Sam de Beer,

LINDEN BIRNS

Rina Venter, Kraai van Niekerk, George Bartlett, Louis Pienaar, Org Marias, Leon Wessels, Kisten Rajoo, Jacob de Villiers, Yunus Moolia, Baldeo Dookie, J N Reddy and Abe Williams.

Meiring said the first four tiers of payouts were paid by the Public Works budget, while the fifth was financed by the four provinces and the Ministers' councils.

First-tier payments, for Cabinet Ministers, Parliament's Speaker, the President's Council chairman and Ministers in the Ministers' councils, were R8 727.

Parliament's Chief Whip received a second-tier monthly payment of R7 481, while the chairmen of the three Houses of Parliament and the President's Council deputy chairman were paid the third-tier monthly rate of R6 678.

The fourth-tier R6 456 monthly benefits were paid to deputy Ministers, while Provincial Executive Committee members and ministerial representatives of the Ministers' councils qualified for the fifth and lowest-tier payments of R5 998.

Charles Schulz



JSE 'fights for honest market'

B/Day 27/2/92

THE suspension imposed on a broking member by the JSE this week was further indication of efforts to maintain a fair and honest market, JSE executive president Tony Norton said yesterday.

He was commenting on the decision by the general committee of the JSE to

MERVYN HARRIS

suspend Frank Brewer from Monday, March 2, to the close of business on Friday, March 6.

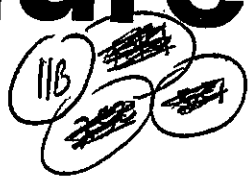
Brewer, formerly a director of Frankel, Max Polak, Vinderine, was found guilty at a special meeting of the committee on February 25 of a charge of failing to comply with a committee decision while a director of the firm.

Norton said SA was experiencing a deterioration in white-collar behaviour, and people were tending to breach rules more frequently than used to be the case.

"We are aware that standards have slipped and the JSE has undoubtedly been feeling some of the effects of such behaviour."



Key IFP figure to testify before inquiry



Sowetan 28/2/92

FORMER personal assistant to Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will testify for the first time before a committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation today.

The evidence of Mr MZ Khumalo, who resigned from the IFP following exposures last July of police

funding of Inkatha rallies and other irregularities, may prove central to the committee's findings.

Khumalo's name has been raised by at least two witnesses to the committee which is investigating alleged SA Defence Force funding of front companies fostering violence.

He has been linked in evidence before the commission to a group of 200 IFP members allegedly

trained by the SADF in a military camp in the Caprivi Strip, as well as to Inkatha hit squads.

Former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser Mr Mbongeni Khumalo said during cross-examination yesterday that, apart from Buthelezi, MZ Khumalo was the most powerful political figure in KwaZulu.

"The resignation of Khumalo in July was not a resignation in total. He retains

a working relationship with and an influence over Inkatha," said Mbongeni Khumalo.

He said he suspected that MZ Khumalo still received a salary from Inkatha.

Mbongeni Khumalo admitted under cross-examination by counsel for the IFP and the KwaZulu government that he had no "personal experience" of the training of hit squads at these camps. - Sapa.

Former top Buthelezi aide to testify today

PRETORIA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former personal assistant M Z Khumalo will testify for the first time before a committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation today.

The evidence of Khumalo, who resigned from the Inkatha Freedom Party following the exposures in July last year of SA Police funding of Inkatha rallies and other irregularities, may prove central to the committee's findings.

Khumalo's name has been raised by at least two witnesses to the committee which is investigating alleged SADF funding of front companies fostering violence.

He has been linked in evidence before the commission to a group of 200 IFP members allegedly trained by the SADF in a military camp in the Caprivi Strip, as well as to Inkatha hit squads.

Meanwhile, former Inkatha Youth Brigade assistant organiser Mbongeni Khumalo said during cross-examination yesterday that except for Buthelezi, M Z

Khumalo remained the most powerful political figure in KwaZulu.

"The resignation of Khumalo in July was not a resignation in total.

"He retains a working relationship with and an influence over Inkatha."

He said he suspected that Khumalo still received a salary from Inkatha.

On the issue of the 200 Caprivi trainees who allegedly also spent time at three other camps, Mkuze, Amatigule and Nzhlanzantshe, Khumalo admitted to the counsel for the IFP and the KwaZulu government, Louis Visser, that he had no "personal experience" of the training of hit squads at these camps.

He said he had been present at a meeting with M Z Khumalo where he had told group leaders of the trainees that they would be going to Mkuze for some form of military training.

He maintained that the Nhlazantshe camp near Vryheid was "started and sponsored" by the SADF.

Proceedings will continue today. — Sapa.

810 Day 28/2/72

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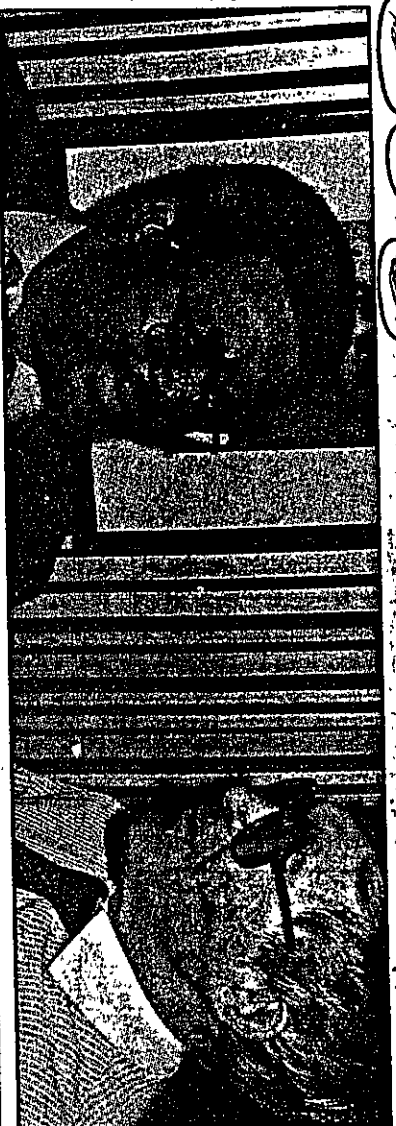
Spotlight on kwazulu cops

BY BEATHUR BAKER *Wimad 28/2-5/3/92*

THE kwazulu Police were under the spotlight this week at the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence, with evidence of a wide range of irregularities in their methods.

Tensions between the homeland police force, the SA Police and the SA Defence Force became apparent at the inquiry as the latter two tried to distance themselves from Inkatha and kwazulu activity.

At the inquiry into *The Weekly Mail's* revelations of extensive links between the SADF, Inkatha and township violence, it emerged that:



Star witness: The *Weekly Mail's* source, Mbongeni Khumalo, talks to advocate David Sogott SC at the Goldstone hearings. Photo: GUY ADAMS

Commission hears of KZP irregularities

From PAGE 1

●The KZP operated outside the homeland without notifying the South African Police that they were in their territory.

●KZP guns were handled irregularly by the assistant secretary of the kwazulu Legislative Assembly (KLA).

●The legislative assembly keeps its own arms cache of up to 30 guns for the use of KLA members and their bodyguards.

●Brigadier Sipho Mathe of the KZP was personally involved in the secret instruction of 200 Inkatha recruits who are accused of forming hit squads.

●Mathe was unable to give a full list of the alleged hit-squad recruits or information about their current where-

abouts, despite being given more than two weeks to do so. Mathe had previously said that 13 of the recruits were issued with police ID cards, but this week changed this to say there were only 28 of them.

●These recruits were given KZP ID cards even though they were not fully-fledged policemen.

Asked for details of the recruits, Mathe said: "I tried but failed to get those particulars."

Judge RJ Goldstone was scathing about Mathe: "You have given a number of answers which are not consistent. I am now asking you just to answer." David Sogott SC, for *The Weekly Mail*, added: "If the postmaster in Ulundi were asked (to do) these operations, he would probably do it better. Mathe could not explain to the com-

mission why the youths had not as yet been incorporated into the KZP, despite the fact that there was a need for more policemen.

It also became apparent that kwazulu officials draw little distinction between their official activities and their party-political activities on behalf of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

MZ Khumalo, former personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, emerged as the man who took personal command of the 200 recruits. It was alleged that he is still active in Inkatha, despite having claimed to have resigned his position after the revelation of links between Inkatha and security forces.

Giving evidence about violence in Ermelo, Captain Andre Marais of the SAP revealed that in a raid on the local offices of the United Workers' Union

of South Africa (Uwusa), the Inkatha-linked trade union, the following were found:

●A 9mm parabelium, number NR 200190

●Two 9mm parabelium magazines

●Ten rounds of 9mm ammunition

●One .38 Taurus revolver, number NR 1045549

●Fourteen rounds of .38 ammunition

●One KZP reservist identity card

The *Weekly Mail's* main source of allegations of extensive links between Inkatha and South African Defence Force front companies, Mbongeni Khumalo, was extensively cross-examined this week. However, the Inkatha attack was directed at him personally and at his honesty, rather than the substance of his allegations. Most of *The Weekly Mail's* allega-

tions went unchallenged. Mbongeni Khumalo testified about threats on his life since he spoke out about Inkatha.

The first was a 20-minute phone call from MZ Khumalo which turned nasty when, according to Mbongeni Khumalo, he refused to pledge his allegiance to the organisation. "He said that if I was responsible for the lie (Inkathagate), I would be killed."

After the appearance of a second story in *The Weekly Mail* in July 1991, Mbongeni Khumalo said he woke up one night to discover what looked like a government issue vehicle without registration plates parked not far from his house. Unfamiliar people surrounded his house.

He said the third incident occurred when he was on his way to Soweto and was accosted by MZ Khumalo.

'SADF spent millions on training youths for IFP'

STAR 29/2/92

PRETORIA — The SA Defence Force had sponsored the KwaZulu Government to the tune of millions of rands for the military training and salaries of a group of about 200 youths trained at a camp in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, a committee of the Goldstone Committee of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation heard yesterday.

A former personal assistant to IFP president Mangosutho Buthelezi, MZ Khumalo, told the committee investigating allegations about the funding of front companies fostering violence that the SADF had paid for the six-month training of the group and had continued to pay their bridging salaries for

ADRIENNE CARLISLE

three years. He said Dr Buthelezi did not know the SADF was funding the project.

The intention was that the group would be incorporated into the KwaZulu Police for the protection of VIPs in the KwaZulu Government and the IFP. Due to lack of funds most of the group were not incorporated until July 1979.

During this time some of the group were sent to various IFP regional offices or the Chief Minister's office, where they acted as officers of the organisation.

Others underwent training at Koeberg as special constables and were hired by the SA Police for a number of months. In 1988, 96 trainees went to Mkuze for further training.

Mr Khumalo agreed that the amount for the training and bridging salaries amounted to millions.

He said he had not known until the end of 1987 that the real sponsor was the SADF. He had dealt with a security firm, Swart Security Services, who had trained the group. He had appealed to them to find a sponsor and they came up with a company called Richard's Appointments.

Payments by Richard's Appointment had been made into a "confidential" Inkatha account at First National Bank in Durban.

David Soggot, counsel for the Weekly Mail, ANC, and SACP, put it to Mr Khumalo that he had known all along the SADF was sponsoring the project. He also questioned Dr Buthelezi's alleged ignorance.

Mr Justice Goldstone told Mr Khumalo: "Your lack of inquisitive-

ness boggles the imagination."

Mr Soggot said that if the Government had wanted to aid KwaZulu by strengthening its police force it could merely have increased KwaZulu's budget.

"I put it to you that at no stage was it the intention to co-opt the trainees into the KZP. The idea was the creation of hit-squads to further Inkatha politically."

Mr Khumalo denied this.

Mr Soggot it had been stated that most of the trainees had received KZP appointment cards while not yet members of the force. Would these "false cards" not have been very valuable to hit-squad members?

Mr Khumalo replied that he had already told the commission that he knew of no hit-squad in KwaZulu or Inkatha.

The proceeding continues on Monday. — Sapa.

Inkatha rejects weapons ban

STAR 29/2/92

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party last night rejected "with contempt" the Proclamation on Dangerous Weapons issued earlier by the Government. (113) (B25)

In a statement, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the Kwa-Zulu authorities had at no time in its discussions with the South African Government agreed to the terms of the proclamation. (113) (B25)

He accused the Government of currying favour with the people plotting its downfall and said a ban would be impossible to enforce.

"We feel it is physically impossible for anybody at whatever level to prevent the Zulu people from carrying their cultural accoutrements, inasmuch as it would be impossible for anybody to stop a white man from wearing a tie," he said.

He said the Government's decision was unilateral and would lead to more violence.

"We would understand it if the South African Government made a proclamation against illegal firearms such as AK-47 rifles, RPG rockets, hand grenades and all hidden arms caches." — Sapa.

VOTE

See PAGE 2

However, local cricket experts said the conditions here would have suited Pringle's bowling.

awake tablets and tonics.

● Kwis will tour in 1994 — Page 18

Zulu's arms 'like tie to white'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A top Inkatha Freedom Party official warned last night that trying to stop Zulus from carrying "cultural accoutrements" would be like trying to stop a white man from wearing a tie.

The remark by Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, came on the same day as the government announced regulations prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons in public

places and at political meetings — and on the eve of today's planned IFP march through central Durban to protest against "inflammatory statements by some ANC leaders".

Two other senior IFP leaders, Dr B S Ngubane and Mr V B Ndlovu, also criticised the ban.

And Mr Monty Markow, a senior AWB spokesman in Natal, described the ban as "yet another act of submission to the ANC".

He said "it is the right of any nation, be it Boer or Zulu, to pos-

sess and carry arms".

Meanwhile the ANC, SACP and Cosatu in Natal yesterday urgently requested the President, the ministers of Law and Order and Defence and the National Peace Secretariat to ensure today's marchers were unarmed.

Spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order Captain Craig Kotze warned that police would stop any violence at the march.

● SADF funded KwaZulu cadets — Page 5

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There were no winners
BLOUSES & OVER

Codesa 'must include all'

By SEKOLA SELLO

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20/1/92

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for the inclusion of the Conservative Party, the AWB, the PAC and Azapo in Codesa, saying failure to do so would retard the negotiation process.

Buthelezi also called for the voice of minorities to be heard and said to ignore this would be fatal.

The Zulu leader said to assume a majority government could come to power in this country and then deal with the minorities could "well prove disastrous".

The Inkatha president was speaking at the first anniversary conference of the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy held in Johannesburg.

Buthelezi said he had previously stated that the representativeness of Codesa was too narrow.

He warned that "arriving at a well-thought-out... conclusion about what kind of democracy we need by too small a group of political parties will achieve nothing".

In a disguised reference to the ANC and the government - the so-called two main players at Codesa - Buthelezi said Inkatha was opposed to power being placed in the hands of whoever dominates in the interim government.

He warned that Inkatha would "go to the people and to the streets if necessary" to oppose any arrangement by political parties to make the constitution-making process their own domain.

Buthelezi said ways had to be found to reincorporate the independent states into SA.

Special Sgt Roy Rose, Special Constable Ndwane, Special Constable Cyprian Nguni, Thabo Sikhosana, and David Khambule. Mitchell said he and Terblanche had arranged a meeting for November 30, 1988, between Gabela and David Ntombela - described by the president judge as a "prominent judge" - to "tear up" Gabela for not shooting at the special constable and told him they had shot people. Mitchell told the special constable that he must burn the Mbongweni house. Advocates for the special constables said their clients would tell the court Mitchell took part in the shootings. The case is proceeding.

Judge's death ends libel case

THE death of a Pretoria judge has ended a R12 000 defamation lawsuit he instituted against Argus and Brian Curtin, director of Lawyers for Human Rights. Judge LL Esselen, who died earlier this month, had claimed the money from Curtin and former editor of *The Star*, Harvey Tyson, after an article which appeared in the newspaper two years ago. Esselen had claimed the article said he was racially prejudiced in his judgment of a rape trial three years ago. Judge Hartnigh of the Pretoria Supreme Court dismissed with costs this week two exceptions noted by the defendants to Esselen's claim, saying they disclosed no cause of action. He said in South Africa public policy did not militate against any right of a judge to sue for defamation. - Sapa

Battle for KwaZulu

By S'BU MNGADI

A BLOODY feud has been raging at Esikhawini near Empangeni for the past six months as Inkatha and the ANC fight over the political soul of KwaZulu's heartland. Inkatha, backed by the KwaZulu-controlled Esikhawini Town Council, is making its last stand against ANC encroachment of the heartland. The ANC, on the other hand, frustrated at not having launched its northern Natal region since it was unbanned two years ago, is aggressively asserting itself.

Ironically, the two organisations signed the historic Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord in August 1990. The accord was violated by both organisations as soon as it was signed and it remains only on paper. What makes Esikhawini unique is its proximity to the KwaZulu political capital of Ulundi.

Inkatha this week admitted bussing in scores of hostel-dwellers from the Reef to attend the memorial service of a local Inkatha leader at Hlanganani Hall last Saturday. This was on the eve of an ANC rally, which was later

banned. Two people were shot and then burnt to death in their car as they drove past the hall. On Sunday, a man KwaZulu Police described as an Inkatha supporter was shot and killed outside his home in H-section.

The ANC has been attempting since October 1990 to hold a meeting at Esikhawini. Every attempt was resisted by the township manager and council. After repeated attempts resulted in a successful court application, the ANC arranged a meeting for November 24, 1991. However, it never took place as the stadium was "occupied" by the IFP, culminating in the death of a local resident.

Last month, SA Communist Party general secretary and Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff, Chris Hani, was prevented by police from entering nearby Enselenti to attend the launch of an ANC branch there. Police later explained this was done for Hani's own security after about 3 000 heavily armed Inkatha imps had assembled at the entrance of the township.



Inkatha ignores ban



By S'BU MNGADI 11/3/92

MORE than 3 000 Inkatha supporters marched through the Durban city centre yesterday armed with sharpened sticks, spears and other dangerous weapons.

This was in direct defiance of the proclamation on dangerous weapons issued on Friday by the SA government.

A request by Lieut-Col Johannes van Wyk to Lindelani Inkatha leader Thomas Mandla Shabalala, to ask the marchers to leave dangerous weapons behind at Curries Fountain stadium under police protection, was greeted with open disapproval by the heavily armed amabutho.

The marchers defiantly told police they would carry their weapons - declaration or no declaration.

After negotiating with Inkatha leaders for about 15 minutes, the

police finally gave in and allowed the crowd to snake through the busy city centre to the steps of the Durban City Hall, where Shabalala presented a memo to Van Wyk protesting against militant talk uttered by ANC leaders, the assassination of Inkatha leaders, the ANC armed struggle and Umkhonto weSizwe.

At the front of the procession was a hearse followed by Shabalala who carried a cross and other Inkatha leaders who raised mock coffins above their heads.

On the way to the City Hall, Inkatha supporters taunted and harassed passersby who ran helter skelter on being approached by the heavily armed procession.

Earlier Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned the police not to try to stop the marchers from carrying "cultural accoutrements".

It would be like trying to stop a white man from wearing a tie, said Mdlalose.

His warning came on the day the government gazetted regulations prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons in public places and at political meetings.

Natal's Joint Working Committee of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu yesterday urgently requested the State President, Ministers of Law and Order and Defence, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the National Peace Secretariat to ensure that Inkatha supporters on the march were unarmed.

In a letter to President de Klerk the alliance joint working committee argued that "the march is a political event and not a cultural or traditional one, and as such, the carrying of dangerous weapons of any kind should not be permitted".

Students hurl cans at singer

By S'BU MNGADI

RAP artist Taps claims he was abused by white students during a music festival at Natal University this week.

The Summer Rock Festival, at the Students Union, was the highlight of the orientation week.

Malawian-born Taps, whose real name is Tapuwa Bandawe, said he had been performing for about five minutes when the predominantly white audience began throwing empty beer cans onstage.

Orientation committee chairwoman Melanie Havenga said only three empty cans were thrown and none hit Taps.

KwaZulu sold prime land to IFP

By S'BU MNGADI

THE KwaZulu government sold 28 ha of prime land just outside Durban - estimated to be worth R56-million - to an Inkatha-owned company for R124 000 in 1990. CIPRES 11/3/92

The land, which lies between Kwa-Mashu and Phoenix, was purchased by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly chief whip Johnny Mhlungu on behalf of Khulani Holdings and Properties.

Mhlungu is also a senior member of the Inkatha Central Committee and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's right-hand man.

The IFP is the company's major shareholder. However, Mhlungu pointed out this week that "1 000 other shareholders belong to various political organisations".

The deal emerged from documents before the Durban City Council's Town Planning Appeals Committee which is considering objections by

Khulani Holdings and Properties, of which Mhlungu is chief executive officer, to a proposal by Tongaat-Hulett Properties to establish a regional shopping centre on a site opposite its land.

According to documents before the committee, Khulani Holdings and Properties paid R124 487 for the land in April 1990. The KwaZulu government then gave the company the rights to build a regional shopping centre.

The normal price of property with commercial rights in the Durban area is R2-million a hectare.

Mhlungu said Khulani Holdings and Properties bought the land at prices determined by the South African government under Proclamation 2624 dated December 29, 1978.

Acting secretary of KwaZulu's Department of Interior, a Mr Badenhorst, made a firm "No comment".

"You can just report the acting secretary of the department refused to comment, taxpayer's money or not."

'Buthelezi knew about SADF funding'

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew of SADF salary payments to 200 Inkatha members trained in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, his former personal assistant said this week.

The one-time aide, Mr MZ Khumalo, resigned from Inkatha in July last year after the exposure of security police funding to the organisation, and made his statement on Friday to a committee of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria. The committee is investigating alleged SADF funding of front companies fostering violence.

Mr Khumalo returned to the public eye for the first time this week after having disappeared from the political scene when he accepted the blame for taking a R250 000 handout during the Inkathagate scandal. **S Titw/5**

Scandal 1/3/92

His name had been raised by at least two witnesses as being the key figure in the second Inkatha funding scandal and in connection with alleged Inkatha hit-squads.

Stockily built Mr Khumalo, dressed in a navy-blue suit and striped tie, appeared confident as state prosecutor JJ du Toit read his statement on to the record.

But his composure crumbled when Mr David Soggott, counsel for the Weekly Mail, ANC and SACP, launched a machine-gun style cross-examination.

Mr Soggott: You said to the president (Dr Buthelezi): 'I'm going to put this proposal (to bridge finance

BY CHARLES LEONARD

while the trainees get incorporated into the Kwa-zulu police) to the SADF? Mr Khumalo: Yes.

Mr Soggott: Did he agree with that? Mr Khumalo: Yes.

Mr Soggott: Are you sure of that answer? "Yes, Mr Chairman," Mr Khumalo answered through the commission chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

Mr Soggott then went into details of how the SADF sponsored the Kwa-zulu government to the tune of millions of rands for the military training and salaries of the group of about 200 Inkatha youths trained at the Hippo camp in Caprivi.

Handkerchief

"You have a very short memory," Mr Soggott accused Mr Khumalo at one point.

"You begged the SADF to give you money and told the president (Dr Buthelezi) and he approved."

A denial from Mr Khumalo was questioned by Mr Justice Goldstone, who referred to his earlier notes



MZ KHUMALO Disappeared from the scene of the cross-examination and said: "I made a note of what you said: MB (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) agreed to getting money from the SADF." "I never told him it was

the SADF," said Mr Khumalo. "I knew he would have nothing to do with money from them."

Mr Khumalo, who said he was still close to the Inkatha president, admitted the SADF had paid for the six months' training the group underwent in 1986 and had continued to pay the salaries of the trainees for three years after that.

"Initially I was under the impression that a private security company would be responsible for the training," he said. "At a later stage, I became aware that the SADF was responsible."

He said the intention had been that the group would

be specially trained for incorporation into the Kwa-zulu police, where they would be used for the protection of VIPs in the Kwa-zulu government and Inkatha. Due to a lack of funds the majority of the group had not been incorporated until July 1989.

Initiated

The SADF also provided "bridging finance" for a further nine months, until March 1990, during the "incorporation" period.

Mr Khumalo said he had known until the end of 1987 that the real sponsor of the project was the SADF and that he thought it had been initiated by a security

firm, Swart Security Services, and a company called Richards Appointments.

Mr Justice Goldstone questioned Mr Khumalo's ignorance regarding the identity of the sponsor.

"Your lack of inquisitiveness boggles the imagination," he said.

Regarding the real aim of the project, Mr Soggott said to the witness: "I put it to you that at no stage was it the intention to co-opt the trainees into the Kwa-zulu police. The idea was the creation of hit-squads to further Inkatha politically."

Mr Khumalo denied this. The hearing continues tomorrow.

Armed IFP hold off cops

(116) Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Police were forced to abandon a search for "dangerous weapons" when angry IFP marchers — armed with knobkerries and sharpened wooden sticks — told police "to go to hell" and jeered as police retreated outside Curries Fountain here at the weekend.

Some of the marchers were carrying covered spears and assegais during the march through the city centre.

When asked to explain police reluctance to enforce the law, a police spokesman said: "They were allowed to carry weapons as long as they did not intend harming anybody with them and police have no proof of such intention."

The marchers carried mock coffins with anti-ANC messages depicted on them.

An IFP spokesman told police that since the National Peace Accord was signed last September, more than 14 IFP leaders have been killed and at least 80 attempted assassinations recorded.

CT 2/3/92

Council amalgamation plan looks set to falter

6/0ay 3/3/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE planned amalgamation of Bedfordview, Germiston, Katlehong and Palm Ridge into one greater Germiston city council looks set to falter this week.

A special council meeting tonight, called by Bedfordview's mayor John Lewis and supported by three other councillors, will reconsider the amalgamation.

Lewis said a majority of the Bedfordview councillors, following pressure from their wards and ratepayers, would seek to end the proposed amalgamation plans until relevant legislation was promulgated by a new government.

The creation of the greater Germiston city council, which has been negotiated over the past 18 months by the Southeast Rand Co-ordinating Committee, was due to occur on April 1 this year.

Germiston and Katlehong have already agreed to joining their councils which would have resulted in the Transvaal's second biggest city council after Johannesburg.

A poll aimed at registering support for the merger, due to be held in Bedfordview on March 18, would probably not take place, Lewis said.

Lewis explained that while the council agreed that amalgamation was desirable, it would prefer to delay it until Codesa had discussed the issue and a new local government dispensation had been formulated.

Bedfordview councillor Jennifer Warwick held a meeting last week to put amalgamation plans to residents.

The response, said Lewis, was "over our dead bodies".

Lewis and councillor Janet Semple, a signatory to the special council meeting request, are to face residents tomorrow on the issue.

"We believe we would just like to slow it all down a bit," said Lewis.

"It is a momentous decision and we do not believe there is consensus in Bedfordview to go ahead with the amalgamation."

Lewis said councillors were concerned about the financial implications of the merger.

He said the terms of the amalgamation agreement would have exempted Bedfordview from responsibility for debts incurred by Katlehong and Palm Ridge prior to April 1.

However, after this date that would no longer be the case.

"The Bedfordview council is committed and in favour of uniting with black local authorities but, at the same time, it must retain its autonomy until new legislation has been promulgated by a new government," Lewis said.

Inkatha education linked to SADF

PRETORIA — Creed Consultants, who ran political education courses for a group of elite Inkatha bodyguards, were paid with money given by Richard's Appointments who were linked to the SADF, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former personal assistant M ZN Khumalo said this in testimony to a Committee of the Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

The committee, sitting in Pretoria to hear allegations of SADF funding of Inkatha hit squads, was told that Creed was not paid out of Inkatha coffers.

Khumalo denied allegations that Guy Boardman of Creed had called to warn members of the elite unit to

go into hiding or that police were looking for them.

At a previous hearing a former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser alleged these incidents had occurred.

Khumalo told the committee the SADF, through Richard's Appointments, spent between R200 000 and R300 000 on renovations to a camp at Makuze in Kwa-Zulu to accommodate the unit trained in the Caprivi Strip.

It was thought the men could undergo a course in political education while at the Makuze camp, from where they could go into the community and teach others.

Richard's Appointments also footed the bill for four vehicles when some of the group from Caprivi had

gone to Pretoria for a further course. (116)

Khumalo also admitted attending meetings with Louis Pasques, head of Adult Education Consultants, who wanted to discuss the formation of a multi-party democratic group. Pasques was introduced to Khumalo by Boardman.

Khumalo said he had not heard Pasques offer Inkatha R11m.

There was also no mention of any connections between AEC and Creed.

The hearing was adjourned after David Soggot SC — for the ANC, Weekly Mail, Cosatu and SA Communist Party — said he had just received documents concerning Khumalo.

The committee sitting resumes today. — Sapa.

Courses for Inkatha guards 'funded' by SADF associate

PRETORIA. — Creed Consultants, who ran political education courses for a group of elite Inkatha bodyguards, were paid by Inkatha with funds given by Richard's Appointments who were linked to the SADF, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has heard.

Mr M Z Khumalo, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former personal assistant, said this in testimony yesterday to a committee of the inquiry into public violence and intimidation.

The committee, sitting in Pretoria to hear allegations of Defence Force funding of Inkatha hit squads, also heard that the money to pay Creed did not come out of Inkatha coffers.

Mr Khumalo denied allegations that Mr Guy Boardman of Creed had called to warn members of the elite unit to go into hiding or that police were looking for them.

At a previous hearing a former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser, Mr Mbongani Khumalo, said these incidents had occurred.

Mr Mbongani Khumalo earlier also claimed he had gone to Mpumalanga to take another vehicle to members of the unit as their combi driven there from Ulundi had been shot at.

Mr M Z Khumalo yesterday said he knew of the incident but denied Mr Khumalo was sent with a replacement vehicle but said a driver identified only as Buthelezi had gone. — Sapa.

'SADF cash went on camp in KwaZulu'

STAR 3/3/92

The SA Defence Force, through a front company, Richard's Appointments, spent between R200 000 and R300 000 on renovations to a camp at Makuze in KwaZulu to accommodate a unit trained in the Caprivi Strip, the former personal assistant to Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi, MZ Khumalo, said yesterday.

Giving evidence in Pretoria to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation on allegations of SADF funding of Inkatha hit squads, Mr Khumalo said the renovations had been carried out to accommodate a group of people who had been given training to become bodyguards.

It was thought that the men could stay at the Makuze camp and, while there, undergo a course in political education. They would then go into the community and teach others.

There was no budget for the renovations and the money was spent progressively, he said.

Richard's Appointments also footed the bill for four vehicles

after some of the group from Caprivi had gone to Pretoria for a further course.

He said this group, about 30 of them, arrived back at Ulundi at about the same time as the main Caprivi group.

The vehicles arrived at about the same time, but Mr Khumalo could not say whether they were driven from Pretoria by the group who were trained there.

Mr Khumalo also said he met Dr Louis Pasques, head of an organisation called Adult Education Consultants (AEC), who wanted to discuss the formation of a multiparty democratic group. Dr Pasques was introduced to Mr Khumalo by Guy Boardman, of Creed Consultants, another alleged SADF front.

Mr Khumalo said he had not heard Dr Pasques offer Inkatha R11 million. There was also no mention of any connections between AEC and Creed.

Mr Khumalo's cross-examination by David Soggot, SC, — for the ANC, Weekly Mail, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party — was due to continue yesterday afternoon. — Sapa.

Treurnicht keen on confederation

(113)

Political Staff

~~2/2/71~~

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was giving very serious consideration to the concept of a confederation of separate states in SA, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He did not get the idea from his discussions with different black leaders that they wanted to govern the white man. *B10aw*

"They are looking for opportunities — job opportunities, living space and so on," he said at the launch of the CP's "no" vote campaign in Worcester. *413/92*

"I found that the concept of self-determination had a serious, responsive accord with these leaders.

"They are only not clear whether they want a federation, which means there is still one state with different regions and regional governments but with one central parliament, or whether it should be a commonwealth."

He said he had told Buthelezi he wanted an association of independent states.

"I think that they are very busy giving serious consideration to that."

The CP wanted to hold discussions with black leaders on the basis of co-operation, not power-sharing, because power-sharing was a loss of authority, he said.

It was unacceptable that there be one government which ruled over his people, Treurnicht said.

Report by B Streak, TML, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.

Hit squad evidence 'hearsay'

6/10/91 413192
PRETORIA — A witness to the committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating allegations made by the Weekly Mail admitted yesterday he had no first-hand knowledge of hit squad training or activities by Inkatha members.

Mbongeni Khumalo, one of the main sources for the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry setting up a committee to investigate allegations of possible SADF involvement in training an alleged Inkatha hit squad, said under cross-examination by Louis Visser SC, for Inkatha, he had heard about training from members of a group who had spent six months in the Caprivi Strip to become bodyguards.

He had never seen the men trained in any skill that would define them as a hit squad member nor had he seen any activity that could be linked to a hit squad.

He had heard about the evidence of the training of 200 people for special guard duties when he gave the group lectures in political education.

Earlier yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former personal assistant M Z Khumalo said he knew one of the Caprivi trainees had been involved in the killing of a student. He said he did not

know the victim was a member of the PAC.

Another of the trainees, Daluxolo Lithuli, was in the employ of Inkatha. His salary had been paid by Richard's Appointments, an alleged front for the SADF, up to 1989 and Inkatha had paid him since then.

Mr Justice Goldstone said yesterday that PAC president Clarence Makwetu would not be required to give evidence.

Instead, the commission is considering whether the issue which led to Makwetu's highly publicised refusal to appear before the commission — violence by trained and armed people — should itself be the subject of an inquiry.

"Until a decision is taken and the terms of reference for such an inquiry have been finalised, the commission considers it would be inappropriate to enforce the attendance of a witness from only one group which may have relevant evidence.

"To do so could give rise to a perception of partiality on the part of the commission," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

But he gave notice that, should such an inquiry be held, the commission would not hesitate to use its power to compel the attendance of anyone considered by it to have information. — Sapa.

I had no first hand info

Sowetan 4/3/92

11B

- ex-IFP man

A FORMER Inkatha Freedom Party national youth organiser Mr Mbongeni Khumalo yesterday admitted he had no first-hand knowledge of hit squad training or activities by IFP members.

Testifying before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Pretoria, Khumalo said he had heard about the training from members of a group who had spent six months in the Caprivi Strip to become bodyguards.

Activity

Under cross-examination by Mr Louis Visser, SC, for the IFP, Khumalo said he had never seen the men trained in any skill that would define them as hit squad members nor had he seen any activity that could

SAPA

be linked to a hit squad.

He heard about the training of 200 people for special guard duties when he gave group lectures in political education.

Earlier yesterday, Mr MZ Khumalo, former personal assistant of IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who resigned in the wake of allegations of SA Police funding, told the committee he knew one of the Caprivi trainees had been involved in the killing of a student.

He said he did not know the victim was a member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

He said another trainee, Mr Vela Ntuli, who disappeared in 1986, had been implicated in the death of a Congress of South African Trade Unions worker at

BSR near Maritzburg.

Another trainee, Mr Daluxolo Lithuli, was in the employ of the IFP, Khumalo said.

His salary came from Richard's Appointments, an alleged front for the SADF, up to 1989.

Khumalo denied he had sent five of the trainees and three cooks to break a strike.

"Bizarre"

He told Mr David Soggot, SC, for the Weekly Mail, that he thought it "bizarre" that he would do so.

He had sent the men as he wanted them to be employed. He said they were prepared to work on the mines.

Only one was still employed in Secunda.

The hearing continues today.

Codesa 'can't deliver' liberation

Sowetan 4/3/92

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa would not achieve genuine liberation for the oppressed black masses, two political organisations told listeners of the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress, said alternative means had to be sought to liberate blacks.

Making an input under the topic: "What are the peaceful alternatives to Codesa", they stopped short of saying the ANC's participation in Codesa was a wrong move.



PAC's Max Ntshangweni said for the talks to be meaningful, they had to take place at a neutral venue where the Government would not have, as it was the case at present, control of the police and armed force and other facilities that might compromise the outcome of such negotiations.

(11A)
He accused the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, of calling parties in Codesa to dismantle their armies while his forces were still "armed to the teeth against

the African people".

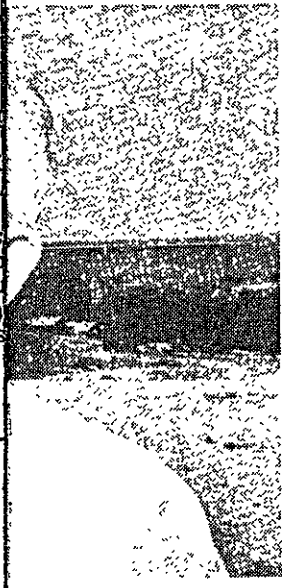
Azapo said conditions were not conducive for black people to enter into negotiations with the Government.

WOMEN'S LEADER... THE FREEDOM...
BE APPROVED... 1 OF... 20

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Cholera rumour quashed

KATHRYN STRACHAN



Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

REPORTS of a cholera outbreak in the Zevenfontein squatter community were yesterday dismissed by Bryanston DP MP Rupert Lorimer as right-wing rumours spread to create fear among whites ahead of the March 17 referendum. *BIDAM 6/3/92*

Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) representative Zakkie Lombard and squatter spokesman Pinky Molo confirmed there were no incidences of cholera.

TPA liaison officer Magda du Toit said the administration's clinic had found eight cases of diarrhoea.

Lorimer said it was surprising there had not been a cholera outbreak, given the squatters' living conditions. Better toilet facilities and more water were needed to ensure that disease did not break out, he said.

The biggest problem was that the camp, being so near the Klein Jukskei river, posed the threat of sewage seeping into the water — which put the squatters at great risk of contracting diseases such as cholera, he said.

The TPA said the Department of National Health and the Randburg Town Council were being called in.

Inkatha and police hold talks on violence

THE Inkatha Freedom Party held discussions with the police yesterday, Soweto police liaison officer Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn has confirmed.

He said if the party wished to release a statement on the matter, "then we have no comment".

Inkatha central committee member Themba Khoza released a statement last

BIDAM 6/3/92
night saying further discussions would be held within six days. *118*

"The SA Police undertook to invite an ANC delegation to attend," he said.

Khoza said yesterday's meeting was called after the latest attack on Soweto train commuters and the "shooting of IFP members by the police at Inhlazane

station on February 27".

Khoza was referring to an incident when a group of armed men, apparently from the Jabulani single-sex hostel, attempted to board a train at the Inhlazane railway station.

Police refused to allow the men on the train, and then used teargas to disperse the group. Three people were injured. — Sapa.

Ex-IFP man 'asked Gqozo for a job'

A CHIEF witness in the committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, was yesterday accused of having applied for a job with Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The committee is investigating allegations that the South African Defence Force provided certain members of the Inkatha Freedom Party with training in hit squad activities. *Sowetan 6/3/92*

The committee was told that Khumalo, former leader of Inkatha Youth Brigade, held a meeting with Gqozo on November 8 last year.

Khumalo told the committee he had not asked for a job from Gqozo, but had discussed "general issues" with him.

Mr Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, then produced an unsigned letter allegedly drafted by Mr Mike Davis of Creed Consultants, in which Khumalo referred to the November 8 meeting.

In the letter, Khumalo said Gqozo's African Democratic Movement should act as a catalyst to bring South African pragmatists together.

He also suggested starting training programmes.

On Wednesday Rabie accused Khumalo of being "reckless with the truth" when he could not remember details of his employment record at two Durban refineries.

The hearing continues. - Sapa.

Alex thrashes out vital issues Sunday

THE Alexandria Civic Organisation will host a mass meeting on Sunday to obtain a fresh mandate on negotiations.

ACO general secretary Mr Moses Mayekiso said in a statement on Wednesday the Alexandria Accord, transport negotiations, health and education issues, people's justice in Alexandria, culture, sport and violence would be discussed at the meeting in the Alexandra stadium.

The meeting was expected to endorse the joint negotiations' forum and the negotiations towards joint administration between Alexandra, Sandton and Rand-

burg.

The development of houses in Far East Bank, Old Alex, service charges payment, the transfer of rented houses to the people and other aspects of the Alexandria Accord would also be discussed.

Progress in negotiations between Putco and other authorities to reintroduce buses to Alexandra would be discussed.

Buses in Alexandra could be back during the first half of 1992, Mayekiso said. Progress in the formation of defence units would also be discussed. - *Sapa*.

Azapo meets in PE

THE Eastern Cape Region of Azapo will have its annual general meeting at the Sisonke Community Centre in Zwijde, Port Elizabeth, tomorrow.

The meeting, which starts at 10am, will be addressed by Azapo national projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa and the deputy head of the economic secretariat Mr Mzukisi Madlavan.

Ex-Inkatha leader quizzed on letter

STAR 613192

11B

One of the chief sources of alleged SA Defence Force implication in Inkatha training, Mbongeni Khumalo, was yesterday accused of having applied for a job from Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation investigating the Weekly Mail's claims heard that Mr Khumalo had had a meeting with Brigadier Gqozo on November 8 last year.

Catalyst

Mr Khumalo told the committee yesterday he had not asked for a job at the meeting. Instead they had discussed "general issues" which he was not able to expand on.

Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, then produced an unsigned letter allegedly drafted by Mike Davis, of Creed Consultants, in

which Mr Khumalo referred to the November 8 meeting and said Brigadier Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) should act as a catalyst to bring together South African pragmatists so that "the future of South Africa will be better than its past".

He also mentioned that the ADM should "start initiating training programmes so that the movement will be ready for the inevitable election". "I believe I could be invaluable in this regard," the letter said.

The letter also said Mr Khumalo's previous experience with Inkatha would allow him to offer a substantial contribution to the brigadier.

Mr Khumalo, who was an Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser, denied speaking to Mr Davis or asking him to draft a letter to Brigadier Gqozo.

Mr Khumalo's information on an elite group of Inkatha members who were trained at a camp in the Caprivi Strip, and

the training of a group called the "Black Cats" from Wesseltown near Ermelo, formed much of the basis for the setting up of the investigative committee.

Mr Khumalo was adamant that Creed Consultants was responsible for the hit-squad training of Inkatha members in the Caprivi in 1986, although it had been registered as a close corporation only in February 1989.

Funding

He was also insistent that he visited Creed's offices in 1988.

The reason he thought Creed had been behind the training and funding was that Guy Boardman of Creed had spoken to some of the Caprivi trainees in 1989 and been on first-name terms with them.

Some of the trainees had told Mr Khumalo that Mr Boardman was at Caprivi with them.

The commission's hearing continues. — Sapa.

SCENE around

A "Gypsy" entrepreneur files in; the free flow of ideas receives a boost. **MARIKA SBOROS** reports.



Hard at work . . . Rich Mkhondo makes a few calls from the dinner table.

KK speech baffles audience

SMA 6/3/92
ITH friends like former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) has displayed its commitment to the free flow of ideas.

The IMPD hosted a conference at the University of the Witwatersrand last weekend on the theme "In Search of Democracies, Majorities and Minorities".

Dr Kaunda, on his first visit to South Africa, was given a standing ovation when he arrived late to deliver the conference's opening address. His topic was "Democracy in Southern Africa, Balancing Majorities and Minorities".

He then proceeded to denigrate most of what the IMPD is trying to promote. His audience listened in polite silence (some veteran political activists described themselves as "stunned") as he

attracted multi-party democracy as unworkable in an African context. The free-market system also received short shrift from the former head of state.

At the end of a rather long-winded and rambling speech, the audience once again rose to its feet to give him a standing ovation.

Delegates were drawn from the spectrum of players on South Africa's vibrant political stage, and groups involved in change and negotiation. The Conservative Party was invited, conference organisers say, but declined to attend.

The press contingent was strong and enterprising. Reuters news agency writer Rich Mkhondo came complete with portable telephone from which he made essential calls from his table during dinner.



Table talk . . . former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Oscar Diborro, head of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. **Af Kurnialo**

A lipstick in her briefcase

WHEN Cyndi Kaplan's pharmacist husband abandoned an academic career to study medicine at the grand old age of 38 she was delighted, despite being only 24 at the time, with a six-week-old daughter and a toddler son to support.

The former Capeonian undertook to "fill the bread bin for the next seven years, occupation unknown".

Now 15 years later, she is an established businesswoman, speaker and author in Sydney, Australia. She had no "brilliant career" planned, she says. The only goal was economic survival.

She did not want to fall back on her training as an art teacher and psychologist, and opted instead to turn her hobbies into a business.

She designed needlepoint, then activity toys which she produced, marketed and sold to South African supermarkets.

Another goal became emigration, so she disregarded the obstacles of sanctions, set up an agency in Australia and exported her products.

"My business grew from a cottage industry to an international commercial venture," she says.

She travelled the world "like a gypsy", enjoying the stimulation of the foreign markets and the diverse cultures she encountered.

She "juggled the roles of wife, mother and breadwinner like an acrobat and survived, sane and solvent".

Women of today (and tomorrow) must dispel the illusion that they will always be looked after or taken care of financially by men or their families, she says.

Women want good careers, good marriage and healthy, happy children, Mrs Kaplan says.

"A tool to this lifestyle is the opportunity of enterprise." In the past year she has travelled all over Australia, speaking to over 10 000 women in business.

SHE has met hundreds of capable, successful, talented women. No "tall poppy syndrome" there, she says. The women have opened their hearts to applause and acknowledge the achievements of other women.

Mrs Kaplan is in South Africa to promote her book, "There's A Lipstick In My Briefcase" (Godiva), a guide for the new woman entrepreneur, and to conduct a lecture tour.

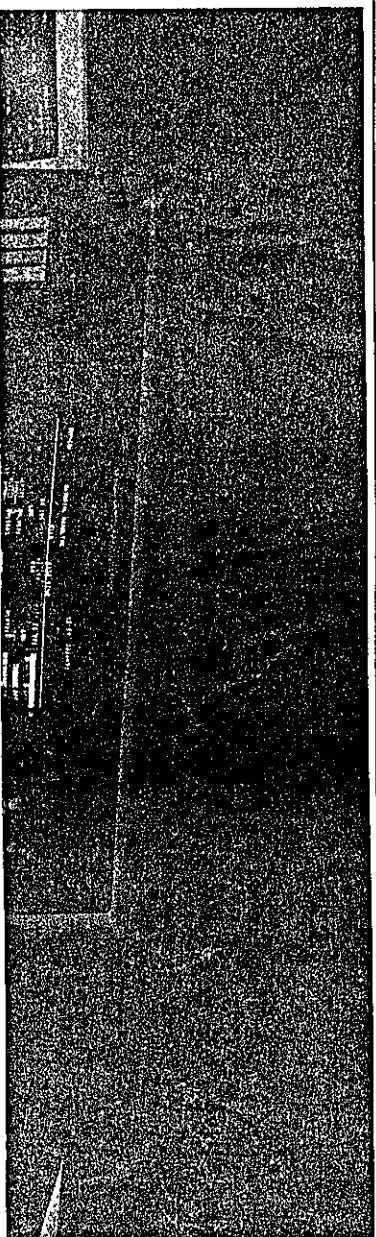
Her book will be published in a South African version, to be distributed by Struik publishers in a few weeks time.



Gypsy juggler . . . Cyndi Kaplan is wife, mother and brilliant businesswoman. **Picture: Andrew Ingram**

ON MONDAY

SA firms are trying to help executives retrenched through mergers, takeovers, management changes or as a result of the recession.



Amnesty slams cops

By THEMBA KHUMALO (113)

AMNESTY International has tarred the police and IFP with the same brush and blamed them for much of the township violence in its report to the United Nations. *Casper Venter 5/3/92*

Quoting several incidents of violence involving the ANC and IFP supporters, the report accused the police of being reluctant to intervene, especially when the ANC was on the receiving end.

Amnesty, a human rights watchdog body, concluded its investigation after a month's visit to South Africa late last year.

The report says that although much political violence appears to result from conflict between the ANC and the IFP, Amnesty was concerned that members of the police and military had been directly responsible for some of the killings.

"At the very least the security forces were indirectly responsible by colluding with the IFP," it said.

There was overwhelming evidence "that the security forces favour Inkatha and are against the ANC and its allies. This has resulted in killings and other human rights violations".

It cited an attack by alleged IFP supporters on Swanierville squatter camp last year as a classic example of police and IFP collusion. Twenty-nine people died and scores were injured during the attack.

The report said: "The police did not respond to pleas for assistance from camp residents.

"On the contrary, witnesses have stated that police men in uniform and white men in plainclothes actively took part in the attack. Although 12 men were subsequently charged with 29 counts of murder, no police have been suspended from duty pending an investigation into their conduct at Swanierville."

The report also said the killing in December last year of 18 Brunville township residents in the Natal midlands was another example of police collaborating with the IFP.

During the attack by alleged IFP supporters, who were armed with an assortment of sharp weapons, witnesses said they saw police and military vehicles in the vicinity.

"The security forces failed to intervene, except to fire teargas at the embattled residents," said the report.

It said in an attack nine hours later by as many as 1 000 IFP supporters, the security forces again failed to intervene while the assailants attacked houses and brutally murdered residents. Among the dead were two pensioners in their 70s, nine women and two children who were six and eight years old.

"An opposition member in parliament who visited the scene expressed incomprehension and disbelief at the security forces' failure to contain these attacks in daylight," the report said.

It said police complicity was not limited to incidents involving Inkatha. Witnesses identified police among attackers who raided the homes of ANC supporters and KwaZulu townships between July and September last year.

Despite a resident de Klerk's public commitment to investigate vigorously all allegations of unlawful activity of the security forces, Amnesty continued to receive numerous reports of security force involvement in torture, extra-judicial executions and human rights violations - which resulted neither in the suspension of security force members implicated in the prosecutions, the report said.

Report to UN says police fanned violence

Activists and witnesses who made statements against the police were allegedly harassed, threatened with death and falsely charged and, in some cases, shot and wounded by suspended policemen, the report added.

Asked to comment, spokesman for the State President's office Casper Venter asked City Press to refer the Amnesty report to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence.

ANC applies or interdict

by THEMBA KHUMALO

THE ANC southern Natal region has applied for a court interdict to stop KwaZulu Police from harassing its supporters in Durban's Umhlanga township, according to the region's chairman, Jeff Hadebe.

He said the interdict would be heard in the Durban Supreme Court tomorrow or Tuesday.

Violence is on the rise in Natal following the gunning down of top Inkatha official Winington Sabelo.

The interdict coincides with the discovery of an alleged plot to kill Hadebe and Moses Mayekiso, general secretary on the National Union of Metalworkers of S.A.

However, Hadebe said he was not aware of the plot.

Floral talk at inquiry

THE Goldstone Commission committee investigating *Weekly Mail* allegations of SADF funding of Inkatha hit squads this week heard about sunflowers, Barberton daisies and national service.

The reference to flowers was an indication that Creed Consultants, an alleged SADF front, did not give Inkatha members "inflammatory" lectures. *CIPRES 8/3/92*

SADF lawyer Pierre Rabie, cross-examining Mbongeni Khumalo, a former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser and one of the chief sources of the *Weekly Mail* allegations, asked if Khumalo remembered the analogy in lectures which said South Africa was like a Barberton daisy with little common

ground in the centre and it was desirable for South Africa to become like a sunflower with a lot of common ground in the centre.

Khumalo, who had organised the personnel to attend the courses, said he did not remember this.

Khumalo claimed MZ Khumalo, the former personal assistant to IFP leader Mangosotho Buthelezi, was the leader of a hit squad, but was not able to corroborate this. *(118)*

He also admitted his "evidence" of police collaboration with Inkatha in Wesselton near Ermelo was based on a conversation he had with a resident.

The committee has adjourned to April 7. - Sapa

Buthelezi's 'Church Codesa' bid

SOUTH Africa needs an all-congregational national church conference - some kind of "Christian Codesa", says IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. *Cipres 8/3/92*

Buthelezi told a KwaZulu legislative Assembly prayer breakfast in Durban that the Church could play a pivotal role to bring reconciliation between opposing political groups. *(116)*

He added proponents of liberation theology who drew up the Kairos document had been "harshly wrong in siding with political parties and organisations which clustered around what was then United Democratic Front tactics and strategies".

Ciskei brings Codesa into its row with ANC

Sowetan 10/3/92

THE Ciskei government yesterday asked Codesa's management committee to suspend all proceedings of the convention until the ANC had called off its campaign to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

And Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday that the South African and Ciskeian governments and the ANC would meet today in "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in the Ciskei".

Codesa's management committee, however, has decided not to be drawn into the dispute.

Earlier at Codesa, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dikwankwetla Party of QwaQwa and Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu had allied themselves with the Ciskei call, agreeing that proceedings be discontinued until the ANC committed itself to a "ceasefire".

Mr N Nogcantsi, chairman of Ciskei's council of ministers, said yesterday: "We believe that

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

the parties cannot in good faith continue with the negotiating process while this threat remains in existence and the ANC acts unilaterally in contravention of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent."

According to a document of the ANC Border region - verified by NEC leaders yesterday - the ANC planned, among other things, to:

- Weaken Ciskeian leader Oupa Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- Isolate Gqozo politically;
- Expose Pretoria's agenda in the homeland;
- Bring about an interim administration in Ciskei.

● To page 2

Row in Codesa

● From page 1

The Border region also said the Ciskei government did not have the support of the people in the region and it, therefore, had to resign.

However, the ANC said yesterday it regretted the fact that the Ciskei government had dragged a "regional dispute" into Codesa.

The ANC said the move was "calculated to sensationalise" the dispute while discussions around the issue were under way at Codesa's management committee.

The ANC Border region on February 13 requested a meeting with the Ciskei Cabinet to resolve the differences between the two parties in the region.

But in a letter from the Ciskei government, signed by Gqozo, the ANC request for talks was dismissed.

"The reasons for the appointment which has been requested are irrelevant and far-fetched and do not warrant a meeting," Gqozo said in his reply dated February 17.

Codesa's management committee chairman Mr Previn Gordhan last night said that the convention had decided not to get involved in the dispute between the Ciskei and the ANC.

"The view of the management committee is that the dispute is best solved on a bi-lateral basis between the ANC and Ciskei," he said.

Buthelezi threatens action over Codesa

11B (A) (B)

B/Days 11/3/92

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened action if King Goodwill Zwelithini is excluded from Codesa.

Speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi threatened to mobilise the Zulu nation against its exclusion from Codesa.

"We will not honour any agreement reached in Codesa about the future which in any way involves KwaZulu while we are not part of the deliberations which led to the agreements.

"I... will have nothing to do with implementing Codesa decisions which are reached while we are not present to make our own contribution to debates and emerging decisions."

Buthelezi said the exclusion from Codesa was connected to collusion between the government and the ANC.

"What were we supposed to think when we see great enthusiasm being displayed in the banning of the carrying of Zulu accoutrements, but the same enthusiasm is not shown in the dismantling or banning Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

He added he would go to the "very heart of Afrikanerdom" to campaign for the right of the Zulus to be recognised.

Negotiations had to be representative

enough to make negotiators' decisions binding on people.

Buthelezi said he was not threatening armed struggle or revolutionary violence against any government established without Zulu participation.

"I will not be party to a failed constitution and a failed democracy."

In the past all the ills of the people were laid at the door of apartheid but in the future government and the people in it would be blamed for failure, he said.

Groundwork would now be laid for support to reject a government which was not brought into being by a truly representative body.

A government which was not one of national unity would be rejected.

Buthelezi said he would keep his options open about with whom he would ally himself. He would also keep his options open about whom to mobilise and how.

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of His Majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to fail.

"I am saying that we must put right now that which is wrong in Codesa."

The legislative assembly would look at available regional options and "if we are not tolerated inside Codesa" would pursue them outside the talks, he said.— Sapa.

Buthelezi accuses FW of collusion with ANC

118

ARG 11/3/92

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwazulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that the Kwazulu Assembly and the people of Kwazulu "are not going to stand back while President De Klerk's government colludes with the ANC at Codesa to write a new constitution for South Africa".

In his address at the opening of the fourth session of the fifth Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Buthelezi said he would mobilise the Zulu people against their exclusion from the Codesa.

"My colleagues and I will stomp the Kwazulu countryside and the rest of South Africa, gathering support for our

right to take part in discussions about our destiny," he said.

He also said he would keep options open as to who he would align himself with, who he mobilised and how the mobilisation would be done.

But he would not bow to a rejection of Kwazulu and become a party to a government of South Africa which was doomed to fail.

Referring to the current discussions at Codesa about the inclusion of the Zulu monarch as a delegate, Dr Buthelezi said what was happening to King Zwelithini was unprecedented in Africa.

ANC, Ciskei

TRUCE

Sowetan 11/3/92

THE Ciskeian government and the ANC made peace yesterday after days of conflict that threatened the proceedings at Codesa.

The peace meeting came just in time to prevent bloodshed in the homeland.

Senior Ciskei police officers had been told to "shoot to kill" during the ANC's campaign against the homeland government.

The order was given at a special briefing for the officers in King William's Town on Monday by commissioner of police General Jan Viktor hours before Ciskei, the ANC and the South African Government were to meet in Pretoria to resolve animosity between the ANC and the homeland administration.

Meeting

A source who attended the meeting, and who declined to be named, said the officers were told the order came "from above".

ANC activists travelling with mobile polling booths as part of the campaign to elect an interim administration in Ciskei would be shot, the source said.

The source said the officers were "in a predicament" as a result of the order. The

IIA

officers were told no leave would be granted during this period and all policemen were expected to be on standby.

Viktor refused to comment yesterday, saying the issue had been referred to the Ciskei government's media office. The media office did not respond to inquiries yesterday.

Meanwhile, heavily armed Ciskei Defence Force soldiers were yesterday seen patrolling Bisho and surrounds in Butchies.

Dispute

The ANC had launched a campaign of mass action against the Ciskei government, which was to culminate in the "symbolic" installation of an interim administration for Ciskei.

On Monday Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans. But Codesa's management committee decided that the convention should not become immediately involved in the dispute.

After yesterday's meeting in Pretoria it was announced that the Ciskei government would urgently review its National Security Act to enable political parties to hold peaceful public

To page 2

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Sowetan 11/3/92
From page 1

meetings and marches.

A joint statement by the parties also said: "The South African Government delegation identified itself fully with the spirit and the conclusions of the meeting. All parties reaffirmed their commitment to Codesa."

It was also agreed that further meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei government to discuss, among other things, co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability.

Also in this
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Nkadimeng on a European tour

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11/3/92

THE secretary-general of the Azanian Peoples Organisation Mr Don Nkadimeng leaves for Europe on Friday to hold talks with Dutch Foreign Ministry officials.

He will also meet parliamentarians, Azapo's national media officer, Mr Khangale Makhado, said yesterday.

Nkadimeng's visit is sponsored by the Azania Komitee in Holland.

Nkadimeng is scheduled to address a public meeting of the AK and the Sihambile Cultural Group in Rotterdam.

He will also visit Brus-

sels, Belgium, as guest of the Anti-Imperialist League and will also meet Belgian members of parliament.

"The visit will culminate with a rally in Amsterdam to commemorate the Sharpeville shooting.

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Buthelezi turns on FW over Zulu king row

STAR 11/3/92

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Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday used the Codesa dispute over the Zulu king's participation to cast a big question mark over his stand on the referendum.

He turned on President de Klerk, saying he no longer felt "comfortable" with him.

And, in what is in danger of being interpreted as support for a "no" vote in the referendum,

he said: "I will go to the very heart of Afrikanerdom and will campaign until KwaZulu's right to participate in negotiations is recognised."

Speaking at the opening of KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly, he asked who was stopping Mr. de Klerk from admitting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his delegation to Codesa.

"Who is in charge?" he asked. "Is it Mr de Klerk or the ANC? This will confuse a lot of white

voters in the referendum."

Attempts to contact Chief Buthelezi to clarify his statements were unsuccessful.

He enjoys considerable white support, particularly in Natal, and his comments — similar to CP accusations levelled at Mr de Klerk — are bound to sway some referendum voters.

The chief also said he would keep his constitutional options open and, in what may have been an indication that a future

alliance with the CP was not out of the question, said: "I will keep options open as to who I will ally myself with, and I will keep options open about whom I will mobilise and how I shall mobilise them.

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of His Majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to failure."

(Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne St, Greyville)



Buthelezi denies switching support away from reform

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has reaffirmed his commitment to a "yes" vote in the referendum.

In spite of comments made at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, Buthelezi said yesterday he still stood by a statement released after President F W de Klerk announced the referendum on February 20.

In that he said: "I urge that every white South African should not only go to the polls, but to support the SA government's commitment to negotiate openly among all parties for a new constitution.

"The whole world is ready to receive SA back into the international community. The SA recession is beginning to bottom out.

"Investors are looking at SA with new interest. International bankers are ready to support economic development in SA.

"We must continue with negotiations," he said.

Buthelezi yesterday said suggestions that comments he made to the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly indi-

8 Day 12/3/97
113
Political Staff

cated support for a "no" vote were "misinterpretations".

He had told the Assembly that he no longer felt "comfortable" with De Klerk and would go to "the very heart of Afrikanerdom" to campaign for KwaZulu's right to participate in constitutional negotiations.

Diplomats and several media observers at Ulundi had interpreted these and other comments as indications that Buthelezi had put a question mark over his stand on the referendum.

But Buthelezi said he was "rather amazed" the comments could be interpreted as support for a "no" vote and he stood by his original statement.

Buthelezi also reacted to repeated suggestions that he and the CP were moving closer. He pointed out that, besides seeing CP leader Andries Treurnicht on Saturday, he had supper with NP Natal leader George Bartlett on Friday.

Report by C Whitfield 18 Osborne St, Durban.

Inkatha is 'seething with anger'

By MOKGADI PELA

112

INKATHA Freedom Party has warned of mounting anger among its members following Tuesday's train attack in which two men were killed and 13 others injured.

The warning came from IFP Sandton branch member Mr Bruce Anderson at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said the Hostel Dwellers Association, to which most IFP members belonged, had expressed disgust at what he called "partisan searches" conducted by police on the trains.

Sowetan 12/3/92
"Police will usually disarm IFP members at one station but allow armed Xhosa-speaking people believed to be ANC members to board trains at the next station.

"This we find extremely unfair and we find it difficult to restrain grassroots anger which is simmering daily," Anderson said.

He said the IFP was still committed to peace. The organisation would refer the matter to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and peace resolution committees.

He said the IFP was in possession of a 55-page document detailing attacks on its members.

The men who died in the attack have been named as Mr Vinkinduku Dlamini and a Mr Mbatha, of Mapetla Hostel.

FM 13/3/92

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INKATHA

For king and country

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi fired another warning shot across the bows of Codesa when he officially opened the Kwa-Zulu legislative assembly this week.

He said that he is far from capitulating over the demand that the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, be given official status at Codesa. The emotional speech fell just short of a call to arms.

Buthelezi reiterated the IFP central committee resolution, saying as long as this issue remains unresolved, he will not honour any agreement reached at Codesa about the

FM 13/3/92

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future which in any way involves KwaZulu "while we aren't part of the deliberations which led to the agreement."

This would include any interim government arrangement: "Now Codesa has rushed ahead to hatch a plan to nominate an executive for an interim government which it, Codesa, will nominate without us being there."

There was only one conclusion to be drawn from KwaZulu's deliberate exclusion from the talks: "The perpetrators seek the annihilation of the Zulu nation," and Buthelezi was not about to let that happen.

"We'll begin where we should — picking up where the Buthelezi Commission and KwaZulu-Natal Indaba left off. We'll look

at regional options available to us and we'll pursue those outside Codesa if we are not tolerated inside Codesa." ■

CT 13/3/92

Buthelezi warns of 'interference'

Own Correspondent

11B

ULUNDI. — The government has a very good chance of winning the referendum on Tuesday but it could lose it on the issue of the ANC "interference" in the affairs of the Ciskei.

This was said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He revealed he and his cabinet held talks yesterday morning with the Ciskei military council leader, Brigadier Oupa Qozo, and some of his ministers.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC attacked a self-governing region contrary to the Codesa statement of intent.

He said the worst thing that could happen during SA's political transition would be for the government to lose its will to rule.

The people threatening to bring about "mayhem" in the Ciskei were people from South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said developments in the Ciskei would make many people who might have voted "yes" on Tuesday debate that decision now.

If the government failed to act in this dispute, it would amount to endorsing the anarchy the ANC wanted to introduce into SA.

• Earlier Chief Buthelezi said Brigadier Qozo told him the ANC intended destabilising other self-governing regions, including KwaZulu.

(Report by P Laeman, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville).

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(Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville).

Amnesty uncovers Inkatha hit-squad link

By DREW FORREST

A FURTHER link between the 200 Inkatha men given hit-squad training by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip and current violence has been uncovered.

The link is a certain Constable Gcina Mkhize, who appears on the list of Caprivi trainees supplied by the Inkatha Freedom Party to the Goldstone Commission as "Brain Gcina Mkhize".

Allegedly attached to the kwaZulu Police Station in Esikhawini, near Empangeni in northern Natal,

13/3-19/3/92

Mkhize has been identified as implicated in a mob attack on a local workers' hostel known as an African National Congress stronghold.

Last year *The Weekly Mail* gave the names of five Inkatha men trained in the Caprivi in 1986 who were being sought by the South African Police in connection with violent crimes. At least one other has been named as a professional assassin.

The source of the latest report is the internationally respected human rights watchdog Amnesty International, which has been in touch with monitors and trade unionists in the

strike-torn Esikhawini area.

At least three people were killed last month when, according to the ANC, IFP attackers stormed an ANC house at dawn with automatic rifles. The Alsasf and railway hostels in the township, organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, have been repeatedly targeted.

The ANC's Bongani Msoni says there are fears that an Inkatha death squad is active in the township.

Mkhize, according to Amnesty, was seen firing a weapon in the middle of an Inkatha impi during an attack on one of the hostels on

December 8 last year.

The 200 Caprivi graduates were absorbed into the KZP, allegedly after being issued false police IDs, and Mkhize was apparently attached to the criminal investigation department of the Esikhawini police station.

The Amnesty source said unionists had later met the station commander, a certain Mzimela, and had asked him to investigate Mkhize's activities — but without result.

An SAP man also present at the meeting allegedly confirmed that Mkhize had been present at the scene of the December 8 attack.



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End of the road for hitman

By S'BU MNGADI

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A HITMAN has been arrested after being on the run for more than six years, during which time he attempted to fake his death.

Constable Vela Mchunu, one of the elite 200-strong Inkathampis trained by the SA Defence Force in Namibia in 1986, was arrested in Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale last Friday in connection with two murders.

When arrested he allegedly produced an identity document which identified him as "Alfred Masango".

However, police said subsequent investigations established he was Constable Vela Mchunu, wanted since 1985 by the SAP in connection with a series

of murders and other crimes.

Natal Midlands SAP spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said "Alfred Masango" appeared in the Camperdown Magistrate's Court on Monday in connection with the killing of Sipho Mkhize and Richard Duma, both of Hammarsdale, on February 28 this year. He was not asked to plead and he was remanded until March 16.

According to police sources, a skeleton of a man was found in April 1990 near Wartburg in the Natal midlands with a KZP document of Mchunu near it.

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A pathologist studied the remains and discovered that the man was much younger than Mchunu - suggesting his death had been faked.

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Inkatho hears to roll

By Peter 15/3/92

Buthlezi furious with Myeni over AWB peace pact

By SEKOLA SELLO, SOPHIE TEMA and Sapa (115)

HEADS in Inkatha's Transvaal leadership, including high-ranking central committee member Musa Myeni, may roll following their non-aggression pact with the racist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pact which sparked fears of a possible rise in Zulu-Afrikaner neo-fascism, was made on Friday by AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche and Myeni in the presence of Conservative Party deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Myeni said the pact was between Inkatha's Transvaal region and the AWB. "The party's central committee, had not yet been informed about the pact."

However, soon after learning about the pact, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi immediately repudiated it and said the pact was "deeply disturbing and amounted to mischief-making in a referendum campaign in which the IFP wishes to have no part whatsoever".

Another senior-ranking Inkatha member, Walter Felegat, said there was no pact between his organisation and the AWB. "This was a one-man show. It was Musa acting alone."

Myeni disputed the claim that he acted unilaterally and that the Transvaal leadership was not informed about the pact.

"Anyone who saw us in our discussions with the AWB must have realised I was in the company of 20 or so members of the Transvaal leadership," Buthezi, in a statement released from Ulundi, "emphatically" distanced himself and Inkatha from the pact which was signed on Friday.

In what is considered a rap on the knuckles for Myeni, Buthezi went on to state: "The IFP could not enter into a non-aggression pact between the IFP and the AWB because the IFP never is an aggressor."

"I state emphatically that I have never discussed a non-aggression pact between the IFP and the AWB with anybody."

This is the second time that Myeni's indiscretion has highly embarrassed Inkatha. At the height of the Reef bloodletting a year ago, he threatened to deploy more than 100 000 IFP fighters in Soweto to quell the violence.

Buthezi later defended Myeni, saying his statement was a "cry for help" and an anguished call to end the township bloodletting.

After Friday's signing of the pact, Buthezi will be hard-pressed not to take action against Myeni and any other members of the Transvaal leadership who were signatories to it. Myeni is adamant that the pact was for a good cause.

"This was prompted by reports from some of our members that blacks were being intimidated and harassed by the AWB in Ventersdorp."

He refused to comment on Buthezi's repudiation, saying he had not seen the statement attributed to the leader. Inkatha can ill afford to be associated with the AWB if it wishes to retain its image among white supporters, local and foreign.

On the same day he repudiated the pact, Buthezi further distanced himself from rightwing elements by releasing a memorandum regarding a recent discussion he had with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The memorandum was issued "to counteract the damage that was being done by irresponsible CP statements citing my position and the position of KweZulu as supporting rightwing rejection of Codesa".

According to Buthezi he has issued a press statement endorsing State President Fw de Klerk's decision to call for a referendum.

"I clearly indicated that a 'yes' vote would be beneficial to both the politics of negotiation and to the reconciliation process in this country."

The IFP was committed to remaining a participant in Codesa, he said.



End of the road for hitman

By SBU MNGADI

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A pathologist studied the remains and discovered that the man was much younger than Mchunu - suggesting his death had been faked.

Those in the nose

NOSES ARE RED... Violets are blue, play minds us of you. This was the spirit in which children

dressed red noses yesterday to raise funds for their less fortunate brothers and sisters.

Here Radio Bop announcer Modisane Modise has fun with friends on Red Nose Day at the Highgate Shopping Centre. **Pi: TLABI KRUDEL**

Predict 'Yes' should win it'll be close



PAC youth slam leader's arrest

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Students Organisation has condemned the arrest on Saturday of its Eastern Transvaal co-ordinator, Mr Jack Sibuya. *CT 10/3/72*

The SA Police confirmed the arrest and said he had been charged with attempted murder, arson and malicious damage to property. — Sapa *(11)*

AWB affirms IFP pact ^(11B)

JOHANNESBURG — A non-aggression pact signed between the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Transvaal leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party will be respected by the AWB — despite the disapproval of the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the AWB executive council.

In a statement yesterday the council expressed gratitude to the IFP representatives who had signed the pact on Friday.

"The AWB and the Wenkommando remain by the undertaking and assure

the Transvaal management of Inkatha and their generals that the non-aggression pact will be honoured by the AWB..." ^{cf 16/3/92}

The head of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, signed an agreement with the Transvaal leaders of the IFP, led Mr Musa Myeni, but Chief Buthelezi immediately distanced himself and his movement from the agreement. Chief Buthelezi said the signing of the agreement was mischievous as Mr Myeni did not have a mandate to conclude such an agreement with the AWB. — Sapa ^(SAPA)

IFP plans mass action drive

By Guy Jepson

(118) STAR
17/3/92

The Inkatha Freedom Party has declared its intention to launch a mass action-type campaign in support of wide-ranging demands which include the disbanding of the ANC's military wing and a place for the Zulu King at Codesa.

Speaking to The Star after an IFP rally held at the Jabulani Hostel at the weekend, Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said the protest would start on Friday with a march from George Goch to Johannesburg.

Mr Khoza said that at the end of the march a list of demands would be handed over either to a representative of President de Klerk or to the police at John Vorster Square.

He said if necessary the IFP would embark on a range of protest actions to back up its demands.

"We cannot rule out picketing, marches and actions like stayaways — all legal actions — starting on March 21 in Johannesburg."

He said IFP protesters would initially concentrate on the Transvaal but would take their



King Zwelithini . . . "must have place at Codesa".

campaign countrywide if Mr de Klerk did not agree to their demands. These were:

- The disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- The inclusion in Codesa of King Goodwill Zwelithini, the KwaZulu Government and all other political organisations currently not represented at the negotiating forum.
- An end to the killings of Zulus on PWV trains.

Several thousand IFP supporters — many armed with knobkerries and spears — from some 42 branches in the organisation's West Rand region attended Sunday's rally.

Beer

'No IFP pact with AWB'

STAT 17/3/92
By Jacqueline Myburgh

The Transvaal leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday rejected reports that it had entered into a non-aggression pact with the AWB.

"The IFP does not wish to associate itself politically with racist organisations and would not endorse the politics of white far right wing organisations like the AWB," Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said.

He said he did not know about any discussions between Mr Musa Myeni and the AWB.

Mr Khoza and the Transvaal leadership looked forward to a "yes" vote in today's referendum, and endorsed their president's statements regarding the referendum.

He said: "The IFP is committed to do what it can to bring the CP and AWB into the negotiation process in Codesa and would not wish to be seen as an ally of political parties and organisations which are not prepared to sit down with a full range of black political parties or organisations in South Africa to negotiate for a new constitution."

(Report by J Myburgh, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

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Myeni 'playing with fire'

113
Sowetan
17/13/92

INKATHA Freedom Party should take strong action against its official, Mr Musa Myeni, for allegedly entering into a non-aggression pact with the AWB.

This was said by most callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

The callers told host Tim Modise that both Myeni and Bishop Isaac Mokoena were "pawns in the white man's chess game".

The callers were responding to Mokoena's call last week urging whites to vote "no" in today's referendum.

One caller, Alex, said it was a shame for Myeni to support a party that was fascist and neo-nazi.

He said: "Blacks have hardly forgotten the massacre at Pretoria's Strydom's Square where eight blacks died.

"It's incumbent upon



blacks to know who we can side with," he said.

Pam of Johannesburg said Mokoena should not be taken seriously.

"As for Myeni, I'm shocked at the turnabout. Hardly a week ago he told one radio station that a 'no' vote would usher disaster for black people.

"He was unfortunately used by white people to pursue their political ends," she said.

Saladin Ali of Eldorado Park said it was "illogical" for any black person to support the Conservative Party.

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Between 1986 and 1990 student numbers had increased, but since last year the figures had fallen. University of Cape Town first-year figures were also down — by 4.4%.

but that the number of black students had almost doubled. "There are programmes here that black students prefer, and we offer a lot of African languages," he said.

Mwasa calls off wage strike at SABC

THE Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) yesterday called off a wage strike by 1 300 black SABC employees, shortly before pay negotiations were due to begin.

The strike by black labourers, journalists, producers, artists, cameramen and studio crews was called on Tuesday to support a demand for a

R1 500 a month across-the-board annual increase after management offered 7%.

An SABC media spokesman confirmed that striking employees had returned to work.

Talks between Mwasa and SABC labour relations officer Christo Pretorius began yesterday. — Sapa.

Ban lifted on writings by Buthelezi

WRITINGS by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been unbanned 16 years after they were published.

According to a recent Government Gazette, the first issue of the first volume of the magazine Inkatha, written by Buthelezi, is no longer undesirable.

The gazette lists the author of the publication, which was produced in 1976, as one "Mntwana Mangosothu Buthelezi". Inkatha leaders have been un-

able to shed light on the publication's content or say why it had been banned.

The gazette also unbanned the ANC's In Defence of the African Image and Heritage.

The unbanned list includes a feast of Marxist memorabilia, including titles from the former Soviet Union such as The Problems of Building Socialism and the old classic, The ABC of Communism by

Nikolay Bukharin.

Black consciousness leaders Steve Biko and Barney Pitso Moseneke's writings in the SA Student Organisation's newsletter of 1973 and the selected speeches of Malcolm X are now also (officially) undesirable.

A pamphlet by the Natal Indian Congress, the only ethnic organisation among the ranks of the ANC-aligned Where Are We Going? has also been unbanned.

Despite all the glastnost Frank Mayville's The Joys of Oral Sex and Erin Caine's Amazons were both declared undesirable, as was a Brief History of the Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Kim Il Sung, once required reading in Khmer Rouge re-education camps.

*"Give a man a fish
and he profits but a single dish;
Teach him the art of rod and reel
and he'll never lack a meal."*

IFP criticises budget proposals as (112) 'not addressing wealth disparities' (112)

STAR 19/3/92

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' budgetary proposals as "not visionary enough" in addressing black/white wealth disparities.

The IFP, however, welcomed the planned additional expenditure on health, education and housing.

He said that although whites were the main contributors to State coffers, they received only 27c in a rand back in terms of social benefits.

To improve black education,

housing and health services the Government would have to do more than just cut down on the benefits for white taxpayers.

"Quite clearly, the disparity in black/white wealth needs to be attended to as a matter of great national urgency. However, there could not be a simple redistribution of wealth by taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr du Plessis could not dramatically increase the taxation burden of "the haves". — Political Staff.

Mixed feelings of a reluctant return

RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA — THE ECSTASY AND THE AGONY by Trevor Huddleston (Fount, R24,99)

ARCHBISHOP Trevor Huddleston has long been a prominent, outspoken critic of apartheid; at the time of his departure from South Africa in 1956 he vowed not to return "until apartheid was dead and buried".

What, then, made him return last year?

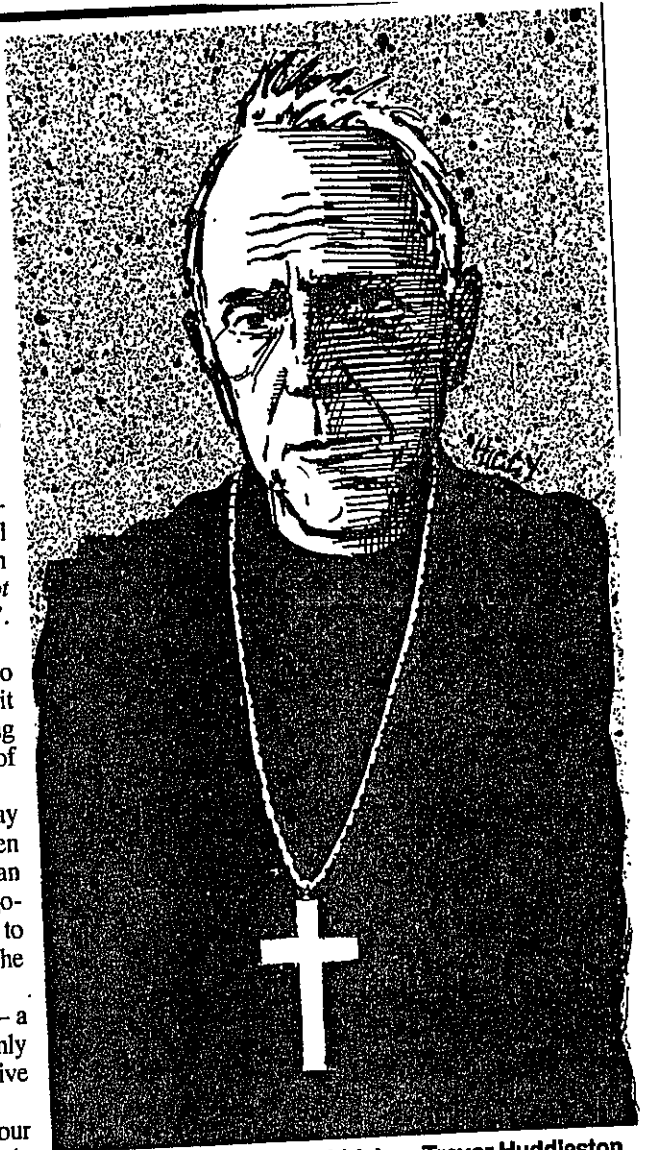
It was a letter from his old friend Oliver Tambo, suggesting that he open the African National Congress' national conference in Durban in June that year. A further letter from the ANC invited him formally, saying: "You are invited *not* as an 'external delegate' or 'observer' or 'expatriate visitor'. You are invited as a *full delegate*."

Huddleston accepted, but requested that there be no church celebrations on his return: "I hope I have made it clear that I do not regard my visit as a cause for celebrating the end of apartheid but for taking part in the final stages of the struggle," he wrote.

Huddleston's arrival at Jan Smuts airport on a Sunday morning rekindled old memories of the early 1940s, when he had committed himself to be an activist rather than an observer. In his subtle way he outlines the ecstasies and agonies of his three-week stay: the visits to places he used to know, the faces of middle-aged men and women whom he knew as Sophiatown youngsters.

His brief was to open the conference with a prayer — a task he describes as a great honour — but it changed only two days prior to the grand event, and he was asked to give a 10-minute address as well.

He describes it thus: "Indeed I cannot think what honour could have been greater than to be garlanded with the black, green and gold colours of the ANC and to stand on the platform with Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the whole national executive of the ANC. I had joined in the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika — God Bless Africa* — hundreds of times at rallies and gatherings in London and across the world, when we were campaigning for the Anti-Apartheid Movement or at meetings of the International Defence and Aid Fund. This was the first time I had joined in singing it with those for whom it was written after my 35 years of exile."



Toublesome priest ... Archbishop Trevor Huddleston

"Never had it been more meaningful."

This is a moving personal testimony from one whose support for the freedom struggle has never flagged, but it is also a valuable — though brief — overview of political developments in South Africa over the years.

The clutch of pictures in the centre of the book show scenes from the 1940s and 1950s as well as from the 1991 visit.

Ray Nxumalo

THE six-year manhunt for Vela Mchunu, alleged Inkatha hit-man and product of South African Defence Force military training in Namibia, is finally at an end.

On the South African Police wanted list since 1986, Mchunu was arrested in Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale, two weeks ago. With another kwaZulu policeman and alleged hit-man, Sbhongeseni Nzama, he appeared in the Camperdown Magistrate's Court last week in connection with the murder of Hammarsdale taximen Siphiso Mkhize and Richard Duma. They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed.

According to reports in the Natal

Arrest ends six-year manhunt

press, the kwaZulu Police hierarchy is "extremely worried" by his arrest and the possibility that his trial will lay bare the mechanics of KZP-sponsored hit-squad activities.

Tight security was enforced during the two men's court appearance — members of the public were body-searched and Mchunu wore a bullet-proof vest under his shirt. Asked to explain the measures, Captain J Bieneke, in charge of SAP special investigations, said he wanted to ensure "nothing untoward took place".

On his arrest, Mchunu allegedly produced a KZP appointment card

An alleged Inkatha hit-squad member has finally been arrested after being on the police wanted list for six years. By DREW FORREST

identifying him as "Alfred Masango", and he appeared under this alias in court. Bieneke declined to comment on "Masango's" true identity.

A notorious figure in Natal, Mchunu is also a suspect in the unsolved murders of three BTR-Samcool workers at

Mpophomeni, Howick, during the marathon strike by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union at the British-owned company.

He is almost certainly the "Vela" named in the 1990 murder trial of kwaZulu minister Chief Samuel Jamlie. According to the court record, Jamlie instructed "Vela" to kill Clermont businessman Zazi Khuzwayo. Described as a kwaZulu policeman, he also accompanied Jamlie in the attack in which Joseph Khumalo was killed on the night of April 5 1987.

Mchunu appears on the list of

SADF military trainees supplied by Inkatha Freedom Party high-up MZ Khumalo to the Goldstone Commission, which is currently investigating *Weekly Mail* disclosures of SADF links with political violence. Two hundred Inkatha men were trained at the SADF's Hippo camp in the Caprivi in 1986, later being absorbed into the KZP.

In an affidavit by another Caprivi trainee, inspected by *The Weekly Mail*, Mchunu is also mentioned as a member of an "offensive unit" set up in the wake of the Namibian training.

Interestingly, the name "Alfred Masango" also appears on MZ Khumalo's list, along with that of Mchunu.

IFP march on John Vorster

ABOUT 20 000 armed Inkatha supporters chanting "Peace!" marched on John Vorster Square yesterday to hand over a petition containing demands including the disbanding of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe.

Weapons

Weapons - supposed to be only sticks, knobkerries and shields - included sharpened metal poles, meat cleavers and dustbin lids. C (Pren 22/3/92)

SAP and SADF members - armed with automatic weapons - escorted the marchers into and out of the centre of town while bystanders, many of them looking apprehensive, stood well back.

The march was peaceful and by mid-afternoon no incidents had been reported. - Sapa



DOING THE INKATHA CANCAN ... An energetic IFP supporter high-kicking her way to John Vorster Square yesterday. ■ Pic: MIKE MZILENI

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Mandela tour to boost 22/3/92 W Cape support (11A)

□ From Page One

government would recognise Muslim weddings, presently not legally valid in South Africa.

Addressing a gathering of 2 000 people at the Alexander Sinton high school in Athlone, the scene of several pitched battles between police and pupils during the "Free Mandela" campaign of 1985, he said the ANC had espoused a policy of nonracialism but had concentrated on Africans while neglecting the "coloured" and Indian communities.

The ANC has been disturbed at surveys which indicated that the National Party had more support than the ANC within these communities, and the election of charismatic leader Dr. Allan Boesak as ANC Western Cape chairman is seen as part of an ANC strategy to reverse this trend.

Famous

The same morning Mr Mandela appeared before 1 000 ecstatic pupils at troubled Langa High School. He apologised to white teachers who had been harassed by "certain members of the community" and thanked the teachers for their sacrifices.

At that point Mr Mandela, snappily dressed in a beige suit, was full of fire and his famous grin was much in evidence as he greeted an adoring pupils.

Later on the tour, however, the veteran politician visibly tired under the strain of his gruelling four-day schedule.

By then several events had already to be slashed from the agenda, and an ANC source complained that the schedule was so tight there was hardly time for Mr Mandela to rest or even eat.

● Mr Mandela is today scheduled to visit Malibu High School in the sprawling Blue Downs area and to finish his tour with a speech at a rally at Paarl's Dal Josafat Stadium.

Inkatha march to protest for peace

11B
[Handwritten marks]

Sowetan 23/3/92

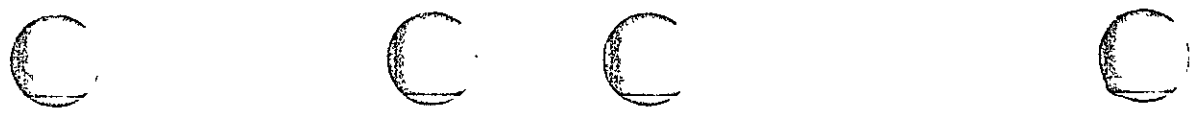
THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party members marched through Johannesburg on Saturday in a massive demonstration of strength to "protest for peace".
The marchers made their way to John Vorster Square police headquarters, where their leaders handed over a memorandum.
Earlier in the week, IFP officials released lists containing names of supporters who they said had died in sectarian violence.
On Saturday, wave after wave of shield and stick-

wielding IFP supporters made their way down Commissioner Street to John Vorster Square.
Bystanders, many of them looking apprehensive, stood well back.
IFP marchers brandished shields, sharpened sticks, poles and other implements, including battle axes. Police and other security personnel lined the streets.
Last Thursday the IFP announced its "a programme of protest action for peace" to start on Saturday.
IFP Youth League Transvaal leader Mr

Themba Khoza said at a Press conference in Johannesburg the protest action had become an "absolute necessity as our communities are being ravaged by proponents of death and destruction."
"Past efforts to achieve lasting peace have not proved adequate and thus more pro-active measures are needed to provide the necessary impetus to achieve peace."
He said the march was not called for Saturday - Sharpeville Day - in an attempt to upstage commemoration services and rallies by other political or-

ganisations which were held on the same day.
"Politically-speaking we obviously have an interest in Sharpeville Day as this was the day people were killed for pursuing the cause we are also fighting for."
"But our march is not for strategic reasons. We are in harmony with Sharpeville commemoration rallies," said Khoza.
Saturday's march started at George Goch Stadium at 10am and then proceeded to the John Vorster Square.
A memorandum handed to a senior police officer contained "certain issues of

protest which must be addressed immediately for the sake of peace and stability".
These issues concerned the assassination of IFP members, the increasing use of AK-47 assault rifles by members of the ANC in "armed robberies, killing of policemen and farmers . . . and political deaths".
The ANC leadership's "involvement" at local and national level regarding "acts of violence" on IFP members, and the role of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would also be protested.-
Sapa.



New Inkatha threat to pull out of talks

B (Day) 25/3/92

PATRICK BULGER

INKATHA yesterday rejected government proposals for a transitional authority and said it would find it difficult to remain in Codesa unless there was an end to political violence.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly released at Codesa, demanded the inclusion of a KwaZulu government delegation at Codesa.

And national chairman Frank Mdlalose, in a broadside at the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said Inkatha could not continue at the talks "with guns at our backs". Mdlalose said Inkatha would not agree to an interim government until there was peace and until Umkhonto had been disbanded, a position set out by the SA government on Monday.

Yesterday Codesa working group 3, dealing with interim arrangements, met to hear responses to government's proposals for advisory transitional councils to oversee the transition process.

It is understood that a compromise between government's proposals and the ANC proposals for a Codesa-appointed transitional executive structure was being discussed.

Government has proposed the creation of six-member transitional councils designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. The councils would oversee areas such as elections, regional and local government and government finances.

Buthelezi said yesterday that with the

exception of the transitional council on local government, the other councils could proceed with their work without consulting KwaZulu.

"A new SA is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter, whereas (the TBVC states) are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us."

He said KwaZulu could not accept a transitional government or a constituent assembly before the future of the self-governing territories had been decided.

He said an earlier compromise to forgo the KwaZulu government's place at Codesa in favour of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, was being withdrawn and KwaZulu would demand inclusion at Codesa.

The issue of the participation of the Zulu king should be resolved by the end of March, Mdlalose said.

Our political staff reports that the PAC said it could not participate in Codesa when government was clearly bent on frustrating majority rule.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said government's latest transitional proposals were a "non-starter" because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Council which was purely advisory in nature and allowed the regime to retain full control.

"The right of the African people to self-

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

B (Day) 25/3/92

determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals and all affirmative action to improve the quality of life of our people will be subject to an omnipresent white veto," he said, adding: "We cannot participate under these circumstances — we don't believe in majority rule that is not majority rule."

Sapa reports from Umtata that military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described

(11B) (30/3)

□ From Page 1

government's proposals as shocking and negative. The interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a window-dressing exercise, he said.

Holomisa said government should be given a deadline by which it had to offer more acceptable proposals.

● See Page 8

ANC has 'hit squad' Buthelezi charges

CT 25/3/92 (2) (118)

ULUNDI. — The ANC has made a decision to hunt down and kill the 200 members of the Inkatha Freedom Party who were trained at Mkuze to protect VIPs and government installations, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has alleged.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said a "hit squad" had been organised to operate from Eshowe to kill IFP leaders.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC had moved a platoon of uMkhonto we-Sizwe, its military wing, into the KwaZulu area to do the killing that had taken place.

After Mr Winnington Sabelo, the former member of the Assembly for

Umlazi, was murdered, he had received additional information about the names of other IFP leaders also on the "hit list", Chief Buthelezi said.

He expressed doubt about a meeting between the ANC's national executive and the IFP's central committee because of statements by Mr Nelson Mandela about the IFP's culpability in township violence.

The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation is to sit urgently in Pretoria on Friday to try to establish sources of the IFP allegations.

• Responding to IFP allegation last night ANC spokesman Mr Sakki Mazonoma said his organisation rejected the IFP claim with contempt. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

'Terror campaign' to be investigated

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Goldstone Commission on political violence is to meet urgently on Friday to ask the IFP to verify allegations it made yesterday that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance is about to launch a terror campaign against the IFP on the Reef.

The IFP's Transvaal leadership would have to provide the commission with information about its allegations, Mr Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, said yesterday.

He appealed to the public, and especially the IFP, not to act on the unsubstantiated rumours in the meantime.

Attacks on Zulu-speakers and hostel dwellers would increase from today, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference at Codesa, he claimed the IFP had information that "certain people" were collecting guns which had been stockpiled in their "tens of thousands" in the eastern Transvaal and on the East and West Rand.

He said the IFP believed the guns would be used against Zulu-speakers and Zulu hostel dwellers.

Dr Mdlalose and Dr Ben Ngubane, an IFP central committee member and KwaZulu's Minister of Health, alleged that violence had increased since SACP general-secretary Chris Hani addressed a rally in Empangeni recently.

"We can't go on at great speed at Codesa if our leaders are killed," said Dr Ngubane. It was the duty of the State to pro-

tect all citizens, but because of the nature of the attacks, police were unable to protect everybody. It was therefore the duty of the Government to disband the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he added.

Contacted by The Star, Mr Hani denied the allegations. He said there had been violence in the Empangeni area before he addressed the rally.

He said he had been prevented from entering the township by armed IFP members, and that the violence in the area was directed against ANC and Cosatu members.

● The PAC announced yesterday that it would embark on a campaign aimed at ending the slaughter on Reef trains.

National campaigns committee chairman Ntsudeni Madzunya said the programme entailed a boycott of trains and a national work stayaway.

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IFP in Alexandra rejects planned protest march

STAR 25/3/92

By Stan Hlophe (116) (208)

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Alexandra branch has dissociated itself from a residents' march on the township's police station and municipality tomorrow to protest against ongoing violence in the area.

Several organisations announced last week that residents would stay away from work tomorrow to deliver a petition to the police and town council.

Hostel closure

The protest was decided upon at a meeting of the local peace committee — comprising representatives of the ANC, PAC, Azapo, IFP, and women's and business organisations.

Residents will demand the closure of the Madala hostel; more frequent police patrols in the township; the setting up of a mobile police station near the hostel; and that the authorities remove the "unknown" people who occupied the dwellings of about 500 families who fled the area fearing renewed attacks.

In a statement yesterday, the IFP branch said it rejected the demand for the closure of the hostel and the removal of the

occupants of the dwellings.

"The planned stayaway is totally rejected by the IFP.

"Once again, the IFP regards this decision as provocative and unconstructive. The peace committee should adopt initiatives which embrace the entire Alexandra community..."

The IFP said it seemed that "certain elements within the Alexandra peace committee" were manipulating the structure to pursue their own personal agendas.

They seemed "intent on marginalising the IFP in peace efforts" in Alexandra.

"The IFP remains committed to achieving genuine and lasting peace in Alexandra but refuses to be part of campaigns that are diametrically opposed to attainment of that goal."

The IFP said violence in the township could be stopped if all residents were genuinely committed to peace, rather than by expecting the police to take sole responsibility for the community's security.

The IFP said it remained in favour of negotiations to resolve the conflict in Alexandra even though its members were the victims of intimidation and attacks.

Buthelezi rejects Government plan

Sowetan 25/3/92

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the Government's transitional proposals, saying KwaZulu's interests were not considered when the proposals were drawn up.

In a statement released at the World Trade Centre, Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said that through this proposal a new South Africa was being fashioned without KwaZulu being consulted or even drawn into the whole process.

He said the transitional councils proposed by the Government would in effect be a legislator which included representation from the four TBVC states, but not KwaZulu.

KwaZulu would not be dictated to by TBVC states in committees and in councils from which it was excluded.

He rejected the proposed establishment of a transitional government or constituent assembly and the holding of elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.

The statement said the KwaZulu government's recent compromise to forgo its position at Codesa in favour of that of the Zulu king had been rejected and that, therefore, demands were again being made that the KwaZulu government, the IFP and the king of the Zulus all be represented at Codesa. - *South African Press Association.*

ANC, SACP out to get us, claims IFP's Mdlalose

Soweto 25/3/92

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday claimed the ANC and the SA Communist Party were planning to attack its members in Alexandra Township and Soweto.

The organisation claimed the alleged attacks, planned to start today and expected to last four days,

were aimed at driving its members out of the townships.

But ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma rejected the allegations, saying it was clear the organisation was afraid of the "democratic transformation taking place in the country".

The allegations coincide

with the call by the Alexandra Peace Committee for a stayaway in the township today to demand the closure of the Madala Hostel, perceived by the committee as a source of most of the violence in the area.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg

yesterday, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose claimed the ANC/SACP planned to launch further attacks on the survivors of the alleged onslaught during the Easter holidays.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention

of Violence and Intimidation is to sit in Pretoria on Friday to try and establish sources of allegations made by the IFP.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said he had received a report that a statement had been issued concerning the campaign.



ANC, SACP out to get us, claims IFP's Mdlalose

IIA
Soweto
25/3/92

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Buthelezi attacks NP proposals

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

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Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has launched a stinging attack on the Government's latest proposals for the transition period, labelling them "a constitutional vehicle designed to trample and drive all over KwaZulu".

He threatened "bold and high-profile countrywide action" if KwaZulu was excluded from Codesa decision-making.

The development — described by a National Party source as a "bolt from the blue" — came immediately after the sharp rejection of Government proposals by the ANC and SA Communist Party.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks were made in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday.

STAR 25/3/92

They caused a stir at Codesa, where delegates met in the working group charged with securing agreement on a structural "package" for the run-up to non-racial elections.

Government proposals provide for transitional councils as a step towards transitional government.

The ANC/SACP alliance rejected them because the councils would have advisory, not executive, powers. Chief Buthelezi objected to the fact that they could make decisions about KwaZulu's future without its approval.

Democratic Party delegate Ken Andrew suggested a way out of the impasse. It included proposals that a transitional executive structure should include a transitional executive council

and a number of multiparty committees, with effective and not merely advisory powers.

In other developments:

● Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said a sub-committee had heard evidence on the possible participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

● The ANC proposed the appointment by Codesa of a media commission which would appoint an "independent communications authority" to take over State broadcasting powers.

● The ANC proposed a multiparty "national council for democracy" to compile an education programme for transition.

● A sub-committee yesterday explored co-operation between Codesa and the National Peace Committee.

'Myeni to answer for AWB pact'

By Esther Vaughn
Political Reporter



Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party leader Musa Myeni would have to answer to the party's central committee for promoting a non-aggression pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly it was a matter of considerable pain to him that the media were

beating him with an "Myeni stick — whom I have nurtured from youth onwards — instead of feeling deep disappointment with me and sharing my pain at being misrepresented by somebody whom I had helped along the road of life".

He said the media were attempting to beat "a pained Buthelezi with a gleeful Myeni".

However, Chief Buthelezi warned: "It may not be like that. Mr Myeni will still

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have to be answerable to the IFP's committee."

Turning to Codesa, Chief Buthelezi said the forum had progressed too far to delay any further the admission of King Goodwill Zwelithini.

He attacked ANC president Nelson Mandela for continuing to be "provocative and talking in a way that really provokes anger" by saying the Zulu king's attendance had been handled by the IFP in a manner which created enmity among

traditional leaders.

Chief Buthelezi countered that the only enmity had been caused by the ANC whipping up opposition to the IFP's campaign for the king's inclusion.

He also noted that Mr Mandela had not paid his respects to King Zwelithini since he had been released from prison and failed to keep appointments made for him to see the king.

Chief Buthelezi warned: "His Majesty will not go

without KwaZulu and KwaZulu will not go without His Majesty."

Codesa decisions would not be binding if the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government were excluded.

"The Government and the ANC want His Majesty and KwaZulu out of the negotiating arena because they want to dispose of things without us, which they know they will never be able to dispose of if we were present."

ADVERTISING

The R10m binge

FM 27/3/92

(11B)
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The referendum was certainly good for the advertising industry. At least R10m was splurged on urging people to vote Yes, No or merely to vote at all in the three weeks of the campaign, calculates Media Shop media director John Barham.

Considering that much of the advertising was placed at discounted rates, the exposure value was almost certainly higher than R10m, says Barham. Some was still being spent after the vote to say "thanks" or "thank goodness."

But was advertising good for the referendum? The quality was mixed, but its sheer volume must have had an enormous impact, believes Elliot Schwartz, MD of SBBW. "The presence of the advertising was a lot more important than its substance," he says. "That must have shaken a lot of people out of their lethargy."

Schwartz wonders, though, why negative comparisons are allowed in political advertising, but not in commercial advertising.

A feature was the extent to which the business sector threw its weight behind the Yes campaign. Collectively, businessmen backed the Private Sector Referendum Fund and Bob Rightford's "Group of Concerned South Africans", which was one of the few to overtly adopt a moralistic stance. "Imagine the shame of being expelled from the Family of Man" was its message.

Individual companies also leaped on to the bandwagon, ignoring the dangers of alienating consumers at a stage when it was not clear how small the negative vote would be.

Kelloggs, Engen, Protea Assurance, Sage Life and the American Chamber of Commerce were among the many businesses which bought space to support a Yes vote. Vantage Pension Administrators, perhaps confident that a high poll would translate into a Yes vote, seemed to echo the neutral stance of the SA Communication Service in simply urging people to vote.

And Radio 702, which had drawn some flak over the pro-Yes stand of some of its broadcasters and possibly intimidated by a flood of No-voting callers, took a firmly fence-sitting position in its ads, proclaiming itself as a station which allows the free expression of opinion by both sides.

Which is all very admirable. Except that a government representing No-voters would probably close down media which allowed that same freedom to its opponents.

Nay-sayers were few and far between in the advertising columns, though an individual in La Rochelle placed a small ad complaining, "My house burgled, neighbour murdered, office burgled, car broken into. Is this FW's new SA? Vote No."

At least he knew where he stood. Another confused individual placed a half-page urging people to register their protest by voting both Yes and No.

Everyone or else, warns Inkatha

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS are still being held hostage by politics, it emerged powerfully from last week's Old Mutual-Nebank economic forum.

"Mark my words," said Inkatha's Mr Musa Myeni, in an ominous warning during a panel discussion.

"An interim government must be accepted by the majority of the people. If this is not so, there will be absolute resistance against that transitional government.

"Rather than creating any climate for a new constitution, it will be preoccupied by managing the crisis."

Less than a week after signing a pact with the AWB, Inkatha's controversial head of international relations was sounding off to Cape Town's business community.

Myeni, who last year warned of thousands of armed Zulus being mobilised, declared: "There is a need for all those parties to ensure that violence comes to an end."

He said: "The 'yes' vote hasn't changed anything except to give the government the assurance that it still has majority support among whites. This will be undermined by continued violence, and it will also undermine international interest and investment."

"Codesa is very flawed," proclaimed Myeni. "Rushing the process is going to be counterproductive. We need now to pause at Codesa and take stock. We must produce mechanisms that will bring in other groups not currently participating in Codesa."

ANC representative Mr Tito Mboweni proved more conciliatory.

He said that the result of the referendum had removed from the political scene any excuse on the part of the government for lack of progress.

But he cautioned: "If Mr De Klerk goes to Codesa brandishing kragdadigheid, it will destroy the results of the referendum."

Codesa now had to move ahead in April to set up a joint executive committee and an interim government.

The 'yes' vote would give impetus to the negotiation process, "but the international community is not naive. It is aware that the issues are not the referendum, but democracy in South Africa," Mboweni said.

South 28/3-2/4/92

11B



IFP taken to task over 'ANC terror'

113

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THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was rapped over the knuckles this week in a remarkable statement by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

Issued by Mr Justice RJ Goldstone, chairperson of the commission, the statement responds to Transvaal IFP claims about "underground ANC structures" about to launch a "terror campaign" against Inkatha leaders and residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels.

Because of the seriousness of the allegations the Commission will meet urgently on Friday when the

IFP in the Transvaal will be required to disclose the sources of allegations to the commission.

"In the meantime I would appeal to the public and in particular members of the IFP not to act on what are at this time unsubstantiated allegations," said the judge.

The alleged plan, according to the IFP, was being "engineered by MK commanders in Soweto".

The judge said: "The IFP statement contains other very serious allegations concerning the 'terror campaign' which I consider not to be in the public interest to repeat".

— Sapa



Police colluding with IFP - claim

By SOPHIE TEMA

27/3/92 (11B)

SCORES of residents from Orlando West were yesterday accompanied by youths in a march to the Meadowlands Police Station to protest against police brutality and harassment.

The residents also raised their grievances at the number of adults and youths that have been killed by alleged IFP members who live at Meadowlands Hostel.

CIPRESS 29/3/92

A memorandum listing their grievances was handed to the station commander, Lt JCPF Lock by Orlando West Civic Association chairman, West Shabangu.

After handing over the memorandum, Shabangu appealed to Lt Lock to stop police interference in the violence that has raged between residents and IFP members in the past few months.

Shabangu addressed two police officials, Lt Lock and Captain Cedric O'Farrel, and told them he had proof that police were involved in assisting the IFP in acts of violence.

He told them that two weeks ago four youths from Orlando West were abducted by police and taken to the Meadowlands Hostel, where two of them were killed and the other two escaped with serious injuries.

Shabangu said that on Thursday last week he and other members of the civic association were called to the Meadowlands Hostel. They arrived just in time to save a young boy who had been abducted by a policeman and handed over to IFP members from being killed.

"We received information from eyewitnesses that a young boy had been abducted by a policeman and taken to the Meadowlands hostel.

"We rushed to the hostel and arrived just as the boy was being abused by Inkatha members.

"I believe that if we had not arrived at that time the boy would have been killed."

Shabangu told police officials that the civic association had the name of the policeman who had abducted the boy and the registration number of his vehicle.

In reply Lt Lock told Shabangu that he could not comment on the matter nor on the memorandum, which he would forward to the district commissioner of police.

In their memorandum the residents called for an end to the existence of hostels in their present form, and demanded that they were converted into family homes.

Court ejects rowdy Inkatha supporters

By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

118
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21/05/92
29/3/92

ABOUT 200 people, many wearing Inkatha Freedom Party T-shirts, were ordered out of the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this week because they were causing a disturbance.

It took the interpreter and two court orderlies 45 minutes to get them out, but the group then went to another courtroom, where they were again told to leave.

After the commotion, Icam Bongani Mazibuko, 24, Xolani Michael Mnguni, 26, and Phineas Bonginkosi Tshabalala, 24, who all stay in the Merafe Hostel, finally appeared on a charge of attempted murder following last Thursday's train attacks.

The hearing was postponed to April 24. Their bail application will be heard on March 31. After the court adjourned the ejected spectators toyified in the street.

Foreign team targets Buthelezi

CITY PRESS

29/3/92

11/8

A TEAM of foreign civil rights lawyers, having completed a two-week visit to SA, yesterday blamed Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for much of the escalation of violence in black townships.

The team recommended that the Kwazulu Police be placed under SA Police command.

In its preliminary report on its mission here, the International Commission of Jurists team also said the ANC had stepped up violent attacks since September last year.

"It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one-person one-

vote basis today in the parts of SA we have visited," they told a news conference.

"We believe South Africans should consider inviting an international election monitoring team to supervise the run-up to elections, as well as the election process itself."

In the past four weeks more than 300 people have been killed in political violence and government negotiators have called on black politicians to establish peace if constitutional talks are to advance.

The five-man team said the KZP was biased against foes of the IFP and flagrantly joined in

attacks on township residents in strife-torn Natal.

They said they had toured hostels and are "satisfied that many day used as Inkatha barracks".

"It is our view that Chief Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence."

But they pointed out that the ANC had resorted to more violence since the first mission of the team in September last year.

The team said violence had increased since last September, but added that the government had shown signs of commitment to ending violence. The mission said more deaths

in train attacks could have been averted if the authorities had deployed troops months ago as they had done in the past few days.

They urged the government to continue deploying troops on railway stations.

In other proposals, the team said political leaders, especially leaders of the ANC and IFP, should promote the national peace accord on the grassroots level.

Hostels should be searched, inmates disarmed and the compounds replaced by homes for families and unmarried people. - Sapa

Terror plot was

'hearsay'

^{C1 Press 29/3/92}
'ANC battle story
came from cop
2 cleaning ladies

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE and Sapa

ALLEGATIONS by the Inkatha Freedom Party that the ANC was plotting a "terror campaign" against its members were all hearsay, the Goldstone Commission heard this week.

The IFP had based the allegations on unverified information received from two cleaning ladies, an unknown man from Rustenburg and an unknown policeman.

This emerged on Friday in a special sitting of the commission charged with the prevention of public violence and intimidation.



MUSA MYENI

The one-day sitting of the commission in Pretoria was called urgently by Justice Goldstone following public allegations by the IFP leadership earlier this week that the ANC/SACP alliance planned to launch a terror campaign against IFP leaders, members and supporters and in particular residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels on the Reef.

IFP Transvaal leader Musa Myeni admitted to the commission he had not verified the information which he had received from the organisation's West Rand chair-

man John Mlangeni and an IFP member in Alexandra who had heard it from a policeman. The commission may convene again to hear the policeman's version.

According to the information the ANC/SACP was to attack houses belonging to IFP members and supporters, destroy hostels where IFP members lived and attack members travelling by bus from the Transvaal to Natal.

Myeni said his worst fears had been confirmed by reports that ANC Youth League general secretary Rapu Molekane had been arrested in Soweto, allegedly for possessing illegal firearms.

Myeni also told the commission he was further vindicated by the fact residents had marched on Madala hostel in Alexandra, resulting in the injury of 100 people.

ANC deputy commander and acting Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Siphwe "Gebuza" Nyanda told the commission that information contained in the IFP press statement was untrue.

Said Nyanda: "It is very strange that a man of Myeni's calibre and intelligence used the information in the way he did.

"The allegations are totally untrue, and amount to incitement."

With regard to the arms and ammunition allegedly found in the possession of Molekane, he said the Pretoria Minute recognised that the ANC had arms caches in the country. "But we are not using these to attack anybody."

He said MK remained committed to the Peace Accord.

Myeni admitted that the effect of the statement could have been inflammatory, but he had only intended it to alert people of possible dangers.

Myeni admitted that he had not alerted IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi or IFP Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose to the fact that the information came from two cleaning ladies, an unknown man from Rustenburg and an unknown policeman.

Justice Goldstone said the commission would report to the State President on the issue as a matter of urgency.

Killings: Inkatha blamed

By SHARON CHETTY

A FIVE-MAN delegation of international civil rights lawyers has blamed Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the escalation of violence in black townships. (113)

The lawyers, from the International Commission of Jurists, yesterday ended a two-week fact-finding mission to SA.

The jurists said they had predicted earlier that Inkatha would continue to lose support unless Chief Buthelezi "asserts his authority and controls the excesses of his supporters, and in particular the war lords".

They recommended that troops armed with metal detectors be deployed on trains to search commuters in an effort to end attacks on commuters, that the Kwazulu police be placed under South African police command and that hostels be searched and hostel dwellers disarmed.

Violence: Jurists blame Buthelezi

CT 30/6/92

(118) (119)

JOHANNESBURG — A team of civil rights lawyers from overseas have blamed the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for the escalation of violence in black townships. They recommended that Kwazulu police be placed under South African Police command.

In their preliminary report after their two-week mission here, the International Commission of Jurists team also said the African National Congress had stepped up violent attacks since last September.

Supervision

"It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one person, one vote basis today in the parts of South Africa we have visited," they told a news conference in Johannesburg.

"We believe that South Africans should consider inviting an international election monitoring team to supervise the run-up to elections, as well as the election process itself," they said.

In the past four weeks more than 300 people have been killed in political violence, and government negotiators have called on black politicians to establish peace if constitutional talks are to advance.

The five-man ICJ team said the KwaZulu Police were biased against foes of the Inkatha Freedom Party and flagrantly joined in attacks on township residents in strife-torn Natal.

"There is overwhelming evidence that they are one-sided and openly

Violence toll 14 at weekend

PRETORIA — Fourteen people were killed in countrywide violence at the weekend, according to police and medical reports.

Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, recorded eight deaths late on Friday and on Saturday. Twenty-seven people were injured in the township, which has seen a resurgence in violence in the past three weeks.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed three people were killed when unidentified assailants in a minibus sprayed AK-47 bullets at residents at random.

In the Transvaal, late on Friday, police found the bodies of two unidentified men at Orlando West in Soweto and Vosloorus near Alberton. They had been shot.

At Mashana Reserve, near Empangeni, four people died in separate incidents late on Friday and early on Saturday.

A man was stabbed to death, a woman was shot and killed by unidentified gunmen, another man was stabbed to death by a group and the body of a man with gunshot wounds was found, police said. — Sapa

join in attacks by members of Inkatha on people in their homes," the jurists said in the preliminary report.

They said they had toured hostels, "and we are satisfied that many hostels in the Transvaal are today used as Inkatha barracks".

"It is our view that Chief Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence."

But they pointed out that the ANC had resorted to more violence since the first mission of the ICJ in September last year.

"We are also satisfied that the amount of violence caused by the ANC has increased since we were last here." — Sapa

Violence: Buthelezi 'to blame'



Sowetan 30/3/92

A TEAM of civil rights lawyers from overseas on Saturday blamed Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the escalation of violence in black townships.

The lawyers recommended that KwaZulu Police be placed under South African Police command.

But in its preliminary report on its two-week mission here, the International Commission of Jurists team said the African National Congress had stepped up violent attacks since September last year.

"It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one-person, one-vote basis today in the parts of South Africa we have visited," they told a news conference in Johannesburg on Saturday.

"We believe that South Africans should consider inviting an international election monitoring team to supervise the run-up to elections, as well as the election process itself," they said.

In the past four weeks more than 300 people have been killed in political violence and Government negotiators have called on black politicians to establish peace if constitutional talks are to advance.

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**MANGOSUTHU
BUTHELEZI**

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"It is our view that Chief Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence."

But they pointed out that the ANC had resorted to more violence since the first mission of the ICJ in September last year.

"We are also satisfied that the amount of violence caused by the ANC has increased since we were last here. In the absence of the effective enforcement of the laws, this perhaps is inevitable."

The team said violence had increased in the country since last September but added that the Government had shown signs of commitment to ending violence.

"The Government appears now to be committed to playing their full part in bringing violence to an end," they said.

The mission said more deaths in train attacks could have been averted

if the authorities had deployed troops months ago as they had done in the past few days.

"Legislation in respect of dangerous weapons in recent years has lacked any coherence... We think the Government made a mistake in ducking the issue of dangerous weapons."

The Government recently banned the carrying of weapons on trains in the latest measure to halt the mayhem on commuter trains.

In its recommendations, the ICJ team said KwaZulu Police should be brought under a unified South African command. It said South African Police officers had been sympathetic to this proposal.

They also urged the Government to continue deploying troops on railway stations.

"This will work, it requires greater political will than the Government has shown so far."

In other proposals, the team said political leaders, especially leaders of the ANC and Inkatha should promote the National Peace Accord at grass-roots level.

Hostels should be searched and inmates disarmed and the compounds be replaced by homes for families and unmarried people.

The ICJ team included Mr Adama Dieng, from Senegal, who led the delegation; British lawyer John MacDonald, former Zimbabwean Chief Justice; Enoch Dumbutshena, Swedish lawyer Christian Ahlund and Ghanaian lawyer Philipp Amoah. - Sapa.

IFP rumours were 'propaganda'

ALLEGATIONS that the ANC and the SA Communist Party planned to assassinate IFP leaders, destroy hostels and kill Zulus was political propaganda and an incitement to murder.

Testifying last Friday before the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation, ANC deputy commander and acting Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Sipiwe Nyanda dismissed the allegations as untrue and unsubstantiated.

The urgent sitting in Pretoria was called following allegations by the IFP that the ANC/SACP alliance were planning a terror campaign against its members.

Inkatha leader Mr Musa Myeni said he had received this information from West Rand chairman, Mr John Mlangeni. Mlangeni had said he had been told about the alleged imminent attacks by two women cleaners and an

By MONK NKOMO

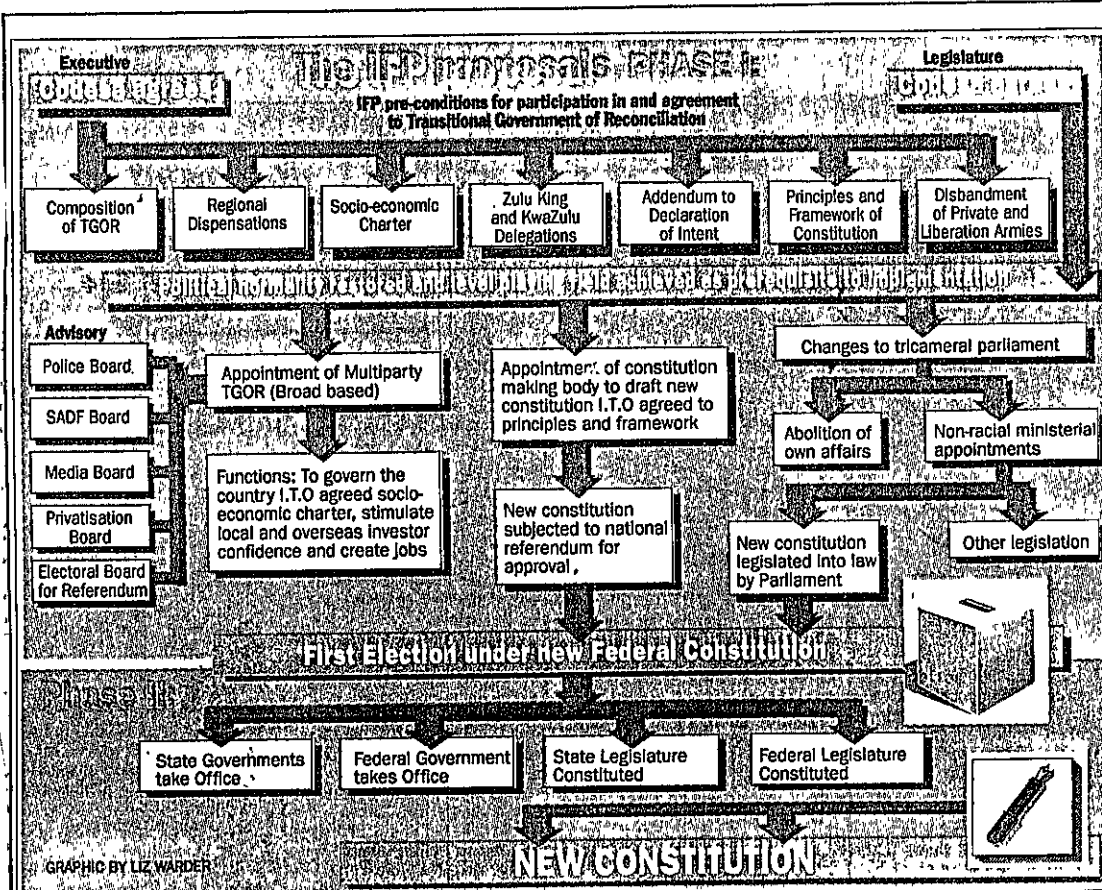
Sowetan 30/3/92 11/13

unnamed IFP member in Rustenburg. Questioned by Mr Justice Goldstone, both men admitted they did not take any initiative to verify this information.

Nyanda said the ANC investigated the allegations and found they were untrue. The ANC had arms caches in the country, but did not intend using them for this purpose in accordance with the provisions of the Pretoria Minute.

Asked by Mr Justice Goldstone to comment on the evidence given by Myeni and Mlangeni, Nyanda said: "It is very strange that a man of Myeni's calibre and intelligence could use unsubstantiated information the way he did."

C



IFP gives its vision of future

STAR 31/3/92 118

THE INKATHA Freedom Party's proposals are now on the table, ready to be compared and contrasted with those of the ANC and the NP. There are differences in emphasis and principle between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

The publication of the proposals for a "transitional government of reconciliation" (TGOR) confirms that three major parties to Codesa are now in full agreement on the need for a two-phase transition. The beginning of that transition — consensus at Codesa — and the end — a new constitution — are also agreed upon.

The IFP foresees an executive structure comprising a multiparty Cabinet, under the chairmanship of the incumbent State President. This structure would be responsible to the tricameral legislature, reconstituted as a single body.

The Cabinet's composition, still to be negotiated, would be inclusive of both major and minor participants at Codesa.

Included in the key functions of the executive would be the implementation of a socio-economic charter; supervision of a constitution-making forum; the broadening of representation in the civil service; creation and

Following the ANC and Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party has released its detailed proposals for transitional rule before a constitution is drawn up. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON summarises the key points of the plan.

strengthening of regional structures; and assumption of all functions of the ministers' councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

In effect, the TGOR would for a limited period exercise executive, but not legislative, power. This, according to the IFP, would ensure unbroken continuity of government and the constitution until agreement on a new constitution is reached.

The IFP foresees a possible role for advisory boards regarding areas such as the police, the SADF, public media, privatisation, and regional and local government.

Legislative functions would be fulfilled by a unicameral body drawn from the current tricameral structure. This would involve the only envisaged change to the present constitution, but an interim bill of rights could be enacted as an addition.

The IFP envisages only one election, taking place once the

negotiation process is complete and a new federal constitution is in place. At this election, representatives at "State and federal" level would be chosen.

The status of the "Independent" and self-governing homelands would undergo no change in terms of the IFP plan, save for that which is specifically agreed to by themselves.

The IFP does not want the interim structure to become a constitution-making body, preferring "(that body) to be strongly composed of specialists... Their task would be to flesh out in detailed form the principles and framework already agreed upon by the negotiating parties at Codesa.

"There is therefore no need for an elected constitution-making body."

The IFP does not rule out the possibility of Codesa becoming the constitution-making body, but insists that the negotiating forum would first have to be made more inclusive — this is a clear reference to the contro-

versy over the exclusion of delegations for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government.

According to the proposals, the role — if any — of the international community in South Africa's transition should be heavily circumscribed; essentially, advice based on experience is what is envisaged.

The IFP opposes any supervisory function for the international community "South Africans should have the maturity to do so without the mediation or intervention of foreigners."

As is clear from the accompanying diagram, the IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions — without the fulfilment of which the IFP will not support the installation of interim structures. Because of the sensitivity of some of these, IFP strategists do not think the interim structure could feasibly be in place before the end of the first quarter of 1993.

Working group 3, which deals with the key matter of a "transitional package", is adjourned while delegates consult their principals. When delegates reassemble next week, their task will be to extract from the three plans on the table those points that are reconcilable — and find ways of negotiating around those that are not. □

New hope that IFP, Bop govt will sign declaration

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAT 11/4/92

Codesa's management committee has agreed on an addendum to the negotiating forum's crucial Declaration of Intent, raising hopes that the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will now agree to sign the document.

The two delegations refused to sign the declaration at Codesa 1 in December.

The proposed addendum states that no provision in the declaration favours or precludes the adoption of any particular constitutional model — whether it be federal, unitary or confederal.

The IFP had voiced strong concerns about the declaration's apparent emphasis on a unitary future for South Africa.

The addendum states that the declaration does not prevent any delegate from propagating that the powers between a central government and the re-

gions be separated.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the addendum was a signal to groups not taking part in Codesa that the management committee was amenable to removing obstacles to enable them to take part.

Codesa represented the only process able to bring together all the parties wanting a peaceful settlement, he said.

The management committee was gathering information on groups which have applied to join Codesa and would make a decision "well before" Codesa 2 takes place next month.

An application by the Basothuland National Party of Lesotho to join the talks had been refused, he added.

On the possible participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders, Mr Gordhan said a committee investigating the matter was "fairly confident" it would be resolved within the next two weeks.

After considering various options, the management committee on Monday decided that Co-

desa 2 would be held on May 15 and May 16. The full sitting of Codesa would consider reports from the management committee and the working groups, he said.

● Mr Gordhan also announced that a seven-person multiparty Codesa team would observe the British general elections as guests of the British government.

It would be a valuable experience for delegates at South Africa's negotiating forum to observe free and fair elections, he said.

The group, led by Mr Gordhan, includes Peter Hendrickse of the Labour Party, N J Mahlangu of the Intando we Sizwe Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP, Professor Selby Ripinga of the Inyandza National Movement, the National Party's George Bartlett and Janet Love of the Codesa secretariat.

The management committee has also agreed to establish a gender advisory committee to advise on the gender implications of the terms of reference of each of the five working groups.

IFP proposals now on the table

Sowetan 1/4/92

11B



Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals are now on the table, ready to be compared and contrasted with those of the ANC and the NP.

There are differences in emphasis and, in some crucial areas, principle, between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

The publication of the proposals for a *Transitional Government of Reconciliation* (TGOR) confirms that three major parties to Codesa are now in full

The Inkatha Freedom Party has released its proposals for transitional rule. A Sowetan Correspondent summarises the key points of the plan.

agreement on the need for a two-phase transition.

The beginning of that transition — consensus at Codesa — and the end, a new constitution, are also agreed.

The IFP foresees an executive structure comprising a multiparty cabinet, under the chairmanship of the incumbent State President. This structure would be responsible to the tricameral legislature, recon-

stituted as a single body.

The cabinet's composition, still to be negotiated, would be inclusive of both major and minor participants at Codesa.

Included in the key functions of the executive would be the implementation of a socio-economic charter; supervision of a constitution-making forum; the broadening of representation in the civil service; creation and strength-

ening of regional structures; and assumption of all functions of the ministers' councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

In effect, the TGOR would for a limited period exercise executive, but not legislative power. This, according to the IFP, would ensure unbroken continuity of government and the constitution until agreement on a new constitution is reached.

The IFP foresees a possible role for advisory boards regarding areas such as the police, the SADF, public media, privatisation, and regional and local government.

Legislative functions would be fulfilled by a unicameral body drawn from the current tricameral structure. This would involve the only envisaged change to the present constitution, but an interim Bill of Rights could be enacted as an addition.

The IFP envisages only one election, taking place once the negotiations process is complete and a new federal constitution is in place. At this election, representatives at "state and federal" level would be chosen.

The status of the "independent" and self-governing homelands would undergo no change in terms of the IFP plan, save for that which is specifically agreed to by themselves.

The IFP does not want the interim structure to become a constitution-making body, preferring "(that body) to be strongly composed of specialists. Their task would be to flesh out in detailed form the principles and framework already agreed upon by the

negotiating parties at Codesa".

"There is therefore no need for an elected constitution-making body."

The IFP does not rule out the possibility of Codesa becoming the constitution-making body, but insists that the negotiating forum would first have to become more inclusive — this is a clear reference to the controversy over the exclusion of delegations for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government.

According to the proposals, the role — if any — of the international community in South Africa's transition should be heavily circumscribed — essentially, advice based on experience is what is envisaged.

The IFP opposes any supervisory function for the international community: "South Africans should have the maturity to do so without the mediation or intervention of foreigners."

The IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions — without the fulfilment of which, the IFP will not support the installation of interim structures. Because of the sensitivity of some of these, IFP strategists do not think the interim structure could feasibly be in place before the end of the first quarter of 1993.

Working Group 3, which deals with the key matter of a "transitional package" is temporarily adjourned. When delegates reassemble next week, their task will be to extract from the three plans on the table those points that are reconcilable — and find ways of negotiating around those that are not.



The East Rand branch of Inkatha marches to a meeting at the Tokoza Hall. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU.

Jurists' report part of ANC plan against IFP, Ciskei tells chief

STAR 2/4/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor



Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo ... takes swipe at the ANC.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... described as a brother and friend.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given his full support to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and simultaneously launched an extraordinary attack on the ANC.

In a letter directed to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — which was released for publication from Ulundi yesterday — Brigadier Gqozo congratulates the KwaZulu leader for his response to the recent findings of the “so-called International Commission of Jurists (ICJ)”.

The ICJ published a report this week which was highly critical of the IFP's role in Natal violence.

Brigadier Gqozo writes to Chief Buthelezi: “Your handling of the situation was ... absolutely brilliant.”

“I was once again extremely glad to be able to call you a brother and a friend,” he said.

“I was also reassured of my admiration for you since my childhood days.”

Brigadier Gqozo said it was “obvious that (Chief Buthelezi) is a primary target of the ANC and that the elimination of your IFP forms an integral part of an orchestrated plan.”

“The recent despicable action to use the international jurists in order to once again attack the IFP is clearly part of that plan.”

Congratulating Chief Buthelezi on his rejection of the ICJ report, Brigadier Gqozo writes: “You have reflected the sentiments of the many South Africans who are fed up with the wicked ways of the ANC.”

“You have once again stood up to expose the ANC for the subversive and corrupt organisation it is.”

Myopic

“I trust that all peace-loving South Africans have been convinced that the people who use such dubious means to score political points should never be allowed to run this country.”

“The ANC's actions demonstrate to all of us how morally bankrupt and politically myopic they are.”

Brigadier Gqozo concludes: “I thank you and your party for your unwavering stand against the evil forces who are bent on destroying our country.”

“I thank you in particular for the co-operation and support you are rendering to me and my government ... Rest assured of our full support.”

IFP proposals for rebuilding economy

Sowetan
2/4/92

11B

11B

By IKE MOTSAPI
AS South Africa prepares to enter into a new democratic era the big question that is on the lips of everyone is "How are we going to rebuild the economy?"

This topic has been a focal point for debate by politicians, trade unions, intellectuals, the Government and interested parties.

Recently, the Congress of South African Trade Unions has been up in arms against the Government, accusing it of negotiating a new dispensation for a nonracial democratic South Africa in bad faith.

Cosatu alleges that the Government is going it alone in trying to rebuild the country's economy without consulting its negotiating partners.

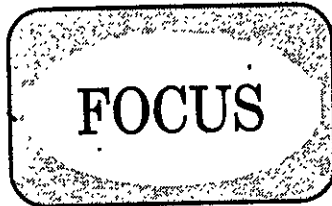
The federation's gripe against the Government is also based on the fact that a delegation from the International Monetary Fund has been here to advise the Cabinet on matters relating to how best to restructure the economy with a view of achieving optimum growth.

The economy of every country is crucial for the survival of its people.

While the debate and anger among opposition groups simmers, various people have presented different views on the subject.

A long-time opponent of sanctions, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently told the Vereeniging Afrikaanse Sakekamer he believes that South Africa must establish a multiparty democracy based firmly on the foundations of an "enterprise-driven" economy.

He said the development of democracy and economic development must be "two legs striding one with the other, taking South Africa into the future".



"The free enterprise system is the finest system that mankind has devised to turn the dirt of the soil, as I always put it, into wealth," Buthelezi told the audience.

"This is now global knowledge and we must apply it here.

"We believe that we must never again allow any South African government to develop the monolithic powers that successive National Party governments accumulated around themselves. The reliance on power by a state is the surest index of its political poverty."

Influence

Buthelezi said the new government should make sure that economic policies are always evaluated against the strengths and weaknesses of the economy it wishes to influence.

"We want a massive devolution of power down to regional governments whose constitutions and whose independent tax bases should be protected by entrenched clauses in the constitution.

"This division of power, these entrenched clauses in the constitution, a truly independent judiciary, the rule of law and all-pervading spirit of contract in the new South Africa, will provide the circumstances in which the captains of commerce, mining, banking and industry will be able to do justice to the vision of entrepreneurs and investors.

"As a result of unequal development in the past, South Africa comprises both first and third world sectors. The first world component consists of a well developed

economic base, a comprehensive communications and infrastructure and a sophisticated financial system.

"The third world component is confined to the poorer black majority and is indicated by high infant mortality, poor health, welfare services, housing, educational facilities and infrastructure."

Buthelezi listed the following factors as the major areas of concern:

- High unemployment rate;
- Unacceptable levels of poverty;
- Unequal distribution of wealth;
- The state's skewed allocation of resources is also on a racial basis;
- Urbanisation pressures;
- Negative growth of the economy;
- Inconsistent monetary policy;
- Lax fiscal policy;
- Stubborn inflation;
- Over-intervention by the state in the economy;
- High cost of protection; and
- Uncompetitiveness of the South African economy.

What can be done to correct those wrongs?

In answer to this question Buthelezi said the IFP advocates a modern, market-driven industrial economy in order to meet the requirement of eliminating poverty and providing the growth necessary for wealth creation and to ensure a decent standard of living for all.

He said in order to rebuild the economy that would produce desired results, the following economic principles should be adopted:

- Private ownership of property and the means of production;
- Allowing market forces freedom in the economy;
- Minimum intervention in the economy by the state;
- State's role in the economy to

be facilitative and regulatory;

- The promotion of competition in the economy;
- Pragmatism in dealing with inequalities and imbalances;
- The elimination of race and gender discrimination in the economy;
- The development of human potential of all South Africans;
- Recognition of inter-dependence in all decision making;
- Equal opportunities for all participants in the economy;
- Just distribution of income and wealth;
- Wealth creation and distribution; and
- Economic growth and living standards.

"A vastly expanded economic base which is the prerequisite for economic growth and wealth creation is the primary immediate goal of the IFP economic policy.

Markets

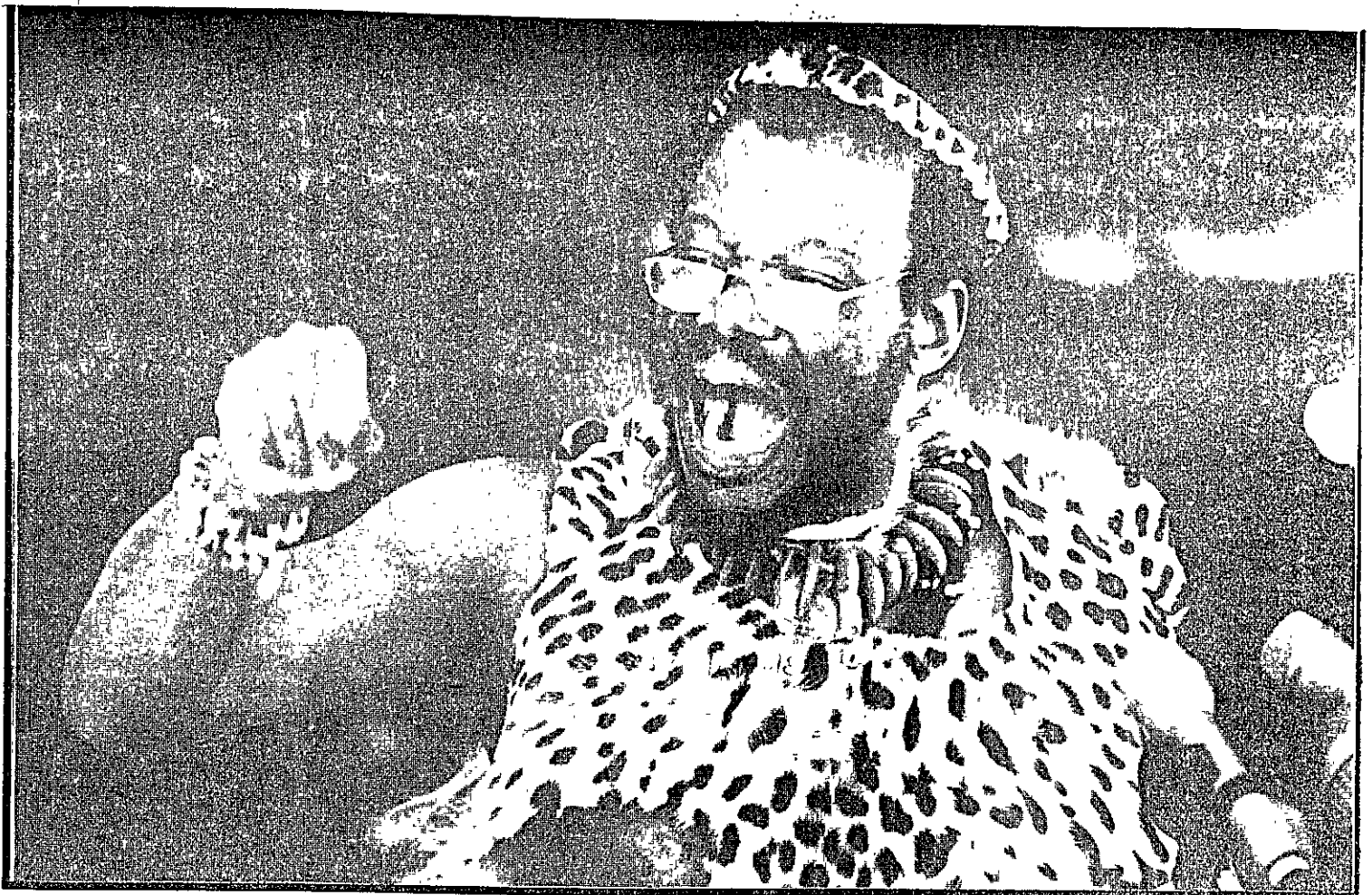
"Every step will have to be taken to develop South Africa's competitive advantage to increase its share in both the domestic and foreign markets."

Buthelezi said it was acknowledged that the most rewarding growth in terms of wealth creation "will be of an export-led type and that this will require a multi-sectoral policy approach.

He said: "To this end international economic links will be strengthened and regional co-operation further developed.

"The Government will also have to play a role in redistributing wealth and income where it can in areas such as social welfare, education and training and limited term affirmative action."

Buthelezi concluded by saying that an economic planning body should be established which will develop strategies to be adopted and put into action.



Warrior tradition ... Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi parades his 'Zuluness' for political ends

IT'S time ordinary Zulus broke the Inkatha Freedom Party's monopoly over Zuluness. As a non-ethnic minded Zulu I am often perturbed by this party's abuse of Zuluness to further its narrow political goals.

They use Zulu culture to legitimise their continued brandishing of deadly weapons at political gatherings. They abuse the Zulu monarchy to strengthen their hands at the negotiation table. They appeal to Zulu nationalism in their quest for electoral support. And they even threaten a violent Zulu backlash if they don't get their way at the negotiations. To make those of us who do not subscribe to their creed feel less Zulu than they do, they call us "amahlubuka" — the prodigal children.

But what is even more disconcerting is the way the non-Zulu public has swallowed Inkatha's claim to be the sole representative of the Zulu people. It hurts to hear people use the terms Inkatha and Zulus interchangeably.

Terrified Reef township residents often shout "the Zulus are coming" as they flee from marauding Inkatha impis.

Civic and political activists in violence-torn townships often refer to Inkatha hostel-dwellers as "the Zulus", regardless of the fact that a large proportion of their constituency belongs to this tribe.

Others seek to mollify those of us who have distanced ourselves from Inkatha: "The Zulu people have made an incredible contribution to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid," South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hanu told a Pietermaritzburg rally — much to the anger of the crowd, who hated being patronised.

*I'm a Zulu
and I'm
proud of it*

with mail 3/4/92
MONDLI MAKHANYA tells of his pride in being a Zulu and his resentment at being lumped together in the eyes of others with the bloodthirsty impis which terrorise the townships

But the point everyone seems to be missing is that poll after poll show Buthelezi and Inkatha scoring no more than 20 percent among Zulu speakers in Natal. No matter how much Inkatha attempts to appeal to Zulu nationalism, there is no chance he will capture the heart of Zuludom in this manner. Zulus are not as ethnocentric as Inkatha would like them to be.

But that is not to say we do not have a cultural identity. I pride myself on being a Zulu. Zulu culture is the only culture I know and it has formed my opinions on life, love and work.

I often scorn leftists who claim to subscribe to non-racial culture because there is no such thing and there never will be. Ethnic culture is good for a diverse society like ours.

We Zulus have every right to pride ourselves on the military exploits of the Zulu empire of

yesteryear. We are duty bound as a people to boast of being the only nation in history to have won a battle against the mighty British Empire — at Isandlwana — and of having offered the toughest resistance to the colonialist powers.

In the same vein, the Basotho pride themselves on having survived a siege by the British at the Thaba Boiseu mountain a century ago. The Pedis have similar tales of Chief Sekhukhuni's military exploits. As do the Xhosas, who will relate with glee legends from the Frontier Wars and of the great Chief Makana who drowned while trying to swim from Robben Island to the Cape coast.

Like those Inkatha members who try to monopolise Zulu symbols, I cherish the glorious history of the Zulu people. I pride myself on the legend of Shaka as much as they do. I love the Zulu language as much as they do.

My heart cannot help but skip a beat when I hear chants of "Usuthu" — that stirring Zulu war cry. I keep all the Zulu traditions such as the veneration of the ancestors and the periodic visits to the ancestral home.

What differentiates me from Inkatha's Zulu supremacists is that I do not seek exclusivity. Like the majority of Zulus, I do not want a Zulu region. I do not want to be represented by the Zulu king. My desire for democracy and justice does not differ from that of other South Africans simply because I am Zulu.

I relate to other people as a South African and will not allow my Zuluness to determine whom I drink with, struggle with and sleep with. Nor will I allow the stigma that Inkatha has attached to Zuluness undermine the pride I have in belonging to a nation of great heroes.

Six years ago, while serving a stint with an American newspaper, the *Detroit News*, I was shocked at the level of ignorance and gullibility the American audiences displayed by lumping together the Zulu nation and the Inkatha movement.

Even the so-called experts on international politics, like Thomas Sowell, whose columns are syndicated throughout the American publications, authoritatively wrote about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi being the leader of the largest black political organisation in South Africa — by virtue of the Zulu numbers.

One understands and accepts the ignorance of the overseas audience, especially the Western countries, when it comes to the complexity of our politics and different ethnic groups.

But in South Africa there are a number of white people who believe that every Zulu-speaking person is a member of Inkatha. While this is

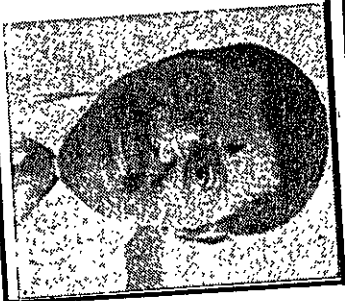
MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya

Zulus caught in crossfire

CPD 5/14/92

116



unpardonable it is however a serious crime when among blacks there are those who believe that anybody who is of Zulu extraction and lives in a hostel is de facto an Inkatha member.

I am convinced that somebody with a hidden political agenda and a mischievous plot has systematically and calculatingly lumped the IFP and Zulus together as one entity, meaning if you are a Zulu-speaking person you must be associated with Inkatha.

This fallacy was proved wrong in Natal where there is a majority of Zulu-speaking people.

Surveys and research have proven that despite the fact that Zulus are the largest ethnic group, the IFP has the lowest following in this group.

While Zulus still owe their allegiance to the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, this does not necessarily mean all Zulus agree with the king's politics or his close association with Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement.

The Zulu king's popularity among his followers in the urban areas has waned because of the perception that he was closer to Inkatha than his tribe and also

Buthelezi's insistence in having him in Codesa.

With the recent violence in Alexandra that has claimed so many lives, the Zulu people have once more found themselves in the crossfire. Their Zuluness — whether they are apolitical or not — has dragged them into a political fight between the IFP and the ANC.

Many have lost their properties, their relatives and their lives.

Since this inter-organisational violence has spread in our townships, it is common to hear a six-year-old child in the townships say: "Baba (or mama), the Zulus are

coming to kill us." The irony is that the same child may be Zulu himself.

The psychological damage to this child is that he or she will grow up with the belief that Zulus are a vicious and barbaric people who kill other human beings indiscriminately.

The pride our forefathers instilled in us — in our heritage, our culture and heroes like Shaka, Mzilikazi, Moshoeshe, Gqika, Sikhukhuni and many others — will soon disappear with the coming generation.

Today many of us are scared to openly say we are Zulus.

While I'm the first to concede that the violence that is tearing our people apart cannot be reduced to ethnicity and political rivalry alone, the role all of us must play to bring an end to this madness is more crucial now than ever before.

If need be, let us go back to the basics of our liberation struggle. Let us decide what it is that we want as a black nation, and how to get it.

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Completing more than three hours of talks with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on political violence and the negotiation process.

Buthelezi and FW clear the air

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent nearly four hours in talks at Tuynhuys and said afterwards that they had cleared up misunderstandings.

Also at yesterday's talks were Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, and the National Party's general secretary, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by members of his Cabinet.

They discussed the IFP demand that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini be included in discus-

sions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and NP proposals on an interim government.

Chief Buthelezi said at an impromptu Press conference at Tuynhuys afterwards that "a chasm" had been building up recently between the president and himself in the face of differences and misunderstandings.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time", Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr De Klerk said the talks had clarified some misunderstandings and would hopefully have a constructive effect on Codesa.

7/4/92
In recent weeks the government has had meetings with the other five national states on the question of King Goodwill's participation in Codesa.

At the talks yesterday, Mr De Klerk emphasised the need for all people to be involved in combating the political violence and to create an atmosphere conducive to democracy and free elections.

Chief Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the carnage".

W Cape teachers set to down chalk

JOHN VILJOEN
Education Reporter

ABOUT 1 500 teachers at black schools in the Western Cape are set to strike tomorrow over salary issues, in spite of claims by authorities that the dispute has been settled.

Dr Johan Brand, director of the area's office of the Department of Education and Training, said last week there was little point in teachers striking.

The only effect of a strike would be to deprive children of their teachers' professional expertise, Dr Brand said.

But Mr Shepherd Mdadlana, national chairman of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu), said teachers would decide at a meeting tomorrow whether to continue with a planned strike.

He welcomed the fact that Dr Brand appreciated the serious-

ness of the problem, but was worried that Sadtu had not had a report from Dr Brand himself.

It was up to Dr Brand to report to Sadtu that all outstanding salaries would be paid to teachers by 1 pm on Wednesday — otherwise teachers would down chalk.

Sadtu had the power to stop the strike but would only do so if Dr Brand's report was before the teachers by the time they held their report-back meeting.

GOOD YEAR

GOOD YEAR

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155 SR 13	R110
165 SR 13	R121
175/70 SR 13	R143
175 SR 14	R141
185 SR 14	R156

R119
R131

185/60 HR 14	R270
185/65 HR 14	R270



ONLY AT:

Govt, ^(11B) Inkatha OT 7/3/92 narrow 'chasm'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE mounting acrimony and mistrust between Inkatha and the government was largely defused during a marathon meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The healing of the growing rift between two of the "big three" players in South African politics is expected to boost the negotiation process and could help ease the violence sweeping the country.

Chief Buthelezi frankly admitted after their 3 1/2-hour meeting that "a chasm" had been building in recent months between him and Mr De Klerk as a result of differences and misunderstandings on a number of issues.

However, the lengthy meeting between delegations led by the two leaders had served to clear the air "and I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time".

Mr De Klerk said the meeting had helped to clarify some misunderstandings "and hopefully will have a constructive effect within Codesa".

The wide-ranging meeting covered a variety of thorny issues, including the role of the Zulu king at Codesa, the ongoing violence sweeping the country, the Codesa negotiations and the two parties' proposals for transitional arrangements.

Top of the agenda was Inkatha's insistence that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini be accommodated at the Codesa negotiations.

Mr De Klerk disclosed that he had discussed the issue with the other five non-independent homelands and all the parliamentary parties involved in Codesa and impressed on them that the matter needed to be "brought to a head".

In a hint at a compromise, he said: "The (South African) government supports the accommodation in an agreed-upon form for the KwaZulu government and the king if the (KwaZulu) government so wishes." This appeared to pave the way for the king to be part of a broad delegation representing both the Zulu people and the KwaZulu government.

Justice Minister Mr Kobié Coetsee said earlier that the "drastic measures" he would soon announce to curb violence "could entail legislation".

FW backs Buthelezi over king at Codesa

STAR 7/4/92

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has assured Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Government's support for an accommodation of the Zulu king at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk and the IFP leader addressed the media after nearly four hours of talks yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said he had held discussions with various parties and representatives of homeland

governments at Codesa regarding what Chief Buthelezi described as "the thorny issue of the Zulu king".

He had impressed upon them the need for the matter to be brought urgently to a head, "reiterating the Government's support for accommodation of KwaZulu in an agreed-upon form, including the king, if KwaZulu so wishes."

Both men said some misunderstandings had

been cleared up, and that further meetings would follow.

One issue raised was the Government position on transitional arrangements.

Chief Buthelezi said misunderstandings had arisen by things being read into certain concepts. He had been reassured on all of the issues on the agenda, he said.

"I return home much happier ..."

He said he was in Co-

desa through the IFP presence there, but "I am concerned about the Zulu nation, which you know is a sovereign nation and which is not represented at Codesa".

He believed the discussions the State President had held with individual members at Codesa had been very helpful.

"The king has suffered a lot of indignity through the matter being so protracted," he said. — Sapa.

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent three-and-a-half hours with President F W de Klerk yesterday, in an attempt to thrash out mounting problems, and emerged saying: "I feel much happier than I have for some time."

But the question of whether Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini should be allowed to head a delegation to Codesa remains a stumbling block to progress.

De Klerk said after the meeting he believed a "proper and dignified accommodation" should be found for the king.

He said he had held talks with the self-governing states and all political parties at Codesa, explaining the need for the question to be resolved. Government supported

Buthelezi reassured in talks with FW

the need for both the king and Zulu nation "to be accommodated in an agreed upon form". (116) (116) (116)

Buthelezi said he had been "reassured" on many issues where misunderstandings had been "building up" and he was grateful to the president for what he had done on the "thorny issue of the Zulu king and the KwaZulu nation". BID 7/14/92.

The talks also concentrated on the need to end the violence, and for leaders of all parties to become involved in the process.

De Klerk said government was considering further steps because the situation had once again become very serious.

Buthelezi meets de Klerk

Sowetan 8/4/92

(118)
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CAPE TOWN - President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent three-and-a-half hours in talks in Tuynhuys yesterday, and emerged to say they had cleared up misunderstandings between them.

De Klerk and Buthelezi discussed the IFP demand that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be included in discussions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and NP proposals on an interim government.

Buthelezi said at an impromptu Press conference at Tuynhuys afterwards that "a chasm" had been building up

recently between De Klerk and himself.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time," Buthelezi said.

In recent weeks the Government had meetings with the other five national states on the question of Zwelithini's participation in Codesa.

Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the carnage".

SAUJ alarm over IFP intimidation

THE Southern African Union of Journalists yesterday called on the Inkatha leadership to act against the organisation's supporters reportedly responsible for attempting to intimidate journalists in the Maritzburg area.

On Monday it was reported a group of journalists escaped injury when they were attacked by youths at Imbali holding aloft an Inkatha Freedom Party flag.

Two reporters and a photographer from the *Natal Witness* were confronted by youths marching up a road.

The youths, who were dancing the toyi-toyi and holding an IFP flag, charged as the photographer tried to take a photograph from their marked *Natal Witness* car.

The journalists were verbally abused and then attacked with stones before managing to get away. The vehicle was slightly damaged. *Sowetan* 9/4/92

SAUJ general secretary Miss Karen Stander said such behaviour was totally unacceptable. *Sapa*.

Rampage after 'KwaZulu training'

Pretoria Correspondent

The Goldstone Commission has heard how members of the notorious Black Cats gang in Wesselton near Ermelo went on the rampage after undergoing training in KwaZulu.

Details of the Black Cats' activities were revealed yesterday by a former member of the gang, referred to as Mr B.

Mr B told the commission that the Black Cats — backed by "a handful of graduates from the Caprivi Strip" — attacked ANC members and petrol bombed their homes and businesses last year.

The "Caprivi Strip gradu-

ates", who were from KwaZulu, frequently visited Wesselton.

Mr B told the commission the attacks took place after the gang underwent training in the use of firearms in KwaZulu.

The Black Cats were still carrying out attacks on residents in Wesselton and that the so-called "comrades" in the area were afraid of them.

Another witness — referred to as Mr C, a former Inkatha member — said in a statement read before the commission he trained in Caprivi in 1986.

The man, who has since joined the ANC, said he was approached by two Inkatha members in 1986 and asked if he was interested in joining the Kwa-

Zulu Police.

Mr C told the commission that together with other young men, who supported Inkatha, he was flown to the Caprivi Strip where they spent the next few months undergoing training.

They were supplied with camouflage uniforms and were given training in the use of firearms, explosives and how to stage ambushes and launch attacks in urban areas.

Mr C said the men who trained them wore camouflage and some were known to them by their nicknames. It was not clear which defence force units they belong to as they did not wear badges or name tags.

The inquiry continues.

STAR 10/4/92

'Black Cats' reign of terror

Sowetan 10/4/92

11B

THE Goldstone Commission yesterday heard how members of the notorious "Black Cats" gang in Wesselton, Ermelo, went on the rampage after undergoing training in KwaZulu.

Details of the gang's activities were revealed by a former member of the gang, who is referred to as Mr B.

Mr B told the commission that the "Black Cats", backed by "a handful of graduates from the Caprivi Strip", attacked ANC members and petrol-bombed their homes and businesses in 1991.

The "Caprivi Strip graduates", who were from KwaZulu, frequently visited Wesselton.

Mr B told the commission the attacks took place after the gang underwent training in KwaZulu in the use of firearms.

The commission heard that the "Black Cats" were still carrying attacks on residents in Wesselton and that the so-called "comrades" in the area were afraid of them.

Another witness - referred to only as Mr C and a former Inkatha Freedom Party member - said in a statement read before the commission he had been trained in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

The man, who has since joined the ANC, said he was approached by two IFP members in 1986 and asked if he was interested in joining the KwaZulu Police.

As it was always his aim to be a policeman, he indicated he was interested.

Mr C said he and other young men, who were supporters of the IFP, were flown to the Caprivi Strip where they spent few months undergoing training.

They were supplied with camouflage uniform and were given training in the use of firearms, explosives and how to stage ambushes and launch attacks in urban areas. Mr C said the men who carried out the training also wore camouflage uniform.

It was not clear which defence force units the men belonged to as they did not wear any badges or name tags.

NEW evidence of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's links to men who were being trained by South African security forces at secret camps was led before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation in Pretoria this week.

Two former "Black Cats" — once members of a pro-Inkatha gang still operating in the eastern Transvaal township of Wesselton, near Ermelo — faced a barrage of questions about their training and acts of terror.

Reference was often made to a *Weekly Mail* article in which "Mr A" and "Mr C" told of the gang's reign of terror and how they were encouraged, equipped and trained to carry out violence against African National Congress-linked targets by the security forces.

Giving evidence behind closed doors, Mr C said he was recruited to undergo extensive military training in the Caprivi after being recruited to join the kwaZulu police force.

He said his group had been told that they would be working for the chief minister and that Buthelezi himself had been introduced to the trainees on their return from the Caprivi.

Mr C said in his evidence this week that he was approached by two Inkatha organisers in January or February 1986. One of them, Thomson Xesibe, was at that stage a member of the kwaZulu police while the other, Mtwe Mofolo, was an Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade organiser.

"They asked me if I would be interested in joining the kwaZulu police. They told me they were looking for people whom they knew and trusted and who had worked for Inkatha. They did not tell me where I would be trained. They told me I would be trained as a policeman."

The next morning he went to the Inkatha offices in Ulundi, as instructed, where he met Xesibe and Mofolo.

The same day they were taken to Nhlungwane, which is a camp site used by Inkatha members when they have rallies.

"Xesibe told the assembled youths that we were to be trained as kwaZulu policemen. Mofolo and a Mr Sibanda would talk to us about the IFP and the importance of Inkatha as an organisation. They also talked to us about the IFP constitution."

One evening the trainees were told they would be leaving the camp the next day but were not told where they were going to.

The next day they flew out in a green coloured plane to a camp in the Caprivi. There were approximately 100 trainees under the leadership of Daluxolo Luthuli, who was known as "the Commissar" and people with problems could go to him.

"He also participated in instructing us on the use of firearms, explosives and he lectured to us on the Inkatha constitution."

Mr C added: "He would also talk about the ANC when giving lectures on the Inkatha constitution. He used to say that when he was with the ANC he was

'sold out' by members of the ANC."

"Right from the beginning we were divided into four platoons. Each platoon had its own instructor ... All our instructors wore camouflage uniforms. At no stage did any of them give us any details about their real identities or who they worked for." The uniforms had no insignias or badges.

"The main part of our training involved instruction in the use of weapons which included the AK-47, the Uzzi, the G-3 and hand weapons such as the Browning pistol and Tokarev."

When they returned from the camp they carried on with part of their training and one day were told they were going to be working for the chief minister by a Mr Swart from Pretoria.

Approximately four days later Buthelezi came to the farm with Makhele Khumalo — his former personal aide.

"We were introduced to Chief Buthelezi as a group. He said to us that he was grateful to meet us. We were allowed to go home for two weeks and instructed not to tell our families where we had been."

Mr A told the commission the Black Cats had been instructed by a senior police officer, a Warrant Officer Van Zwiell to set alight the offices of Steve Ngwenya, an ANC attorney, during August 1990.

At the time the gang was sheltering in the offices of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) — Inkatha's trade union wing — after being chased out of the township.

Three members of the gang volunteered to do the job.

Mr A said Van Zwiell later gave them money for petrol and offered liquor and cigarettes.

He said he was not aware of any white policeman that had helped orchestrate a string of murders in the township, as mentioned in a *Weekly Mail* article in January, but that a number of acts — assaults, attacks, arson — "orchestrated by the police were not brought to court".

Gang members were taken from the Uwusa offices to Ulundi in minibuses, one of which was driven by a person Mr A only knew as "Da" or David, whom he believed to be a kwaZulu Police (KZP) member.

The gang stayed in Ulundi for approximately two months, where some Black Cats received weapons training.

Later, the gangsters were transferred to a Mkuze camp where a select group of about 22 were put through an intensive course in how to shoot with AK47s and 9mm handguns.

Mr A said he had received weapons training at Amatigulu camp later. The group returned to the township in March 1991.

Asked why he didn't inform the police about the gang's activities, Mr A alleged the police were working hand-in-hand with the gang.

He said he stopped going around with the Black Cats in January 1992 and then went to *The Weekly Mail* with information that he had about the gang.

The hearing continues on Monday.

Buthelezi pleased to meet Caprivi trainees

Two former members of a pro-Inkatha gang told the Goldstone Commission this week of their training, attacks and meeting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. By

LINDA RULASHE

IFP wants new referendum 118

Own Correspondent

13/4/92
DURBAN. — Another referendum with a “new electorate” should be held before the next general election, to determine the principles of a consensus system of government, the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party resolved at the weekend.

IFP blocks meeting with king - Mandela

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party was preventing a meeting between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Nelson Mandela as this would reveal the untruth that the African National Congress, was anti-Zulu, the ANC leader said in KwaMashu yesterday.

Addressing about 3 000 supporters in the township near Durban, Mr Mandela said the ANC had instructed deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to make a last attempt to arrange a meeting with the Zulu monarch so that Mr Mandela could pay his respects to King Zwelithini and Zulu chiefs.

"If he doesn't say yes, I'll never try again," the ANC president said.

Mr Mandela had been touring troubled northern Natal and Durban regions since Thursday to discuss the violence plaguing the province.

He said he was visiting the region in a spirit of reconciliation and added that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had said he welcomed this, but had also said that as long as Umkhonto we Sizwe was in place "there can be no olive branches".

"I will continue to preach peace and leave him on the war

path ... when I wave an olive branch to him, he waves a spear and knobkerrie to me.

"I appeal to him: the time has come to forget the past. Let's think of the future. He must give up on MK disbanding — that we will never do," said Mr Mandela.

The ANC would disband its army when the democratising of the Defence Force began and that would only be once a democratic government had come to power, he added.

● At the end of a central committee meeting at Ulundi on Saturday, the IFP said they were "appalled at the escalating violence taking place in black townships and wish to record our horror that, despite State President F W de Klerk's December commitment in his address to Codesa, he has not dissolved Umkhonto we Sizwe and taken over the ANC's arms caches."

The IFP warned "that the ANC's refusal to disband its private army constitutes such a threat to the negotiation process that negotiations cannot continue much longer unless it complies with the demand to rely on democracy and not violence." — Sapa.

myself. I am so upset I could commit murder.

To page 2

dents were burnt by lightning.

IFP foiling talks with king, claims Mandela

CT 13/4/92

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DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party was preventing a meeting between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mr Nelson Mandela as this would reveal the untruth that the ANC was anti-Zulu, the ANC leader said in KwaMashu yesterday.

Addressing about 3 000 supporters in the township near here Mr Mandela said the IFP realised that a meeting between Mr Mandela and King Goodwill would help end the propaganda that the ANC were anti-Zulu and were therefore opposed to the meeting.

The ANC had instructed deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma to

make a last attempt to arrange a meeting with the Zulu monarch.

Mr Mandela had been touring the troubled northern Natal and Durban regions since Thursday to discuss the violence plaguing the province.

The ANC has lost some 13 000 supporters to political violence since 1984, Mr Mandela told residents at the settlement of Uganda in Umlazi.

Those responsible were members of Inkatha, the KwaZulu Police and "certain elements" in the SADF's Military Intelligence and the South African Police, he added. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

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Myeni apologises to IFP for AWB pact

By Estlie Waugh
Political Reporter

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Musa Myeni has apologised to the IFP for unilaterally deciding to discuss a non-aggression pact with the AWB.

At a meeting of the central committee on Saturday in Ulundi, it was decided to dissociate the IFP from Mr Myeni's actions.

"The IFP emphatically states that it has never been its intention actively to support any organisation which does not subscribe to its fundamental policies to achieve an open, race-free, democratic South Africa," the central committee said.

Shortly before the referendum, Mr Myeni met

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche to discuss such a pact. Mr Myeni later denied that he entered into a non-aggression pact with the AWB.

The committee also recorded its "horror" at the fact that President de Klerk had not yet dissolved the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It called on Mr de Klerk "to act now with determination to rectify this matter."

It said the ANC's refusal to disband MK was a threat to the negotiation process which could not continue unless the ANC relied on democracy and not violence.

It also "emphatically" rejected the idea of an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.



Mandela reaches out to Inkatha

Own Correspondent

13/04/92

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela has held out the olive branch to the Inkatha Freedom Party and has suggested the two organisations pool resources to defeat the NP at the polls.

His appeal, made at Empangeni at the weekend, has been guardedly welcomed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, Buthelezi said, Mandela could "wave any amount of olive branches, but so long as he continues to say he is not prepared to disband the ANC's military wing, whatever he says will have no meaning for people who are dying at the hands of these cadres". Buthelezi added: "One

cannot help admiring him for what he said, until you look at what some of his colleagues on the national executive of the ANC have said ... even during the morning while Dr Mandela was visiting the area, a house of a member of the IFP was bombed."

Mandela included the PAC and Azapo in his appeal for black unity to remove the NP from power. He said the black political parties would have to "pull up their socks" to remove the NP from power. "I appeal to every member of the IFP. Let bygones be bygones. Let's think of tomorrow. If you commit yourself to opposing what others do, that is a role you

will play for the rest of your life," Mandela said. He said black people wanted to exercise power but could only do that if they had sufficient men and women able to concentrate on the things that united and not divided them.

Members of the IFP and the ANC should be able to concentrate on the points that united them. Appealing to his audience directly, he said: "You must ensure that the IFP and the ANC in this region speak with one voice. "Then we as political leaders will be forced to talk to one another. "You must be the pioneers, the pathfinders in this area." Earlier, Mandela was briefed by ANC office-bear-

ers about the political situation in the Zululand area and he criticised the "terrible repression" of the ANC in the region and the lack of free political expression. He also toured the violence-torn townships in the Empangeni area. He was shocked, he said, at the extent of the destruction of property and displacement of people from their homes. "It was a shattering experience even though I was well aware of the violence raging in this area."

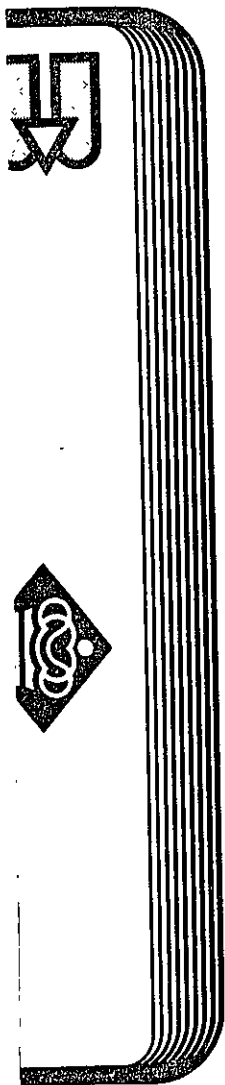
He urged the IFP to create a climate of negotiation and peace. "I am tremendously excited by the groundswell of support the ANC enjoys in this region," he said. "I will go back and report that the people are fighting

back against all forms of repression".

Speaking earlier, Mandela said the ANC had done everything in its power to ensure that due respect was paid to the Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelethini, and, if he was now refusing to meet the ANC president, that was not the fault of the organisation. Mandela said he had met all the traditional leaders of note in SA since his release from prison two years ago.

The ANC president said that after the original request had been put to the king, he had received a letter from King Goodwill urging him to come alone. "That created difficulties for me. The leadership of the ANC had already decided who should accompany me," Mandela said.

"I am keen to pay my respects to the king but I am not prepared to humiliate the ANC and will not do so," he added to applause from 5 000 people.



Carts plan



6/10/82 14/4/82

ANC blocked meeting'

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied he and the IFP had prevented ANC president Nelson Mandela from meeting Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini. (118)

Instead, Buthelezi blamed ANC members for causing "problems in this regard". He said the king had been prepared to meet Mandela on several occasions.

ANC blamed for king not meeting Mandela

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied he and the IFP prevented African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela from meeting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini. (13) 27/11/92

Instead, Chief Buthelezi blamed ANC members for causing "problems in this regard". He said the king was prepared to meet Mr Mandela on a number of occasions.

It was reported Mr Mandela told his followers during his Natal tour at the weekend he would make a last bid to meet the Zulu king. His previous attempts were barred by Chief Buthelezi and the IFP, said Mr Mandela. — Sapa

'Zulu king must be shown respect'

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday if ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela displayed "manners and respect" towards Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini he would receive an audience.

He went on to allege Mr Man-

dela had "gone out of his way to insult the king" at KwaMashu last weekend when he said he would not "kneel before the king in order to get an audience with him, or lick the ground in front of the king".

(116) CT 15/4/92
During the KwaMashu address

Mr Mandela was reported as saying he had on several occasions tried to speak to the king, but that his attempts were blocked by Chief Buthelezi and the IFP because the IFP realised that such a meeting would end the propaganda that the ANC was anti-Zulu.

Buthelezi's assistant 'paid hit-squads'

w/mail 16/4-23/4/92

118
Further evidence of Inkatha involvement in hit-squad activities was revealed at the Goldstone Commission this week.
 By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE former personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — MZ Khumalo — was actively involved in paying the salaries of the 200 ex-Capriivi trainees and spiriting away those sought for murder by the South African Police.

These startling details came to light this week at the Goldstone Commission, currently hearing evidence on *The Weekly Mail's* allegations regarding Inkatha hit-squads.

In his testimony before the commission, ex-Capriivi trainee Vela Mchunu, who has been linked to a string of murders in kwaZulu/Natal, sketched a picture of on-going top-level Inkatha involvement with the trainees that con-

tradicts earlier evidence given by kwaZulu Police (KZP) Brigadier Siphosiphiso Mathe and MZ Khumalo.

However, Mathe and Khumalo's testimony to the commission confirmed that when the trainees returned from Capriivi they were not employed by the KZP but paid from a secret Inkatha account funded by military intelligence and that access to this account required the signatures of both Khumalo and Buthelezi.

Currently facing charges on two counts of murder and implicated in several other murders, Mchunu's "CV" gives credence to claims that the trainees were used for shadowy, hit-squad type purposes and were issued

with false identities or hidden away when the heat was on.

His story also confirms that the 200 men were absorbed into the kwaZulu police without official induction, were given false KZP identity cards, signed by Mathe and issued by Inkatha official Khumalo, and not the KZP, and paid a

monthly salary by Khumalo at the Inkatha offices in Ulundi.

Khumalo, referred to at the commission by Mchunu as "Mashobane", resigned as Buthelezi's right-hand man after the Inkathagate scandal, but he confirmed in evidence to the commission that he is still a member of Inkatha's central committee.

Mchunu is due to appear in court in June for the murder of two men near Pietermaritzburg about two months ago.

Facing at least four other murder charges, Mchunu's name came up in the trial last year of Samuel Jamile, ex-kwaZulu deputy minister of interior and central committee member now serving a life sentence for murder and

attempted murder. Mchunu allegedly committed at least one murder acting under Jamile's instruction.

Mchunu was fetched from his prison cell in Durban to give evidence before the commission this week on his training in Capriivi — known as "Israel" — in July 1986 and his and the other trainees' subsequent activities.

Numerous allegations, to the effect that the 200, after receiving training, were deployed around Natal and further afield as Inkatha hit-squad members, have been made.

Mchunu (26) told how he and the other trainees were warned that if they ever disclosed details of their training they would "catch the first bus", which meant be killed.

The alleged killer told how he had been recruited for training by local Inkatha leader Joseph Mabaso in Hammarsdale in 1986. On his return from Capriivi six months later, Mchunu said he, "along with about 12 or more (trainees)", was issued with guns by Mashobane... to act as security guards in Hammarsdale.

There Mchunu shot dead Robert Dlamini, a brother of one of his fellow trainees, Bheki Dlamini. The murder charge and a charge of being in possession of an unlicensed firearm were withdrawn at the Camperdown magistrate's court in 1987. His kwaZulu police appointment card, issued to him and the others "by Mashobane" some time after returning from their training, was then taken away from him, and he was dismissed from the force, Mchunu testified.

At first, during the evidence led by commission advocate JJ Du Toit, Mchunu implied his relationship with Mashobane and the KZP came to an end after he was charged with Dlamini's murder.

But under cross-examination by advocates Louis Visser (SC) acting for Inkatha and David Soggo (SC) acting for *The Weekly Mail*, a far more sinister picture unfolded of how Mashobane later hid Mchunu and the other security guards after they were implicated in the murders of the three unionists in Mphophoni in December 1986. The murders triggered extensive violence in the area.

Mchunu also told how he was later issued with a false KZP special constable card under the name of Alfred N Masango, the identical name of another Capriivi trainee who Mchunu testified was today working as a kwaZulu policeman in Ulundi. This is despite speculation in certain quarters that Masango was in fact murdered by his own colleagues.

Mchunu first told the commission he visited Mkuze camp (where alleged military training of Inkatha youths took place) because he was unemployed and had nothing better to do. However, he later said "When I said initially that I was visiting Mkuze I was not there on my own. They took me there to go and hide — Mashobane and Captain Langeni — that is where we were hiding with the people who were (implicated in the crimes) at a place called Trust Feeds. They (four SAP kistskonstabels) have also been caught."

Mchunu described how he and the others implicated in the Mphophoni murders were first hidden in a dingy back room behind Mashobane's shop in Ulundi, where he would deliver food at night to them. Mchunu says he was later taken to Mkuze.

Mchunu told how he was issued with the new police card with a false identity and a machine gun when he became a security guard for a headman, Ndlovu, in the district of Ixopo in 1991.

Justice R Goldstone turned down a request by Inkatha's advocate Visser that none of the names which cropped up in the commission be published on the basis that this would render reporting meaningless.

The hearing continues on June 1

Inquiry into the soldiers' rampage

w/mail 16/4-23/4/92

By DREW FORREST
 UNRULY elements within Phola Park's defence unit may have set the spark for the 32 Battalion "riot" in the East Rand squatter camp last week.

The Weekly Mail last week lifted the lid on a leadership controversy in Phola Park in which members of the defence unit have played an active role. There are reports of an armed seizure of power and a subsequent reign of terror against residents.

Given the ferocity of the battalion's reaction — one person was killed and 100 hurt in an alleged hours-long orgy of shooting, beating, rape and plunder — it seems likely the soldiers were shot at by squatters, as the SADF has claimed.

Sources say the apparent hysteria of the largely Angolan battalion was atypical. "They've polished their marbles since the war in Angola," one commented. "They seem to have behaved with restraint during the recent Nancefield violence and in Natal."

Phola Park's defence unit was almost certainly responsible for the AK-47 attack on a passing minibus on February 26 in which four inmates of the nearby Thokoza hostel were killed. The four were members of Inkatha's United Workers Union employed at the Rand Water Board, but evidence put before the Goldstone Commission strongly suggests the attack was unprovoked.

A spokesman for the settlement's new leadership, Zinile Mathiso, this



Assaulted by army ... Phola Park residents show some of the injuries inflicted by 32 Battalion
 Photo: KEVIN CARTER

week denied his committee had been installed by force and insisted no-one had fired on the soldiers. He declined to elaborate, saying he did not want to prejudice a planned meeting with the ousted leaders.

But *The Weekly Mail* understands that the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, are worried about the defence unit's lack of discipline.

The question of what 32 Battalion was doing in the area remains. The Goldstone Commission is to investigate this, but the likelihood is that it was conducting an arms sweep. Phola Park squatters all say the soldiers kicked down shack doors and demanded to know where weapons were hidden before assaulting them with pipes, rifle butts and pangas.

The raid appears to form part of an emerging pattern of SADF weapons searches in ANC-supporting black settlements. Last Friday the SADF combed the Mandela squatter camp, in Bekkersdal on the West Rand, for arms, sparking complaints of widespread abuse.

A member of the ANC's regional executive committee, Sonwabo Ngonini, said he was woken at 1am by white soldiers and two blacks in balaclavas wanting to search his house for weapons.

With them was another ANC man, Zola Jakuba, who had allegedly been forced to point out Ngonini's house. He was covered in mud — he claims he was made to roll in a ditch — and said in Xhosa: "They have already killed me". Ngonini understood this

to mean he had been badly beaten. Ngonini said when he pointed out that only policemen with warrants were empowered to conduct a search, he was abused and threatened in Afrikaans. During the illegal search which followed, R260 belonging to his mother disappeared.

Also assaulted, Ngonini said, was branch committee member Douglas Mqina, together with numerous other shack-dwellers. When the search failed to yield results — large holes were dug in Mqina's shack floor — Mqina and Jakuba were "abducted" to the SADF base outside the township, where they were "tortured" before being released at noon the next day.

Earlier in the week, Bekkersdal's

● To PAGE 5

Black Cat leader Ngwenya gunned down

By PHILIPPA GARSON
 THE notorious leader of the Black Cat gang from Wessleton and the mother of one of the Black Cats who has testified before the Goldstone Commission were killed early this week.

According to police, Black Cat leader Chris Ngwenya was gunned down at about 7.30pm on Sunday "by unknown men (who) fired shots with an AK47 rifle at him. He was hit in the head and died".

Police say the mother of "Mr A", who has testified to the commission that Black Cats were given weapons training in Inkatha's Mkuze camp, was apparently stabbed in her bed 15 minutes later. Her throat had been slit.

Proceedings at the commission were interrupted by news of the

Wessleton violence and advocate Piet Kemp, acting for the South African Police, announced that "the events were of such concern to the SAP that they have decided to appoint an independent investigator to look into the violence".

Kemp added that the investigation was also prompted by allegations that certain members of the SAP based at the Ermelo police station were implicated in the Wessleton violence.

Reports of the sequel of events are still garbled with the Black Cats preventing entrance to their stronghold of Wessleton Extension where the murders took place.

A Lawyers for Human Rights employee, acting on reports that the houses of the Black Cats giving evidence to the commission were being

destroyed, visited the area with some of the witnesses on Tuesday afternoon. He and some of the witnesses were stormed by an angry band of Black Cats who rushed out of their dead leader's house, brandishing pangas and a pistol.

The LHR employee described the incident as "extremely frightening. I am just glad we're still alive". He and his companions went to the Ermelo police station to request a police escort. Police, he said, then refused to search the gang leader's house for arms, despite being requested to do so.

The LHR employee said the Black Cats jeered at local ANC activist John Mudebele and told him in the presence of the police that he would be dead by Friday night.

A terrified Mudebele, who has

received countless threats on his life, was trapped inside his house during the week with the brothers of Mr A who have fled their home. Several members of the gang reportedly encircled the house at strategic points. Despite a commitment from the police that they would guard his house, no police presence was spotted.

The SAP issued a statement saying that "precautions (were) being taken to protect the lives of all inhabitants of Wessleton. The area is intensively patrolled by police."

Responding to reports that the lives of certain people were still being threatened, Judge Richard Goldstone asked whether protection would be offered by the SAP. Kemp responded that "that matter will also be addressed".

Support for Mandela in 'Inkatha territory'

By ENOCH MTHEMBU
WHAT was a "routine" visit by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela to one of the ANC's 14 regions may have been a breakthrough for ANC supporters in what many perceive as "Inkatha territory".

While Mandela toured through both ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party-dominated townships around Empangeni casually dressed in a tracksuit, he was modestly making history in an area where the ANC has been more stifled than anywhere else in the country.

Less than two months ago prominent ANC national executive members Thabo Mbeki, Winnie Mandela and Chris Hani were turned away from several areas in northern Natal due to numerous threats of attack.

Noteworthy was Mandela's address at the hostels at Esikhawini, where ANC support is an exception to the mostly IFP-dominated hostels in the Transvaal and many areas of Natal.

Since October 1990, the regional ANC leadership have been attempting to secure a venue to hold a political gathering. They have been consistent-

ly refused by the kwaZulu authorities.

At Mandela's only large public gathering — at the University of Zululand campus in Empangeni — more than 5 000 people turned out, suggesting that there may be more ANC support hidden in the heartland of Zululand than most local IFP and kwaZulu officials tend to admit.

Mandela conveyed a message of peace and reconciliation, calling upon the IFP to unite with the ANC to ensure a National Party defeat at the polls. "Let bygones be bygones," said Mandela. IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi later responded that Mandela's words of peace had "no meaning" as long as Umkhonto weSizwe was not disbanded.

His visit also came at a time when prominent ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions leaders seem to be under attack. According to the ANC-Cosatu Joint Working Committee, particularly targetted have been figures involved in local peace initiatives.

Whether Mandela's visit to the area has made a dent in Inkatha's tolerance remains to be seen.

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IFP leader 'got it all wrong'

Swafam 16/4/92

South African Press Association

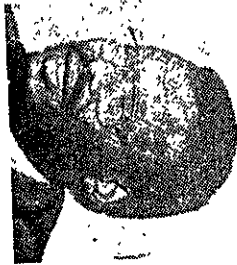
THE African National Congress yesterday denied a statement attributed to the organisation's president Mr Nelson Mandela by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi concerning the Zulu king.

Buthelezi was this week reported as having said that Mandela would be given an audience by King Goodwill Zwelithini provided he (Mandela) "displayed manners and respect" towards the Zulu king. This was after Mandela



MANDELA

had addressed a meeting in Kwamashu where he was quoted as having said Buthelezi and the IFP were preventing him from meeting with Zwelithini. In its reaction yesterday, the ANC said if Buthelezi



BUTHELEZI

was quoted correctly, his statement was calculated to incite people and "scuttle whatever peace plans are being made". In an open letter, the Natal leader of the ANC, Ms Linda Zama, said vio-

lence would not stop if leaders indulged in "such talks".

"I was at Kwamashu just behind Mr Mandela when he spoke. I listened intently when he gave an account of his attempt to meet the king.

"Without any hesitation, the record should be put straight.

"Mr Mandela spoke in Xhosa and in English. In Xhosa, he said he was making further attempts to meet the king and that if again he was refused permission to meet the king he would not go down on his knees.

"In English he said if he was refused permission to meet the king, as he had asked (ANC deputy secretary-general) Mr Jacob Zuma to arrange a meeting, he would not try again.

"Never did he say he would not kneel before the king in order to get an audience with him or lick the ground in front of the king" as Dr Buthelezi is reported to have said," Zama said.

"Leaders cannot conduct themselves in this manner because wrong signals are being sent to ordinary people," the ANC leader added.

'Big three' court Zion's faithful

FW, Buthelezi,
STAR 18/4/92
 Mandela speak
 at Moria service

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA and AFP

IN A major bid to woo future voters, South Africa's three main political leaders will tomorrow address a gathering of about three million black Christians.

State President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to attend the Easter service of the conservative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at its headquarters in Zion City, Moria, in the far northern Transvaal.

Buthelezi, who will deliver the first address, Mandela and De Klerk will each speak for about 20 minutes.

The gathering takes place in the Pietersburg area, which is notorious for road accidents, particularly over the Easter holiday.

Despite a serious collision between a bus and a lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Tzaneen road in which three people were killed and thirty-four injured, nine seriously, national accident statistics showed a sharp reduction.

Five million members

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs, has five million members and is noted for its puritanical rules preventing members from smoking, drinking or eating pork.

Political analyst Alf Stadler said all three leaders would be "flirting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party.

Stadler believes De Klerk may find fertile ground for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond its white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was "important in the new South Africa".

The conservative nature of the ZCC was highlighted in 1985 when former president P W Botha addressed the church's Easter Sunday service.

Botha's address came at a time of intense violence in South Africa and followed the March 21, 1985, shooting of more than 35 blacks by police at Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape.

Botha praised the Zionists for being law-abiding and told them: "Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the ruler. He is God's servant for your good."



**This was
no yolk**

NAPLES — Police found guns, bullets and drugs hidden in Easter eggs when they raided a Naples bar yesterday.

The bar owner and his wife had also hidden dozens of illegal gaming slips among the Easter bunnies and bottles of whisky on the shelves. — Sapa-Reuter.

A sweet, early Easter

DAVID KATZ

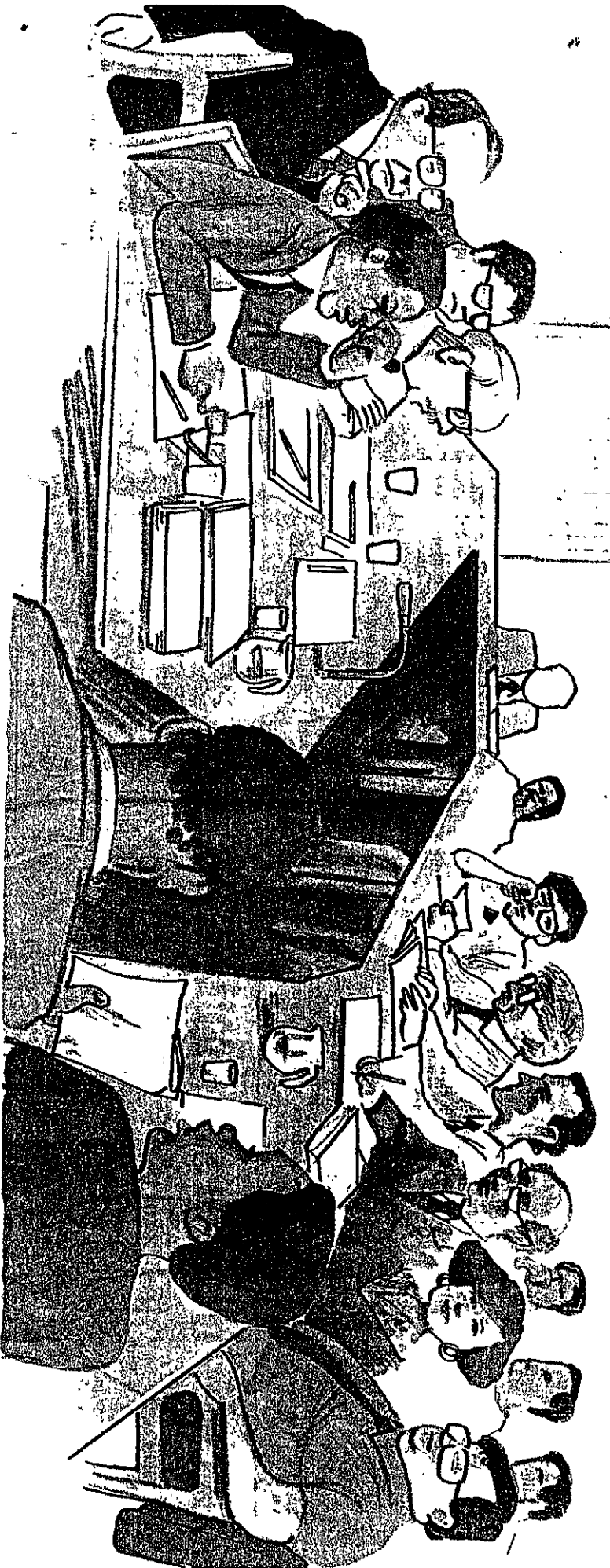
EASTER came sweet and early for 15 excited children at Johannesburg's Coronation hospital — they were given Easter eggs and picture books donated by the Cadbury and Penguin groups.

An abandoned 18-month-old toddler, Katherine Cloete, living at the hospital until a foster home is found for her, was slightly overwhelmed by all the attention, but smiled shyly when a big, brightly coloured egg was thrust into her hands. Delton Yule (5), just grinned widely between mouthfuls of chocolate.

Paediatric ward sister Lorraine Chatel said those children who could read would keep their books while the rest of the books would be put in the hospital library.

● Photograph: JACOB RYCLIFFE

THE
TASTE TH



Seeking the truth... the Goldstone committee of inquiry sitting in Pretoria (from left) Seun Mashidi, Judge Richard Goldstone, Gerit Steyn (shirt-sleeves) and Niel Rossouw. (Foreground) Interpreter Simon Skosana, witness Alfred Masango. (Right) David Soggot, SC (striped shirt), and other members of various legal teams.

Illustration: Nicky Taylor

Curious clues to the Inkatha conundrum

A man found with a pistol and machine gun tells the Goldstone inquiry into violence he was only going to buy shoes, writes PETER WELLMAN.

THE GOLDSTONE inquiry into violence unfolds in a chatty way, like someone reading a good thriller.

Everyone stands when Judge Richard Goldstone and his three committee members walk in, but the advocates are in shirt-sleeves even though the air conditioning works briskly.

There are ashtrays but there is no smoking — only plenty of water and glasses on the long desks in the NGK Syndod building in Pretoria.

The commissioners are seated imposingly behind a higher

desk but no one calls the judge "Your Lordship" — here he is the chairman of a committee of inquiry, set up by the commission he also chairs, into political violence.

The atmosphere may be informal but the business is serious and fascinating. Is it true that the SADF trained Inkatha members to use AK-47s, and are they now Inkatha hitmen, as alleged by the Weekly Mail?

David Soggot, SC, leading a legal team representing the ANC, SA Communist Party, Co-satu, the Weekly Mail and

others, cross-questions a witness, and one exchange is a gem: "Why did you go out on the day in question with a machine gun in your briefcase and a pistol in your belt?"

"People knew I had the (machine-gun) in the briefcase, and the pistol was to stop it being stolen," is the reply.

Mr Soggot remonstrated gently: "But you were just going to buy a pair of shoes."

Then the rougher side of what the Goldstone commission is about gradually emerges. The witness, awaiting trial for mur-

der, and implicated in another three, said he did not feel safe because people knew he was a KwaZulu policeman.

The witness apparently had two names: Alfred Masango and Vela Mchamu.

Mr Soggot's questioning lasted all morning and by lunchtime, when the committee adjourned until June 1, he seemed satisfied he had obtained evidence that after six-months' training in the Caprivi Strip, Inkatha members were paid by back in Natal.

The issue of remuneration emerged when the judge said: "How did you get paid while you were at Hammarisdale?"

"We were taken by vehicle to the Inkatha office in Umtata. "How much?"

The paymaster, he said, was "Mashobane" ... a clan name for M Z Khumalo, a personal aide to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The witness, who said various members of the ex-trainees were today in the KwaZulu police force, said he had been a

special constable and agreed his KZP identity card was a fake.

When his group returned to Natal they were armed and received instructions almost daily. There were several other death threats against his group if they told others about their training.

The inquiry has been briefly adjourned because Judge Goldstone has other commission business to deal with before a month on the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein during May. □

STAR 20/4/92

118

IFP man uses 'made-up' names on his letters

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An Inkatha Freedom Party delegate to Codesa, Dr Ed Benard, has been sending letters to newspapers for publication under fabricated names, addresses and signatures.

The Argus, the Star, and Radio 702 received many similar letters from the same fax machine, sent at similar times.

Some carried Dr Benard's own name and appeared on the letterhead of the Sandton branch of Inkatha.

Dr Benard, who is also chairman of the IFP's Sandton branch, yesterday admitted he had made up names and addresses for a number of letters, but added that "some of the let-

ters were written by others in the office at my suggestion".

Asked why he had made up names and addresses, Dr Benard said: "One newspaper told me I was writing too many letters, but they would like to publish them and suggested I use a pseudonym."

A reporter at Radio 702 described the bogus letters as "amateurish, confused and in some cases hysterical".

He said one letter was particularly patronising, "written the way a white person thinks a black person would write".

● The Argus requires all letter writers to include their names, even if they wish their letters to appear under pseudonyms.

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Arg-23/4/92

IFP leader bombards media with fake letters

By Michael Sparks

An Inkatha Freedom Party delegate to Codesa, Dr Ed Benard, has been sending letters to newspapers for publication with fabricated names, addresses and signatures.

The Star, her sister newspaper in Cape Town, The Argus, and Radio 702 received many of the same letters, all from the same fax machine, sent at similar times. Some of the letters sent by Dr Benard carried his own name and appeared on the letterhead of the Sandton branch of Inkatha.

Dr Benard, who is chairman of the IFP's Sandton branch, yesterday admitted to The Star he had made up both names and addresses for a number of letters he had written, but added that "some of the letters were written by others in the office at my suggestion".

When asked why he had made up names and addresses, Dr Benard said: "One newspaper told me I was writing too many letters, but that they would like to publish them and suggested I use a pseudonym."

Dr Benard is an IFP delegate to Codesa sitting on working group 1, whose task is to look into creating a climate for free political participation, and to look at the role of the international community during the transition.

Dr Benard has had six letters published in the various weekend and weekday editions of The Star under his own name since March 26.

The Star requires all letter writers to include their names, which can be withheld if good reasons are given.

Secret on 23/10/92

Mokaba's remarks upset Inkatha

INKATHA has lodged a complaint with the National Peace Secretariat about alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba in Richmond at the weekend.

In a statement yesterday, IFP chief executive officer Mr Maurice Mackenzie confirmed that the secretariat had convened an urgent sitting in Cape Town yesterday after the matter was referred to them.

Mackenzie said he hoped the ANC leadership would take disciplinary action against Mokaba.

"It is this sort of irresponsible blabber which undermines the National Peace Accord. Discipline in these times is difficult, but undisciplined leadership is distinctly dangerous," said Mackenzie.

He said it seemed both Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mokaba used the opportunity to act as "crowd pleasers" with their comments. - Sapa.

FM 24/4/92



Buthelezi Zwelithini

scribed the agreement on this sensitive issue as a breakthrough. However, it seems the agreement is subject to certain other submissions which have yet to be made to the subcommittee. In any event, it remains for the management committee of Codesa (which once before referred an "agreement" back to the subcommittee), to accept and formally announce details of the agreement.

Mohapi says it has been agreed that traditional leaders will be represented by four delegations, based on provincial lines. Each delegation will have 12 members and five advisers. Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini will, it is expected, lead the Natal — that is, Zulu — delegation. It looks like an astute compromise that will offend neither the other tribal chiefs nor Zulu pride. Yet, again, details still to be resolved concern questions such as voting procedures of these mooted tribal delegations.

The consensus reached over the issue should be acceptable to Ulundi, since Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose was part of the subcommittee which included the ANC's Joe Slovo and the DP's Colin Eglin.

As full members of Codesa, says Mohapi, the four tribal delegations will have seats on the management and daily management committees. They are expected to be present at Codesa 2, the plenary session scheduled for May 15-16. These points must still be resolved, says another Codesa source.

Tuesday also saw the resumption of the debate on interim government arrangements by a technical committee of working group three. Group chairman Ken Andrew of the DP said the committee would spell out areas of agreement and disagreement based on the various submissions it had received.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, representing government on the committee, this week, said good progress was being made. The technical committee was appointed recently after the working group apparently deadlocked on interim arrangements — specifically, a transitional executive structure and its powers *vis-à-vis* existing State authority. What will concentrate minds in the committee is the date for Codesa 2 in three weeks. ■

CODESA FM 24/4/92

Chiefs, ahoy

The thorny issue of the Zulu king's participation in Codesa appears to be close to resolution. If so, it will remove one potential reason for Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to pull out of the process altogether.

On Tuesday, the Codesa ad hoc subcommittee created to examine the question of participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders tentatively agreed that they should become full delegates at Codesa.

Jumping the gun somewhat, the chairman of the eight-member subcommittee, T J Mohapi of QwaQwa's Dikwankweila Party, de-

CI 25/4/92

IFP 'Bambatha Battalion'?

MARITZBURG. — Violence would stop and peace would prevail once the Inkatha Freedom Party had established its own military wing to counter the private armies of other political parties, KwaZulu Interior Minister Mr Steven Sithebe said yesterday.

Mr Sithebe was speaking at the inauguration ceremony of 11 Inkatha branches at Imbali near here.

He said the IFP should establish its own military wing, the "Bambatha Battalion". — Sapa (1B)

IFP slams ANC over rebel five

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Mr. Frank Mdlalose yesterday branded the ANC's decades-long opposition to apartheid as a farce in light of its acceptance of five MPs as members. *ET 25/4/92*

Five former Democratic Party MPs joined the ANC on Tuesday. Dr Mdlalose felt the ANC's resultant representation in the tricameral Parliament was an act of political expediency.

He said the IFP was stunned by the sudden ANC entry into mainstream system politics.

He called for the immediate resignation of the five former DP members from Parliament. — Sapa

Red carpet for five rebels a farce, says IFP

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday branded the ANC's decades-long opposition to South Africa's racist constitution as a farce in the light of its acceptance of five MPs as members. *STAR 25/4/92*

Five former Democratic Party MPs joined the ANC on Tuesday. Mdlalose felt the ANC's resultant representation in the tricameral Parliament was an act of political expediency.

Mdlalose said the IFP was "stunned by the sudden ANC entry into mainstream system politics", adding that this exposed the ANC's 30 years of armed struggle against a racist constitution as a farce.

He called for the immediate resignation of the five former DP members from Parliament.

Their statement that they would now seek to represent the disfranchised in Parliament was laughable, Mdlalose added. — Sapa.

Spruce Bruce, the chief of Hillbrow!

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

City Press
26/4/92 (118)

BRUCE Anderson, the natty chairman of the Hillbrow Inkatha branch, is some bloke.

He's come the long way, having abandoned his way of life as a drug-addicted youth in the 60s to become a respected politician.

Anderson is the driving force behind the recruitment of whites into the IFP, he admitted.

"In the past 16 months, our Sandton based mother-branch (of the IFP) has managed to recruit 130 000 white members into the party," he said.

Presently, he represents the IFP in Group 4 at Codesa which deals with the hot question of reincorporation of the TBVC states.

"We stand for what the ANC stood for before they were infiltrated by communists," he said.

A former Marxist himself, he said he was later dissuaded by communism's "dysfunctional economic system" and political tyranny.

He said he was a former confidant and agent of Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole's Zanu party in the then-Rhodesia.

"I went to Zimbabwe in 1979 to start a new life when my marriage was on the rocks and my wife was afraid of coming along," he said.

During elections there, his duty was to rally white support for Sithole, he said.

He was booted out of Zimbabwe by the new government.

In 1982 he accepted Sithole's request to represent him in SA while Sithole fled to the US, he said.

Anderson told City Press: "I'm prepared to sell black majoritarianism especially after what apartheid did in this country."

He disclosed that joining forces with Buthelezi was with the blessing of Rev Sithole.

Inkatha warns on king's participation in Codesa

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

An agreement has been reached in principle on the participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa — but, while a solution to this vexing problem seems tantalisingly close, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned yesterday that unless the Zulu king was given full participation, the agreement did not "mean much".

This meant that unless King Goodwill Zwelithini was given equal status to other Codesa delegates, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not take part in Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was frustrated by the lack of progress on the king's participation.

He said nothing less than full participation by the king would satisfy the IFP.

"The most important thing that has to occur is agreement on what sort of participation," said Dr Mdlalose.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan



Vexing problem . . . participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa.

said the issue could be resolved at the next meeting of the committee on May 4.

In addition to participation by traditional leaders, the committee yesterday agreed that there should be no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other leaders.

They would take part in Codesa on the basis of four delegations — from each of the provinces — each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

Transvaal has been divid-

ed into six sub-regions, comprising the homelands and self-governing territories in the province, and each would send two representatives.

Three options on the form of their participation are still to be decided upon: full participation; limited participation on issues which affected them directly; and full participation but leaving traditional leaders, who remain above party politics, outside decision-making mechanisms.

A proposal for an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature was yesterday placed before the working group dealing with constitutional principles.

The working document, which is still to be discussed with the leaders of the 19 participating groups, proposed that such a body be included in an interim constitution, drafted by Codesa.

The interim constitution would provide for the body — an elected single-chamber parliament — to be elected on the basis of proportional representation with half the seats allocated on a national list and the rest through

● To Page 3 ■

IFP warns on king

● From Page 1

regional lists.

It would also provide for:

- The composition and procedures of an interim executive. STAR 29/4/92
 - Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections.
 - Decisions are to be taken by "special majority".
 - Decisions on matters relating to regional structures and the distribution of power between central, regional and local levels of government must require a special majority of the regional representatives in the national assembly in addition to a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.
 - The new constitution should be drafted and adopted within a specified period of time.
- Mr Gordhan said the proposal was an important advance in the working group's work. The group had reached a serious impasse on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The Government had earlier proposed an elected two-chamber parliament to draft the constitution and run the country while the ANC had proposed an elected constituent assembly to act as a constitution-making body-cum-legislature.

The IFP had proposed that a new constitution be drafted by an appointed convention.

Reports on progress at Codesa since the first meeting of the five working groups on February 6 have to be finalised by next Thursday.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee yesterday considered the applications of 17 organisations wishing to take part in the talks, but its decision would only be announced today after the groups had been informed.

STAR 29/4/92

'Beast in cop's clothing' gets 26 years off

NOTORIOUS kwaZulu Police (KZP) detective constable Khethani Shange — called a "beast" by the judge who sentenced him to 27 years' imprisonment for a series of murders — has been released after serving only nine months.

kwaMashu residents are living in fear that he will attack again.

The Department of Correctional Services was yesterday unable to explain why Shange was let off 26 years early. A representative asked *The Weekly Mail* to record no response from the department, "not even a no comment". When pushed, the department agreed to issue a statement, but had failed to do so by the time of going to press.

After the original conviction on May 29 1991, Mr Justice Gordon had refused Shange leave to appeal after describing him as a cold-blooded murderer. He had added in his judgement that Shange (22) "is an aggressive person who attacks his enemy first and he enjoys being popular as a killer and that people fear him".

He described Shange as a "beast in a policeman's clothes who was one of the main players in the reign of terror in kwaMashu".

W/Mail 30/4-7/5/92

A 'cold-blooded murderer' has been freed after serving only nine months in jail, causing fear among his victims' family. By ENOCH MTHEMBU

Judge Gordon said he could have sentenced Shange to death but due to his age, he would sentence him to prison, and hoped he would regret his actions.

Residents in the area, where Shange and the Inkatha-aligned Amasinyora gang are based, say there is new tension between African National Congress supporters and the Amasinyora since Shange's return. There are fears of a new outbreak of violence after a long peaceful period, said Madala Gumede, an ANC leader in the area.

However, Inkatha Freedom Party official Thomas Shabalala said that, while some of the Amasinyora gang were members of IFP, "we don't allow them to kill people, even MK members. Violence won't start because of the release of Shange", he said. "They just hate him because the works for the kwaZulu force."

Shange was jailed after murdering Gumede family members — including a three-month-old child — in 1990 at kwaMashu. He twice led attacks on the Gumede home, at 1033E kwaMashu, situated 500m from the local police station.

In the first incident he killed Themba Gumede and his girlfriend, Nomaswazi Ntuli. He then struck again during the subsequent family vigil: three members of the Gumede family were killed, including both parents and a young sister. Themba's mother was shot dead while she was pleading for mercy.

Both attacks took place in February 1990, shortly after the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, during a violent response by the KZP to celebrations in the Natal townships.

A state witness, Albertina Khoza, said in court that the Gumede house had been targeted by the KZP as it was regarded as a harbour for ANC activists.

According to family lawyer Satoshna Moodley, the Gumedes were claiming R150 000 from Shange in his personal capacity because a kwaZulu official had claimed that he was not on duty at the time of the attacks.

When *The Weekly Mail* visited the Gumede family at K section, kwaMashu, this week, the family was packing their belongings for fear of another attack from Shange.

An old woman, who identified herself only as "Themba's grandmother", said: "We can't afford to stay in this area while that man is free."

Following the case, Judge Gordon assigned senior prosecutor G Williams to send a report to the kwaZulu minister of police, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, asking him to investigate:

- Whether kwaMashu station commander Captain Sikhakhane was qualified for his position.
- The role of KZP in violence in the township.
- Violation of law by the KZP.
- The link between the Amasinyora gang and the KZP.

Recently, Mr Justice Thirion attacked the Department of Correctional Services for releasing dangerous criminals. Judge Thirion was supported by Natal Attorney General Mike Imber SC. The release of Shange is viewed as a powerful under-scoring of this accusation.

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1992

MAY — NOVEMBER

Buthelezi takes ANC to task

11B
Sowetan
5/5/92

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday launched a scathing and vitriolic attack on the ANC and its president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Buthelezi said the ANC was provoking conflict in the country, and was purposefully absolving itself and blaming the violence on the IFP.

The IFP, he said, had never accepted the Government's nominal independence, and that it had secured KwaZulu from the hands of apartheid while stoically flying the flag of black liberation.

The ANC, on the other hand, used its military wing and political sloganeering in attempts to destroy him and the IFP.

"I have been reviled because I established Inkatha as a bastion of strength in the defence of the hallowed values of the black struggle for liberation, and because I threw up Inkatha as a final block to anybody who wanted to take over the KwaZulu government in order to destroy our opposition to

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

apartheid," Buthelezi said.

He said Mandela continually accused him and the IFP of violence in the country, while the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "the killing power of AK-47s and trained cadres... were really devastating the land."

Continued attacks on the IFP by the ANC and its leaders have destroyed the chances of the two movements closing the gap between them, he said.

"As I see it, there can be no rapprochement between the IFP and the ANC in the foreseeable future on account of these acrimonious attacks on the IFP, the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu police, by ANC spokespersons," Buthelezi said.

He said the IFP was continuing in its search for peace but that the ANC was "committed to maintaining a battle-ready private army".

Tuesday May 5 1992

IFP rejects constituent assembly

Sowetan 5/5/92

11B

~~2/11~~

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected outright the principle of holding elections for a constitution-making body.

And Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha was earlier yesterday reported to be holding urgent talks with an IFP delegation at Codesa to try to persuade them to change their minds.

Sources close to Codesa Working Group 2, which is charged with preparing or drafting a new constitution, said sufficient consensus would have to be reached by other delegates if the IFP

By IKE MOTSAPI

continued to reject the principle of holding elections for a constitution-making body.

The sources said the IFP was adamant that it would agree only to Codesa appointing a committee to draw a constitution for a new South Africa.

It was hoped yesterday that the issue would be finalised.

However, the IFP's stand had, according to one source, grounded what was to be an expected breakthrough in Codesa Work-

ing Group 2.

Meanwhile, the National Party's proposals for Codesa Working Group 3 on an interim or transitional authority have been postponed until next week.

NP leader at Codesa Dr Dawie de Villiers was expected to announce proposals that are believed to be "too good to refuse".

No progress was achieved yesterday at Codesa Working Group 4 when Bophuthatswana still maintained it would not agree to be reincorporated into South Africa until it had taken a decision on the issue at a later stage.

Inkatha rejects Codesa proposals

B(Dom) 5/5/92
113

INKATHA rejected yesterday key aspects of a Codesa plan for the election of a constitution-making body and the introduction of transitional rule.

Although discussions are continuing, some delegates have begun to consider whether the "sufficient consensus" rule should not be invoked to overrule Inkatha's dissent.

However, others fear that to press ahead without Inkatha's backing could lead to renewed violence.

Inkatha tabled a document at Codesa's working group 2 demanding that a future constitution be subject to total consensus within Codesa rather than the two-thirds special majority of an elected constitution-making body recommended by the working group's steering committee last week.

Inkatha has also demanded safeguards on the inviolability of an interim constitution — whereby full consensus of Codesa delegates will be required before any amendments can be made to the constitution.

It proposes a "failsafe mechanism" whereby, if constitutional negotiations reach deadlock, the country will revert to government according to the present constitution.

The purpose of this proposal, says Inkatha, is to ensure that a majority party (or coalition) in an interim Parliament cannot deliberately prevent consensus being reached on a new constitution and then automatically become the "de facto government".

TIM COHEN and
ALAN FINE

A further crucial point for Inkatha is that the rights of the TBVC states and the self-governing homelands "be inviolate during the transitional period" to ensure that these structures are able to make adequate input at discussions. Inkatha demands, also, a two-chamber system during the transition.

With regard to the first phase of the transition, Inkatha says it will agree to participate in a transitional government only if:

- Codesa's statement of intent is amended so it cannot be interpreted as a commitment to a unitary state;
- Codesa gives proper consideration to the issue of self-determination of regions; and
- The independence of self-governing states (homelands excluding the TBVC states) is observed; and they cannot be deprived of their current status without their consent.

Sources in working group 2 said the day was spent going over Inkatha's document in detail, and this process would continue today.

Some delegates said hopes of a breakthrough before Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16 were now in jeopardy.

Government and the ANC both tabled proposals in working group 4 on how the reincorporation of the TVBC states should take place.

Government says it has no objection in principle to the reincorporation of the TVBC territories.

IFP slammed for stalling at Codesa

MOST Sowetan/Radio Metro callers slammed the Inkatha Freedom Party's rejection of the principle of a constitution-making body and urged Codesa participants to continue despite the organisation's stand.

They told host Tim Modise that the IFP was afraid of democracy.

Sara of Hillbrow said Codesa should ignore the IFP's objections and go ahead with plans to establish a constituent assembly.

"People have been dying and we can't wait for the IFP to make up its

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

mind," she added.

Lester of Mapetla said the IFP, like the Democratic Party, was a small party which believed in capitalism.

Mally of Cape Town said Codesa should go ahead and establish the assembly.

"We should't forget that the assembly is supported by everybody at Codesa as well as the Azapo and the

PAC," Mally said.

Mindeli of Phiri said there was no reason for the IFP to be afraid of the constituent assembly.

"They fear elections and democracy," he said.

Sibusiso Mzolo of Port Elizabeth said he was in favour of an elected body to draw up a constitution.

He felt that Azapo and the PAC should be given another chance.

Ivan of Durban said he favoured an elected constitution-making body.

"Anybody who supports democracy will back this move," he added.

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Sowetan

6/5/92

IFP under fire at

Violence hearing

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

Sowetan 6/5/92

EVIDENCE of violence centred on Inkatha-supporting hostels around Johannesburg dominated yesterday's hearing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Pretoria.

Several witnesses said previously peaceful townships became flashpoints after Inkatha amassed supporters at hostels, which virtually amounted to using them as military bases. The evidence, which is yet to be tested, will be challenged later. What the commission was doing was simply listening. The purpose was to get

an overview of violence in three areas: Alexandra, Soweto and the Vaal Triangle, and then to decide how best to investigate it. Mr Obed Bapela, ANC branch secretary in Alexandra, began with violence in March, April and August last year and this year: each of these flare-ups had been preceded by a massing of Inkatha men-

bers in the hostels in Alexandra, he said. He supplied details on some of the 9 000 people he estimated had been uprooted by the violence, including people living near Madala hostel in Alexandra whose homes had been taken over by Inkatha supporters. The commission ordered that their identities be kept

secret until it was established whether they would give evidence under the protection of the commission. "We are strongly opposed to the notion of any particular area being declared exclusive to any political organisation." He also said he saw cultural weapons as dangerous.

IFP 'created violence flashpoints'

(11B) ARG b/s/92
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Evidence of violence centred on Inkatha-supporting hostels around Johannesburg dominated yesterday's hearing of the Goldstone commission of inquiry in Pretoria.

Several witnesses said previously peaceful townships became flashpoints after Inkatha amassed supporters at hostels, which virtually amounted to using them as military bases.

The evidence, which is yet to be tested, will be challenged later. What the commission was doing was simply listening.

The purpose was to gain an overview of violence in three areas — Alexandra, Greater Soweto and the Vaal Triangle, and then to decide how best to investigate it.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone explained when proceedings began at 10am that an overview would be provided by "knowl-

edgeable people about violence in any particular area on a report basis. The process is not inquisitorial or adversarial.

"When we have established what the issues are, we frame terms of reference relevant to a particular area".

Yesterday's business was not an inquiry on which the commission would make decisions or a finding, he said.

Mr Obed Bapela, ANC branch secretary in Alexandra, began by describing violence in March, April and August last year and this year. Each of these flare-ups had been preceded by a massing of Inkatha members in the hostels in Alexandra, he said.

Mr Max Mosselman, instructed by the Inkatha Freedom Party on behalf of Alexandra hostel dwellers, did not enter a written submission.

He agreed with a suggestion that the area needed a local

peace accord, but said negotiation and agreement were more important than recrimination.

The Rev Dr Liz Carmichael, of the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee, did not appear, but wrote in a submission: "It appears to me that the IFP has made an effort to gain an area in and around the M1 (Madala) hostel, where it will be certain of a block of votes, rather than to run a political campaign of a more conventional kind."

A police submission, read by Captain A G Brits of Kew, said the violence was a result of an ANC-IFP power struggle and that the police had been in the forefront of peace moves.

The Rev Peter Moerane of the Vaal Council of Churches, and the ANC's Mr Floyd Mashele, gave overviews of the Vaal Triangle.

They strongly linked hostels to violence and a thread criticising the police was present in both submissions.

Zulu king: Codesa to meet

CT6/5/92
CODESA's management committee is to meet in Cape Town this week in a last-ditch effort to thrash out the thorny issue of the Zulu King's participation in Codesa.

The meeting will take place at a local hotel tomorrow evening and, according to a source, is designed to "settle for once and for all" the capacity in which the King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders

(116) ~~2/2/92~~
should be represented at the negotiating forum.

The Codesa II plenary session takes place on May 15 and 16 and the issue will have to be resolved by then if the process is to continue with meaningful participation by KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The IFP has described any participation of the Zulu king other than as a full delegate as meaningless.

(118)

Inkatha convoy attacked

MARITZBURG — An Inkatha convoy, including a member of the organization's central committee, David Ntombela, was attacked outside Maritzburg yesterday evening, police confirmed.

A police spokesman said several shots were fired at the convoy in Edendale and a police escort returned fire, but

nobody was injured. Inkatha Institute spokesman Ed Tillet said the convoy had been arranged by Mr Ntombela to take workers home to Elandskop because of "the ANC stranglehold on transport in the Edendale Valley".

Mr Tillet linked the attack to the ANC, saying it was an attempt on Mr Ntombela's life. — Sapa.

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SAPA 71572

Buthelezi rejects peace force plan

Dwelan 8/5/92

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has come out in support of the Government's objections to an international peace-keeping force to monitor the violence in South Africa.

IPF leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected a proposal by the South African Council of Churches for a summit meeting on violence and that an international monitoring team be established in the country.

Buthelezi said South Africans were "quite capable of exposing whatever truth needs to be exposed".

On Wednesday Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said there was no need for a team of international

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

observers to monitor the violence. Kriel said it was up to the political leadership to sort out their differences.

Buthelezi said yesterday that his administration and party were "totally opposed to international monitoring teams during the present process of negotiations".

"We state simply that there is no country in Africa with a Press that is more free than the South African Press. There is no country in Africa in which the churches of the land are more free to conduct inquiries, search for truth and proclaim it."



Children frolic in the dusty streets of Imball, Maritzburg, against a background of army men and trucks patrolling the troubled township.

Inkatha, police are ambushed

Sowetan 8/5/92

(11B)

A PARTY of armed Inkatha members escorted by the police was ambushed at Edendale, near Maritzburg, late on Wednesday as they travelled through the area.

The attack followed a day of tension in which thousands of ANC supporters crowded into the city for a mass meeting at the market square.

The shooting broke out after an open truck - in which Midlands Inkatha leader Mr David Ntombela was also travelling - passed a crowd of people coming from the ANC meeting which had been held earlier.

The two parties began taunting each other. The truck was pelted with rocks, followed by the burst of gunfire.

There was pandemonium as people scattered in all directions as the two parties exchanged fire.

Police spokesman Captain Harry Budhram said that the police had returned fire in the direction of the shots.

The shooting lasted a few minutes. Other security force vehicles in the area joined the police convoy escorting the Inkatha party.

Thousands of workers vowed at that meeting to

continue their stayaway in protest against the presence in the townships of security forces, police riot units and the KwaZulu Police.

Schools in the predominantly ANC areas remain closed, though schools in the nearby "Inkatha" areas remain open.

Ntombela, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for Vulindlela, has called a mass meeting at Vulindlela today to find out what the response should be to the ambush.

A few KwaZulu Transport buses and taxis were operating yesterday. The worker stayaway is creating disruption and loss of production in Maritzburg and civic and industrial leaders have called for a quick resolution to the problem.

Meanwhile, at Wednesday's market square meeting, attended by thousands, there was a massive vote in favour of a continued stayaway for the rest of the week until the demands were met. Many police members were present. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Top SACP man hurls insults at Buthelezi, FW

SITimes 10/5/92
MOSES MAYEKISO, the president of the SA National Civics Association and prominent SA Communist Party member, escalated the war of words this week with Inkatha when he referred to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a "dog", a term considered an extreme insult to Zulus.

In Washington to promote the "Stop Apartheid's Violence" campaign launched by the Africa Fund, a UN-backed anti-apartheid lobby, Mr Mayekiso also called State President FW De Klerk a "terrorist".

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

Appearing at a thinly-attended but largely sympathetic forum arranged by the US Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, he said Mr De Klerk was "an instrument of violence" and "not different from other National Party leaders" of the past, who had been "responsible for the murder" of blacks.

He said the role of killer had not been ditched by the state, but was part of the negotiating package.

Mr Buthelezi was a pawn of the state, Mr Mayekiso said. He said youths used to sing: "What do we see when we look at Gatsha Buthelezi?" The song answered: "We see a dog," he said.

He went on to say that like any dog, Mr Buthelezi could only win when controlled by someone else.

These were not off-the-cuff remarks. The speaker

was reading, albeit with some difficulty, from a prepared text.

He was introduced by Gay MacDougall, who heads the Lawyers' Committee's South Africa Project. "He has fought," she said in what seemed an unfortunate choice of words, "to bring stability to his own township, Alexandra." Before he spoke, the audience was shown a brief film on the violence, produced by the Africa Fund.

Flood

Like Mr Mayekiso, the film attributed the violence to the government and Inkatha and hinted that Renamo-type forces were surfacing in South Africa.

It ended with a claim that the Bush administration was helping finance the killing by giving Inkatha a share of the R27-million "Transition to Democracy" fund voted by Congress in 1990.

The Africa Fund is asking supporters to flood "apartheid ambassador Harry Schwarz" with telephone calls, faxes and letters.

IFP backs down on constitution

Suzan 12/5/92 118

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday agreed to an elected constitution-making body for the first time at Codesa.

And in a further development, Codesa made progress when delegates to Working Group 3 on transitional government agreed to an elected parliament under an interim constitution.

The breakthrough came when the delegates agreed to proposals by a technical committee of Working Group 3 yesterday.

This development has eased the tension and frustrations by some delegates who had hoped that no progress would be achieved by Friday when Codesa 2 sits.

And Ms Suzan Vos, Inkatha delegate at Working Group 3, said it was all systems go for the envisaged elected transitional government.

Inkatha was initially opposed to the holding of such

By IKE MOTSAPI

elections without a constitution.

Delegates also agreed that a Cabinet-like transitional executive structure should be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa.

The structure would include an overarching council referred to as transitional executive council (TEC).

The technical committee report states that the transition to democracy would involve two preliminary stages.

- The first would deal with preparations for elections for an elected parliament under the Interim Constitution with the power to draft in terms of agreed procedures in a new constitution and to act as an interim legislature.

- The second covered the period from the holding of elections to the adoption of a new constitution and the installation of the new government.

Inkatha suggests special peace treaty for Alex

13/5/92
11B
WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA wants to sign a peace treaty with the ANC and its allies to "ensure the cessation of violence, intimidation and other forms of aggression" in Alexandra, it was disclosed yesterday.

ANC Alexandra spokesman Obed Bapela said yesterday Inkatha official Bruce Anderson had raised the matter at a recent meeting of a local interim crisis committee.

Bapela said local structures of the ANC and its allies were debating whether to enter into such a treaty.

"The feeling is that there is no need for a peace treaty between the ANC, its allies and Inkatha as these organisations have signed the national peace accord," Bapela said.

Anderson confirmed that Inkatha wanted to have bilateral talks with the ANC.

Alexandra's Interim Crisis Committee co-ordinator Elizabeth Carmichael confirmed Inkatha had raised the matter and said her committee was discussing it.

Another peace agreement, between community leaders, Spoornet and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation, ran into a hitch yesterday shortly before it was due to be signed.

The community leaders said they wanted their lawyers to study a sentence which Spoornet added to the document on Monday.

Institute for Contextual Theology general secretary Smangalis Mkhathswa said it was hoped that the agreement would be signed this week.

Meanwhile, the ANC has said it was outrageous that a policeman who allegedly assaulted and raped a 17-year-old girl in Katlehong, on the East Rand, this week was still at large despite medical evidence and positive identification.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the girl, who was allegedly raped early on Monday, had not only given the address of the policeman in question but had also identified him by name.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the policeman had not been arrested as investigations were continuing.

In another development, a policeman, Const P van Zyl, was stabbed twice on Monday afternoon during a confrontation with a suspect on a train between Doornfontein and Johannesburg stations. Van Zyl was treated and discharged from hospital and his attacker escaped.

Sapa reports that police found the stabbed and shot body of a policeman at a squatter camp in Katlehong on Monday night.

Goldstone commission chairman Judge R Goldstone said yesterday the commission would hold a public inquiry on Friday into recent violence in Maritzburg.

Yesterday 22 ANC Women's League members were prevented from entering the US and British consulates in Durban to deliver memoranda protesting against 32 Battalion's presence in Imbali township.

Buthelezi boycotts tomorrow's Codesa 2

Political Staff

11B ARG 14/5/92

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will again be boycotting the Codesa plenary session.

Instead, the IFP delegation to Codesa 2 tomorrow will be led by the party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Chief Buthelezi has linked his attendance to that of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, but the Codesa management committee has not resolved the form of participation by traditional leaders.

Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo has been included in the ANC delegation as has Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak, but none of the five former Democratic Party MPs who joined the ANC last month, has been included.

Each of the 19 participating groups is allowed to send 12 delegates and five advisers.

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Trust Feed judicial probe promised if police fail

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARG 14/5/92

THE government has promised a judicial inquiry into allegations of police misconduct in the Trust Feed case if the present police investigation — under a former regional court president — proves unsatisfactory.

This was announced in parliament yesterday by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel.

He also:

■ Warned that the police would go to court to seek bans on publications carrying unsubstantiated allegations against them; and

■ Announced progress in the formation of an independent investigation unit to probe serious allegations against police.

Mr Kriel said the report on the investigation under former regional court president Mr William Krugel would be made public, "and if there are any aspects that cannot be satisfactorily handled within the existing judicial system, I will recommend to the President that a judicial commission be appointed".

He said the police were "extremely unhappy" about the Trust Feed inci-

dent and about every policeman who contravened the law.

"They want to and will take action against such policemen," he said.

Mr Kriel said that in the light of the "obvious disadvantages" of the police being compelled to investigate allegations against themselves, he had decided in principle, in conjunction with the Police Management Council, to establish a separate investigation unit.

He said it was envisaged the new unit would investigate allegations of murder and attempted murder, assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, instigation of racial enmity, corruption and defeating the ends of justice.

Mr Kriel also gave notice that the police would seek redress in the courts against the publication of "unsubstantiated allegations".

The police were not unwilling to make facts public, "but we can no longer afford the publication of one-sided accusations when — because of continuing criminal investigations or judicial commissions — we are prevented from making all the facts available to the media immediately".

CHECK



Zulu protesters stopped by police

JOHANNESBURG. — An impi of about 800 armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters intent on joining Zulu protesters at Codesa 2 at the World Trade Centre were prevented by police from walking to Cleveland station today. (118) ARG 15/5/92

The men, armed with traditional weapons, were stopped soon after emerging from the Denver Hostel on the East Rand.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe said the IFP supporters were planning to board a train to the World Trade Centre.

Members of the police's Internal Stability Unit held discussions with the leaders and told them they would not be allowed to board trains.

The men then returned to the hostel.

Colonel Malherbe said police were monitoring the situation.

About 150 Zulus carrying spears, shields and sticks and demanding the full participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa did reach the World Trade Centre where they protested loudly.

They waved placards demanding the unconditional participation of the king "or else".

"Excluding the Zulus is a recipe for conflict" and "Codesa minus Zulu King equals chaos and trouble", read the placards. — Sapa.

ANC depllores IFP leader's assassination

STAR 16/5/92

115
JOE LOUW

THE African National Congress has issued a statement deploring yesterday's assassination of Simon Nxumalo, Alexandra leader of the Inkatha Freedom party, and blaming his death on "agent provocateurs" aiming to disrupt Codesa and set off another round of violence in the tunder-box township.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said two unknown gunmen had killed Nxumalo at about 7.30 am as he walked to work. "He was shot twice in the back and died on arrival at the Alexandra Clinic," said Pieke.

He said police could not give more details on the attack but were investigating.

Meanwhile the embat-

led township is steeling itself for reaction to his death. His killing has led to widespread fears of a violent retribution by IFP supporters on the Alexandra community.

Nxumalo was a prominent member of the IFP and a respected member of the Alexandra community.

He was praised by all political parties as a man deeply involved in peace negotiations in the troubled township.

Both residents and the hostel dwellers have clashed with each other and the police during the past two months.

Nxumalo, a long-time resident of the township, was an active partici-

● TO PAGE 2

IFP killing

FROM PAGE 1

tant in most community efforts at peaceful reconciliation among rival factions.

Responding to the killing, IFP Codesa delegate Bruce Anderson said it was tragic that a proponent of peace was killed in this manner.

"We're afraid of the reaction, but we're calling on people to remain calm," he said.

The ANC statement said the organisation learnt with extreme shock about the killing and condemned it.

"The timing of the murder," the statement said, "is reminiscent of past trends of violence which proved to coincide with major political developments.

Nxumalo's murder coincides with the second sitting of Codesa. It could only have been the intent of the perpetrators of this dastardly act to disrupt the proceedings and peace effort underway in Alexandra.

Both the ANC PWV Region and the Alexandra ANC branch distance themselves from such acts and condemn with contempt the latest attack on Nxumalo and extend our deepest sympathy to both family and friends," the statement concluded.

Similar messages were issued by many organisations yesterday including the Interim Crisis Committee and prominent community leaders.

Police reported no arrests and no other incidents of violence.

Strong support for Inkatha

'Good hostel' a secret base?

STAR 16/5/92

(118)

IT SEEMED too good to be true — a "good" hostel in Soweto where the local residents and the hostel dwellers lived in perfect harmony and where the residents actually liked having the hostel dwellers around.

After my previous experiences with the

Stories of residents living in perfect harmony proved so unlikely that reporter JOE LOUW just had to find out. His trip to the area unearthed the unexpected and a good measure of hostility.

notorious Madala Hostel in Alexandra, where the hostel dwellers and local residents were in a virtual state of perpetual war, I would

have to see this to believe it.

Of all the single men's hostels in the PWV area, Diepkloof Extension Hostel seemed, on the surface

anyway, to be a rare exception.

During the day, school children freely criss-cross the hostel grounds on their way to and from school. Older girls and women are often seen socialising with inmates.

Numerous Diepkloof residents were emphatic in their praise of the peace they have been enjoying for the past years.

Attempting to find out how this apparent modern miracle was possible, I decided to investigate Diepkloof Extension Hostel and found a very different side to the story.

When I entered the hostel one day last week I assumed that, given the chummy relationship described to me by residents, most of the hostel dwellers would be friendly and hospitable.

Wrong.

Groups of men gathered in a square near the hostel's beer hall were definitely not friendly. They were sullen and wouldn't answer questions. They merely pointed in the direction of the "office" where, they said, my questions would be answered.

At the communal hall a man, using a megaphone was calling hostel dwellers to a meeting.

Rebuffed

In the dusk, groups of men, many of them armed with so called "traditional weapons", sticks, knobkerries and sharpened metal rods arrived from their bungalows.

My attempt to attend the meeting was immediately rebuffed by five hefty men to whom I had been referred to — they were supposed to be the "residents' committee". I was gruffly ordered to leave after being told to apply to the town office of Inkhata.

The next morning at the rent office I was again referred to the IFP who I was informed "control the hostel".

Another informant, who refused to give me any personal details, then related to me what he said was "the truth about this

Why cops did not disarm IFP men - evidence

Suretem 1915/92
FEARS of chaos at New Canada railway station near Soweto last Friday led police to decide against disarming Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, a committee of the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

The IFP supporters, some of whom were armed with knobkerries and axes, were on their way to the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park where Codesa 2 proceedings were in progress.

Captain Matthys du Plessis, a commanding officer at New Canada police station, told the commission that police either had

to disarm the men and cause chaos, or ask them to go back from where they came.

"As we feared that there might be chaos if we disarmed them, we decided to prevent them from boarding the train and asked them to return where they came from," he said.

Du Plessis said there were commuters waiting for trains at the station.

"We gave them the option of leaving their weapons at New Canada railway station but they refused," he said.

He said the men were then escorted back to where they came from.

'IFP ordered silence even under torture'

STAR 21/5/92

52 113

Top Inkatha leaders at meetings at Soweto's Nancefield hostel in 1991 told supporters that if anyone was arrested for being in possession of guns or for murder, they should not say anything to the police, even if tortured.

This was said in Pretoria yesterday by a witness, who may not be named, before a Goldstone Commission committee inquiring into violence on trains.

The witness said Inkatha Freedom Party members Themba Khoza, Musa Moyeni and Humphrey Ndhlovu told the meetings lawyers would be arranged for those arrested.

He said while living at Nancefield hostel from 1989 to 1991 he noticed Zulu leaders on various occasions addressing dwellers and encouraging them to fight ANC followers, especially because of attacks on IFP members in Tokoza at the time.

The witness told the commit-

tee a reason for the violence was that Zulus did not want to be ruled by Xhosas.

He said the attacks on trains stemmed from songs and slogans in coaches which insulted IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The songs were referred to at the hostel meetings.

The witness said that in 1990 he heard of a reward being offered by the police for information on illegal weapons.

Later that year he went to Soweto's Protea police station where he met Detective Warrant Officer Sjula Sithebe, who was in the firearms unit and involved in the reward offer.

"I was introduced to (a) Captain Kruger and I gave him information about people who were in possession of firearms. Acting on this information the police went to the hostel and found the firearms, and I was paid for the information."

He continued working for the police and attended many meetings at the hostel, some of which were addressed by Mr

Khoza. He said he volunteered to join a group that was prepared to use spears and pangas.

He continued reporting people with firearms, and arrests were made as a result of his information. He also identified people who took part in attacks.

The witness described a number of meetings at which plans to attack train commuters at railway stations were discussed, and how the attacks were carried out.

He said that in November last year he was told by his cousin, who also lived in the hostel, that he (the witness) was to be killed because he was a police informer. He escaped through a window.

Later he was told by his contact at the police that a Captain Vermaak had sold him out to the hostel dwellers.

He said he was not paid R10 000 for information about a train attack in June 1991 nor R30 000 for additional information on a train attack in October the same year. — Sapa.

'IFP ordered silence even under torture'

STAR 21/5/92

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Dive into your pocket ... and make a donation to employees Victoria Mall and M M Gooler.

Respite for black property owners

STAR 21/5/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Untangling the bureaucracy of apartheid is proving a time-consuming business.

The Government has been compelled to give black property-owners who bought land in the name of a white buyer more time to transfer the property into their own names.

Provision for this was made in the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Amendment Bill that was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Group Areas Act was repealed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act that was passed last year.

One of the provisions of the Act says the cases where black people bought their land in the name of white people in

conflict with the Group Areas Act were deemed "not to be an illegal transaction or a transaction which constitutes an offence".

The buyers and their fronts were given six months from when the Act came into effect on June 30 last year to request the Registrar of Deeds to transfer property from the front to the real owner.

The six months ran out on December 31.

A memorandum on the amendment Bill said the requirements of practice indicated that this period should have been longer, and "this Bill seeks to extend the period to two years".

"The extension is to be made with retrospective effect, so that there will be no interval in the currency of the authorisation granted."

Detained youths due home from Swaziland

STAR 21/5/92

MBABANE — A group of South African youths, who were detained after allegedly crossing illegally into Swaziland and claiming they were ANC members on their way to undergo military training, were expected to re-

turn home yesterday.

This was according to a three-person ANC delegation which interviewed the 47 youths — who have been held in Swaziland's Big Bend prison for about two weeks — on Tuesday.

At a press briefing yesterday, delegation leader Jackie Selebi said the youths had told him they had been recruited in Natal, although not through the ANC offices.

Mr Selebi said his or-

ganisation was investigating

Some of those involved in the recruitment were known to the ANC, and at least one was a member, Mr Selebi added. — Sapa

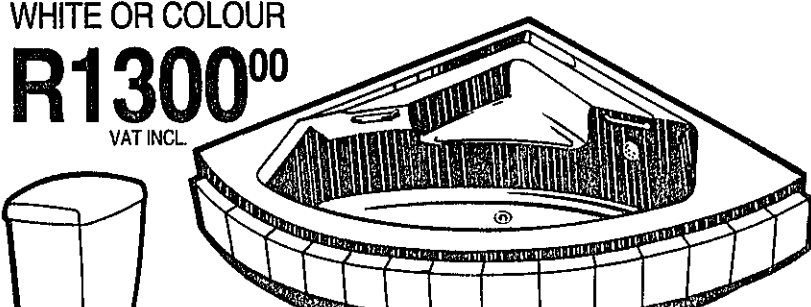
ALL ROADS LEAD TO THE CITY

BATHROOM BONANZA

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R1300⁰⁰

VAT INCL.



FOR the first time, Inkatha leaders have been directly linked to township violence — as well as the wave of attacks on Reef trains over the past year.

And notorious PWV Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza has been specifically named as having ordered attacks by Inkatha followers on African National Congress members.

The Goldstone Commission heard in Pretoria on Wednesday that Inkatha leaders on the Reef had urged their supporters at Soweto's Nancefield Hostel to attack ANC members and community residents.

A witness — identified only as O1 — testified that the leaders had encouraged the hostel dwellers to fight ANC people, particularly in the light of attacks on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters in Thokozwa at the time.

The commission heard how Khoza, Inkatha executive member in the Transvaal Musa Myeni and West Rand Inkatha chairman Humphrey Ndhlovu had cautioned supporters not to say anything to the police if they were arrested for being in possession of guns or for murder — and even if they were tortured. The hostel dwellers were reassured that lawyers would be arranged for them in these circumstances.

The witness, who said he had become a police informant, also testified that Zulu leaders had addressed the men on various occasions and had mobilised them for train attacks while he was living at the hostel.

"I made it my business to go to all the meetings that

Witness O1 tells of Inkatha hit-men

w/maail 22/5-28/5/92

A former hostel dweller has provided the first direct link between Inkatha leaders and township violence and train attacks. By LINDA RULASHE

I could possibly attend at the hostel," he said, adding that all the residents were expected to show support for the IFP. "I pretended I was a strong supporter."

At some of the meetings, some leaders, "especially one Ntombela", asked people to volunteer to help in attacks on township residents: "He used to issue a challenge ... to the effect that if anyone was brave and was prepared to use spears and pangas, they could join his group."

The witness told the commission, which is chaired by Judge Gert Steyn and is investigating violence on trains, that he had come to Soweto from Natal in 1989. He moved into Nancefield Hostel in October 1989 and

lived there until November 27 1991.

"At first the situation was peaceful, but tensions later developed between the different ethnic groups. Consequently, the non-Zulus disappeared because of the tension and for fear of being attacked by Zulu residents."

Counsel for Inkatha, Louis Visser, asked the witness whether he was an Inkatha member. "I was just a follower because I did not have a place to stay. I had to stay at the hostel," he replied.

"What's that got to do with it?" retorted Visser. "I didn't ask you that question. I asked you if you were a supporter."

"I was staying at the hostel," maintained the witness. "If you are a resident you have to be involved with what they are doing and you have to follow them."

"So you involved yourself in Inkatha matters?"

"I had to."

Asked whether Khoza had actually said the hostel

dwellers should attack people in the township, the witness answered: "Yes. He was stressing that people should go and attack the ANC. He said more than 150 IFP leaders had been killed and so that same number of ANC people should be killed."

Judge Steyn asked: "The jackpot question is, why were these attacks actually launched?"

The witness replied: "Most of the people in the township are ANC and the hostel people are Inkatha. 'People were killed, it was said, because there was (ANC leader Nelson) Mandela and (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi. The Zulus would not allow themselves to be ruled by a Xhosa and the Xhosas would not allow themselves to be ruled by a Zulu."

"What would the ANC then do in these cases?" asked Judge Steyn.

"They were afraid of hostel people. If they saw hostel people walking alone, they would have the chance to attack them."

"But what would they do exactly?"

"They would stab and burn them."

Judge Steyn probed further: "Is the violence coming from both sides?"

"Yes," said the witness, "but mostly from IFP members because the ANC would usually run away."

Asked whether there were any other reasons for the violence between the two groups, the witness contended that although he was not a train commuter, he had heard that ANC people used to sing, ululate and insult Buthelezi.

"What was the reaction then from Inkatha?" asked Judge Steyn.

"That would be addressed if there was a meeting and then after that insult, it resulted in fighting. Members of Inkatha started hitting back at them."

The main Zulu leaders who lived at the hostel and were involved in the meetings — some of which were attended by all the hostel dwellers, in excess of 8 000 people — were *indunas* with the names of Zondi, Ntombela, Mbatha, Madondo, Gasa and Makhunga, he said.

"They called on the Zulus to attack people in the community. There were in fact various attacks by hostel dwellers on members of the community living in the township," said the witness.

During one of these attacks, on residents in Pinville, the witness accompanied a group of hostel dwellers in a taxi. They shot at people who were standing outside a house. "I heard on the radio the next day that about six people were killed."

After this incident, the group met in Ntombela's room at the hostel, where he wrote down the names of those who had gone on "the mission".

Mbatha, a senior *induna*, had said at various meetings that guns had been bought and that there was going to be fighting. "He also said the police would not conduct any searches at the hostel and that this had already been discussed with the police, he said.

"In fact, the police did not come to search the hostel at all in 1990 and only did so once in 1991, after I had given them information which led to the arrest of some people."

The witness said he went to the police after hearing about a reward offered for information concerning possession of illegal weapons. He was registered as a police informant and was given a code name.

"I was aware of various IFP supporters having firearms at the hostels. During the second half of 1990 I went to the Protea Police Station and met Detective Warrant Officer Syla Sithebe, who is in the firearms unit and was involved in implementing the reward offer.

"I was introduced to a Captain Kruger and I gave him information about people who were in possession of firearms. Acting on this information, the police went to the hostel and found the firearms. I was paid for the information I gave.

"Captain Kruger told me to continue working at the hostel to obtain further information and report it to the police."

The witness said he had told the police that he was prepared to give evidence in court, despite his identity being known by some of the hostel dwellers who were arrested by the police for the train attacks. However, he was not called to testify in court.

Towards the end of 1990, the witness informed Kruger about a man called Mshangane who possessed guns. Mshangane was arrested, but was later released.

In 1991, the witness pointed out people on three occasions. Two men he had pointed out, Zwane and Mbuyisa, were later arrested. Further arrests could not be effected as police had to leave the hostel when residents chased them away, he said.

Counsel leading evidence for the commission, Johan du Toit, asked the witness whether he had made any sworn statements when he gave information to the police. "No, because they did not say I should do so," he replied.

On June 24 1991, he continued, the hostel dwellers were called to a meeting by Zondi, who told them an IFP member had been killed on the train that day and that a revenge attack had to be



Money or the box ... Media Workers' Association of South Africa members picket outside the SABC headquarters in Auckland Park on Tuesday. One thousand SABC workers went on a national wage strike on Monday which brought broadcasts on CCV and the black radio stations to a standstill. SABC labour relations spokesman Christo Pretorius maintained a steely "no comment" on the strike all week. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Maties may become 'tribal college'

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

A BILL before parliament entrenching Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at Stellenbosch University has drawn fire from progressive academics on the campus who see it as an attempt to entrench its white, middle-class status — while some fear it could lead to the university's relegation to the status of a "provincial tribal college".

The Bill was tabled in parliament this week — in the wake of the launch of a new movement, *Stigting vir Afrikaans* (Foundation for Afrikaans), spearheaded by Nasionale Pers managing director Ton Vosloo "in the interests of all Afrikaans people and institutions whose future is in question". Naspers dailies have launched public subscription drives to raise funds for the movement, which will be fighting for Afrikaans to be retained as an official language.

The Stellenbosch University Bill also comes at a time of hefty debate over access to tertiary education. Use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at the majority of predominantly white residential universities has been cited as a factor in closing off access to black applicants.

A technical adjustment made to the Bill this week means the appointment of staff and admission of students will no longer be linked to recognition of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. While this has won the Bill the support in parliament of MPs from the Democratic Party, National Party and African National Congress (the Conservative Party is opposing it) academics believe it has not removed their grounds for concern.

"At least the discriminatory element is now out," said Professor Lourens du Plessis of Stellenbosch's Department of Public Law. "But

the basic question of whether the language medium should be entrenched, remains.

"Those who oppose it are not against Afrikaans *per se*. They feel there is a need for flexibility as South Africa moves into a new future. It is a question of how it is done," he said.

Professor Phillip Nel and 11 colleagues in the Department of Political Science criticised a lack of consultation with staff and students before the decision was taken by the university's senate.

Although the Bill did not rule out students choosing to take exams in English or lecturers giving some classes in English (with senate permission), the Bill belied Stellenbosch's history and tradition of tolerant accommodation of language preferences among students and lecturers.

Most damaging, said Nel and his colleagues, was that the Bill provided "additional *prima facie* support" for the view that the university authorities were trying to entrench the university as a predominantly white, elitist institution. If this was unintentional, it displayed "a remarkable degree of insensitivity to the perception created.

"We are committed to building a university which welcomes South Africans of all racial and language groups," the academics said.

Professor Sample Terreblanche of the Department of Economics said he and others feared the move would lead to Stellenbosch being seen as a "provincial, tribal institution.

"What will the reaction of the outside world be?" he asked. "Stellenbosch can't be a centre of excellence without international support and co-operation."

He also questioned the timing of the move "in this delicate period where everything is chang-

ing and when the whole issue of language rights in a new South Africa has yet to be cleared up".

The issue would remain controversial as it formed part of a wider ideological struggle — one no longer being fought between black and white, but between a middle-class and an underclass, he said.

"In this context, those in sufficient command of Afrikaans to go to university would be middle-class. This is not the kind of signal the university should be sending out to the world, or to the underclass," he said.

Vested economic interests were clearly playing a role, he said. The economic future of Nasionale Pers rested on that of Afrikaans, hence its support for the new *Stigting vir Afrikaans*. The outgoing rector of Stellenbosch University, Professor Mike de Vries, is a member of Naspers' board of directors.

The person largely responsible for drafting the Bill is incoming rector, Professor Andreas van Wyk, an executive member of the Broederbond.

He said this week the move was unanimously supported by the university's senate and council and served to "confirm the status quo". There was no "hidden agenda": the Bill would also entrench in law Stellenbosch's commitment to non-discrimination (making it the first university to do so) and "at the same time, (the university) wants to affirm its language status".

Asked if the decision had first been canvassed with other universities in view of attempts currently underway to rationalise tertiary provision and address the question of access, Van Wyk said South African universities were autonomous and refused to discuss the issue any further.

Inkatha leaders gave the orders

from PAGE 5

launched the next morning.

The group met early the next morning, as arranged. The witness was armed with a panga because he didn't have money to buy a firearm. "We were all sprayed with a herbal potion which was supposed to make us unidentifiable."

Leaving the hostel at 6am, they walked along the railway line to Kliptown Station. When a train arrived, shots were fired and people jumped out.

"I ran back to the hostel. I think the other men in the group must have boarded the train at Kliptown station, carried out the attack and disembarked at Nancefield station, because when I got back to the hostel they were there. That was about 7.30am."

The witness named some of the hostel dwellers involved in the attack, including leaders.

Two of the men involved in the train attack — Mlamleni Mchunu and Khulekani Mvelase — were arrested in July, when the witness identified them. Both were found in possession of firearms and they later confessed to being involved in the attack. Others were later arrested for illegal possession of firearms.

Another attack was launched by about 200 hostel dwellers on commuters at Nancefield station in October 1991.

"When the train stopped, the hostel men started shooting and hacking passengers," said the witness.

"I was standing nearby watching. We could see people stabbing the commuters, who were trying to get out of the train, and chasing and assaulting people on the platform. I saw two policemen on the platform, but they ran away when the shooting began."

The attackers changed their clothes after the attack and joined those watching the ambulances at the station, he said.

Unlike the first train attack, the witness did not immediately report this second attack. "It was difficult for me to leave the hostel without being detected or attacked. I only reported the incident in November, to one Danie. I had his page number. I used to leave a message and he would always turn up for meetings."

"He would give me about R200 at each meeting and asked about what was going on at the hostel."

However, the witness said, he was not paid the R10 000 owed him for information about the June train attack, nor the R30 000 for information on the October attack.

Du Toit asked: "But did the police not tell you that you could only be given the money after a conviction?"

"They said they would pay if I gave them information that would lead to the arrests of those people."

Cop recruits informers via soccer club

W/week 22/5 - 28/5/92

A VAAL policeman is using his private football club to recruit youths as informers for Inkatha Freedom Party and has supplied them with weapons, former club players and fans charged this week.

The allegation ties in with *Weekly Mail* disclosures of a secret South African Police network in the Vaal linked to the planning of violence. The policeman in question, Sergeant Mike Kolokoto, features prominently in the affidavit of a Sebokeng activist, Daniel Kolisang, who was taken to a clandestine police base and, he says, offered money to bomb the houses of African National Congress members.

Kolisang says that at the secret base, he was offered weapons training at the hands of Kolokoto at a location near Rust-der-Vaal. He was told by his police handler, he adds, that Kolokoto provided arms training for "informers".

Kolokoto, a former SAP man now working for the Sebokeng municipal police, has a private

In yet another link to Weekly Mail

disclosures of a secret police

network, a policeman runs a

'football club' to supply informers

with weapons.

By DREW FORREST

football club, "Mike's Classic", recruited largely from the Tambo Village squatter camp on the outskirts of Sebokeng.

A former club fan, White Paul, said Kolokoto had acknowledged being an Inkatha member and had recruited seven of the club's players to the organisation.

He had also supplied them with pistols, and Paul had seen him collect the weapons before matches were played and distribute them afterwards.

Paul said Kolokoto's recruits were taken two

or three times a week for long meetings at Kolokoto's home, in the elite suburb of Debonair Park. There, he understood, they were quizzed by Inkatha members about "comrades" in Tambo Village.

In a recent interview with *The Weekly Mail* — he answered his door with a 9mm pistol in his hand — Kolokoto confirmed that the house next door to his was rented by the kwazulu government and used by kwazulu policemen.

Among its occupants is a certain Ndamara Chonco, linked by Vaal activists to a number of armed attacks in the area and convicted last year of unlawful possession of arms.

Kolokoto also confirmed having regular contact with these men, ascribing this to "good-neighbourliness". Asked whether he had links with the security police, he thought long and hard before replying in the negative.

A former club player, 17-year-old Dion Buys, said Kolokoto's recruits had threatened to kill him, Paul and another former fan,

Hendrick Boyang, all of whom are ANC members. They had also said they wanted to remove "comrades" from Tambo Village, and make it an Inkatha stronghold.

"Kolokoto says I am a spy, and that I took comrades to burn down his house two years ago," he said.

The three activists are sleeping away from home, and last week approached the Vaal Civic Association for help.

Kolokoto could not be contacted on the latest allegations. But he earlier denied providing weapons training to anyone, describing Kolisang's affidavit as "a joke and a half".

Three more ANC-linked activists have been killed in Sebokeng, in the low-intensity war on the organisation in the Vaal.

Mzwandile Mokwayi, Laurence Maphukathi and Edwin Molepo, all ANC Youth League members, were gunned down in the street in Sebokeng's violence-torn Zone 7 last Sunday.

Who'd kill Inkatha's peaceful Simon?

"If you are a captain of a ship and you see a storm, you don't take the first boat out and row away from the ship."

For three weeks Alexandra's Inkatha leader feared for his life. His fears were justified — a week ago he was shot.

By RAY NXUMALO

Assassinated Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Simon Thandabantu Nxumalo used to argue, "You steer the ship to calmer waters."

Nxumalo, chairman of the IFP's Alexandra branch at the time of his death, used the analogy whenever friends and family tried to persuade him to leave Inkatha, an organisation with which he was reportedly becoming disillusioned.

When Nxumalo's body is laid to rest tomorrow in his Natal birthplace, Bergville, a question Alexandra township will be left asking itself is "who would kill a man with a vision of peace?" His death last week has jeopardised peace initiatives in the township in more ways than one. Fears of revenge attacks stalk the township.

Nxumalo represented the IFP in the Alexandra Peace Forum, a monitoring and peace-keeping body comprised of

the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo and civic and church organisations. He was also an employee of the town council, which appointed him manager of the notorious kwaMadala hostel two months ago.

Hailed by friends and foe as "a man who loved peace", Nxumalo seemed the right man for the job: by keeping the hostel dwellers in line, he could help bring stability to the township.

There was one problem: among his duties, he had to collect rental from hostel dwellers, who for some months had been refusing to pay their rents.

Another bone of contention was that he did not live in kwaMadala. Despite the fact that he was chairman of the local IFP, hostel dwellers argued that he "did not understand their problems". Allegations of him "selling out"

'ANC killed Nxumalo'

INKATHA'S information officer, Susanne Vos, on Monday blamed elements within the African National Congress for Nxumalo's death.

"He did not deserve to be shot in the back," said Vos. "Nobody deserves that." According to statistics supplied by Inkatha, firearms accounted for 67.91 percent of deaths of IFP members since the signing of the National Peace Accord last September.

"There has been systematic assassination of IFP leaders throughout the country," Vos said, singling out Moses Makhosho as being responsible for fanatical violence in Alexandra. She quoted him as saying in a May Day rally: "People who are well-trained must use guns and chase out Inkatha."

Coincidentally, on Tuesday night Makhosho was arrested for possession of two Makarov pistol. He appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday morning and is out on R4 000 bail.

began making the rounds and he was once prompted to confront his followers to clear the air. No sooner had that been sorted out than another fall-out emerged.

Hostel dwellers were apparently incensed with Nxumalo participating in the peace forum. Participants observed that violence emanated from the hostel and recommended that a memorandum be handed to the town council requesting that they convert the hostel into family units.

Nxumalo is believed to have been in agreement with the forum, but he could not sign the memo. Firstly, he was employed by the town council which was to be petitioned. Secondly, the conversion of hostels into family units "is a contentious issue within Inkatha", so Nxumalo had to consult the organisation. He was subsequently reprimanded by the leadership.

Nxumalo steadfastly refused to live in the hostel when all Inkatha supporters sought refuge there.

At the height of unrest Nxumalo threatened to call the police to arrest hostel dwellers who had forcefully occupied houses near the hostel, after their owners had fled the area.

Since the unrest, Nxumalo had been living in fear. Three weeks ago he told his daughter he "was going away for a while". He also told church ministers involved in the forum about his worry, but it is not clear who was he scared of.

Members of his family do not think his political adversaries are responsible for his assassination. "If the comrades wanted him dead, they could have killed him at the height of the unrest a month ago," said a family spokesman.

Local ANC members held him in high esteem. They say "he had vision". Nxumalo communicated with people from different political persuasion with ease. A brave man who freely walked the streets without bodyguards, he did not carry "traditional weapons".

Nxumalo was apparently disillusioned with Inkatha. His disillusionment — and his life — was cut short by two bullets in the back last Friday.

strong moral values
UPI

Inkatha man not to hang

BLOEMFONTEIN — An Inkatha member who says he was told to murder a leader of the Food and Allied Workers' Union has been saved from the gallows.

Jail for 17 years has been substituted by the Appeal Court here for the death sentence of Mlandeleni Ntshangase for the 1987 murder of Mr Abion Sibubundu.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Kriegler said Ntshangase was not a professionally violent person.

— Sapa

(118) 2/1/92

GOLDSTONE SPELLS IT OUT: THERE ARE NO 'GOOD GUYS'

Sl Times 31/5/92

THE government and the ANC both tried this week to seek political advantage from two Goldstone commission reports. Ironically, the reports indicted both for fomenting violence.

The row involving ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Hermanus Kriel obscured the fact that the commission in its first, and overall, report says: "Individual policemen, ANC supporters and IFP supporters have been guilty of serious criminal conduct."

It did not, as Mr Kriel claimed this week, exonerate the government and the police.

ANC president Nelson Mandela first condemned the interim report as "superficial", and then retracted the statement, admitting that there had been confusion between the two reports.

He said that "ANC/IFP rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces" — a statement that was essentially supported by the commission's second report, which focused on violence in three areas of Natal and three areas of the Reef.

The commission, in its press release

BY CHARLENE SMITH

on violence in the six specific areas, emphasised "that no one other than the IFP and the ANC has the power to curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters."

"Even if allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP."

In its overview, completed on April 29 and then submitted to the State President — but only released this week — the commission also accused the ANC and Inkatha leadership of being "fardy" in taking effective steps

to "stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among its membership".

The commission, while placing apartheid at the top of the list of five primary causes of violence, also lambasted the state for "complicity in undercover activities, which include criminal conduct", along with government failure "to take sufficiently firm steps" to stop such conduct and punish the guilty.

The commission has become the good guy/had guy scorecard despite convincingly illustrating that there are no good guys.

The furrow that erupted this week over the second interim report, and a four-page press release issued this week focusing on six trouble spots, raised government-ANC tensions.

The second interim report noted that, though the commission has a three-year brief, "the significant escalation of violence in recent weeks" made the report necessary, even though conclusions had not yet been reached with a number of committees, including those on Thokozani involvement of the defence force; taxi and train violence; and mass demonstrations.

Mr Werner Krull, press secretary to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, denied that they had done more than act as a conduit for a press release this week from Mr Justice Goldstone — a fact confirmed by the judge himself.

Mr Krull said the April interim report had been issued three weeks after receipt by the State President because it first had to be translated. "If we had released it earlier it would have come out before Codesa 2, which could have caused other problems."

Reporting on causes of violence, the commission, in its second interim report, found there was no "third force" in terms of "a sinister and secret organisation orchestrating political violence on a wide front".

It suggests that causes of violence are "many and complicated and include the economic, social and political imbalances among the people of South Africa".

These are:
● The consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and more than 40 years... of apartheid.

● A police force and army which for many decades have been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments... (and which are) for many South Africans... not perceived as fair, objective or friendly institutions.

● The unexpected and sudden levelling of large and predominantly black-supported organisations.

● A climate of political intolerance, particularly in the black community.

● The report says these factors give "violence a fertile breeding ground". It notes that various elements have contributed to this, including criminals, an undermanned and poorly motivated police force, and single-sex hostels and squatter communities.

near Maritzburg, he said he accepted the commission that he was prepared to accept the finding of the IFP president Mangosuthu Buthezi said yesterday that he was speaking at a rally at Vuwindlela, near Maritzburg, he said he accepted the political will of the IFP and the ANC there would not be peace in South Africa.

IFP accepts finding

2/1/92 31/5/92
INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he was prepared to accept the finding of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry that Inkatha had played a role in the violence. (115) (115)

Speaking at a rally at Vulindlela near Maritzburg, Buthelezi said he accepted that without the political will of the IFP and the ANC there would not be peace in SA.

The IFP would therefore continue to participate in local and regional dispute committees, he said, and remained committed to the National Peace Accord.

Buthelezi called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in holding peace rallies in SA. Both leaders should show they were serious about bringing an end to the violence, he said. - Sapa

ANC like a petulant child, says Buthelezi

STAR 3/6/92



LONDON — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised the African National Congress for threatening black unrest to force white concessions in constitutional talks.

He urged ANC leader Nelson Mandela to return to negotiations with President de Klerk.

The talks are deadlocked over whether the white minority will have special rights under majority rule.

"I am just disappointed that the ANC adopted the line whereby they are threatening," Chief Buthelezi said at London's Heathrow Airport.

"That is typical behaviour of a petulant child throwing out toys," he said.

Chief Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha movement, had stopped over in London on his way to the United States.

The ANC on Sunday threatened what secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called "rolling mass action" in the constitutional confrontation.

"I would urge them (the ANC) to be calm," said Chief Buthelezi. "The threats of mass action and so on is just going to tear the country apart."

"And who suffers if the country is torn apart? All of us, including them. There is no gain for anyone."

Aides said Chief Buthelezi would lecture for the South African Educational Foundation in the United States and meet former president Ronald Reagan and business leaders in Chicago, Miami, New York and Washington.

Chief Buthelezi acknowledged during the interview that rivalry between the IFP and Nelson Mandela's ANC was the cause of township violence.

He told reporters that last week's report by Mr Justice Goldstone on the violence contained nothing new.

Asked whether the violence was a result of IFP-ANC rivalry, he said: "He wasn't telling us something we didn't know because, after all, it takes two to tango."

Chief Buthelezi urged Mr Mandela to respond to a call he said he made last weekend for the ANC leader to "stand together" with him to end township violence.

"I personally made a plea to him that he and I should really, at this point, try and address joint peace rallies," the Inkatha leader said.

"So far there has been no response," he said.

At least 11 000 blacks have been killed in the violence in the last eight years.

Mr Justice Goldstone accused the Government on Monday of distorting the findings in his report and said it was not intended to apportion blame.

The Government had said the judge had vindicated its view that the main cause of violence was rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha, and highlighted the finding that there was no evidence to back ANC charges that much of the violence was instigated by a third force of right-wing whites. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Buthelezi calls for joint peace rallies

B/day 11/6/92

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MARITZBURG — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for joint peace rallies with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Making the call at a rally near Maritzburg on Saturday, Buthelezi said it was time for the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha "to put the interests of SA first", reports Sapa-AFP.

Reacting to Buthelezi's speech, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told reporters while touring troubled Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg that the ANC would investigate whether the suggestion was "genuine".

Political fighting between the ANC and the IFP was cited as one of the reasons for township killings in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry's interim report last week.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela have accepted there is conflict between the IFP and the ANC.

"Let us proclaim peace and let us show by our example that we are genuinely committed to solving the problem of violence in SA today," Buthelezi said in his weekend speech.

Past attempts at peace between the two rivals have generally met with little success and Buthelezi's appeal for joint rallies is not the first time such a call has been made.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Inkatha central committee member

Walter Felgate said at the weekend Inkatha would be prepared to hold joint political rallies with the ANC once the two organisations improved their bilateral relationships.

Earlier, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) said a working committee comprising Inkatha, the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and homeland parties would meet this week to work out strategies by which joint rallies could be held in trouble-torn townships.

Felgate said that although something had to be done urgently about violence, Inkatha wanted to meet the ANC privately before the two organisations held joint rallies.

"Bilateral relationships between the ANC and Inkatha have to be attended to as a matter of urgency," Felgate said.

Other sources close to Inkatha expressed misgivings about joint political rallies.

They said rallies would fuel tension rather than end violence and eradicate intimidation.

An SACC spokesman said the working committee to discuss joint rallies was appointed in April at a meeting — convened under the auspices of the SACC — of black political parties.

The organisations pledged themselves to find mechanisms for bringing peace to unrest flashpoints such as hostels and squatter camps.

legislation requiring all new cars in the

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Inkatha takes joint blame for unrest

LONDON — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledged yesterday that ANC-Inkatha rivalry was the cause of township violence, saying last week's Goldstone report contained nothing new.

"He wasn't telling us something we didn't know because, after all, it takes two to tango," Buthelezi said.

Judge Richard Goldstone this week accused government of distorting his report. Government had highlighted a finding that there was no evidence to back ANC charges that much of the violence was instigated by a third force.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport en route to the US, Buthelezi urged ANC president Nelson Mandela to respond to a call he

made last weekend for them to "stand together" and address mass rallies in a bid to end township violence.

He said there had to date been no response from Mandela.

Buthelezi criticised the ANC for threatening mass action to force government concessions in negotiations, and urged Mandela to return to talks with president F W de Klerk. "I would urge them to be calm. The threat of mass action ... is just going to tear the country apart."

Aides said Buthelezi, who flies to Los Angeles today, would give lectures for the SA Educational Foundation and meet former president Ronald Reagan and business leaders. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

State 'should take control of training'

Political Staff

THE state had to take control of and responsibility for industrial training because 20 years of experience had highlighted the inadequacies of its being left to market forces, two University of Cape Town researchers have concluded.

Businesses tended to train only for their immediate needs. It was clear that despite generous tax concessions for training, industry had not trained sufficient skilled workers, said researchers Shireen Mohamed and Zaid Kimmie.

Although it was still too early to assess the success of 1990 legislation, the 1981 Act had failed for a number of reasons.

Employment of apprentices remained contingent upon the business cycle "as employers were loath to invest money in training during periods of recession", and employers were reluctant to commit themselves to the lengthy contractual obligations which accompanied the employment of an apprentice.

Only 10% of SA's workforce was being trained in technical fields, while it was estimated that 75% should be trained to meet economic requirements.

The researchers said SA's industrial training strategy should aim to provide a skilled workforce to meet the requirements of economic development.

They found that an industrial training system "left to the mercies of market forces" performed inadequately. "Unless control and responsibility for training revert back to the state and become part of an overall centralised plan for long-term economic development" the problems could not be addressed, they said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Insurance laws to change

INVESTORS should be wary of investment opportunities offering high interest rates and attractive conditions, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said yesterday.

Replying to a second reading debate on the Financial Institutions Amendment Bill, Alant said legislation would be introduced next year to regulate the short- and long-term insurance industries. Current legislation on pension funds dated back to 1943 and was antiquated in many respects.

Prosecutions delayed

LESS than 10% of the prosecutions of conscripts who failed to report for national service or camps last year had been completed, Defence Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

Replying to a question tabled in Parliament by Gen Bob Rogers (DP, Walmer), he said: "The prosecution action is an ongoing and time-consuming process. All cases of failure to report are investigated."

Afrikaner homeland poll

A QUARTER of black women believe an Afrikaner homeland should be discussed at Codesa but two-thirds disagree, a survey has found.

The poll conducted by Research Surveys among 800 black women in the middle of April found 23% agreed an Afrikaner homeland should be discussed at Codesa, 45% did not agree and 33% said they did not know.

REPORTS. Sapa, Political Staff

Jurists lay blame for violence on Buthelezi

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) has put much of the blame for South Africa's present township violence squarely on the shoulders of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A hard-hitting report produced in Britain after a visit to South Africa by a five-man fact-finding mission goes on to suggest that while the amount of violence caused by the ANC had increased, this was "perhaps inevitable" in the absence of effective law enforcement or a curb on Inkatha supporters.

The members of the mission are unequivocal about the seriousness of the situation as they saw it. Their report says flatly: "Law and order has broken down in Natal and in the parts of the Transvaal we visited. The violence was significantly worse than it was in September 1990. The ordinary black population has been absolutely ham-

pered." So bad is the situation that the ICJ believes that free and fair elections are now impossible — a view held by the vast majority of people the mission interviewed.

The commission blames unemployment, the absence of social security, massive urbanisation, squalid living conditions, the hostel system, the evolution of the police as the enforcers of apartheid, the loss of influence of traditional and religious leaders, the collapse of education for blacks and the rise of gangs who kill indiscriminately.

The ICJ goes on to accuse the security forces of siding with Inkatha and indulging in random killings (one example of which was witnessed by the members of the mission themselves, the report states). The conduct of the KwaZulu Police had deteriorated since the ICJ's last visit and the situation was set to slide even further if Chief Buthelezi did not assert his authority and control the excesses of his supporters, the ICJ said.

"It is our view that Chief

Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of the violence."

The mission believes that the police could still play a major part in bringing the violence to an end, though "we do not think the police force as presently constituted will ever be able to gain the confidence of ordinary people. South Africa needs a new civilian police force."

The ICJ recommends that Codesa should call on the help of a team of international experts to monitor on a continuing basis South Africa's law enforcement agencies and other signatories to Codesa.

It also suggests outside supervision of elections, the introduction of senior civilian administrators into the SAP at all levels, and a ban on all weapons at meetings or in public places.

It urges a new agency to supplant the old riot squads, immediate action by the security forces to end all violence, and the replacement of hostels by homes for families and single people which provide a degree of privacy.

STAR 4/6/92

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Inkatha accused of kidnap and torture

ANC members fired a broadside at the Vaal Triangles Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers yesterday, saying they were kidnapping, torturing and murdering their rivals.

At a news conference in Johannesburg, ANC members gave accounts of how Inkatha supporters were allegedly using Spokeng's Kwamadala Hostel to launch attacks on ANC members.

George Mapeyi, David Pabe, Mosotho Tsoetsi and Mandla Makhane said they had been kidnapped, tortured and forced to join Inkatha.

They also claimed hostel dwellers had kidnapped a number of young Sebokeng women whom they were treating as sex slaves. Makhane said during his captivity he witnessed three killings of ANC activists by the hostel dwellers.

The four alleged that white men were colluding with the hostel dwellers.

The ANC PWV region reiterated its demand for the immediate closure of Kwamadala Hostel and the arrests of the perpetrators of violence in the Vaal Triangle. Inkatha West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu denied Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers were "terrorising" ANC activists in the Vaal Triangle.

"I urge the ANC to refer the allegations to the Goldstone commission for investigation," Ndlovu said.

Mapeyi said he was kidnapped on May 16 by people he knew "very well". He said he was taken to Kwamadala Hostel, where he

WILSON ZWANE

was threatened with force if he did not provide the hostel inmates with the names of returning exiles.

"On realising that my life was in danger, I gave them names of some of the ANC activists in Sebokeng... not returning exiles," he said.

He said after he had given the hostel dwellers the names, he was issued with an Inkatha membership card. His kidnappers then left the hostel complex and returned later with an ANC activist in tow.

"They told me they were going to kill him. They left with him and on their return, they had blood all over their clothes," Mapeyi said, adding that he believed the hostel dwellers had killed his "comrade".

David Pabe said he was not forced to join Inkatha. He had joined the organisation "voluntarily" to see what was happening behind the hostel walls.

Tsoetsi said that after he had been kidnapped on May 11, he was taken to the hostel where he was given rudimentary training in the handling of firearms and explosives.

He said he was told he would be expected to attack houses of two ANC officials in the area. After refusing to do so Tsoetsi was assaulted. He woke up in a hospital.

ANC PWV said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa would visit the Vaal Triangle next week to assess the situation.



ANC member George Mapeyi, right, in discussion with ANC PWV region official Floyd Mashole at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday at which ANC members alleged they had been kidnapped and assaulted by Inkatha supporters.

Four shot during attack on taxi rank in East Rand

FOUR people were wounded during a shooting at a taxi rank in Springs on the East Rand yesterday, police said.

The incident happened a day after the ANC had claimed that those responsible for train violence had changed tactics and were now targeting taxi commuters in-

WILSON ZWANE

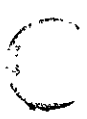
bang, and his "comrades" were launching frequent attacks on taxis ferrying hostel dwellers to and from Meadowlands Hostel. Police have said they were investigating

Bees invade honey farms

KATHRYN STRACHAN

CAPE invader bees are threatening the future of bee farming in Transvaal.

Honey production fell 70% after the bees destroyed beehives, SA Professional Beekeepers' Co-operative spokesman Mike



Judge castigates Inkatha 'hitman'

1st Ward s/b-11/6/92



FORMER African National Congress cadre Dalixoto Luthuli — now reputed to be one of Inkatha's most notorious hitmen — gave a testimony riddled with contradictions, inaccuracies, lies and denials when he appeared before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria earlier this week.

An evasive Luthuli, whose answers were often punctuated with a casual "I cannot remember", shed little light on his involvement in the training of Inkatha supporters at Caprivi and the death of a man at an Inkatha funeral at Wesselson township, near Ermelo.

At one point, Judge Richard Goldstone said that he didn't think Luthuli was being helpful to the committee as he seemed to have "a very defective memory".

Accusing him of apparently lying, the judge said: "Your evidence doesn't make sense, Mr Luthuli. You're not telling the truth." Luthuli replied: "There's no reason why I shouldn't be telling the truth."

Luthuli is alleged to have been responsible for the murders of a number of ANC members in the greater Pietermaritzburg area, at Mpumalanga in the Natal Midlands and at

An alleged hitman and a kwaZulu policeman appeared before the Goldstone

commission this week to give evidence on their activities for Inkatha.

By LINDA RULASHE

Wesselson.

He is also alleged to have been involved in the military training of Inkatha supporters from Wesselson at

Mkuzi, after which the trainees returned to the township and carried out murderous attacks on pro-ANC people.

However, in a statement presented before the commission looking into *Weekly Mail* reports, Luthuli denied the trainees had gone to Mkuzi to train or that he had ever given them training in the handling of weapons.

"They had to be moved out of the Old Police barracks building, as it was required for renovations at the time."

Luthuli, now employed as a field organiser for the Inkatha Freedom Party at Ulundi, admitted he had been

recruited in 1986 by MZ Khumalo — former personal aide to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — to accompany a group of trainees to the Caprivi.

"I was to accompany the group of young men as their 'political commissar', a phrase which Luthuli explained originated from communist lingo and described the type of officer who saw to morale and discipline.

Explaining why secrecy had to be maintained about the camp, he said: "I believe it is standard practice all over the world to treat the training of military and policemen as confidential." Questioned about his involvement

in the killing of an ANC member at a funeral in Wesselson in 1990, Luthuli testified he had gone to attend the funeral of an Inkatha member but never took part in the procession.

Luthuli, who together with Inkatha members was waiting at the cemetery for the funeral procession, said they went to investigate and found a body lying on the ground.

"Didn't you join the procession later after the shootings?" asked David Soggot SC, representing the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"No, because the situation was tense."

"Well, I put it to you that your explanation is a concoction to remove you from the scene. The truth of the matter is that you were probably involved in the killing — just as the police later believed — with an Uzi machine gun." →

The commission also heard from a member of the kwaZulu Police's Bureau for Information Service (BIS), Thompson Xesibe, that he (Xesibe) had gone to work at Secunda's Sasol Two plant to gather information for either the kwaZulu or the South African governments.

Xesibe, a former KZP member presently in charge of administration of Inkatha offices in Ulundi, said he was told by Khumalo to go to Secunda on a project.

Xesibe said he was aware of a letter to Buthelezi that said he was advised not to resign from BIS when he went to Secunda because he would be continuing the service's work there.

Asked what kind of project Khumalo was referring to, Xesibe said he was to look after eight people he once accompanied on military training in Caprivi. He added he was there to help maintain discipline.

"Four out of these eight trainees were highly trained and were well disciplined, were they not?" asked Soggot.

"It was true. I disciplined them."

"Well, I want to put it to you that they must have been charged with sensitive work for you to look after them," said Soggot.

"That is not true." Xesibe later denied he had gone on an Inkatha mission when sent to Secunda.

Asked if he knew of allegations published in a daily newspaper that Sasol management was promoting and funding Inkatha at Secunda, he said he had only heard the party was linked but he did not know of any funding.

Xesibe acknowledged the existence of an anti-ANC organisation, the Secunda Education and Cultural Organisation (Seco), set up at Sasol.

Asked if he knew that Sasol had been funding and promoting Seco, Xesibe said he had heard people say that they liked that organisation "but where they got the funding, I don't know".

Xesibe also said he knew of a man called Gwala at Secunda, who was allegedly used to recruit Zulu workers from Natal. Xesibe, however, denied knowing that Gwala recruited people.

Youth 'Codesa' falters

7/16/92
By JOHANNES NGCOBO

MUDSLINGING between the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade and the ANC Youth League this week forced a planned "mini-Codesa" summit to be postponed.

The "Mini Convention for a Democratic South Africa" was to have accommodated a large number of South African political youth movements at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park this weekend.

However, the IFP youth brigade declined to be part of it.

A well-placed IFP youth source said the organisation's leadership would not share the stage with the ANCYL because its president, Peter Mokaba, had told a gathering at Richmond that the IFP was the enemy of the people.

"What he said on the day in question is what we consider to be wartalk. We will only participate if he withdraws that statement."

Political groups which were to have taken part included the National Party Youth Action and the Democratic Party youth wing.

The event was sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

Issues on the agenda included peace and the democratic process in SA.

Prior to the postponement, ANCYL's Geoff Brown and a member of the special committee on National Youth Unity, said: "The main aim of the conference is to bring together political youth



GUN CULTURE . . . A child in Sebokeng shows off one of the area's 'weapons'.

organisations from across the ideological divide."

Other issues for discussion at the conference were the youth rights in the future SA, international exchange and readmittance of South African youth to the United Nations' youth structures.

Idasa's Transvaal liaison officer Patrick Banda said: "We cannot confirm or deny that the conference is taking place."

The aborted conference was to have been attended by 300 delegates from all over SA.

MK man on

CP Reporter

THE Rand Supreme Court this week heard how an Umkhonto weSizwe soldier and four others unleashed a Chicago-style bout of shooting during a bank robbery.

Appearing before Judge Hartzenberg and two assessors are Thabana Petros Zitha, 23, of 1254 Emdeni Soweto, and self-confessed MK member Thulani Trevor Ndlovu, 25, of 1236 Mailula Park, Vosloorus.

The court heard that the four others were not guilty of murder, but were found guilty of assault with a firearm, causing harm and arms robbery. A court in

Here angels never tread

By ZB MOLEFE

ARE South African political leaders now using violence to achieve what they are unable to achieve by democratic means, Institute for Multi-Party Democracy executive chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo asked this week.

Writing in a Natal newspaper Dhlomo pointed out that it is also disturbing that both the ANC and the IFP "have so far found it extremely difficult to effectively discipline those of their members who publicly flout the provisions of the Peace Accord by engaging in so-called war talk".

South Africans are still waiting to read about the outcome of an ANC "investigation" into inflammatory anti-Inkatha



**HITTING OUT AT ALL
... Oscar Dhlomo.**

statements made by Peter Mokaba in Richmond several weeks ago, Dhlomo points out.

"Add to this Harry Gwala's boast about killing so-called IFP warlords by the ANC."

The IFP, according to Dhlomo, at least fares better in this regard. He recalled two recent instances where IFP leaders

In the ugly arena of SA politics...

issued public statements challenging or contradicting inflammatory statements "issued by some of its politically reckless leaders".

Some of these included a reported announcement that the IFP was planning to deploy thousands of armed people in Soweto to tackle the ANC.

The other was the statement that the IFP was about to establish a so-called Bambatha Regiment to challenge the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.

The government does not escape Dhlomo's wrath. "Not even the government is immune from playing politics with the

lives of innocent people who are dying in the violence."

Dhlomo pointed out that the government had received an important interim report about violence from the Goldstone Commission, but decided to sit on it for four weeks.

"To add insult to injury, it (the government) then selectively quoted from this report with the aim of creating the wrong impression that two parties, namely the ANC and IFP, were singled out as the only culprits fermenting violence," continued Dhlomo.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "even appeared on television

glorifying that the Goldstone report had exonerated the police as far as violence was concerned".

Even his deputy, Johan Scheepers, repeated this in a television debate. It took the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale, in that debate, to remind Scheepers that he had apparently forgotten part of the report "which refers to the role of the police, the Defence Force and apartheid in the violence".

"In the final analysis it is this disappointing attitude of government spokesmen towards the Goldstone Report that will ensure that violence does not end," argues Dhlomo.

"As I have repeatedly observed in the past, there are certainly no angels in this violence. The Goldstone report seems to confirm this observation."

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US blacks win fight against Buthelezi

By MALCOLM BALFOUR: Miami

A LUNCHEON arranged by a newspaper publisher to introduce Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to 40 of Miami's top civic leaders was cancelled yesterday after complaints from the city's black community.

Said Miami black leader HT Smith: "Buthelezi is nothing but a collaborator of the Nazi-like apartheid regime.

"How dare the Miami Herald newspaper sponsor a luncheon for Mr Nelson Mandela's rival?" Miami's black leaders are still furious over the cold-shoulder treatment given to Mr Mandela when he visited the city two years ago.

Miami's large Cuban refugee population and the Jewish community refused to honour Mr Mandela because he is friendly with President Fidel Castro and Yasser Arafat.

Castro and Arafat are the two most hated names in Miami.

Cancel

Miami Herald president Roberto Suarez met the paper's publisher, Mr David Lawrence, once he was aware how upset the black community had become.

Said Mr Lawrence: "Next week's lunch meeting with Mr Buthelezi has been cancelled.

"But I am going to ask him whether he will sit down and talk about what he thinks."

After Miami's snub of Mr Mandela, Mr Smith organised a nationwide boycott which caused several organisations to cancel plans to hold annual conventions in Miami.

Art 12/6/92

PAC angry over wrecked shacks

ANDRÉ MARTIN, Staff Reporter
THE Pan Africanist Congress has accused the provincial administration and the ANC-dominated Imizamo Yethu squatter camp civic committee in Hout Bay of collaborating in the demolition of shacks.

A row erupted yesterday when provincial officials under police protection demolished nine shacks belonging to PAC members. Provincial spokesman Mr Henk van Dyk said the CPA had acted on a request by the civic committee to demolish 13 unoccupied



structures. PAC national executive member Mrs Patricia de Lille said it was "selective destruction" in which only houses belonging to PAC members were destroyed. "The so-called civic committee made up of ANC members claims to represent the whole community, but they do not. There are members of other organisations, such as Azapo, living here."

Mrs De Lille said the shacks were not unoccupied. The occupants had gone to work. "We are going to talk to the ANC and the CPA about who gave them the right to destroy only PAC houses. "The CPA and the ANC are working together," she said. PAC members later marched to the CPA offices and demanded that the civic committee members who made the request come forward, and that their building materials be returned.

They also demanded the release of two men who were arrested for assault and obstruction of CPA officials in their duty. After a meeting with Mr Van Dyk and other PAC members, Mrs De Lille said Mr Van Dyk had declined to give the names of the committee members. ● ANC regional executive member Mr Cecil Esau said the allegation by Mrs De Lille was false. "The Hout Bay civic is not an ANC structure nor is its membership ANC dominated," he said. The structures demolished by the CPA were erected in defiance of a community decision that no more shacks should be erected in the camp until negotiations about phase two of the area had been finalised, he said.

CONFRONTATION: As a man tries to stop a CPA official demolishing a shack in the Hout Bay squatter camp, a woman with her child on her back joins the fray. The man was arrested after the incident. Picture: Oesd zlwA, The Argus.

Buthelezi quits US tour after protests

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today cancelled a fund-raising tour of the United States and flew home after facing pickets and protests on the first leg of his visit and after being snubbed by the mayors of New York and Miami. But in a brief letter to the Miami Herald today, Chief Buthelezi claims he was forced to return home immediately because of plans by the ANC to organise a "mass mobilisation" on June 16 to mark the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. Americans involved in the organisation of his tour expressed astonishment at his decision. "They said the issue of his absence during the June 16 period had been discussed before his departure and that they were not aware of any pending events in South Africa which would have necessitated the cancellation of a carefully planned visit. Opponents of Inkatha in the US described his reason for returning as "the thinnest of fig-leaves" and confirmed that they had staged protests in New York and Miami.

Police quizzed about missing evidence

W/Week 12/6-18/6/92.

POLICE were closely questioned at the Goldstone Commission this week about the disappearance of a crucial statement from a docket into the killing and injuring of African National Congress members at a funeral in Ermelo two years ago.

The ANC funeral, held in Wesselton township simultaneously with an Inkatha one, ended with two mourners dead and several others injured. More than four guns, including a machine gun, were used in the incident.

The Goldstone Commission — investigating reports in *The Weekly Mail* and attended by several senior policemen — heard in Pretoria this week that a member of the kwaZulu legislative assembly, Amos Mthungwa, had given a statement to the Ermelo police shortly after the incident on August 11 1990.

In the statement, Mthungwa admitted that Inkatha members had returned fire after shots had been fired at them from the ANC crowd. He added that two kwaZulu policemen, Constable Zwelli Dlamini and Warrant Officer Nhlalaha Khawula, were among those who had shot at the

Meanwhile, a former Black Cat gang member — referred to only as "Mr D" — implicated several Inkatha members from Ulundi, including Khawula, as having been involved in the shootings at the Wesselton funeral.

Mr D said he saw Khawula fire shots at the coffin of the person who was to be buried by ANC supporters that day. He said he did not know exactly how many shots Khawula fired at the coffin, which had been left lying on the ground after the crowd scattered.

Mr D alleged Khawula also fired at a teenage boy, identified only as Sibanyoni, when he fell to the ground after being shot. Sibanyoni had been at the front of the funeral procession and was holding up one of the poles of an ANC banner when he fell.

Mr D said on the evening prior to the funeral some Inkatha members from Ulundi — including Mthungwa — arrived in Ermelo in three cars. He said these men brought guns with them which they showed off to the Black Cat members.

"The men said that they had come to provide security in case there was an attack. They had 9mm guns, .38s and hand-machine carbines. They showed us these guns and explained what types they were and how to load them."

He said the next morning the men from Ulundi took their guns with them to the funeral, as did a local Inkatha leader, Noah Mqobokhazi, who carried an AK47 rifle.

Mr D alleged that they subsequently fired at the ANC crowd.

A statement implicating two kwaZulu policemen in a fatal shooting incident

was replaced by one in which the two men were not mentioned, the

Goldstone Commission heard this

week. LINDA RULASHKE reports

ANC crowd

Colonel Patrick John Otto, who was district commander of investigations in Ermelo at the time, told the commission that in July 1991 he was instructed to start a new investigation into the incident, after the ANC had complained that the South African Police were shielding members of Inkatha implicated in the shooting.

During the second investigation, another statement by Mthungwa was taken down and sent to the state prosecutor handling the case, but no mention was made of the evidence which implicated the two KZP men in the shooting. Asked why Mthungwa's first statement was not included with the second one in the docket

that was sent to the prosecutor, Otto said he believed they had both been sent to the prosecutor.

However, counsel for the commission, Johan du Toit, said the prosecutor who handled the docket had informed him that Mthungwa's first statement had never been brought to her.

The commission heard that the document had since been found by Ermelo policeman David Hall in a cabinet in his office.

Due to the evidence brought before the commission, Judge Richard Goldstone has subsequently requested the attorney general of the Transvaal to investigate the incident and to consider suspending the inquest into the mourners' deaths, which is scheduled to start on June 26. All the dockets of this case will also be handed to the Transvaal attorney general.

Asked by counsel for *The Weekly Mail*, David Soggot SC, why the suspects had not been apprehended after nearly a year and whether Otto had asked the investigating officer what the particular problem was in arresting these men, Otto replied: "I cannot remember whether I asked him

or not."

Police Captain Andre Marais, who is stationed at Ermelo, gave this account of his attempts to trace the two KZP men: armed with warrants for their arrest, he visited KZP commissioner Jac Buchner in Ulundi, together with two senior SAP officials. They returned to Ermelo without the suspects. One could not be found because, Buchner said, there were many Diaminis (although Marais said the warrant contained Dlamini's full police particulars). A KZP official went to fetch the other suspect but had not returned when the SAP contingent left.

When asked by Soggot why the men were only brought to Ermelo a year later, since as KZP men they were surely easy for Buchner to find, Marais was unable to give an explanation.

The commission had asked counsel for Inkatha, Louis Visser, to ascertain Buchner's version of these events. Visser said Buchner had told him during a phone conversation that one of the suspects was brought to the policemen and interrogated. Buchner had also told him that the SAP officials had wanted to arrest the suspect, but that he had intervened.

The commission heard that one of the firearms which belonged to the KZP men was ballistically tested and linked to the funeral shootings, but was later returned to the KZP.

Judge Goldstone asked Otto: "Do you not find that quite ironical?" Otto replied that it wasn't.

Warrant Officer Geldenhuis, who had taken over as investigating officer in the case in 1991, conceded on Monday that the manner in which the Ermelo police had handled the case could not have solved it.

During cross-examination, Soggot put it to Geldenhuis that in the course of constructing the new docket for the investigation, he had buried the relevant evidence.

He replied that he had not intended to do so. Goldstone then put it to him that it had the effect of the evidence being buried and Geldenhuis replied "yes".

Irate IFP supporters disarmed at stations

By Carina le Grange and Guy Jepson

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Four rooms on the hostel's Jonas Stret side, including two family units, were torn open by the heavy machinery, but there were no injuries. Three of the damaged rooms were unoccupied.

Following the confiscation of the weapons at Phomolong, New Canada and Dube

Anger, cheers for police — Page 13

stations, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said at a press conference at New Canada station that yesterday's actions could serve as a sign that police would not tolerate any unlawful conduct at any time.

General van der Merwe said police were convinced

they had prevented "serious consequences" through the action.

"All indications are that serious actions had been planned," he said. He said five people were killed and 14 injured — including a policeman — in clashes between the IFP and ANC on Saturday.

Apart from dangerous traditional weapons — which fully filled railway coaches — almost 30 handguns, at least 10 AK-47s and more than 300 rounds of ammunition were seized during the operation, when trains carrying Inkatha Freedom Party supporters to Jabulani Stadium were disarmed.

Other weapons included axes, spears, pangas, sjamboks, and wooden and sharp-

● From Page 1

A policeman was seriously injured and 27 suspects were arrested when heavily armed policemen yesterday confiscated thousands of weapons at three Soweto stations from men on their way to an Inkatha Youth League rally.

And in Dobsonville, Comrades used earthmoving equipment to demolish sections of the local hostel between 12.30 am and 1 pm, while the majority of Dobsonville hostel-dwellers were attending the IFP rally.

They commandeered an earthmover and a road leveller and crashed through the razor wire, smashing into the hostel.

● From Page 1

ened metal sticks. Police intercepted trains at the station without prior warning. The raid infuriated IFP supporters, but residents who had gathered near the station entrance cheered. During the operation, an as yet unnamed policeman was flung from a train and seriously injured. He was in a stable con-

Police disarm Inkatha supporters on trains

STAR 15/6/92

dition last night, police said. Police could not confirm that those arrested and raided were Inkatha members "unless membership was established". Lieutenant-Colonel Themie Halgryn said, however, that most had travelled into Soweto, probably from George Goch hostel. Among those arrested were

eight women. All 27 people are expected to appear in court today. A group of Inkatha supporters returning from the rally, robbed a policeman of his firearm and held-up two women at a West Rand station. Reports of police seizing weapons at stations provoked

outrage at Jabulani stadium, where IFP Youth Brigade national organiser Ntwe Matole claimed party members had been killed or wounded by ANC supporters after being disarmed, reports AFP. One IFP supporter dancing in the stands at the amphitheatre shot himself in the shoulder

When his cocked gun went off. Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi urged supporters not to get caught up in conflict with the ANC. They should make the mass action campaign fail by going to work. ● In its unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Saturday, the SAP said four people were killed and 12 seriously injured in township violence countrywide.

Anger and cheers for police

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POLICE yesterday intercepted trains carrying Inkatha Freedom Party members to a rally in Soweto and disarmed them of an assortment of weapons, ranging from AK-47 rifles to battle-axes.

Residents from houses near Phomolong station, where the interception took place, gathered on overhead bridges and on an embankment near the entrance to the station and cheered the police.

At least 10 AK-47 rifles were confiscated. When the first one was discovered, a white police officer raised it triumphantly above his head to wild acclaim from the spectators above.

The rifles were put into a nearby railway coach. Spears, sharpened iron rods, shields, axes, pangas and sticks were piled into an open truck. It was filled to the top by the time the police completed their work.

When the trains came into the station, the police commanded the drivers to stop. With guns cocked, policemen lined the train on either side and ordered the Zulu-speaking IFP men out of the train.

Police yesterday disarmed IFP members going by train to a rally in Soweto. Their action dismayed and angered the IFP passengers but won the approval of nearby residents. The confiscated weaponry included traditional and decidedly untraditional weapons. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

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The IFP men initially ignored the orders. Their resistance met with firm action from the police. "Teargas!" shouted a police officer. Canisters were fired into the train.

IFP men — and a few women — emerged within seconds, coughing and vomiting, their eyes streaming.

Some of them protested vehemently. Some were clearly confused. They thought they were being shot at with live ammunition and came out with their hands up.

All were rapidly deprived of their weapons. IFP women were searched by a lone, pistol-wielding policewoman. One of the arms netted was a shining homemade silver pistol.

One young IFP man complained angrily: "You see those

people up there," he said, pointing to the cheering Soweto residents. "They are laughing at us." Tears of rage might have mingled with those induced by teargas.

Another young man, Patrick Magazine — coincidentally an employee at The Star — said: "The police point their guns at us. What for. What have we done?" Referring to the pile of sticks, spears and shields on the platform in front of him, he said: "We are just carrying them to protect ourselves. Yesterday (the ANC) shot three of our people."

A third, older man bellowed defiantly at a policeman: "This is our country. This is a Zulu country. We are Zulus."

On the bridges the atmosphere was entirely different.

The people were jubilant. "They should have done that a long time ago," a man said. "Those weapons are used to kill us."

A woman interjected: "They must take those weapons and burn them."

Later, at Jubulani Amphitheatre, thousands of IFP members were in an angry and dangerous mood. When journalists walked through the milling crowd at the entrance, they were sniped at verbally by suspicious IFP members, many of whom are migrant workers living in the hostels.

"What do they want, these dogs?" an IFP woman asked in Zulu. "They have come to take messages to the ANC." A man offered his opinion in Zulu: "They are pompous. What do they want here?"

The presence of journalists at Phomolong station could have added to the hostility. Earlier a Zulu man blamed journalists for the teargassing and humiliation. "You are whites," he declared. "You are the regime. You are doing this to us. You are making the ANC happy." □

IFP backout 'no surprise'

CT 16/6/92

MARITZBURG. — The Natal Midlands region of the ANC says it is "neither surprised nor bothered about" the IFP's withdrawal from the National Peace Accord.

In a statement yesterday, ANC spokesman Mr Reggie Hadebe said the IFP's withdrawal vindicated the ANC's long-held assertion that the IFP was "neither serious about nor committed to the establishment of peace, for the IFP is so morally and politically bankrupt that it needs a

sustained programme of violence to make itself a nuisance factor in the South African political equation".

Mr Hadebe said the IFP's pulling out of the peace accord in the region was "but a continuation of a general pattern since 1987. The IFP has always placed one obstacle after another during the peace process because it is threatened by prospects of peace."

Mr Hadebe said the ANC in the Natal Midlands "remains committed to peace in our region. (116) (222)

Govt gives in on monitoring Bill

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has bowed to pressure on its controversial phone-tapping Bill and will amend the legislation to say only a judge can authorise the monitoring.

The Interception and Monitoring Amendment Bill raised a storm when it was tabled last week with a clause giving the attorney-general power to authorise phone tapping, bugging of rooms and interception of post.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee will now appoint a retired judge for each division of the Supreme Court to perform this function.

Parliamentary joint committee on justice chairman Gert Myburgh said the judge-president would control clandestine monitoring applications.

It is understood, however, that DP MPs on the committee led the onslaught against the original clause.

It is believed important changes to two other bills — the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Bill and Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill — are also being debated following DP proposals. The DP is arguing for greater safeguards for people detained without trial.

Under the current law, only a state officer may have access to a detainee or information he provides.

● Comment: Page 6

Confiscation of weapons unnecessary Inkatha

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE confiscation by the police of harmless "traditional weapons" such as shields and sticks from Inkatha supporters was unnecessary and had resulted in mistrust of the SAP, Inkatha regional organiser Themba Khoza said yesterday.

About 1 200 shields and 200 sticks, seized on Sunday when police intercepted trains at three Soweto stations before an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Jabulani Stadium, were returned to the organisation this week and shown to the media yesterday.

However, Khoza criticised the SAP for not returning all the seized weapons — estimated to number about 2 000 items.

Referring to the Zulu cowhide shields and sticks, Khoza said it was blatantly apparent that many of the items taken by the police were not dangerous and as such should not have been confiscated.

He pointed out that no weapons such as axes, spears, pangas and sharpened wooden and metal sticks were returned.

At the time, police also took possession of about 30 handguns, AK47 rifles and more than 300 rounds of ammunition.

A formal complaint about the police action on the weekend — including the destruction of Inkatha flags — had been made.

Khoza said the organisation regretted that some of its members had carried illegal lethal weapons.

They acted against Inkatha policy, he said.

"But when people are frightened, they resort to any means of protection," he said.

He accused the police of having failed adequately to protect hostels and members of Inkatha in residential areas and called on them to protect the rights of those wanting to go to work during the ANC's mass action call.

Prior to the news conference, Khoza showed a recording of SABC news footage of the police swoop at one of the stations.

Khoza claimed the footage refuted allegations the SAP supported Inkatha. The footage showed policemen "jubilantly" holding up confiscated weapons to show to a group of cheering "ANC supporters" who had gathered on a pedestrian bridge at the station, Khoza said.

Auditor-general on future role

CAPE TOWN — SA's new constitution should provide for an independent auditor-general who could do his duty without fear or favour, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley said in his first annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

And Deputy Auditor-General J Loots said Wronsley had made proposals to this effect to SA Law Commission vice-chairman Judge Pierre Olivier.

Loots said the office's statutory responsibilities, supported by the image of objectivity, autonomy and integrity, had earned it a place in the new SA.

Experience of countries undergoing radical transition gave some credence to fears that sound financial administration and consistent public accountability might not be enforced in the future.

Loots also reported increased productivity with the office succeeding in maintaining functional audit time, the cost of which was recovered from auditees, at 77% for the 1991 year. This was higher than

the norm set at 72%. He indicated that this was partly due to the better staff complement, which showed a turnover of 16,6%, which compared well with the average for non-profit organisations of 15%.

The auditor-general's office was responsible for conducting regularity audits of 32 departments, 18 votes of own affairs administrations, four provincial administrators, 780 local authorities, 22 agricultural control boards, 37 regional services councils, the six self-governing homelands and 140 other statutory bodies, accounts, funds and museums, Loots said.

Apart from this, "several performance audits, special investigations and computer audits were also conducted during the financial years under review".

A separate performance auditing directorate had been set up to report on measures introduced by accounting officers to promote efficient utilisation of resources.

Judge drops Dutton's bail by R100 000

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER Interboard chairman Ed Dutton, on trial on forex and finrand fraud charges involving more than R150m, had his R500 000 bail reduced to R400 000 in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Dutton, 35, applied for a reduction of bail last Friday on the grounds that he had run out of money to finance his defence and had no further assets of his own.

He had asked the court to reduce his bail to R50 000.

Dutton's application was opposed by State counsel James de Villiers who said that to grant a reduction of bail in a case of such seri-

THE SALE OF DIAMONDS WAS EXPECTED TO BE THE MAIN REASON FOR THIS

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FW advises chief against route of 'dark waters'

APR 17/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — President De Klerk has advised Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi against leading his people to violence in an attempt to get participation for the Zulu king and the homeland in Codesa.

Mr De Klerk, who was addressing the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday, was responding to an earlier speech by Chief Buthelezi.

The homeland leader pleaded with Mr De Klerk to "do something effective to gain Kwazulu's involvement in Codesa".

With his voice breaking several times, Chief Buthelezi said: "Without that Zulu involvement in constitution-making, I can see a dark cloud on the horizon. My heart is troubled, Mr President, for I have rejected violence throughout my political career of more than three decades. And I reject violence even now.

"But, if this position persists, I can foresee the possibility of my being forced by circumstances to lead my people even through those dark waters.

"I shudder at the possibility. I am already outraged by the present level of violence."

Mr De Klerk advised him to seek "wise counsel" before embarking on a road to violence.

Chief Buthelezi also slammed the ANC's call for mass action: "It is totally irresponsible to call for mass action which will be backed by harsh intimidation."

● See page 2

Buthelezi warns of Zulu violence

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ARG 17/6/92

Political Staff

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that he might be forced to resort to violence if Kwazulu was not allowed to take part in Codesa.

Speaking in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said although he had always avoided bloodshed, he might be forced to lead his people in violence if Kwazulu and King Goodwill Zwelithini were not allowed to take part in Codesa.

"My heart is troubled for I have rejected violence throughout my political career of more than three decades. And I reject violence now.

"But if this position persists, I can foresee the possibility of my being forced by the circumstances to lead my people even through those dark waters. I shudder at the possibility. I am already outraged by the present levels of violence (and) I hope that this can still be avoided, even at this late hour. This is still within the realms of what is possible," he said.

The Kwazulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president, who also lambasted the ANC for its mass action, was welcoming President De Klerk to Ulundi where he had been invited to address the assembly on the question of King Zwelithini's participation in Codesa.

Chief Buthelezi has so far refused to attend Codesa deliberations, saying he would do so once the king and Kwazulu were allowed to send separate delegations in addition to the IFP delegation led by Dr Frank Mdlalose.

King and state seek Codesa spot

Chief Buthelezi said it was strange that Kwazulu, long ago involved in various forms of negotiations with government, was now being excluded.

He said there were people who viewed Kwazulu's and King Zwelithini's exclusion from Codesa as "a price that the government had to pay to achieve ANC co-operation".

He warned that Kwazulu, if excluded, would oppose the implementation of any agreements reached in Codesa and would refuse to take part in an interim government.

Options for the homeland — which he said was not a product of apartheid — would include resorting "to civil disobedience".

Chief Buthelezi said Kwazulu would seek the protection of the Supreme Court if its constitution was "put up for Codesa grabs".

In his address to the Assembly, President de Klerk — deviating from his prepared speech — called on Chief Buthelezi not to consider the option of violence, saying "the dark cloud" to which the Kwazulu Chief Minister had referred had to be removed "through wise counsel."

President de Klerk said he did not have to be convinced of the importance of the Zulu nation and the contribution it could make in South Africa.

Hospital strike:
Doctors help out

Girls guilty
of 3 murders

Cops under fire over arms

POLICE have created a "life-threatening situation" by returning weapons confiscated from Inkatha supporters to the organisation, the ANC said yesterday.

The perception engendered by the return of the weapons to the IFP offices on Monday was that their initial, highly publicised, confiscation on Sunday was simply a massive propaganda exercise, the ANC's Gill Marcus said.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order,

Sowetan 17/6/72
Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that no dangerous weapons were returned to Inkatha and that "only shields and certain sticks which are not classified as dangerous weapons" were returned.

Kotze said: "Quite frankly, if we say we've given only shields and certain sticks back, then we have. The police have no reason to lie."

He said it was illegal for the SAP to confiscate things which they were not empowered to by the law.

But Marcus said ordinary people in the street did not look at the finer points of the law and simply saw loads of traditional weapons being returned to Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses confirmed that more than just shields and sticks were delivered to the IFP offices.

One witness, who refused to be identified, said:

"There were about seven or eight uniformed police.

They offloaded traditional weapons - shields, spears, knobkerries.

The secretary-general of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Don Nkademeng, said: "It is a very strange thing for police to return confiscated weapons."

"They should have destroyed them. But we know they did that to placate Buthelezi because they believe in times ahead their only friend will be Inkatha."

An IFP executive, Mr Themba Khoza, said only Zulu cowhide shields and knobkerries were returned.

Cops face ANC wrath on IFP arms

THE ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the police for distributing dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP this week that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional

Sowetan 18/6/92
By Sowetan
Correspondent

weapons - which he described as "shields and sticks" - were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner Major-General Kobus Malan.

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC's Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the Na-

tional Peace Accord.

The seizure of the weapons including AK-47 assault rifles, from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on Sunday, was sharply criticised by IFP central committee member Mr Themba Khoza.

He said the displaying of the confiscated weapons to ANC supporters was "provocative" and exacerbated the already volatile situation in the township.

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**ANC probes
return of**

IFP weapons
STAN 18/6/92
Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the South African Police for the distribution of dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP yesterday that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional weapons were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner, Major-General Kobus Malan.

Indictment

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the National Peace Accord.

"This revelation is yet another indictment on the impartiality of the security forces."

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC PWV region was seeking legal advice with a view to laying charges against the police.

The weapons were seized from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at the Phomolong stadium in Soweto.

Leaders snub Buthelezi in US

W/M
1916-256/92
By ARTHUR GAVSHON

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI hurried home from a fundraising swing through America last week leaving a trail of confusion, controversy and cancelled meetings in several US cities.

The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party claimed his premature return was due to the "mass mobilisation" of the African National Congress and its allies which, he warned, could trigger violence.

But some American Buthelezi-watchers saw reasons for his sudden departure differently, suggesting that the allure that used to take him into the White House and on to primetime TV shows seems to have worn off.

Among the snubs were:

● In New York, Mayor David Dinkins rebuffed efforts to set up a meeting with Buthelezi.

● In Washington neither President George Bush nor any administration highup was available for a get-together in contrast to past occasions. Buthelezi is no favourite among American blacks or liberals and in an election year Bush would not want to offend them.

● In Miami the planned programme included stops at the University of Miami and at three other colleges and high schools. At each, educators said that they had no knowledge of his intended visit.

● In Los Angeles, and later again in New York, Buthelezi aroused controversy by seeming to try to carve out a brand new constituency for Inkatha to cultivate among American Jews.

The prime purpose of Buthelezi's swing through the US was to raise money for the Southern Africa Education Fund which aims to bring mainly blacks to study in the country.

Buthelezi denies IFP planned massacre

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CT 20/6/92

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that the Boipatong attack could scuttle the negotiation process.

"I am unutterably appalled at the inhuman action of those who gathered to raid Boipatong squatter camp ... it leaves civilized mankind stunned at the viciousness of man," he said.

In a statement he denied IFP leadership involvement in the attack on Wednesday night in which at least 39 people died.

"I say very clearly that no leadership structure in the IFP had any knowledge whatsoever that this attack was going to take place, and I make this statement not even knowing that it was indeed IFP members

who were the attackers," Chief Buthelezi said.

He repeated an invitation to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to join forces with him to lead their respective organisations on peace missions.

"We must be seen to be standing together to oppose the hideous violence that I am talking about. Whoever is to blame, only the IFP and the ANC working concertedly together can produce any kind of winning formula against violence," Chief Buthelezi said.

"If there was ever a time for the IFP and the ANC to forget every possible past difference and to come together for the sake of the lives of the innocent in this country, it is now." — Sapa

Students ban body linked to Inkatha

By Karen Williams

DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM of speech on university campuses was put to the test this week when an Inkatha-aligned student body was banned at the University of Durban-Westville (UDW).

The Students Representative Council (SRC) came under fire after they had banned the South African Democratic Students' Movement (Sadesmo) from affiliating to the SRC. Sadesmo is aligned to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

A UDW lecturer, who did not want to be named, said: "The argument for banning Sadesmo was that there were enough political disruptions on the campus and that Sadesmo's presence could lead to political confrontation.

"The SRC said they supported the principle of democracy, but noted such principles could not be applied when we are living in an 'abnormal' society. To allow a platform to Sadesmo,

118 would run counter to their principles of working towards a just future society."

The SRC refused to comment on its action.

Students, particularly those in the hostels, fear that if Inkatha had a formal presence at UDW, the organisation's members would take up arms and disrupt the campus.

Female hostel residents are reportedly afraid and some have moved off campus.

Mr Kim Hodgson of the IFP said Sadesmo had started organising at UDW earlier this year and approached the SRC for affiliation.

Sadesmo submitted its constitution to the SRC and they should have passed the test for affiliation, believes Hodgson. However the student body set another condition.

"The SRC's condition was unprecedented and unconstitutional. They demanded Sadesmo write a letter to the Kwazulu Minister of Education and request that all Kwazulu

colleges of education allow freedom of political action on campuses," Hodgson said.

Sadesmo complied, even though they had no formal link to the IFP or the KwaZulu government, Hodgson said.

Sadesmo was then accepted in principle by the student body. But a group of students called a mass meeting to debate the issue.

"According to the SRC constitution, two-thirds of the student body can overrule any decision made by the SRC quorum," said Hodgson.

With a student body of about 9 000, about 6 000 students were needed to overturn the decision.

"The hall in which the meeting was held has the capacity of no more than 3 000 and votes were not counted, so the decision to ban Sadesmo was taken on a show of hands," said Hodgson.

Sadesmo will continue to operate at UDW, despite having no recognition, said Hodgson.

SOUTH 20/6-24/6/92.

Police promise IFP weapons probe

DEPUTY Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers has promised to look into the issue of police returning dangerous weapons to the IFP this week.

Public liaison officer for the National Peace Committee, Val Pauquet, said Scheepers had promised a departmental investigation into the matter.

The police were alleged to have returned the weapons to the IFP after they confiscated them from party supporters on Sunday. The police said only shields and sticks had been returned, though the ANC has disputed this claim.

IFP urges training for its army

Own Correspondent (118)

DURBAN. — IFP Transvaal leader Mr Musa Myeni told members of the IFP Youth Brigade to start training for the Bhambatha Battalion, an IFP private army first mooted by KwaZulu cabinet minister Mr Simon Sithebe.

Addressing a rally in KwaMashu, Mr Myeni predicted there would be war in South Africa be-

CT 22/6/92
fore the new South Africa was realised, as South Africa was "like a kraal with many bulls who all wanted to rule".

He said there would never be peace if the ANC won an election for the new government as "there are many whites like those in the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) who I met and those in the Conservative Party

and you who are not prepared to be ruled by communists".

He said people should start training before that happened.

"I say in every house there should be a weapon with which to defend your family," he said.

Mr Myeni blamed violence in the country on the government which, he said, was courting the ANC.

IFP alarm at sight of protesters

JOHANNESBURG. — A metalworkers' protest march here yesterday caused panic among regional Inkatha Freedom Party ranks.

As thousands of chanting demonstrators gathered outside the offices of the National Union of Metalwork-

ers (Numsa), IFP executive Mr Themba Khoza made a panic call to Sapa, claiming his nearby offices had been occupied by "more than a thousand" ANC supporters.

He complained that police were not taking action against the "clearly pro-

vocative action of the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance".

About 50 Inkatha members hovered nervously and grim-faced on the IFP premises. IFP regional leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said the demonstration was a provocation to the IFP.

"Let one of them come in here... he will not leave alive. Let them just come in here... we are prepared," he said, pointing to about 100 cow-hide shields on the floor in front him.

The ANC said later that "at no stage were IFP offices threatened with occupation". — Sapa

(173/8/92)
115 (115) 117

ANC, Inkatha wrangle over unionists' gathering

By Michael Sparks

A heated argument erupted yesterday between the ANC and Inkatha after a "panic call" by IFP Transvaal leader Themba Khoza to a news agency claiming scores of ANC supporters had occupied the IFP's Johannesburg offices.

It subsequently emerged that scores of National Union of Metalworkers of SA members had gathered at the Union's Kerk Street offices — close to those of the IFP — for a planned

and highly publicised protest march.

Mr Khoza was quoted by Sapa as having called up the news agency with a panicky report that "more than a thousand" ANC supporters had occupied the IFP offices.

He later claimed he had been misquoted, and did not know how Sapa had come by its information.

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, Mr Khoza said the marchers had made it impossible to work and had obstructed people who wanted to enter the IFP offices.

The ANC accused Mr Khoza and the IFP of issuing "highly provocative statements calculated to incite violence".

When The Star visited the IFP offices shortly after the Sapa report was sent out, the people present all said they were IFP members.

IFP Reef secretary Humphrey Ndlovu seemed confused when asked about the reported occupation. "Do you see any ANC people in here?" he asked. "They would never occupy our offices, that would be a disaster, a catastrophe."

ANC action could spark civil war, says Buthelezi

B/Dan 25/6/92
INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its mass action campaign could lead to civil war.

He called the ANC's actions "the worst kind of political tantrum" imaginable.

He said, in Ulundi, that Codesa was the "only show in town" and thwarting Codesa was akin to trying to thwart mainstream politics. He said the reconstruction of the negotiation process would take place only at tremendous national cost.

"This cost will have to be paid firstly in terms of a tragic loss of life in what could emerge as a civil war."

Enormous economic hardship would result from the ANC's actions which would also impair a future democracy, he said.

Codesa should continue its tasks and the management committee should not cancel its scheduled meeting. Inkatha would call for a plenary session to review what the convention stood for and how to proceed following the latest developments.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, then we must re-examine our options and re-commence negotiations on a different tack," said Buthelezi.

He accused the ANC of portraying the negotiation process as simply between itself and government, when in fact it was a multiparty affair.

Government, the DP and at least seven other parties will attend a Codesa management committee meeting on Monday.

Meanwhile, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday the committee's fate was still to be decided on the basis of consultation with the various participants in Codesa.

He said the ANC's withdrawal was a serious blow to the negotiation process and every effort had to be made to resolve this impasse quickly.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday there was no question of the party withdrawing from Codesa. "If there is a management committee meeting, we're going." *B/Dan* 25/6/92

Government sources also voiced their intention of attending the June 29 meeting, although they were doubtful whether there would be a quorum of two thirds of the 18-member committee.

De Beer said it seemed the ANC remained fully committed to negotiations.

He said in a statement the DP was deeply distressed to hear the ANC was withdrawing from Codesa. "However, this morning's media accounts put matters in a better perspective. It seems the ANC remains fully committed to negotiations, and has already been in touch with government for this purpose. This clearly means that all is not lost."

DP national council chairman David Gant said yesterday the party would hold talks with all political groups to get talks back on track.

He told a meeting in Somerset West the DP was determined to prevent a continuation of the unhealthy, antagonistic political rivalry between the ANC and the NP.

"The intransigent style of the Nationalist government at Codesa, its ramming of bad legislation through Parliament at the last minute, its indifferent attitude towards its accountability for corruption, and its apparent inability to deal with the perpetrators of violence, raise questions as to its competence to govern for another single day and its bona fides at Codesa," Gant said.

"The response by the ANC and the return to protest politics and mass action is short-sighted, dangerous and unconstructive. It may appeal to the masses today, but they will suffer the most from the consequences tomorrow." — Sapa.

Exile ~~3/10~~
dies ^{Sowetan}
in ^{25/6/92}
Harare

Sowetan Reporter

MR Vus'umuzi William Ndlovu, who left South Africa in 1975, died in Harare, Zimbabwe, this week.

His longtime friend, Mr Ben Mahlase, told *Sowetan* that Ndlovu's sister and father, Cecilia and William senior, were currently in Zimbabwe to identify the body and establish the cause of death.

Ndlovu's relatives want him to be buried at Tembisa where his father lives.

Mahlase said that at the time of his death Ndlovu was working for the Zimbabwean Broadcasting Corporation in Harare. He worked there for about eight years.

ANC fears IFP rally violence

THE Wembezi branch of the African National Congress in the Natal Midlands has expressed fear of an outbreak of violence in the township during a planned Inkatha Freedom Party rally there this weekend.

Local ANC spokesman Mr Richard Skosana said yesterday that there were rumours of impending attacks. *Sowetan* 25/6/92

He said the ANC had contacted the police, army, Press and Natal's Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in an attempt to prevent confrontation.

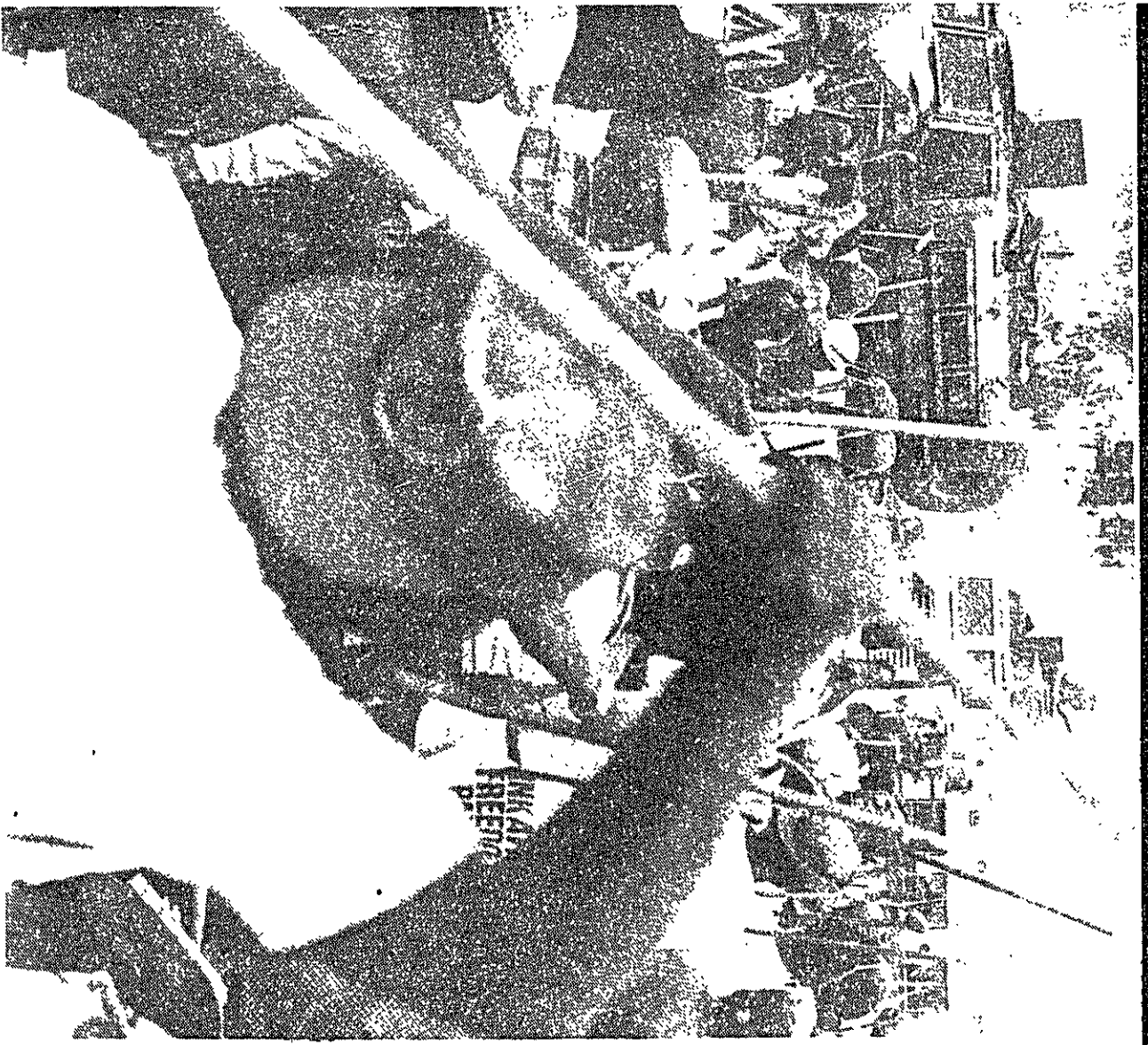
"Our past experience of

IFP rallies here has led to fears. ~~11/3~~ - ~~11/3~~

A few weeks ago some houses were burnt and looted after an IFP rally and people have died after Inkatha funerals and gatherings here," he alleged.

IFP regional organiser Mr Senzo Mfayela yesterday confirmed a rally would be held to launch Inkatha's Wembezi branch.

He, however, strongly denied the ANC's remarks on violence there, blaming ANC supporters for attacking Inkatha members at rallies and funerals. - *Sapa*.



Police sitting on Casspirs watch heavily armed Inkatha members in Alexandra last year without disarming them. It is this turning of a blind eye to Inkatha members that has led to accusations of police partiality in the ongoing killings.

Hostel an Inkatha barracks

118
 [Handwritten signatures and initials]

ALEXANDRA'S Madala hostel, converted into an Inkatha garrison in March last year, has been the source of attacks that have resulted in nearly 200 deaths.

And during this period which is spread over a one year period, less than 20 people have been arrested by the police with almost half of these later released for lack of evidence.

Running side by side with this seeming police inability to apprehend killers, is the constant refrain that police either assisted attackers, ignored the attacks as they took place in their presence, or failed to respond to calls or warnings beforehand.

And so, as in Boipalong last week, ordinary people have lost faith in the ability of the police to maintain law and order even handedly. Painstaking research

BY MATHATHA TSEDI
 Investigations Editor

through volumes of newspaper cuttings and reports of monitoring and human rights groups leave only one conclusion: the police and hostel dwellers are friends.

For the Madala hostel, like its near namesake in the Vaal, KwaMadala, which was allegedly the springboard of last week's attacks in Boipalong, law and order and control of the complex fell to pieces last March when Inkatha bussed in outsiders to take over the hostel.

The history of Alexandra's now endemic violence is traced to Friday, March 8 when the outsiders arrived and kicked out non-Inkathamembers who were legitimate residents of the hostel.

The hostel had been home to more than 600 employees of the Sandton municipality which to date

still continues to pay rent while its workers stay in even worse squalor at the Vehicle Testing Station. Effectively, the Sandton municipality is paying rent for Inkatha members who have been accused of taking over the hostel and turning it into a staging post for attacks on residents.

These new residents of Madala hostel have also torised residents in neighbouring houses and these too have fled, leaving shacks and well built houses for which banks still demand bond repayments.

Some of these people are staying in the Alexandra town council's offices, community halls and churches.

Sniper fire from Madala hostel has led to the area around First and Sixth av-

To next page

crues being declared a no go area, with only those harbouring death wishes venturing there.

The hostel has also been the source of other forms of intimidation and harassment such as gang rapes.

As in this particularly graphic description by one woman "On March 9, 1992 a crowd of people coming from Madala hostel came into my house. They asked 'you are alone?' I said yes these people are 21 in number. Twenty raped me. The other one said 'you are here to kill these people, not to rape them'. That one took out a panga and slashed me on my head and on the arms."

It is easy to imagine that this woman felt at that moment that those who only wanted to rape her were better than the brute who almost killed her.

Early in February this year another raiding party from Madala hostel stormed into a shebeen and killed one man and raped all the women present.

Residents have said some women are being held as sex slaves in the hostel. In these attacks, the inmates used spears, knobkerries, firearms and AK-47 rifles.

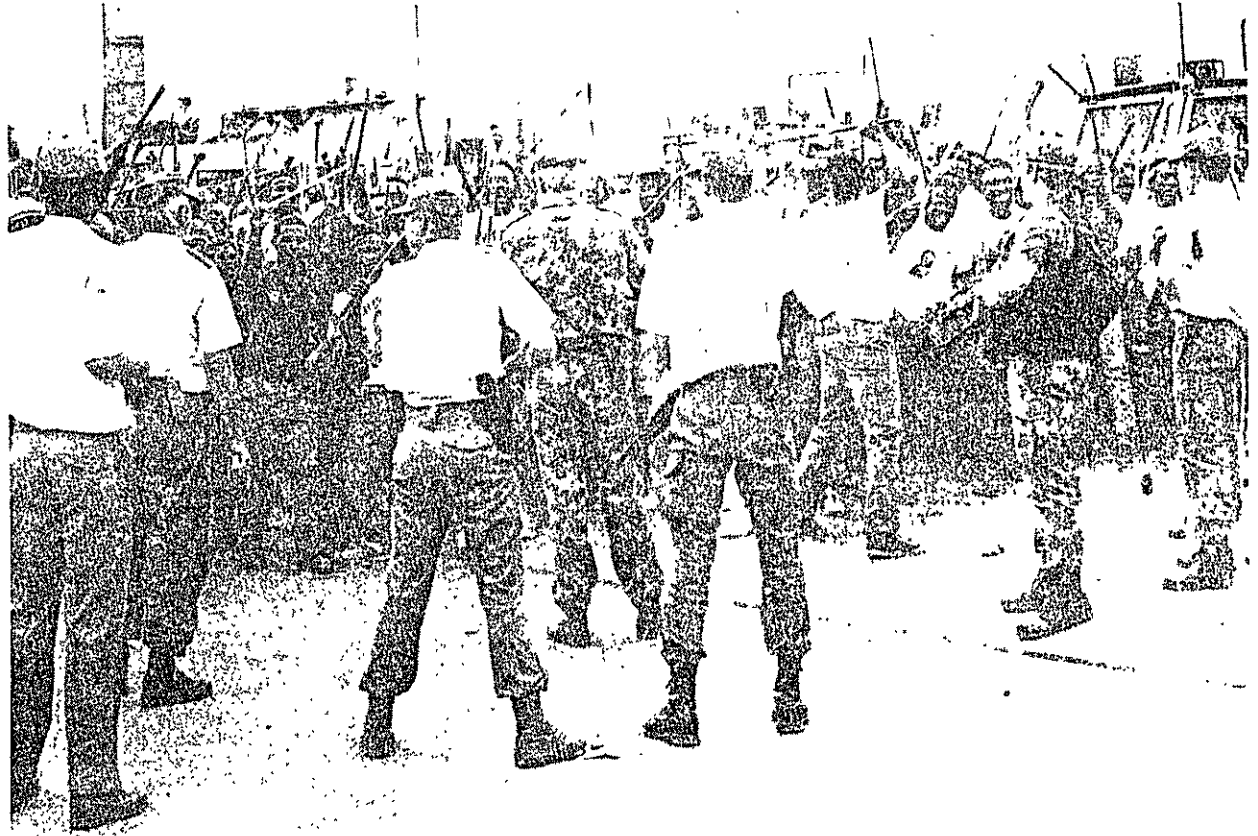
In four raids on the hostel since March 13 last year, police have found 10 AKs in Madala hostel, five revolvers and six pistols. This forms about one sixth of the total of AKs confiscated in all Reef townships.

Madala hostel is just the epitome of other hostels in the region.

And as undisputed sources of much of the violence, calls have been made for the police to raid the centres and evict all those found to be there illegally.

But this has not happened. Instead, allegations abound of township residents abducted by police and taken into hostels and left there for inmates to "deal with".

As in the case of Oupa Schume (18) of Alexandra, a survivor of the March 27 vigil massacre last year, who said he was forced by



A rare sight of police stopping Inkatha members in their tracks. This action, coupled with a genuine disarming programme where weapons are confiscated and not returned to their original owners, would help bring down the level of violence in the country.

members of the SAP into the Madala hostel

Schume said he was taken into the hostel at about 9.30 pm on April 21 last year by white policemen wearing camouflage uniforms.

"A panga was placed in his hands and he was warned that he would be kicked if he put it down. He said the police then started calling out 'here's a member of the ANC, come and get him'."

"Schume said he was told to fight Inkatha members with the panga. He was taken back home after the hostel dwellers refused to attack him for fear of a trap," according to Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression booklet Fortresses of Fear which deals with hostels.

In another development,

Orlando West Civic Association chairman Weston Shabangu related that in April this year he had saved a boy from certain death after police had taken the boy into the Nancefield hostel.

"We arrived just as the boy was being assaulted by hostel dwellers. I believe if we had not arrived at that time the boy would have been killed," he said.

Police have denied partiality to and favouritism of Inkatha and hostel inmates generally. In response to questions about actions against hostel dwellers, Colonel EJ Burger of the Internal Stability Unit in Pretoria said members of the SAP had come under fire from Madala hostel on several occasions and had been forced to retaliate with machine gun fire.

"We cannot afford to back off," he said.

But the question uppermost in people's minds, especially those presently

huddled in overcrowded church halls while their houses are occupied by raiders from hostels, is why the full force of the SAP is not brought to bear to evict

the killers from the hostels. As in the KwaMadala hostel which ended up with the massacre that has plunged the country into its worst mid-reform political

crisis, Madala hostel may still bring its own Waterloo for the government that seems to find pleasure in watching raiding impis kill innocent people.

PHOTOGRAPH BY: PETER... (partially obscured)

LITTLE MISS HIGHGATE
WILL WIN

1500 cash - Highgate Shopping Centre, 1500 cash - John Robinson and Rindley Highgate, 1000 cash - Andrew Steiner Creations cc, 1000 cash - Andrew in Bon Models, 1000 cash - Calla Training System, 1000 cash - The... (partially obscured)

LITTLE MISS HIGHGATE 92





3 THE NATION

STAR 25/6/92 (115) Buthelezi: end SABC strike

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi met representatives of striking SABC workers in Ulundi yesterday to discuss the six-week-old strike by members of the Media Workers Association of SA. Chief Buthelezi said it was time the strike was sorted out "once and for all" and that he was keen for Mwasu to succeed in its mission as soon as possible as black licence-paying radio listeners and television viewers had suffered enough. STAR 25/6/92

IFP 'unit' member tells of attacks

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A self-confessed member of an armed "unit" in KwaMadala hostel has given the Goldstone Commission detailed testimony about the mobilisation of hostel dwellers against "comrades" in the surrounding Vaal communities.

A copy of Mr X's affidavit to the Goldstone Commission is contained in the memorandum compiled by attorneys for the Vaal Council of Churches (VCC).

According to the VCC document, Mr X's verbal testimony was heard by advocate JJ du Toit of the Goldstone Commission on April 3. Mr X's identity is known to the commission.

The following is an edited version of his affidavit, from which all identifying details have been removed.

"I am able to live at the Kwa-Madala hostel without charge. I am unemployed.

"All the residents of the Kwa-Madala hostel are members of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Among the residents there are individuals who are leaders of the IFP. Among them is one Mr Y.

"A system exists in the Kwa-Madala hostel whereby each resident becomes part of a

unit. I was trained in the use of weapons by Mr Y. Every resident is trained in the use of weapons. "I have seen many arms and ammunition stored at the KwaMadala hostel. The arms are brought by members of the IFP from Natal.

"On (a certain date) my unit was instructed by Mr Y to go to Sharpeville township to attack comrades who had been responsible for the killing of an Inkatha member, to attack certain taverns (and) ... kill people there because it is known that comrades drink there.

"We were given arms by Mr Y. I was not myself carrying a rifle. I moved with A. He was carrying a rifle.

"Between 8 pm and 9 pm, in Sharpeville, we saw a group of comrades. Among them was one comrade known to me. My partner opened fire and this comrade was struck.

"Thereafter, we moved to (a certain) tavern. B was shooting at people in the tavern. I was carrying a rifle given to me by A at this tavern."

The mission, which resulted in a number of deaths, was terminated abruptly, Mr X stated, because of unforeseen developments. Details of these developments would reveal his identity.

Union war could force plant to close

~~118~~ DIRK HARTFORD ~~118~~

LANGEBERG Food's plant in Benoni, which employs 900 people, could close because of a war between the minority Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) and Cosatu's Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu). ~~118~~ (118)

The conflict — which has led to the killing of 10 Langeberg Food workers in less than a year — claimed another two lives yesterday. *Blom 26/6/92*

A Fawu member and a bus driver were shot dead and four others wounded in an attack on the bus taking workers to the factory. The attackers were in a minibus and fired AK-47s.

Two weeks ago a Fawu shop steward was shot dead at the factory gate. He had been due to give evidence in a court case relating to the murder of five Fawu members in August last year.

Later that day an Uwusa member was hacked to death in the factory, which has 750 Fawu members and 40 Uwusa members.

Langeberg MD Ray Brown declined to comment on the possible closure.

He said management had been trying to solve the problem by getting the parties to sign an accord along the lines of the national peace accord.

Although the company dealt only with majority unions, Uwusa had approached Langeberg for recognition.

Fawu assistant general secretary Mike Madlala said he had strong reservations about the peace accord as the "killings just carry on".

Meanwhile Anglovaal's Mooi River Textiles, which closed for three weeks after inter-union conflict involving Uwusa and Cosatu's SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, opened again this week with 90% attendance.

An Anglovaal spokesman said violence in and around the plant had increased dramatically after Uwusa began organising in early 1991. At that stage Sactwu was the majority union among the 1 100 weekly paid workers.

In a series of incidents, workers were

To Page 2

Union war *Blom 26/6/92*

murdered inside and outside the plant. On one occasion gunmen in balaclavas walked into the company's canteen and sprayed it with AK-47 fire.

The spokesman said within a year the company, which had been profitable, was into a serious loss situation and anarchy reigned in the factory.

After the closure, representations were

~~118~~ (118)
made by a range of organisations — including the unions — and individuals to reopen the factory as between 20 000 and 40 000 people in the area were directly dependent on wages earned there.

Things were going well, the spokesman said. Uwusa was now the majority union in the plant.

Two killed, four injured in bus attack

By IKE MOTSAPI

TWO people were killed and four injured when a gunman opened fire with an AK-47 rifle inside the staff bus of an East Rand company yesterday morning.

The incident, which is linked to the ongoing feud between the Inkatha aligned United Workers Union of South Africa and the Food and Allied Workers Union at Langeberg Korporasie in Boksburg, happened about 6.50am. *Sowetan 26/6/92*

About 14 members of FAWU working at the company have so far been killed since trouble between the two unions began in August 14 1991.

The dead are Mrs Gladys Maladi, who was a member of FAWU, and the unidentified driver of the bus.

The injured include Shume Zwane, who is being treated at Boksburg-Benoni Hospital for gunshot wounds in the thigh. The other three people have not yet been identified.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweekel said firing started when the bus off-loaded workers.

Mr Thembinkosi Majola, a security officer at Langeberg Korporasie, said he heard "loud bangs" and later saw people running in different directions.

He said: "I saw a woman lying dead on the ground with a bullet wound in the neck when I went to investigate.

"I also saw a car driving away while some people ran for cover," Majola said.

The company's FAWU organiser, Mr George Machacha, said their members have been harassed since unidentified members of Uwusa allegedly threatened management to stop recognising us in favour of them.

He said: "These people have also threatened management with a list of demands which they said should be met or else they will act.

"On June 12 1992 one of our members, Mr Amos Magcanya, was shot in the right arm by a member of Inkatha during an argument.

"This was followed by the killing of Amos Ganeli and Welcome Benjatwe last week by five assassins identified as members of Inkatha."

Management spokesman Mr Ray Brown confirmed there was a problem between Uwusa and FAWU. He said they were refusing to sign a "peace accord".

In the week in which violence resulted in a breakdown in negotiations, CHARLENE SMITH looks at two personalities caught up, in different ways, in the war

AS A boy, Themba Khoza, his head filled with tales of the great Zulu warriors, would lie awake and wish he had been born in another era — "to be a great Zulu warrior."

Some would say he is. As Transvaal Inkatha youth leader, Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party organiser and an executive member of the Transvaal region, at 33 he is one of Inkatha's most powerful figures. Some say he may succeed IFP founder Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In 1990 he persuaded the Inkatha leadership to open its first office outside Natal

THE MAN IN THE MIDDLE OF A WAR

Themba Khoza: Warrior who yearns for past

S/Times
28/6/92 (118) 
SUNDAY
PROFILE

in Johannesburg. Not only did this boost lagging Transvaal membership to about half a million, but it coincided with the first serious Inkatha/ANC clashes in the region.

It was his angry face above a neat suit that tele-

vision viewers saw arguing with policemen and the media outside KwaMadala hostel after the Boipatong massacre. You will see him at most Transvaal Inkatha rallies, driving his white car among marching im-
pis, or wading in among

men with red headbands, tattered clothes and fists full of spears, negotiating with them and police after another dramatic incident threatens peace.

Rumour abounds about him in ANC circles. A prevalent one is that he is employed by state intelligence and has links with Renamo. They view him with derision but he is revered by his own cadres.

His real upbringing is less dramatic than rumour. The first two children his mother had died at birth. It was expected that the third sickly child of the humble labourer and his wife would die too.

"I had no name because they thought I would not survive. The doctor told my mother to trust in God and that is what my name, Thembinkosi, means."

The family lived in poverty in the hilly rural area near Eshowe. Themba loved hunting and was the best slingshot among his friends.

Some of his happiest childhood memories are of the Zulu legends his mother wove for him.

"My mother told me a lot about the Zulu wars and ancestral life. She told me about different Zulu people who fought the British, and how, after the British came, the Zulu empire collapsed.

"When I was in primary school I used to lie in bed and think of those wars and King Shaka. I wanted to be born during the Zulu empire."

He was recruited by Inkatha when a tribal meeting was held to tell villagers of the new organisation.

"I didn't believe in non-violence — I believed the armed struggle was the best option. I kept saying these people in Pretoria don't want to talk; if they don't talk will we fight? At the end a man said: 'Yes, we will fight.' Then I said:

'I will join the party.'

At school he was a prefect with good grades. He matriculated wanting to become a lawyer, but poverty saw him training first as a welder and then a boilermaker at a technical school in Issithebe.

Mr Khoza lived in a shack and worked at a factory but was very poor and "felt oppressed". In 1981 he came to Johannesburg where his father, a migrant labourer, lived. Themba lived with his grandparents in Soweto.

He worked for a factory making tractor ploughs in Denver but, after complaining about racial practices, was fired. "I talk straight — I have made many enemies by doing that."

While working for a furniture manufacturing company, he became active in the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, a forerunner of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA. He then

worked in a building society and then for a labour recruitment agency.

"When the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983 I was really happy."

However, at the UDF launch there were verbal barrages against Chief Buthelezi. Mr Khoza was dismayed.

"Then there was this thing of these comrades harassing communities.

"Comrades burnt the houses of IFP people in Mzimhlope. I realised how far the UDF had divided the community; if you did not belong to the UDF you were a target."

He accuses the media of bias against Inkatha. He begins recounting inci-

dents he has witnessed, including attacks during which compatriots have died.

"It is terrible when someone dies calling your name. It echoes and echoes in your ears, it never stops. Or when you pull a small baby burnt to ashes from a burning shack, or when someone dies in your arms.

"Last weekend a Youth League member was killed when he was driving to the funeral of another member. And then we had Boipatong . . ."

His face crumples and tears fill his eyes. He stops speaking and puts his head in his hands. "These things are really sad." He wipes his hands roughly across his eyes — "I don't want to talk about this."

Inkatha ¹¹⁸ pair meet UN chief

STAN 29/6/12
ULUNDI — The Boipatong tragedy must not be allowed to threaten the reform process, senior Inkatha Freedom Party members told United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, at the weekend.

An IFP statement issued yesterday said the delegates told Dr Boutros-Ghali that the IFP had in no way been responsible for the outrage.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and secretary-general Inkosi S H Gumede told the secretary-general that the ANC was "erring grievously" in telling the world that the Government was not prepared to relinquish power to democratic institutions.

And at an IFP central committee meeting in Ulundi yesterday, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that more than half of the delegates to the second phase of Codesa had rejected the ANC's proposals for an interim government.

"Whichever way the South African Government had moved, that half of Codesa would have voted against the ANC," he alleged. — Sapa.

IFP refutes complicity in massacre

Sowetan

29/6/92

SA Press
Association

THE Central Committee of the Inkathá Freedom Party has condemned the Boipatong massacre and strongly refuted its alleged complicity in the tragedy which left 49 people dead.

"No IFP structure - national, regional or local - made any decision to attack Boipatong, nor did any IFP structure have any awareness that the attack was to take place," the party said in a statement after a meeting of its central committee in Ulundi.

The IFP said it would call on the National Peace Committee to arrange an emergency meeting with all parties and organisations that signed the National Peace Accord before, and in addition, to a meeting already planned for July 30.

The party would also ask the NPC to urge the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging, the Conservative Party, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress to sign the National Peace Accord.

The IFP charged the South African Council of Churches with not successfully promoting peace, saying the recent utterings of certain church leaders had shown a political bias.

It was also decided at the meeting to call on SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane to meet with an IFP delegation to explain the biblical grounds which supported the SACC's endorsement of the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

The IFP further re-committed itself to non-violent strategies and tactics, distancing itself from any suggestions to establish military structures.

"We particularly call on all members of the Central Committee to spread the IFP's rejection of the call to establish a so-called Bambatha battalion," the statement said.

The IFP also expressed its condolences to the families of all those who died in the Boipatong massacre.

FW 'sentenced to death'

STAR 30/6/72.

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Inkatha Freedom Party has laid a formal complaint with the National Peace Committee (NPC) about a "People's Assembly" in Maritzburg at which 10 IFP leaders, President F W de Klerk and the Government were allegedly "sentenced to death".

The IFP requested NPC chairman John Hall to convene an urgent meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord within the next two days to discuss this "extremely serious transgress-

ion" by the ANC.

Mr Hall was told that the "People's Assembly" was presided over by ANC official Reggie Hadebe and "we are told 10 IFP leaders were sentenced to death".

"Press reports allege that State President F W de Klerk was declared a 'dangerous criminal' and he and the Government were also 'sentenced to death', the letter said.

He was also asked to call on parties which had not signed the NPA — including the Weerstandsbeweging, PAC, CP and Azapo — to do so.

AG 117/92

IFP offers big reward

(118)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party's Sandton branch has offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the people responsible for the killing and necklacing of an IFP member during Monday's mass funeral in Boipatong.

Mr Bruce Anderson, a member of the IFP delegation to Codesa and also of the National Peace Accord, said the reward offer had been decided on after a report on the killing appeared in a Johannesburg newspaper.

According to the report, a crowd pulled an unidentified man, said to be an IFP member, from a house and began beating him with sticks and stones. They then shot him dead and put a tyre around his body. — Sapa.

Meeting on death lists

3/7/92
Sowetan
THE National Peace Committee held an urgent meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss a "death sentence" passed by alleged ANC members on Inkatha Freedom Party members in Maritzburg last week.

IFP spokesman Mrs Suzanne Vos said the NPC meeting, held at the request of the IFP and the Government, followed a "trial by a people's assembly" in Maritzburg last Friday, where IFP members were allegedly "sentenced" to death.

She said the IFP and the Government formally lodged a complaint to the committee and that the ANC had undertaken to investigate the complaint.

Vos said the ANC had promised to report back to the NPC today. --Sowetan Correspondent.

'Faction fight' sparked attack on Durban train

Bl/Day 3/7/92
DURBAN — Five people were killed and five others injured on Wednesday night in a shooting spree on a train travelling towards KwaMashu, police reported.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said the attack was part of a faction fight, and ruled out political motivation.

He said a group of men began firing at passengers at about 6.45pm as the train pulled out of Effingham station in Durban. Four people were shot dead and another was killed when thrown from the moving train.

Ngidi said a witness told police the attackers had spoken to him after the incident. This information had led police to believe the attack was the result of a faction fight.

The attackers had come from a rural area and had wanted to kill one of the passengers who lived in the same area, Ngidi said.

However, Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said all those killed were Inkatha members, although he could not supply their names, and said the attack was politically motivated.

Tillet said the deceased were all occupants of the KwaMashu men's hostel — an Inkatha stronghold.

Ngidi said, however, that one of the dead was a woman.

Meanwhile, police found a body and two injured men who had been thrown from moving trains on the Reef yesterday morning.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said the dead man was found between Kwe-sini and Pilot stations near Katlehong at 9.22am. Between Langlaagte and New Canada stations two men, not seriously injured, were found at 5.50am.

In their unrest report yesterday police reported that a man was found "brutally murdered by the necklace method" at Zamdela near Sasolburg.

It was also reported that three policemen were injured when attacked at Chicken Farm in Soweto during an investigation into drug related charges. Their vehicle was "extensively damaged" during the attack, the report said.

It said the policemen would "most probably have been killed" had other members not arrived on the scene. One of the attackers was arrested. — Sapa.

Committee convenes a summit for peace

Bl/Day 3/7/92
THE national peace committee will convene a summit of signatories to the national peace accord next Wednesday to try to boost the flagging peace process.

The signatories include President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha asked the committee to urgently call the summit to discuss a mock trial at which De Klerk, his government and 10 Inkatha leaders were allegedly sentenced to death.

The trial was allegedly held by ANC Natal Midlands leader Reggie Hadebe in Maritzburg last week.

Committee spokesman Val Pauquet said the incident was discussed by the peace committee's executive at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. It was agreed to convene a meeting of all the peace accord's signatories.

The ANC was asked to "examine all evidence" related to the mock trial and report back to the executive today.

On the agenda at next Wednesday's meeting will be the continuing violence, the ANC's alleged mock trial and political leaders' inflammatory statements, Pauquet said.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK reports that national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys told a Johannesburg conference yesterday that police were improving their relations with the community.

WILSON ZWANE

He said the police were pushing hard to increase the public's confidence in them with a poster campaign and phone-in sessions on the radio.

The conference at Wits was organised by the International Association of Students Interested in Economics and Management.

To further the police's aim, Gildenhuys also called for relations between the police and the community to be monitored by regional dispute resolution committees.

He said "rogue" policemen ought to be brought to book by their colleagues.

Gildenhuys told the conference that violence could be partly attributed to the quest for building strongholds and the demarcation of territories by ethnic groups.

However, he also recognised the importance of third parties.

The territorial imperative, he said, had extended to commuter trains.

Depression in the taxi trade was also to blame for the violence, he said.

Such violence, together with insufficient commitment from political leaders and the lack of community confidence in the police, placed a strain on the peace accord.

Gildenhuys said he believed the establishment of an interim government was essential for securing a peaceful future for SA.

Inkatha members 'among Boipatong dead'

Bl/Day 3/7/92
INKATHA yesterday accused the ANC of "expropriating" the bodies of eight of its supporters killed in the Boipatong massacre and burying them under the ANC flag.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said she had proof that eight of the 37 people buried at the mass funeral in the Vaal triangle township were Inkatha members.

She said the ANC had refused to hand over the bodies to their families, who wanted no part of the ANC's "political funeral". They had not pressed the matter as they were frightened of reprisals.

ANC Vaal chairman Ernest Sotsu said Inkatha's claim was "devoid of all truth".

He said it was "absurd" for Inkatha to make

WILSON ZWANE (TB)

such a claim when the "killers of the Boipatong residents are known to be Inkatha-supporting KwaMadala Hostel inmates".

"We challenge Inkatha to come forward and substantiate its claim. But I tell you now that all the people we buried were ANC members."

Vos said Inkatha would not take the matter up with the ANC as it respected the wishes of the families to remain anonymous.

Sapa reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night at least 10 Inkatha members were among the 45 people killed at Boipatong, and six of them were buried as ANC supporters.

Killings and the IFP: a sickening connection?

By Rehana Rossouw

South Africa
417-817192

SINCE the Inkatha Freedom Party became a political party in June 1990, massacres have occurred in South Africa with "sickening frequency", the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said in a briefing document this week.

The organisation said Inkatha's decision had far-reaching consequences in extending the five-year war beyond Natal borders, particularly to the PWV area.

HRC files show over 5 000 politically-related incidents monitored from media, police unrest reports and community structures. An incident is classified as a "massacre" when 10 or more people died.

"It should be noted that while most incidents occurred over a period of a few hours, some of them took days or even weeks to unfold," the HRC said.

"In the two years, there have been 49 massacres costing the lives of 1 250 people or, on the average, 25 deaths a massacre. In 15 cases, the death-toll was higher than 25.

"However, it is important to note that our premise is of 10 or more deaths qualifying an incident as a massacre, does not take into account numerous other incidents encompassing over 6 000 deaths and 13 000 injuries during the period, which could also properly be described as massacres.

The organisation said a number of points emerged about the nature and objectives of the massacres.

Inkatha's drive to establish political influence, membership and territory was the predominant theme.

The tactics of extreme terror, used indiscriminately against township communities to paralyse, humiliate and disorganise, was a complementary theme.

Hostels were used to plan and launch these activities and there were persistent reports of security force complicity, as well as involvement of unidentified white people. Retaliation sometimes produced its own massacres.

In Natal over the last two years, 11 massacres costing 167 lives were



COMING OUT SHOOTING: Protesters marching through the centre of Johannesburg didn't mince their comments on leading figures in the government

recorded. "These have not been the only massacres experienced by the region, one must go back a further five years or so to grasp the full picture," the HRC said.

In the PWV area, 1 083 people died in 38 massacres since July 1990.

The HRC said in most cases, media and other reports on massacres referred to allegations about the identity of the attackers, often corroborated by legal evidence.

An examination of their lists showed IFP members and supporters were responsible for 34 massacres — 69 percent of the total. "Vigilantes" of unspecified affiliation, but aligned with the IFP, were responsible for three massacres.

118

The security forces — SAP, SADF and the KwaZulu Police — were responsible for four massacres. Township residents and ANC supporters were responsible for six massacres.

In 10 cases there were no clues about the identity of the attackers. There was shared responsibility in eight massacres.

Township residents were victims in 36 massacres, while residents identified as ANC supporters were additionally victims in 10 massacres.

IFP members and supporters were victims in nine massacres, and in six massacres both opposing parties were assessed to be victims, and having a joint responsibility.

Funerals and vigils were attended on three occasions, public recreation facilities, sports and community on three occasions.

Repeated and persistent reports have emerged in Natal since the mid-eighties and in the PWV since July 1990, of collusion between the security forces and vigilante groups, primarily elements within Inkatha," the HRC commented.

"Allegations of security force complicity in massacres appear frequently in reports of eyewitnesses.

Such allegations have been made in the cases of 19 massacres, which is a frequency difficult to ignore.

Furthermore, allegations of the presence of vigilantes in support of vigilante massacres appear in eight cases. Such reports are so pervasive they cannot be discounted.

Finally, it is the absence of the abnormal record of IFP members in arresting and prosecuting perpetrators provides more reason to believe they are part of the problem.

"The IFP's sanguinary give-and-take over the last two years have been happening at the rate of two a month.

"There is a design and purpose behind most massacres, just places, them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer bloodshed.

"The horrifying trail of massacre after massacre confirms the correctness of the declaration by the international community that the apartheid system is a crime against humanity," the HRC said.

R32-million project to light up Sun Valley

By EVE VOSLOO

A R32-million project which will be able to supply electricity to 11 000 consumers is underway to cater for future development in the Sun Valley, Kommetjie, Ocean View and Noordhoek areas.

A city council spokesman said this week that it had become necessary to establish a new main electrical sub-station in Buller Louw Drive, Sun Valley, to provide for new demand and to relieve pressure on the Clovelly main sub-station.

High voltage underground cables are to be laid from Steenberg via Clovelly to Sun Valley.

Various potential routes were considered with the help of Eskom and a final route approved by the Fish Hoek Municipality, the Western Cape Regional Services Council and the Silvermine Nature Reserve Advisory Board after a report had been submitted by the Environmental Evaluation Unit of the University of Cape Town.

Work has already started on the project. A spokesman said contractors were on site and had started preliminary work — but that this had been delayed by bad weather. Residents along the route who will be affected by digging for laying of cables and other construction will be notified about 10 days before work starts in their area.

The work is to be done by Power Installations, which has a site office in Clovelly ☎ 782 6462.

The project should be finished by April 1993.

Inkatha's plans for the poor in Cape

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is planning a series of social upliftment schemes among the Western Cape's more impoverished communities.

They have already begun a major fundraising drive, running competitions and appealing directly to companies, to finance these projects, an IFP spokesperson said this week.

The projects include a series of programmes such as Street Urchins Pads (SUPS), which plans to purchase and renovate old houses to house and feed street children.

Maningi Bokkisi is planned as a Section 21 company, with which they hope to harness the knitting and crocheting skills of black women, which will then be collectively marketed on behalf of the women involved.

They also hope to finance ablution blocks in squatter camps.

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Get clued up, says Buthelezi

AT least 10 IFP members were among the 45 dead after the Boipatong massacre and six of them were buried as ANC supporters, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed this week. (118)

Speaking at a media conference in Johannesburg, Buthelezi said SA media had not countered ANC propaganda regarding its pull out of Codesa, though its role should be to expose the propaganda warfare of opposing political factions. (Press 57792)

As an example of the need for informed reporting, he said few people were aware that at least 10 IFP members were killed in the Boipatong violence.

"How many of you know that at least six IFP members were buried as ANC members in Monday's mass burial?" he asked. - Sapa

The weapons are lobbyists and affluent pressure groups, reports Hugh Robertson

ANC-IFP clash in US too

STAR 1017192



image launderers, Sawyer-Miller, to do the job.

IF SOUTH Africans were a tri-
He awed by the \$700 000 (al-
most R2 million) annual fee
which the ANC contracted to
pay its chief United States lob-
byst, Walter Fauntroy, (a con-
tract now apparently frozen after
an initial payment of \$250 000 and
a disappointing return on the in-
vestment), they might be thunder-
struck to learn that this is but
small change in a continuing and
often shadowy battle for influence
in the US between political rivals
who confronted one another in Co-
desa.

Almost as the ANC was parting
company with Mr Fauntroy, for
instance, an American industrial-
ist was making available a sub-
stantially larger sum to pay for
repairs to the tattered image of
the Inkatha Freedom Party in
the US.

According to the buzz, the
money was an extravagant per-
sonal gesture by the industrialist
who is a personal friend of Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He has
asked one of the more accom-
plished Washington firms of

At the same time, an affluent
group of rightists who raise funds
for Inkatha, the South African
Educational Foundation, expand-
ed from its California base to set
up office in Washington with a
permanent director and lobbyist.

Also on the side of Inkatha are a
panoply of conservative groups
with extensive business connec-
tions and who have been involved,
at least partially, in promoting In-
katha and Chief Buthelezi in the
past.

Among them are the Jefferson
Educational Foundation (reputa-
ly with more than 10 000 sponsors
in big business), which among
other things pays for visits to
South Africa by mainly conser-
vative Republicans, and the Cato
Foundation and Heritage Founda-
tion, both of which eagerly seek
out Chief Buthelezi as a speaker.

On the ANC side there are sev-
eral equally influential groups —
chief among them the Africa
Fund, which has some astute fi-
nancial advisers and lobbyists
raising money for the organisa-

tion, and its parent body, the
American Committee on Africa.

There is also the spluttering ef-
forts of TransAfrica which, among
its projects, finances visits to
South Africa by black Americans
who devoutly support the ANC.

Relegated to the sidelines in the
mounting battle between the ANC
and Inkatha for money and influ-
ence in the US is the South Afri-
can embassy which, on the initia-
tive of ambassador Harry
Schwarz, has dramatically cut
back on the lobbyists who did vir-
tually all the embassy's network-
ing in the heyday of Piet
Koorndof.

Instead, the embassy has
mounted its own staff public rela-
tions and lobbying drive which is
the envy of just about the entire
diplomatic corps. The results are
impressive — Mr Schwarz gets
more exposure in the US media
than any other diplomat in Wash-
ington, and the embassy now has
cordial contact with politicians,
businessmen and bankers who
would not have been seen any-
where near a South African diplo-

mat only a year ago.

But the real tussle remains that
between the ANC and Inkatha —
and it is turning thoroughly nasty,
with many aspects seeming to im-
pinge on their rivalry at home.

Last month, during a fundrais-
ing and image-building visit to the
US, for instance, Chief Buthelezi
faced — for the first time — an
orchestrated campaign of obstruc-
tion at the hands of the ANC's US
allies. They claimed victory when
he abruptly cut short his visit and
flew home, allegedly seething. But
Chief Buthelezi insisted that the
ANC's plans for mass action
prompted his early departure.

Either way, he faced a drubbing
in the US — and a promise of
more of the same if he comes
back. Organisers of the campaign
telephoned as many of the Ameri-
cans he was scheduled to visit as
they could reach, and appealed to
them not to see Chief Buthelezi.

According to one account in the
Miami Herald, seven of the 11 ap-
pointments he had scheduled in
the area were cancelled. Later,
the mayors of New York, Atlanta
and Miami confirmed that they

would not be seeing him.

In New York, where he ad-
dressed a luncheon sponsored by
the presidents of major Jewish or-
ganisations, picketers paraded
outside handing out leaflets den-
ouncing Inkatha and Chief Buthe-
lezi, and urging Jewish groups to
challenge the decision to receive
the Inkatha leader.

Some equally rough tactics
come from the supporters of In-
katha. Among these are some
Christian fundamentalist groups
which raise money for Inkatha by
portraying it as a Christian organ-
isation standing virtually alone
against a conspiracy of atheists
and communists who, among
other failings, have a predisposi-
tion for eating their victims after
burning them alive.

Ghastly stuff it is, but it is put
out in fundraising brochures
which have been sent to some
prominent Americans.

At this stage of the battle for
influence, the ANC undeniably has
the upper hand. It has the support
of the major black American
groups, of the congressional black
caucus, and of most of the media.

● Hugh Robertson is The Star's
Washington correspondent.

spirator of its solution. □

being garnered here and that
ers and politicians, the US may
against all the efforts of its lead-
sustain the feud in South Africa is
the money and influence needed to
prehesion, fearing that much of
the US are viewing it all with ap-
drawn, and many Africanists in
But the battle lines have been
enterprise by some of its officials.
and strident outbursts against free
fers from its legacy of socialism
facts with big business and it suf-
time office in Atlanta — it proba-
and New York to Inkatha's part-
fully staffed offices in Washington
larger official presence here —
fined. While the ANC has a far
come may not be so clearly de-
In the battle for funds, the out-
In the battle for funds, the out-
trator of most acts of violence.

Inkatha has been more starkly
identified in the US than it has
been in South Africa as the perpe-
Furthermore, rightly or wrongly,



Inkatha dragged into fray

STP 10/7/92

(113)



IN AN important annexure to his letter to President de Klerk, Mr Mandela goes further than ever before in confirming the ANC's conviction that the Government and the IFP are in political cahoots. He also launches a stinging attack on Mr de Klerk for condemning ANC involvement in violence, but maintaining silence on the IFP.

In his letter to Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela says: "The Government and the IFP have always acted together. We have yet to see a single condemnation of the IFP even though there are numerous cases of the IFP planning and instigating violence."

The annexure, entitled "SA Government support for the IFP", charges Pretoria with "supplying, arming and training Inkatha in order to form and extend violence (and), as indicated in the Trust Feed case, security forces have deliberately acted to extend Inkatha control over territory and people."

"The failure of the Government to implement agreements and recommendations regarding hostels and their actions concerning so-called traditional weapons, serve the same purpose."

The newest element of the ANC's line of attack is that regarding Mr de Klerk's perceived inconsistency in "failing to condemn IFP violence or the public display of dangerous weapons by IFP supporters."

Mr de Klerk is taken to task for never having condemned the activities of two KwaZulu members of parliament, Samuel Jambile and David Ntombela, who were charged with serious crimes of violence.

The document also asks why Mr de Klerk, who spoke in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, "made no comment on inflammatory remarks made by the leader of the IFP" □

Natal news in brief

Inkatha crisis conference

(113)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will hold what a party spokesman termed a "crisis" national conference at Ulundi from July 17 to 19 with the theme "Negotiations or Death".

The meeting comes in the wake of the Boipatong massacre and the breakdown of constitutional talks at Codesa II.

IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi will open the event.

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ST 13/7/92

'Don't discount Zulus' — Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Zulu factor in South African politics was a factor which nobody could discount, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the unveiling of headstones of members of the Zulu royal family at Non-goma at the weekend.

He said it would remain a factor which no one should dare to discount.

"The Zulu people remain loyal to the Zulu kingdom," Chief Buthelezi said.

"In spite of the antics we see which are directed at marginalising the Zulu nation, this will never happen."

He said the Zulu monarchy was an institution deeply rooted in the country's history and was unique in South Africa.

Among the tombstones unveiled were those of King Solomon and King Cyprian Bhekuzulu.

'No proof of third force in Alexandra'

Sowetan 14/7/92

WAR OF ATTRITION Group told fights won't end until there's a winner: 118

A MEMBER of the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee yesterday told a Goldstone committee of inquiry he had found no evidence of a "third force" operating in Alexandra.

Deane Yates, a lay minister of the Anglican Church, told the committee the two warring parties seemed to be African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

The committee's terms of reference is to establish the circumstances in which people were forced by violence or intimidation to vacate their homes or hostels in the township; who was responsible; and if there should be compensation.

Yates told the committee certain IFP leaders had told him they intended challenging the ANC and gaining political

mastery, not only in Alexandra but the whole country.

"During the last two or three years we have watched the IFP build up, consolidate and extend its political power in Alexandra through the bridgehead which it has established in this area."

He said many people in Alexandra were not politicised and were not members of any political party, but the potential for violence posed by para-military youth groups was very real.

He said there were at present 3 000 residents in the Madala hostel, most of whom were IFP members. He added

that it had been the scene of most of the fighting since March 7.

It was not a "total war in which the inhabitants of Alexandra were fighting each other". He said the struggle would continue until one party won.

Most residents fled from the area of the Madala hostel, driven out by the fighting or leaving of their own free will because they were afraid.

Counsel for the IFP said she would submit evidence that IFP members had been forced to move into the hostel as a safe haven because their homes scattered around Alexandra were unsafe.

NEWS Row over consignment of firearms allegedly delivered to IFP officer

'Whites took arms to IFP's office'

Sowetan 15/7/92

Fire power. ANC claims six men, two in military uniform and three in SAP gear, delivered 152 firearms to Inkatha's Witbank office:

116

Sowetan Correspondent

A CONSIGNMENT of 152 firearms was delivered to an Inkatha Freedom Party/Uwasa office in Witbank on July 5, according to a high-ranking African National Congress official.

Eastern Transvaal ANC leader Mr Matthew Phosa said yesterday the information was supplied to the organisation's intelligence department.

The IFP has denied the allegation, and police are investigating.

The ANC information details the type and calibre of the weapons, serial numbers, and the dates and times of delivery. The ANC has handed a typed list of the weapons - which appear to be of old manufacture - to *Sowetan's* sister newspaper, *The Star*.

Delivery

The list details 92 rifles of various makes, 16 shotguns, two air rifles, nine combination guns, nine pistols and 24 revolvers.

Phosa said three panel vans were used for the delivery. It is alleged that six white men - two in military dress, three wearing South African Police uniforms, and one in civilian clothes - were



REFUGEE BOY ... A Somali refugee boy cooks porridge while waiting to cross the border to Kenya. Since guerillas of the United Somali Congress chased President Mohamed Siad Barre from the capital of Mogadishu in January 1991, anarchy has carved up Somalia into clan fiefdoms. Peter Fuchs, director general of the Red Cross, said last week that 500 000 people will die in the coming weeks unless international aid is doubled immediately.

Distributed

Phosa said: "Our fear is that some of the weapons have already been distributed as some of the IFP members have been seen with pistols."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze challenged the ANC to produce evidence to back up its claims.

"If any real evidence emerges to justify these claims, the severest action possible will be taken," he said.

"However, the wearing of police or military uniforms cannot necessarily be seen as indicative of security force involvement as several ANC members have recently been arrested in police and military uniforms."

news

in brief clubs' offer

RLANDO Pirates and Iwisa aizer Chiefs pledged to donate 30 000 to a trust fund still to be established for the Boipatong massacre victims.

The announcement was made /National Soccer League (NSL) chairman Mr Ashwin Trikamjee yesterday.

Bucs and Chiefs decided to donate the money from the proceeds of their Coca-Cola Cup elimination-game-turned-friendily. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

Kobus in court

ORMER chief executive of the ational Soccer League (NSL), Mr Cyril Kobus, is to appear before a Johannesburg magistrate today for sentencing following his conviction for theft last month.

Kobus (50) of Parkview pleaded guilty last month to 23 charges of theft to the total of 4 462 838,12. The money was stolen from the NSL through two special accounts operated by Kobus and former colleague, Abdul Bhimajee.

Bhanjee is serving a 14-year jail sentence for his part in the theft. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

Photobourri of writers

IFP objects to MK's existence

STAR
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118

The IFP has requested the National Peace Committee (NPC) to refer the IFP's unresolved complaint about the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for arbitration.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe was in breach of the National Peace Accord.

The IFP has also formally complained about reported statements by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and by PAC "firebrands".

Mr Mokaba was alleged to have said the youth league would make the townships un-governable.

Although the PAC was not a signatory to the National Peace Accord, the NPC should contact the PAC leadership about the slogan "Kill a cop a day" -
Political Reporter.

Police search IFP offices after ANC arms allegation

By Esther Waugh
and Shaun Johnson

118

STAR 15/11/92

Police raided an Inkatha Freedom Party/United Workers' Union of SA office in Witbank on Monday night and found "two official Kwazulu weapons" after inquiries by The Star about the alleged delivery of a consignment of firearms.

The raid came after police were informed of an ANC allegation that 152 firearms were delivered to the Witbank IFP/Uwusa office on July 5 and then removed to an unknown destination.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said police found a shotgun and a pistol at the office, but that they were legally possessed.

Before the raid, eastern Transvaal ANC leader Matthew Phosa revealed ANC intelligence regarding the alleged firearms consignment. The IFP denied the claims.

The ANC information detailed the type and calibre of the weapons, serial numbers, and the dates and times of their delivery.

The ANC handed a typed list of the weapons, which appear to be of old manufacture, to The Star. The weapons seized in Monday night's raid did not appear on the list.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos "totally and utterly" denied that the "delivery" of the 152 weapons had taken place.

IFP Witbank chairman Wilfred Majazi said the allegations were part of the ANC's propaganda "to cover up for their weapons in Angola". Mr Majazi denied knowledge of the delivery, saying he was not in Witbank on July 5.

Mr Phosa said it was "for the sake of our lives, peace and stability that the ANC has decided to disclose the information".

According to Mr Phosa, three panel vans — a Toyota, a Datsun E20 and a Mitsubishi — were used for the delivery. Drivers and passengers were identified as "Don, Ernest,

Nuku and Jerome".

It is alleged that six white men — two in military gear, three wearing South African Police uniforms and one in civilian clothes — were present, and were escorted by a further three white men driving a Volkswagen Jetta without number plates.

The ANC alleges that Danie van Heerden of the Dan du Toit Gun Shop in Witbank came to the IFP office after an IFP official telephoned him. They are alleged to have checked the weapons, which were later removed.

Mr van Heerden has denied any knowledge of the weapons.

The ANC's information is that on Monday, July 6 a former ANC detainee now working in opposition to the organisation contacted the IFP/Uwusa office and asked: "When are (names unknown) going to give us the things they said we should wait for?"

The ANC claims it suspects that youths of Hlalanikahle, a suburb of the Witbank township of Lynnville where pockets of

IFP supporters live, were to be trained with the weapons.

Captain Kotze said police had contacted Mr Phosa regarding the alleged consignment, and the ANC leader had undertaken to make details available to the SAP today.

Mr Phosa said: "Our fear is that some of the weapons have already been distributed as some of the IFP members have been seen with pistols."

The list of weapons gives details of 92 rifles of various makes, 16 shotguns, two air rifles, nine combination guns, nine pistols and 24 revolvers. Makes include Page, Enfield, Webley, Mauser and Winchester.

Captain Kotze challenged the ANC to produce evidence to back up its claims. "The public has a right to know as rapidly as possible whether the claims are true or merely another salvo in the ANC's hate campaign against the SAP."

"If any real evidence emerges to justify these claims, the severest action possible will be taken," he said.

Inkatha offer on 'Beirut'

Sowetan 16/7/92
■ **Displaced families: The
IFP will help people go
back to their homes:**

By Monk Nkomo 

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was prepared to help nearly 700 displaced Alexandra township families return to their homes, IFP branch chairman Mr Lucas Khoza said yesterday.

Giving evidence before the Goldstone Committee chaired by Mr R Nugent in Pretoria, Khoza said he and the IFP agreed that displaced families, most of whom were from "Beirut", near the Madala Hostel, should be allowed to go back to their homes.

A total of 685 families had been displaced since the outbreak of violence in the township a year ago. Some families had sought refuge at the council chambers, schools and churches.

Khoza appealed to security forces to help monitor the process of returning families on a 24-hour basis. He also asked that a mobile police station be opened in "Beirut" to attend to cases of intimidation should they arise.

"The IFP is presently making arrangements for a survey of the affected area with a view to helping the families back to their houses," Khoza said.

About 70 families affiliated to the IFP were also displaced, he said.

Asked if hostels should be closed down or turned into family units, Khoza said the phasing out of the Madala Hostel would adversely affect working people and industries.

He suggested that only a portion of the hostel be turned into family units. "The closing down of the hostel will hit both individuals and industries," he said.

Earlier, another witness, the Rev Busani Ngubane, told the committee he believed hostels had become armed fortresses which were manned by people who did not have the right to be there.

He suggested that hostels be closed down and turned into flats for people who were long-time residents of Alexandra.

Ngubane said the assertion that the violence in the township was about political rivalry between the IFP and the ANC seemed ridiculous following his experiences and observations about the conflict.

Non-IFP men 'forced out'^(11B)

PRETORIA. — When Inkatha Freedom Party members went to stay at the Madala Hostel in Alexandra early this year those who were not supporters of the party "obviously" had to leave the place, an IFP official said yesterday.

The chairman of the IFP branch in Alexandra, Mr Lucas Khoza, was giving evidence before a Goldstone Commission committee of inquiry into displaced people at the township as a result of violence. The sitting

was chaired by Mr R Nugent.

Mr Khoza said that because of attacks by ANC supporters, IFP members who had houses in the township had to leave them to seek refuge at the Madala Hostel.

A witness for the ANC, referred to as Mr B, told the hearing that while he was living at M1 Hostel in Alexandra on March 9 this year IFP members assembled at the back of the hostel.

Mr B said he saw people carrying weapons passing in front of

the police, but they were not disarmed.

When the armed group shot at people across the street, the police teargassed the victims and later accompanied the armed group to the hostel, which was then cordoned off.

He managed to collect his belongings from the hostel after a few days while being accompanied by an armed Inkatha member.

The hearing continues today.
— Sapa ET 16/7/92

IFP annual conference

(118)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party holds its annual general conference at Emandleni-Matleng Youth Camp in Ulundi this weekend, focusing on negotiations, violence and the peace process.

The theme of the conference is Peace, Negotiations and Democracy or Death, according to IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate.

Sowetan 17/7/92

ANC take over

RESIDENTS of Vosloorus may take over the local police station and man it with ANC defence units because they no longer have confidence in SAP impartiality.

Sowetan 17/7/92

This was said by community leader Mr Gwede Mantashe during the funeral service of the slain Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, Mr George Sgomora Mashele, at the Vosloorus Stadium yesterday.

Mashele and his mother, Mrs Lillian Magosha, were killed last week after police allegedly threw a grenade into their house. George returned from eight years of exile two months ago. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

'Urgent' IFP conference

The Argus Correspondent

(18) ARG 17/7/92

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party will re-examine its positions on the negotiations and peace processes at an "urgent conference" in Ulundi this weekend.

More than 10 000 delegates are expected.

A spokesman for the IFP, Mr Walter Felgate, said recent statements by ANC president Nelson Mandela would have to be examined and the IFP would decide whether it should still attend the National Peace Committee meeting of July 30.

"We are going to have to take initiatives to leave behind us those processes which have been shown not to be working," he said.

Buthelezi attacks Mandela

Weekend Argus Reporter

ULUNDI. — The African National Congress was a nothing party without its arms, military wing and intimidation policy.

This was said by the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at the party's national council here yesterday.

He said three issues were facing the country: Whether the government could lead the land through the crises created by the ANC; whether the ANC's leadership could lead that party into democratic behaviour; and, whether South Africa had the patience to allow the ANC to flounder while "trying to gather the strength they have never had".

Mr. Mandela "postured before the UN as if he was the paragon of virtue" while the world did not recognise him as the "commander-in-chief of Umkhonto which still kills for political purposes".

"Mr. Mandela has thrown down a gauntlet which we must pick up or face political ignominy.

"Perhaps it is necessary that the only way to avoid a civil war is for us to prepare for a civil war which nobody would dare fight.

"We cannot allow the ANC to usurp the democratic power in Codesa."

The ANC threw tantrums while the whole world scuttles around trying to woo them into a reasonable frame of mind.

"We say 'Enough is enough' — we can also cut up, rough and take courses of action that hold up everything while we force the world to look at things we regard as national priorities."

ANC 'spy' confesses

^{Sunday Times}
AN ANC member confessed at yesterday's IFP annual meeting in Ulundi that he was recruited to spy on Inkatha members at Kwamadala hostel.

The 17-year-old youth, Matanzima Nosenga, spoke to the Sunday Times after a scathing three-and-a-half hour attack on the ANC by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"I was asked to come here, but I was not forced," he said showing no signs of fear or intimidation.

He said that on Tuesday, he and four others were given instructions by a leading ANC figure from Evaton.

"I was advised that I

191792
By TERRY VAN DER WALT (118)

must go to Kwamadala and say that I had been thrown out of Evaton because my father is a councillor.

"I did this and I was accepted by the hostel dwellers and was given food and a place to stay.

"I was told to follow five IFP members living in the hostel and work out their daily movements and get their car registration numbers," he said.

Asked what the aim of the mission was, Nosenga said: "So they can be assassinated".

I won't sit in same room as Mandela — Buthelezi

By S'BU MNGADI

APress 19/7/92

THE National Peace Accord teetered on the brink on Friday night when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would refuse to sit in the same room with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

In a scathing attack on the ANC leader, Buthelezi said this would be his position unless instructed otherwise by the IFP membership.

Opening the IFP's 17th annual general conference in Ulundi, Buthelezi specifically referred to the crucial peace accord meeting scheduled for July 30 at which its original signatories would be expected to review the peace process.

He told the 10 000 strong crowd: "How on earth does one sit down and talk to a person like Mandela when, in fact, he has thrown down a gauntlet which we have to pick up or suffer total political ignominy

among those sections of the community who are prepared to die for the ideals we serve."

He was speaking barely hours after arriving back from the United Nations Security Council special session in New York at which Mandela slammed the IFP, saying it was a surrogate of a government which was waging a campaign of state terrorism against opponents.

Buthelezi said he did not see how there could be a common negotiation process while the ANC was adopting such a hardline stance.

He slammed the recent mock trial by sections of a crowd of ANC demonstrators in Cape Town which "sentenced" him and other IFP leaders to death. "How can I sit and talk peace with them?" he said.

The 10 000-strong conference at Mandleni-Matleng Youth camp

applauded among others, the SA deputy Justice Minister and National Intelligence chief Dannie Schutte, Public Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, senior representatives of fraternal organisations in Qwa, Bophuthatswana, Qwa-Qwa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, town councillors from many parts of the country as well as Natal CP leader Carl Werth and Durban CP city councillor Duncan du Bouis.

Buthelezi said the IFP should send a delegation to the NPA meeting to demand the final disbandment of Umkhonto weSizwe.

"If negotiations cannot get off the ground, then violence will escalate. If violence escalates, much more than it is doing now, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin the negotiations," Buthelezi threatened.



SALVO ... IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi slammed the ANC at the IFP's 17th annual congress.



SWITCHED LOYALTIES ... Bekkersdal Inkatha Youth Brigade members Nontobeko Mjamba, Lefty Motaung (vice-chairman), Minkie Loliwe (chairman), and Paseka Kasi (project co-ordinator). Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

BC 4 join IFP in Bekkersdal

By **MOSES MAMAILA**

FOUR young people from the strongly anti-Inkatha township of Bekkersdal on the West Rand have stunned fellow residents by quitting the Azapo-aligned Azanian Students Movement to join the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

The four are Nontobeko Mjamba, 18, Paseka Kasi, 19, Lefty Motaung, 19, and Minkie Loliwe, 21.

Mjamba, Kasi and Motaung were all Azasm members while Loliwe was an active supporter of the movement.

This week the four outlined why they ignored death threats and joined the Youth Brigade.

They also launched a broadside against Azapo and Azasm.

"I compared various ideologies prevailing in this area and finally concluded that In-

Cipres 191 7192
**Azasm: Feel free
 to go, but quit
 all the claims**

katha has the most vibrant and relevant one," said local Youth Brigade chairman Loliwe.

"The revolutionary Azapo stance which advocates armed struggle as the principal form of struggle was nothing but a dream which would never be attained," she said, adding that freedom would be achieved through negotiations.

Youth Brigade project co-ordinator Kasi said Inkatha was a "peaceful" organisation.

People hated the IFP because they understood very little about the organisation.

Appealing for political tolerance, Kasi called on Azapo's national leadership to order their members to "stop intimidating people".

Youth Brigade vice-chairman Motaung said "threats" by local residents were aimed at forcing them to resign.

"We know our names are on a hitlist of people who have vowed to wipe out IFP members in the area . . . We shall obviously defend ourselves if attacked."

Mjamba, also on the local executive committee, said she resigned from Azasm because Black Consciousness followers accused her of being an informer as her mother was an IFP member.

Azasm general secretary Palisa Rachidi dismissed the claims, saying Azasm believed in free political association.

IFP wants guarantees

Sorekwa 20/7/92

TOP PRIORITY Party wants

(11/8)

to prevent talks being held to ransom:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday resolved to call for a National Multiparty Conference of Review charged with reviewing the peace and negotiation processes.

A resolution adopted by delegates to the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi said this conference should be given statutory powers.

It could then prevent the recurrence of a situation where "any one party could hold negotiations to ransom and urge the Government to introduce the agreements reached in Working Group 3 in Codesa, once the negotiation process has resulted in broad consensus about constitutional principles and an interim constitution".

In a separate resolution adopted at the conference, the IFP said it would call for regional negotiations about regional boundaries and regional

autonomy. ~~20/7/92~~ 20/7/92

The IFP would call upon all of its structures and other regional governments to make their input to constitutional negotiations in close harmony with one another.

"Federalism as an option should be given the widest publicity in our region and throughout the country," the conference resolved.

Meanwhile IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned on Saturday if the stalled negotiation process was unable to restart the violence would escalate, and it might have to "run its course".

He also gave notice the IFP might pull out of negotiations if the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, continued to be discussed exclusively between the Government and the ANC.

"If violence escalates much more than it is doing, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin negotiations," he warned.

"If the ANC precludes the possibility of negotiations, then it is the ANC which will have to take the consequences."

Buthelezi called for the immediate formation of "community defence units" in areas which past experience had shown were violence zones.

We'll help disband MK, says Inkatha

STAR 20/7/92

113

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday called for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to be disbanded by September 14 — the anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord — and said the IFP would do all it could to ensure this happened.

The IFP also said it would encourage communities to form "self-protection" units in accordance with the accord, and that it would call on all its members to withdraw membership fees from any Cosatu-affiliated union immediately in the light of the labour federation's mass action campaign.

In a resolution adopted at the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi, Inkatha said MK — the ANC's armed wing — was a com-

mon denominator in all political violence.

The IFP further called for the peace accord to be given "teeth".

In the same resolution, the IFP said it would instruct its national chairman to lay a formal complaint with the National Peace Committee, charging ANC president Nelson Mandela with violating the accord.

Because of Mr Mandela's alleged violations, a planned meeting of signatories to the accord on July 30 had become impossible, the IFP added.

The resolution also said the IFP would investigate the possibility of seeking legal redress through the courts for "hideous violations on personal integrity and rights". — Sapa.

Inkatha slams Mandela speech

APCT 2017 192
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Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is to lay a complaint with the National Peace Committee charging ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela with violating the Peace Accord because of his statements before the United Nations Security Council last week.

The IFP said at its annual conference in Ulundi at the weekend that it had become impossible to hold the meeting of signatories to the accord on July 30 because of the violation.

'No fees'

The IFP resolved that uMkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC, should be dismantled by September 14 — the first anniversary of the signing of the accord.

The conference called on its members to withdraw membership fees from Cosatu unions immediately because of the labour federation's mass action campaign.

The IFP called on employers to reject attempts by the ANC and its allies to make them party to economic sabotage through political protest and urged them not to close businesses during any mass action.



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Picture: AP

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Law gives access to cheaper legal service

PRETORIA — Short process courts and laws governing mediation in civil cases, which the Justice Department says establish SA as a "world leader", came into operation at the weekend.

The Short Process Courts and Mediation in Certain Civil Cases Act is meant to ensure greater access to legal services and simplify and cheapen litigation.

The mediation section of the Act provides for the intervention of a mediator to encourage parties to reach an out of court settlement or expedite court proceedings.

The Act says that at any time prior to judgment, but even after the issuing of a summons for institution of a civil action, the parties or their legal representatives may give notice that they have agreed to submit their dispute to mediation.

If the court concerned is satisfied that mediation will not delay the trial unreasonably, the clerk of the court will give notice to the parties to appear at a specified time, date and place in chambers before a mediator.

The mediator will attempt settlement, but if this is not possible, will try to simplify issues and may amend the pleadings.

The mediator will investigate the possibility of obtaining admissions with a view to avoiding unnecessary adducing of evidence at the trial and limiting the number of witnesses.

The order made by the mediator will be deemed an order of court, and will be binding on the parties.

The Justice Department said mediators would be appointed mainly from the ranks of retired magistrates, attorneys, advocates and legal academics.

The Act also provides for the establishment of a short process court for cases that would otherwise be adjudicated in a magistrate's court.

The Act says that the minister may establish a short process court in any district.

Pilot projects will be launched in Pretoria and Pretoria North in September.

The court will, at the request of the parties or their legal representatives, "take any steps in relation to the hearing of any action which may lead to the expeditious and cost-saving disposal of the case".

No appeal will derive from decisions of these courts, although review proceedings are provided for if there is an absence of jurisdiction, bias of the mediator or gross irregularity.

"With the commencement of this Act, SA will be a leader in the world in respect of cheaper alternative adjudication processes," the Justice Department said in a statement.

Inkatha to urge members to form 'self-defence units'

ULUNDI — Inkatha is to encourage communities to form "self-protection" units in accordance with the national peace accord.

In a resolution adopted at its annual general conference yesterday, Inkatha said it would inform its members that political parties and organisations were precluded from establishing these units. Instead the units had to come from within communities.

Inkatha would embark on a public awareness campaign to inform people that it was legal to form self-protection units and it would seek the "maximum degree of training" to ensure they were efficient.

Communities could call on Inkatha for training.

The conference also called for Umkhonto we

Sizwe (MK) to be disbanded by September 14 — the anniversary of the signing of the national peace accord — and said the IFP would do all it could to ensure this happened.

Inkatha said MK was a common denominator in all political violence.

Inkatha further called for the peace accord to be given "teeth" so that punitive action could be taken against those who violated its terms.

In the same resolution, Inkatha said it would instruct its national chairman to lay a charge with the national peace committee against ANC president Nelson Mandela for violating the accord.

Because of Mandela's alleged violations, a planned meeting of signatories to

the accord on July 30 had become impossible, Inkatha said.

The movement called on members to withdraw membership fees from Cosatu unions in the light of the labour federation's mass action campaign.

Inkatha said it was concerned that Cosatu no longer appeared to be serving the interests of workers but had become a political tool to achieve the ANC-SACP's political agenda.

The conference further resolved to call on employer organisations to reject any attempt by the ANC and its allies to make them party to economic sabotage as a means of political protest.

Instead, Inkatha urged businesses not to close during the mass action campaign. — Sapa.

Rival union to target health workers

THE Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) would begin a recruitment drive among 900 hospital workers appointed to replace dismissed strikers, Uwusa national PRO Duke Senakgomo said yesterday.

Senakgomo said that by Thursday a strategy would be drawn up to attract new workers to Uwusa ranks.

Baragwanath Hospital obstetrics and gynaecology professor and Medical Advisory Committee chairman Cyril van Gelderen warned the recruiting drive "will almost certainly cause disharmony, maybe even worse".

SA Health and Social Services Organisation (Sahsso) general secretary Dr Rafik Bismilla said "while other workers are on strike it would be incorrect for other unions to move in".

By employing new workers, he said, the TPA was "sowing the seeds of future conflict".

Nehawu officials were yesterday expecting a response

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CHARLIE PRETZLIK

from the TPA on the union's demand that workers be reinstated. Saccola had agreed to act as a mediator between the two parties.

The PAC also joined the fray yesterday by calling for an urgent resumption of negotiations between Nehawu and the TPA, Sapa reports.

A spokesman for the PAC's West Rand region said it supported Nehawu's demand for a living wage and had decided to establish contact to help end the deadlock in the negotiations.

"We are mainly concerned with the suffering of black patients in Baragwanath and other hospitals," the PAC spokesman said. "Both sides must realise blacks are suffering and their attitudes, and particularly the TPA's, are not helpful."

Meanwhile, the three-week strike at Cape provincial hospitals showed no sign of letting up by yesterday as members of the Health Workers' Union (HWU) continued their protest over wages and service conditions.

Most Nehawu members had returned to their posts, but about 300 remained on strike at three hospitals.

In a statement yesterday, the Cape Provincial Administration said HWU members remained on strike at the Groote Schuur, Mowbray Maternity, Valkenberg, Woodstock, Somerset, Conradie, Victoria and Brooklyn Chest hospitals in Cape Town.

The CPA said 292 Nehawu members were on strike at Kimberley Hospital.

Nehawu, whose members spearheaded the national strike, suspended its action in the western Cape last Thursday pending the reinstatement of fired workers by the Transvaal and Free State provincial administrations.

The situation at Pelonomi Hospital, at Mangaung near Bloemfontein, was tense yesterday after strikers overturned garbage cans and food in the wards.

Battle-lines drawn at Inkatha indaba

STAR 2/17/92 (IF)

THE IFP has emerged from its weekend conference characterised by invective against the ANC, having clearly gained the political battles which crystallised at Codesa 2 in May.

On one side is the moderate camp, which IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says has rallied to Inkatha positions on democracy and negotiations. On the other is the ANC and its Patriotic Front comrades.

While Inkatha has continued to maintain that it has no plans to strike an alliance with the NP or like-minded organisations, the IFP guest list and the welcome accorded its guests seemed to indicate that such an alliance was easily possible.

Guests at the conference included the Government Democratic Party, Conservative Party, the governments of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and KwaZulu-Natal, the National Peoples Party, the Solidarity Party and the Reform Party.

Notably absent were the ANC, PAC, Cosatu, Transkei Government, SA Communist Party and any ANC-aligned organisations. IFP officials dispute this, but it was the CP guests which received the loudest applause from 10 000 delegates in Umtali on Saturday.

This prompted the CP's Carl Werth to remark in his message of support that the IFP and CP had certain common positions on South Africa's future: commitment to a preservation of own identity and culture, and opposition to the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi and IFP members demonstrated the latter by launching a weekend-long verbal assault on the ANC camp. Chief Buthelezi declared at one point that it was impossible now even to entertain the notion of talks with them.

Apart from a reference to Government callousness in not taking effective measures to curb the violence, his speech did not question or criticise Government policies. Chief Buthelezi also took up arms momentarily for the Government by hammering the

ANC for trying to humiliate it at the UN. He was patently seething at what was said by his foes in New York last week.

He said further that the real issue at stake in the current political impasse was that the ANC had failed to dominate Codesa and have its will rubber-stamped.

The speech contained no clear announcements on suggestions for restarting negotiations. Positions emerging from the conference were mostly responses to ANC doubts and sayings, and the IFP has now made

its participation at the negotiations and peace forums dependent on its demands that the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, be disbanded by September 14, the anniversary of the ailing National Peace Accord.

But Chief Buthelezi did say that the negotiations process will have to make compromises that are in the major political parties' actuality hurt.

The IFP resolved to call for MK to be disbanded by September 14, to urge communities to form self-protection units, to

call on its members to withdraw their membership fees from Cosatu affiliates to express their rejection of the labour federation's mass action plans, and to appeal to business to refuse to be "held to ransom by the ANC".

Chief Buthelezi suggested South Africa needed to go back to square one in the light of Codesa's standstill. He expressed doubts about the prospects of the ANC returning to the negotiations table, raising the idea of reconvening Codesa's preparatory committee. And the chief mentioned the possibility of even going back a stage further by organising bilateral and multilateral party negotiations all over again. □

Bara 'hiring Inkatha men'

STAR 21/7/92

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By Montshiwa Moroke

Baragwanath Hospital has recruited Soweto hostel inmates and workers from Natal to fill jobs vacated by fired strikers, members of the National Education Health Workers Union (Nehawu) said at a press conference yesterday.

A Nehawu member — who wished not to be identified — said some employees at the hospital and clinics were concerned about their safety because they believed the men were members of Inkatha, hired to "deal" with strikers.

They had been recruited from the Merafe, Diepkloof, Nancefield, Mzimhlophe and Jabu-

lani hostels.

Hospital nurses have confirmed the men were hired to clean floors and run errands. Nursing sisters said information from the men was that they came either from hostels or from Natal.

One Nehawu member said she had been warned by the recruits that if anything happened to non-strikers she would be blamed.

Deputy-director of community services at the Transvaal Provincial Administration Deon van Loggernberg yesterday denied the Nehawu accusations.

"If a group or groups from hostels came to the hospitals on their own to do voluntary work, it would not be correct for the hospitals to show

those people away

"That would be to discriminate against them just because they are hostel dwellers. You cannot turn them away on the grounds that they have a tendency towards violence. They may not be involved in the violence," he said.

● The Star's Pretoria correspondent reports that four members of Nehawu yesterday appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court in connection with alleged intimidation at Ga-Rankuwa Hospital.

No charges were put to Betty Mabavu (29), Ernest Mothabela (32), Joseph Msize (30) and Samuel Moekena and they were not asked to plead.

The hearing was postponed to August 18.

Inkatha unveils violence dossier

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has released a list describing 587 attacks, 376 of them fatal, on its membership since the national peace accord was signed last September.

IFP Western Cape chairman Ntok Myburgh released the catalogue of attacks yesterday, saying the public needed to know the IFP was the target of a systematic programme of assassination and attack.

Myburgh also attached an analysis of the incidents, breaking down the occurrence and type according to provinces and weaponry. Most of the lethal attacks were alleged to have been carried out by ANC supporters and to have involved AK-47 rifles, hand grenades and incendiary devices. Most were recorded in the Vaal triangle and Natal. **BIDAN**

It is expected Inkatha's list will be handed to the UN secretary-general's special envoy, former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, on Thursday.

A policeman was shot dead, allegedly by a colleague, during an argument at Lethabale last Friday, a police spokesman said yesterday.

She said a second police member sustained gunshot wounds and was admitted to the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria. He was in a satisfactory condition. **21/7/92**

Nine people were killed and six wounded in unrest-related incidents countrywide, police said yesterday in their unrest report for the 24 hours ending at midnight on Sunday.

Court will decide squatters' future

THE outcome of two court applications due to be heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court today will determine whether Zevenfontein squatters will move to two disputed sites in the North Rand area.

The Diepsloot Residents' Association and Laezonia Landowners' Association are seeking an interdict restraining the TPA from settling the Zevenfontein community at Diepsloot.

Diepsloot is one of the sites on the North Rand identified by the TPA. In a third application later this week, lawyers representing residents living in Nietgedacht, the second area identified by the TPA, are expected to serve papers on the TPA.

But advocate Mathole Motshkega, legal adviser to the squatter community, said in a statement yesterday the TPA should honour the agreement it made to move squatters to Diepsloot and Nietgedacht, in spite of the outcome of the hearings.

He said squatters were ready to move to the sites, but in previous cases the TPA had bowed to "white racists' interests" and changed plans to relocate the community to any of the suggested sites.

The matter had become politicised, said Motshkega, and the community had resolved at a meeting last week "not to allow white racists to determine their destiny". Should the TPA fail to honour its agree-

ment with the squatters, they would disregard the July 31 deadline for their relocation and reject any relocation to a transit camp.

Motshkega said the squatters had rejected the alternative sites in Cosmo City and Helderfontein proposed by the white residents, because residents had been unable to make any concrete arrangements.

Meanwhile, at a meeting yesterday, representatives of the Nietgedacht Action Group said they were prepared to accommodate the Zevenfontein community in the area, but only if adequate housing and facilities were provided.

Residents said squatters were being moved from their present site in Zevenfontein because of a "shadowy deal" between the TPA and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, which has interests in the luxury Dainfern country club on the adjacent site.

Action group chairman Norma Sharples said if JCI did not want a squatter camp on its doorstep, the responsibility for providing funds for adequate housing lay with the company.

Sharples said the action group's members would stage peaceful protests, but added there were many right wingers in the area whose actions the organisation could not control.



A Niergedacht resident, who declined to be identified, at yesterday's meeting called by the local action group to discuss the Zevenfontein squatters. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Travel agent calls for streamlining

TRAVEL agent NedTravel Holidays has called for streamlining of the tour operators' sector to reduce current oversupply on certain routes. **BIDAN** **21/7/92**

And NedTravel Holidays MD Eric Thorne's proposal that business should be evenly distributed has been supported by the Travel Agents' Board.

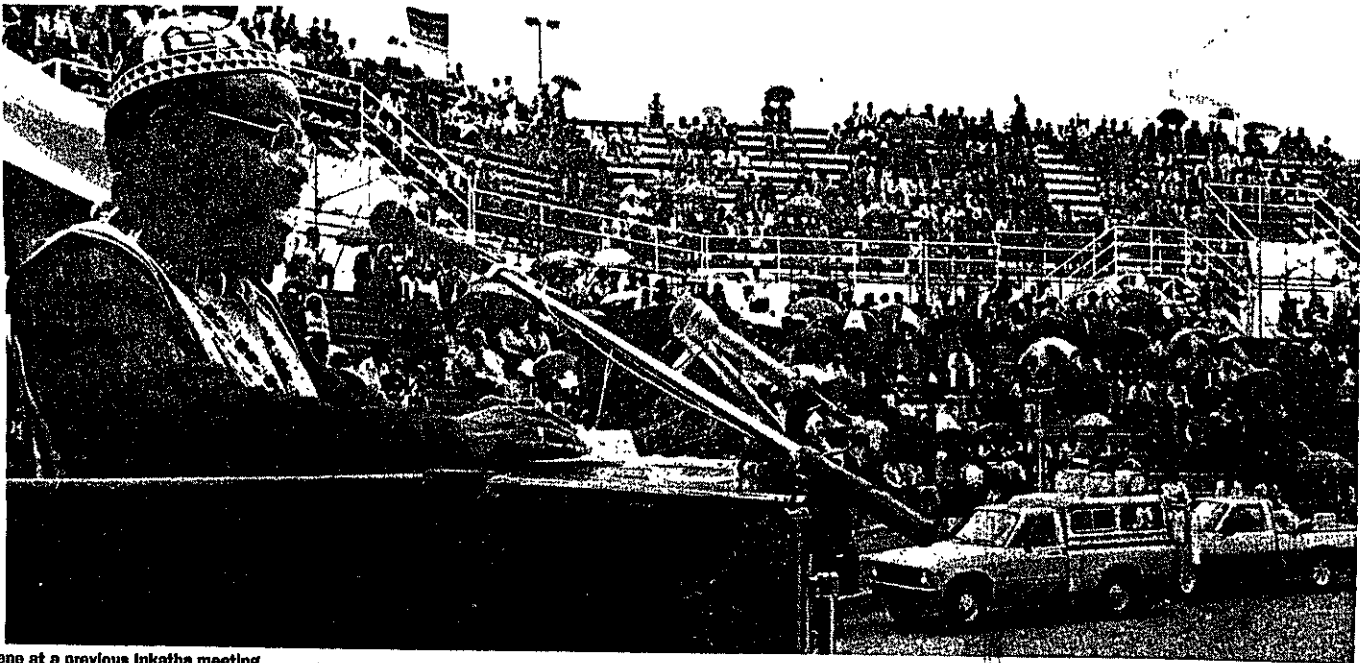
Thorne said in a statement that up to 10 different tour operators currently offered Tour operators' cut-throat price war to

attract business was an unhealthy long-term option for the industry.

However, Thorne emphasised that he did not believe a streamlining of operations would mean fewer operators but fewer, specialised companies serving specific destinations. Board director Bill Botha said the call made sense. "It is a sensible, valid proposal that needs consideration by the industry".

! ***** for CONTACT *****

NEWS FEATURE Chief Buthelezi threatens to pull out of negotiations with the Government



Scene at a previous Inkatha meeting.

Buthelezi wades into ANC, Mandela at IFP meeting

■ IFP leader says party may withdraw from negotiations if MK issue was negotiated exclusively between the ANC and the government:

Sowetan 22/7/92

**By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's annual general conference this past weekend in Ulundi coincided with heightened international focus on South Africa and again underscored the country's polarised state.

In a split-off to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's scathing attack on the African National Congress at the United Nations Security Council's emergency meeting on South Africa on July 17, the IFP emerged from its conference with a two-pronged attitude: to put pressure on the Government and confront the ANC and its president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In his speech Buthelezi said he returned from New York deeply disillusioned about the political process in which the relationships between political parties could be normalised.

He also launched a scathing attack on the ANC and Mandela, reminding delegates that Mandela called the IFP surrogates of the Government at the UN.

Significantly, the future of the National Peace Accord, which was threatened when the ANC angrily broke off talks in the wake of June 17's Boipatong massacre, is again threatened as its first anniversary on September 14 draws nearer.

"Peace, negotiation, or death" was the theme at the IFP's meeting.

An analysis of its resolutions, forecasts a long political winter ahead.

The party has threatened to withdraw from a meeting of the Peace Accord signatories planned for July 29 if the ANC did not respond to its demands for the release of Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, by Septem-

ber 14.

Also, the IFP has given notice to the Government that it is prepared to pull out of negotiations and the peace process if the issue of MK continued to be discussed exclusively by the ANC and Government.

Although having withdrawn from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, causing its collapse, the ANC is still a major signatory of the Accord together with the Government and IFP.

Conversely, as the ANC insists the Government is behind the violence, the IFP says it is the ANC. In fact, it charges that MK is the common denominator in all political violence.

In his speech Buthelezi said the ANC and Mandela were not committed to peace. It thus resolved that its national chairman lay a formal complaint charging Mandela with violating the accord.

Some of the major resolutions of the conference were:

* That members establish defence units in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Accord and that maximum training be provided by the IFP;

* Workers who are IFP members withdraw membership fees from Cosatu-affiliated unions because of the federation's mass action programme;

* To condemn the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance "for courting economic disaster in the process of seeking their own party political gain";

* To demand that the Goldstone Commission investigate any mass action campaign which leads to violations of the terms of the Peace Accord.

Saying it was committed to negotiations the IFP resolved to call a multi-party conference of review charged with reviewing the peace and

‘To condemn the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance for courting economic disaster in the process of seeking their own party political gains’



Some of Inkatha's supporters

negotiations processes and which should be given statutory powers.

Federalism as an option should be given maximum publicity and the IFP would call for negotiations about regional boundaries and regional autonomy, the party resolved.

IFP stand on stayaway

ANC 23/7/92

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has urged business to distance itself from Cosatu's planned stayaway action.

Business should not become involved in the stayaway action even for one hour, let alone a day, Inkatha said yesterday.

"Appeasement is not going to assist. If there must be showdowns, let there be showdowns because they will come anyway," Chief Buthelezi said.

He was addressing members of the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola).

He said "endeavours by businessmen to reverse the process of destruction and enlighten the ANC/Cosatu alliance to the consequences of their irresponsible actions", was strongly supported by the IFP.

The IFP was concerned, however, that the economy was becoming the battleground where the ANC-led alliance was "waging its war". — Sapa.

IFP's stance under attack

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■ The Goldstone Commission again slams
the carrying of dangerous weapons:

Sowetan 24/7/92
EXPRESSING its regret that the IFP was refusing to accept its guideline, the Goldstone Commission yesterday again recommended that dangerous weapons not be carried in public.

The commission yesterday released a draft interim agreement on mass demonstrations reached between the police, the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and the IFP.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone expressed the commission's "regret" that the IFP, despite being a signatory to the agreement, could not agree to the one recommendation that participants in public demonstrations should not carry dangerous weapons.

He said IFP representatives had rejected the clause and requested "a search be made for compromise wording to replace the wording of clause 3". - *Own Correspondent.*

Buthelezi pulls out of peace summit

WILSON ZWANE and RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would not attend a national peace accord summit with President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela next week.

The July 30 meeting was called to bolster the peace accord almost a year after it was signed. The summit was widely regarded as an opportunity for the three leaders to get together in an attempt to resolve their differences on the issue of violence.

Buthelezi cited Mandela's alleged violations of the peace accord at the UN Security Council last week and the continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe as the reasons for his non-attendance. *810A7 24/7/92*

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the ANC would attend the meeting.

He said: "We would hope that everybody who is interested in peace and interested in ending the violence would indeed attend."

National peace committee chairman John Hall said the meeting would probably be postponed. He said Buthelezi's withdrawal from the meeting did not threaten the peace accord.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said Mandela's statement at the UN that he did not recognise Inkatha as "an independent force" with which the ANC could enter into an agreement aimed at ending violence, showed that Mandela was intent on "smashing" the national peace accord.

Vos said Inkatha had asked the national peace committee to postpone the meeting of the signatories until Mandela's statement, Umkhonto's continued existence and intimidation arising from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action had been "properly" dealt with.

Hall said the executive of the committee would meet tonight to discuss Buthelezi's reasons for his non-attendance.

Should the matter not be resolved tonight, it would be brought before a meeting of the full national peace committee next Tuesday.

Report back at Ulundi

"Work for peace by preparing for war." That, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi advised more than 6 000 party faithful, was how to deter people "chancing their arm against the party."

He was speaking at the IFP's 17th annual congress at Ulundi last weekend. There were few surprises at the two-day event, billed as the organisation's most important annual convention. However, the IFP failed to address some of the strategic issues which must

Cont ->

concern its leadership — particularly, how to give the organisation a less-Zulu image.

Coming fewer than 24 hours after Buthelezi's return to SA after addressing the UN Security Council on the violence, the rally was also used as a report-back session to his followers. While clearly satisfied at the outcome of the debate, Buthelezi said that he'd returned deeply disillusioned about the political process. He accused ANC president Nelson Mandela of lying to the Security Council in an attempt to discredit government and the IFP.

The congress ordered IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose to lodge a formal complaint to the National Peace Committee that Mandela had violated the Peace Accord. It also pledged to investigate the possibility of seeking court redress for "hideous violations on personal integrity and rights."

The congress's main preoccupation was with township violence, though the tenor of speeches did little to calm troubled waters. In a three-and-a-half-hour address — prolonged partly by interpretation into Zulu and seSotho — Buthelezi claimed hostel-dwellers were probably the most maligned and attacked people in the country. He urged the establishment of defence committees; announced that the IFP was now on an election footing; and claimed the ANC had torpedoed negotiations because it was "defeated" at Codesa.

Furthermore, Buthelezi said he believed there was little prospect of the ANC returning to Codesa, and he slammed the mass action campaign for its impact on blacks already suffering economic hardship.

The negotiation process, he said, had to continue: "We cannot let the ANC decide the fate of SA negotiations. We must begin a process in which we reconvene either the preparatory committee, which met last November, or go back another stage by reorganising bilateral and multilateral negotiations."

Echoing their leader's tone, delegates resolved that:

- Pressure should be brought to force the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, before September 14 (the anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord);
- IFP members should withdraw their membership of Cosatu-affiliated trade unions;
- Employer organisations should be urged to reject any ANC attempts to make them party to economic sabotage as a means of political protest;
- The IFP should facilitate the training of self-protection units if requested by communities; and
- The Goldstone Commission should be asked to investigate any mass action campaign which leads to violations of the Peace Accord.

Mdlalose pointed out that the IFP was still transforming from a cultural liberation movement to a national political party, and in doing so the party would assume a federal

structure — in line with the idea of a federal constitution it wants for SA.

A meeting has been arranged between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mandela.

IFP vow on hostel dwellers

Sowetan 24/7/72

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ANY unilateral attempts to resettle KwaMadala hostel dwellers or any move which would endanger their personal safety would be resisted, the Inkatha Freedom Party vowed yesterday.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet, who

■ Inkatha Freedom Party would fight resettlement:

indicated his organisation had in principle accepted the relocation of KwaMadala inmates, said in a statement: "The inhabitants of KwaMadala hostel are clearly living under dehuman-

ising and oppressive conditions.

"Any decision to move the refugees must be underpinned by humanitarian principles that acknowledge the fears and insecurities of the community."

Weapons ban: IFP rebuked

By PAUL STOBER

W/M/W 24/7-30/7/92.
277 113
Ignoring pleas by the IFP for a search for a compromise wording, Justice Goldstone said: "Having regard for the present political climate in South Africa, the commission cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to search for a compromise wording. The display in public of any dangerous weapons is unacceptable. On that broad principle it is unable to compromise."

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was rebuked, surprisingly sharply, by Judge Richard Goldstone after refusing to agree to the banning of the carrying of weapons in public.

"The commission cannot accept the necessity, let alone the right, to carry dangerous weapons in demonstrations," said Justice Goldstone in a statement yesterday.

The rebuke followed an announcement that an interim agreement had been reached on the conduct of public demonstrations between the South African Police, the African National Congress, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party. In a letter to the commission, the IFP said they endorsed all aspects of the agreement except for clause three which could be interpreted to ban the carrying of cultural weapons.

The agreement states that the public has the right to demonstrate peacefully and that the SAP has a duty to protect this right and to ensure that demonstrations are peaceful. It also outlines procedures to be followed by the organisers of protest action before the start of demonstrations.

The agreement is based on a report by an international panel appointed to advise the Commission on rules and regulations to govern mass actions.

THE skyscraper housing the United Nations casts a long shadow. It reaches even to Ulundi, where last weekend's annual conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party took place in its shade.

Speaking soon after his return from the special session of the UN Security Council, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi voiced his outrage at attacks on the party made by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela at the UN.

Buthelezi accused Mandela of going to the UN aiming to destroy the credibility of the government, the National Party and the IFP "as a negotiating partner". He said Mandela had destroyed the trust necessary for compromise and negotiations between their two parties, and ended his speech: "As far as I am concerned, Dr Mandela has declared war on the IFP".

Tough talk. But this last minute addendum reflected the mood of the rest of his speech, prepared before the security council session.

Buthelezi told his followers the ANC's military wing had to be disbanded by September 14, the first anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord. He would continue in the negotiation process only if the government conceded Umkhonto weSizwe's continued existence was not a bilateral matter for "secret discussions" between the ANC and the government, but the legitimate subject of concern for the other parties as well.

Setting out the September 14 deadline does not tie the party or its leader to any specific action if the deadline is not met. However, Buthelezi's decision not to participate in the next

Buthelezi comes out smoking after Mandela's speech

W/Mail 24/7 - 30/7/92

(113)

meeting of the peace accord signatories and the significance of choosing the anniversary date make it likely there will be future threats to withdraw from the peace accord if the deadline passes.

A key issue addressed by Buthelezi was the need for the party to ready itself for elections, preparing "nation-wide electioneering tactics and strategies". One of the conference working groups was allocated to make suggestion about how to improve "election preparedness".

Even more intriguing than plans for election readiness were his references to the need for political alliances and for "manoeuvring political positions of power. Politics is also about relating to other parties and making friends with them so that you can be effective in dealing with your political enemies," Buthelezi said.

No formal alliances have been announced, but a number of parties are keeping their options open. National Party, Democratic Party and Conservative Party representatives attended the conference, along with representatives of Ciskei, kwaNdebele and QwaQwa, the National People's Party, the Reform Party and Solidarity. There's no denying the current political frisson between the CP and

Outraged by comments made at the UN by Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi responded harshly at last weekend's Inkatha annual conference.

By CARMEL RICKARD

the IFP in particular: the CP delegation was given the loudest applause at the conference, while CP officials take every opportunity to praise the IFP and its leadership on public platforms.

For the IFP with its strongly regional base, a federal system offers the best deal in a new constitution. That makes the party an ideal ally for other pro-federalists including the NP and the CP.

While the NP might be reluctant to ally itself formally with the IFP at this stage, the Conservatives are more open about their belief that the IFP and kwaZulu remain the CP's best hope to prevent a unitary state.

Natal University politics professor Mervyn Frost says CP leader Andries Treurnicht keeps talking about emerging ethnicity in Europe and warning it will surface in South Africa too. Frost thinks Treurnicht is correct, and that



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Urged IFP members to buy guns

the real challenge to constitution writers is how to incorporate various nationalisms "into a harmonious whole".

Inkatha is at a political disadvantage compared with the ANC in terms of the nature of its constituency. Its strongest support comes from people in the rural areas of kwaZulu. Except that is, for the hostel dwellers. It was to this group that Buthelezi addressed special attention, saying they were the most maligned and attacked people in the country.

And it was in his words to the hostel dwellers that he first mentioned-IFP help to people wanting to establish defence committees.

He urged that his audience should buy guns to defend themselves (and contact him if they had trouble obtaining licences), according to *Ilanga*, and should form "self protection units". Careful not to breach the letter of the peace accord, he said the IFP itself could not set up defence committees as this would amount to a private army. However, the IFP would help if approached for advice.

Shady figures head IFP's ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ new offshoot

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

A COMMITTEE set up to launch the Inkatha Freedom Party in the western Cape has not a single black member and includes two former stalwarts of the rightwing National Students' Federation (NSF), which was disbanded after revelations that it was secretly funded by the government.

Another member of the committee was formerly active in the Democratic Party. While DP officials have no record of his ever resigning, they are keen to meet him to discuss the issue of about R5 000 written off as a bad debt after a 1989 election campaign which he helped organise. Just two months ago, the man was seen at an African National Congress meeting, when he offered his services to the ANC.

And, until this week, the committee also included self-professed Marxist George Shuttleworth — who has now been dismissed and had his party membership suspended for acting in breach of the IFP's constitution on at least eight counts.

The committee's chairman is Nicholas Myburgh, a Stellenbosch University law graduate who was president of the NSF at one stage and who founded the Popular Students' Alliance, a rightwing group linked to the NSF.

Myburgh, who said he joined the IFP in 1990, later worked for Denis Worrall's Independent Party and served on a committee of the DP's youth wing, "before I lost faith in the DP as a political force".

The committee's secretary is Lance Terry, an articled clerk in a Cape Town law firm who chaired the Moderate Students' Movement — also an NSF affiliate — at the University of Cape Town in the mid-1980s, later becoming the NSF's media officer.

Myburgh described as "balderdash" assertions that launching the IFP in a region whose black population is overwhelmingly Xhosa-speaking, and where IFP-ANC conflict is virtually unknown, is a provocative act.

The IFP's first public meeting in the western Cape will be held in Fish Hoek on July 30.

Uwusa-Cosatu conflict leads to violence

WIM and 2417 - 3017/92

SHOP floor battles between affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Union and Inkatha's United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) have claimed in excess of 20 lives this year and workers in the food industry are threatening a general strike to force employers to act on the violence.

This week three workers at Mooi River Textiles — said by the Inkatha Freedom Party to be its members — were gunned down in Bruntville, near Mooi River. Cosatu's South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union

(Sactwu) is on strike at the factory. Inter-union conflict at Mootex led to its three-week closure last month and is said to underlie the resurgence of violence in the township.

In the food industry, a general strike is being mooted in response to an all-out war at the Langeberg Ko-op in Boksburg between Uwusa and Cosatu's Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu), which has resulted in 17 deaths since late last year. Fawu's Ernest Buthelezi said there were tensions at other factories on the east Rand.

Some of the violence seems directly

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC have spilled over on to the shop floor as Uwusa attempts to make inroads into

Cosatu territory. Twenty people have died so far, reports

MONDLI MAKHANYA and FERRAL HAFFAJEE

connected to recruitment drives by Uwusa. Mootex management confirms, for instance, that violence at the factory

only began last year when Uwusa began organising in the factory. At that point Sactwu was the majority union in the factory but has now been superseded by its rival.

Strikes can exacerbate underlying political tensions — Uwusa follows an active no-strike policy. A recent case was at the NIP factory in Johannesburg, where Uwusa members refused demands by National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) strikers to join a strike. Violence ensued.

Numsa has borne the brunt of the conflict. Three workers at Denver Metals in Johannesburg were killed earlier this year after some workers joined Uwusa and then tried to force colleagues to follow suit.

Inter-union tensions may also lie behind the killing of 10 Numsa members in violence directly related to the strike ballots currently being held in the metal and engineering industries. Numsa claims that members living in hostels have not participated in the ballot for fear of

retribution.

"A lot of people in heavy engineering who live in hostels are scared of being seen voting in Numsa ballots," said union official Bernie Fanaroff.

Industrial relations consultants comment that factory-based violence is a logical spinoff of conflict in the townships.

"One cannot expect workers to ditch their differences when they come to work. The situation is just too polarised for that," one said.

Cosatu sources say that because of its ineffectiveness in trade union terms, Uwusa has still not been able to establish a significant presence in the PWV region. A small minority in most factories, its members were, however, beligerent and heavily armed.

While many hostel-dwellers were prepared to align themselves with Inkatha in the hostels, material interests made them opt for Cosatu membership in the factories.

"Uwusa obviously doesn't take kindly to this, as they regard Zulu workers as their natural constituency," the labour consultant said.

Uwusa leads to the Feed Lager



Inkatha signs up in city

(113) CT 25/7/92
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will next week launch its recruitment drive in the Western Cape by staging its first public meeting in the constituency of ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg.

The newly elected chairman of Inkatha in the Western Cape, Mr

Nic Myburgh, said last night that it was significant that the IFP would launch its drive for new members in this region in an ANC constituency.

Mr Myburgh, a Swellendam farmer, was a member of Dr Denis Worrall's now-defunct Independent Movement and a former member of the Democratic Party.

Inkatha launches drive for W Cape members

AR625/7/92 (115)

WILLEM STEENKAMP

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has announced plans for a concerted membership drive to recruit members in Western Cape.

Mr Nicholas Myburgh, chairman of the IFP's Western Cape Region's steering committee, introduced members of the steering committee to journalists at a small function held in a private house in Loader Street last night.

He said "white politics" were of the past in South Africa. "In future there will only be a choice between the IFP and the ANC. And this choice is in fact very simple.

"People only have two choices — they can have a Marxist-communist dominated alliance embodied in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP group which wants total power, or they can choose the IFP which stands for a fully westernised democracy with the emphasis on free enterprise, a free market system and personal freedom with minimum state control.

"Our recruiting drive will be directed at all communities in the Western Cape. People have grown discontented with the

■ The Inkatha Freedom Party for the Western Cape Region was officially launched on June 2. Last night the region's steering committee spelt out its plans for the region at a function in Loader Street.

leadership of the different political parties, be it the Democratic Party, the CP or the National Party.

"People are crying out for strong leadership. They are tired of crisis-management by the government, they are tired of mass action and violence. There is no constructive leadership and people want strong leadership. The IFP wants law and order and wants the violence to end."

Mr Myburgh said a permanent IFP office would be opened soon in the city centre. IFP branches will be set up throughout the Western Cape.

Mr Myburgh also handed an open letter, addressed to Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, to journalists.

In the letter the IFP voiced its objection to the actions and statements by the government over the past few months which "increasingly creates the impression that the process of

negotiation is being conducted primarily between the ANC and the South African government".

"Whether it is being done as a result of the government's exaggerated perception of ANC strength or whether it is done to satisfy South Africa's so-called friends overseas, it will not make the slightest difference to the catastrophic end which the government is heading towards."

The IFP said there could not be a settlement in South Africa without the co-operation of the IFP. It would be "very unfortunate if the government continues to ignore reasonable people who want to negotiate while simultaneously leaning backwards to placate those who are not in any case interested in a negotiated settlement".

The time had come for the ANC to stop deceiving people, he said. If it was not interested in a negotiated settlement, it "should come clean and stop misleading the public".

AMOS Magcanya can't quite believe he's still alive.

He has been fired on at the gates of his workplace and shot at twice in nearby streets.

His house has been peppered with machine-gun fire and set alight.

But four attempts on his life have left him virtually unscathed. "Maybe the guys were amateurs, maybe they were nervous," he says. "Maybe I was just lucky." Some of his colleagues have not been so fortunate.

Magcanya is a union man, a member of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) and chairman of the shop stewards' council at the Langeberg factory in Boksburg. The factory is one of the biggest in the area and for more than a year now has been the site of a battle for control by opposing unions.

Fawu, which is affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions, says 14 of its members have been murdered. The United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), which is linked to Inkatha, says two of its supporters were stabbed to death on the factory premises last month.

Last weekend, the Inkatha Freedom Party called on all its supporters to withdraw membership fees from Cosatu which "appeared to no longer be serving the interests of the workers but had become a political tool to achieve the ANC-SACP's political agenda"

Violent

There is currently a truce at Langeberg which company management believes can hold. In a written statement, Langeberg said:

"Despite a long and violent history of faction fighting between the Inkatha-linked Uwusa union and the ANC-linked Fawu union resulting in deaths, injuries, considerable intimidation and stay-aways, workers at Langeberg are now working normally and peace has returned."

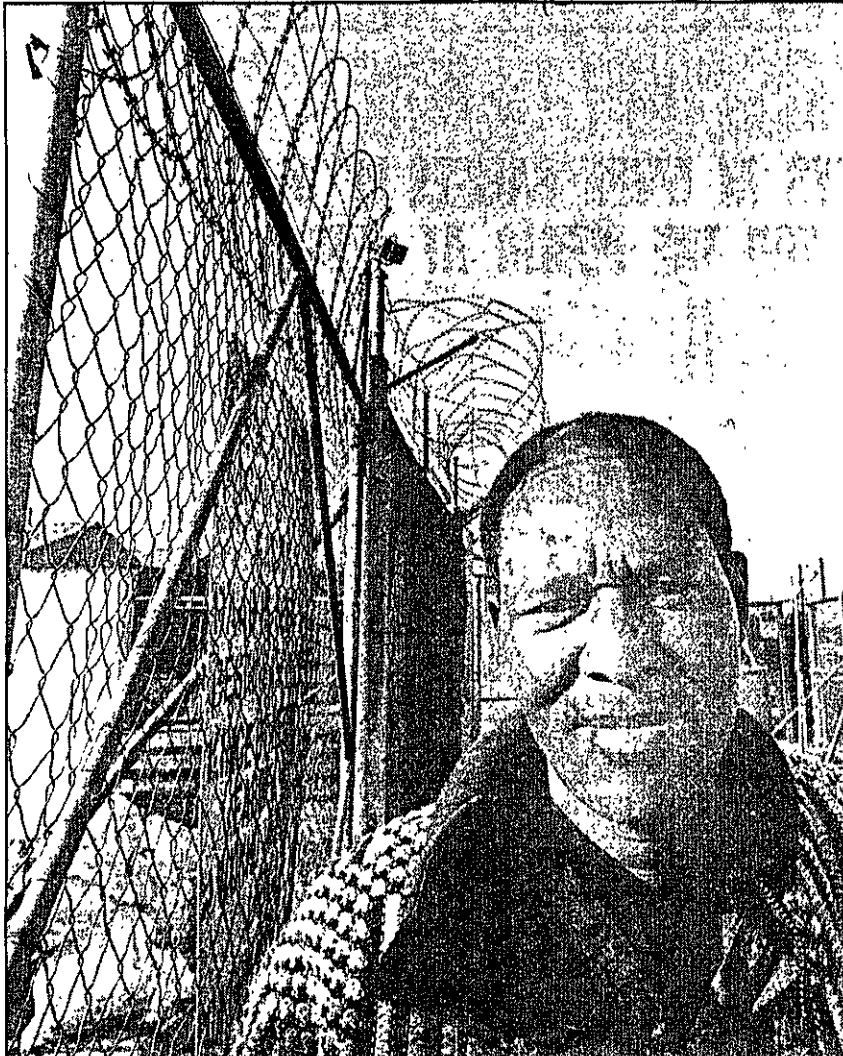
Problems in the factory were "very much a reflection of the problems existing in the community at large at the present moment". On that point, both unions agree with management.

"It boils down to political rivalry," Magcanya says. "Uwusa is being used by the State and Inkatha to destabilise the trade union movement. This factory is a big fish and if they gain control

Unions battle over factory

STAR 25/7/92

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LUCKY MAN: Unionist Amos Magcanya has survived a number of attacks at home, at the entrance to the Boksburg factory where he works, and at places in between. ● Photographs: JOHN HOGG

they will gain a lot of members. The other, smaller factories would be easier to deal with."

Says Uwusa national public relations officer Duke Senagomo: "The conflict is caused by ideological differences. Our people are associated with Inkatha while Fawu people are ANC. They say they are not prepared to work with Inkatha. Fawu members are from different organisations and when the union talks badly about certain parties, then it creates the impression that certain people are less welcome

MOST people see the struggle between the African National Congress and Inkatha as a political one. But the battle is now being fought out at a more basic level -- on the factory floor.

JOHN PERLMAN reports on one such clash that may be a sign of things to come.

in the union." Both Magcanya and Senagomo describe the mood at Langeberg as tense. "Anything can happen at any time," says Senagomo. The most recent inci-

dent of violence was at the end of last month when, outside the gate, a bus was sprayed with AK-47 fire from a moving car, killing two people. Two weeks before that, a Fawu shop stew-

ard was shot outside the factory and union members clashed with Uwusa supporters inside. Senagomo says two of his members were killed; Magcanya says one Uwusa man died, which police confirm.

Last week, Magcanya says, two men carrying guns threatened workers walking from the factory to the nearby Dunsward railway station.

Last August two Fawu members were abducted near the station; one, John Masondo, was shot dead, the first casualty in this ugly little war. The following day,

gunmen grouped around a bridge near the station opened fire from four sides on a group of workers — Magcanya was among them — killing one, Stephen Khiba.

Conflict first flared when about 50 Uwusa and IFP members "illegally and forcibly" — in the words of management — entered the factory and staged a demonstration against Fawu.

A memorandum, on Inkatha stationery, was handed over to management which listed demands including "disallowing the existence of any trade union in company premises".

Fawu, which represents over 900 workers, has a recognition agreement with Langeberg.

Magcanya says 37 Inkatha supporters have resigned from the union; Senagomo says Uwusa has "plus minus 140 members" at the plant.

"Fawu remains the union representing the majority of workers, and management respects this," a Langeberg spokesman said. Fears remain that the battle for control of the factory will depend less on votes than on whether the violence can be stemmed.

To date, nobody has been prosecuted for any of the killings.

Hampered

Last year Fawu's lawyers complained in writing to Lieutenant-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen that the investigation was being hampered because incidents were being investigated by "different investigating officers based at different police stations on the East Rand. The consolidation of the investigations under one investigating officer is required in order to ensure a thorough and successful investigation."

Lieutenant Mike van Zweel, branch commander at Tembisa, is now overseeing an investigation into 13 cases of murder, but complains that Fawu is failing to assist. "We are actually waiting on the unions to come forward with witnesses and names of suspects," he says. He says there are also ballistic and post-mortem reports outstanding.

Magcanya says Van Zweel is wrong. "I gave a statement on the killing on the bridge and I pointed out a man who was involved. He was a temporary worker at the factory. He was arrested but later released. Even now, there are people still working at Langeberg who we believe were involved in these incidents."

Some want to work . . .

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of South Africa said it would defend its members' right to work during the two-day national strike from August 3. (118) ARC 25/7/92

"We will do whatever is necessary to protect our members against any form of intimidation aimed at preventing us from exercising our democratic right to work, live and shop when and where we choose," said Uwusa president Mr J Dlamini.

He recognised the right to strike or demonstrate but said the union also had a duty to protect workers' interests.

"We therefore appeal to Cosatu affiliates not to involve the workers' struggle in any political spheres such as mass actions aimed at achieving political interests."

Mr Dlamini also expressed concern at the increase of unemployment and liquidation of companies that would arise from the strike.

His comments were endorsed by United Independent Trade Unions Adhoc Committee of SA secretary Mr M Gumede. — Sapa.

Inkatha wary of peace accord

Weekend Argus

Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party will continue to defend the rights of its members to carry "cultural accoutrements", a spokesman for the organisation, Mr Ed Tillet said.

Mr Tillet's statement yesterday comes in the wake of the IFP's rejection of the Goldstone Commission interim agreement on the conduct of public demonstrations. The IFP position is the second move in a week to alienate the organisation from the peace process.

Last weekend the IFP signalled its disenchantment with the peace process when IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that a meeting of the signatories to the National Peace Accord on July 30 was no longer possible.

Mr Tillet said the IFP decision not to take part on July 30 still stood.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced on Thursday that agreement had been reached between the police, the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP.

However, the IFP has expressed reservations about the wording of a clause dealing with the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and has said that compromise wording should be inserted.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission could "not hold back on an agreement as important as this, to search for compromise wording".

Mr Tillet said that the IFP endorsed the condemnation of dangerous weapons.

However, the organisation was seeking clarification on a number of issues: "Cultural weapons have been responsible for fewer than five percent of politically related deaths, whereas approximately 70 percent of these deaths can be linked to firearms, notably the AK-47s.

"Pangas, axes and meat cleavers are not traditional weapons and such weapons should be outlawed.

"However, the IFP will defend the right of its members to carry cultural accoutrements," Mr Tillet said.

He added that the interim agreement would probably be claimed as a victory by the ANC, and that the ANC campaign on the traditional weapons issue was intended to marginalise the IFP and the Zulu people.

Mr Tillet said that the IFP was also concerned that the commission excluded discussion around the disbanding of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and the mandatory handing in of arms caches. The IFP has called for the disbanding of Umkhonto We Sizwe by September 14 or it may pull out of both the negotiations and the peace process.

that participation in stayaways was Meyer and a third with his deputy

Zevenfontein relocation put on hold by court's interdict

THE relocation of several hundred Zevenfontein squatter families was temporarily halted this weekend when residents of the Nietgedacht area obtained an urgent interim interdict against the TPA.

Pretoria Supreme Court Judge Isak de Villiers also temporarily prohibited the TPA from continuing with the development of the Nietgedacht site for the resettlement of the Zevenfontein community.

De Villiers gave the TPA and eight other respondents — including the owner of Zevenfontein farm, the Chartwell community and JCI — until September 8 to show cause why the order should not be made permanent.

A TPA spokesman yesterday said that it would strongly oppose the court's interim order, and expressed regret about the inconvenience the legal action had caused the squatter community.

"The Zevenfontein community currently lives under extremely undesirable conditions and we regret that they have to now suffer further inconvenience," TPA spokesman Piet Wilken said.

The urgent application was launched by the Jukskei Crocodile Catchment Area

Land Owners' and Residents' Association (JCCA).

The interdict also affected the agreement signed between the owner of the farm Zevenfontein, the Chartwell community and JCI, which stipulated that the squatters would be relocated by July 31.

The TPA's proposed site, north of Johannesburg, was technically and socio-economically unsuitable for low-cost housing settlement, the JCCA said in a statement.

The area was strategically very important to the PWV as a major agricultural area for vegetables, flowers, fruit and other farm produce being supplied for export and the Johannesburg and Pretoria markets, the statement said.

The two landowners who had been served expropriation orders by the TPA had not yet moved and had accepted the expropriation money without prejudice to their legal rights, JCCA spokesman Wessel Swart said yesterday.

"The expropriated parties were extremely pleased about the successful court application," he said.

Protecting workforce

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

THE Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) and the newly formed United Independent Trade Unions' Adhoc Committee for SA, which together represent 70 000 workers, say members will defend themselves against anyone trying to prevent them from going to work during the mass action campaign.

Uwusa and new union chairman Jabulani Dlamini last week warned of the effects of a general strike on the economy, saying many workers would lose their jobs and many might be killed in confrontations with police.

"As trade unions our main task is to protect workers' interests in the workplace. We appeal to the ANC/Cosatu alliance not to involve workers in any political actions."

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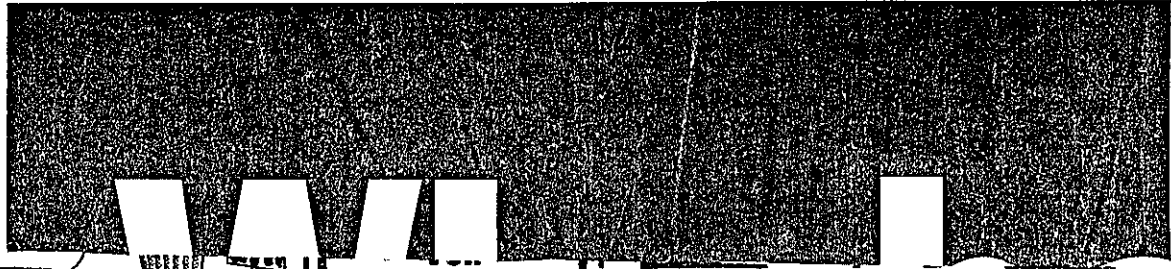
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IFP meeting in Fish Hoek

Political Correspondent

118 APR 28 1992

INKATHA is to hold its first public meeting in the Western Cape in Fish Hoek on Thursday night.

The meeting, in the heart of ANC MP Mr Jannie Momborg's constituency, will be addressed by Dr Ben Ngubane, an executive member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and political scientist Professor Robert Schrire of UCT.

The meeting will start at the Fish Hoek civic centre at 8 pm.

Item	Weight	Price	Item	Weight	Price
INSKOUDEK	410 g	3.18	INSKOUDEK	410 g	3.59
KOD	410 g	1.86	JAM, ARKICOT	410 g	2.10
MOIRS	50 g	0.31	JELLY	50 g	0.35
JIR	1.25 g	1.32	JIR	1.25 g	1.49
VAN KIEKEL	250 g	5.49	KITSOFFIE	250 g	6.20
QUINORINI	2	1.73	KOELDRAAN	2	1.73
INBO	500 g	1.09	LENTILS	500 g	1.09
GLAD	10 m	0.87	LUNCH WIKAP	10 m	0.72
NO NIML	500 g	1.73	MACARONI	500 g	1.73
BLOSON	1000 g	1.75	MARONJME	1000 g	1.75
NOLA	750 g	3.29	MAYONNAISE	750 g	3.29
IMPALD	1.5 kg	2.19	MIELE MEEL	1.5 kg	2.19
HARTS	410 g	1.97	PEANUT BUTTER	410 g	2.23
GLENKYN	425 g	1.42	PILCH, TAMATIE	425 g	1.60
CHOPSTICH	2 kg	2.64	RYS	2 kg	2.74
CERDOS	500 g	0.23	SALT	500 g	0.26
BINGO	150 g	0.56	SELF, BINOD	150 g	0.55
AROSY	1.25 g	0.54	SELF	1.25 g	0.41
SNOWE VLE	500 g	0.76	SELF RAISE FLP	500 g	0.86
BULT BRANO	500 g	2.19	SQUITVLE	500 g	2.47
NO NAME	500 g	1.86	SPAGHETTI	500 g	2.10
GANTS	400 g	1.23	SPOG EN LITIE	400 g	1.39
INBO BRO 2	500 g	1.75	SUGARBREANS MIT	500 g	1.75
MULFIS	1.5 kg	3.29	OUTER	1.5 kg	3.29
KOD	115 g	0.77	SWEETCORN	115 g	0.87
KOD	115 g	0.51	TAMATIE PASTIE	115 g	0.53
PROJECT	100 ml	1.09	TANDIARATA	100 ml	1.23
GLEN	100 g	2.53	TEA WAGS	100 g	2.85
NO NAME	500 g	0.44	TORTAALIER	500 g	0.50
NO NAME	400 ml	1.86	VAN DIE	400 ml	2.10
SO SUI	1	2.08	WAGS OVEER WAG	1	2.35
RLD	1	2.18	WISSELIEK	1	2.43

NEWS Stalled peace workshop would have pressed for international monitoring of police

'Bitterly disappointing'

PEACE TALKS Move to revive

workshop plan which floundered with

pull-out of Inkatha:

Sowetan 30/7/92

By **Mathatha Tsedu**
Investigations Editor

The stalled peace workshop planned for tomorrow would have been asked to press for an international monitoring mechanism for the police.

The workshop, which floundered when Inkatha Freedom Party pulled out and said its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could not sit in the same room as ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has been postponed indefinitely.

A resolution which would have been put to the workshop states that security forces need to have their credibility restored and their activities integrated into community life. It also called for defence units to be monitored in terms of the provisions of the accord.

The workshop had been called by the National Peace Committee to try to get signatories to the accord to rededicate themselves to the founding process.

A five-point programme drawn up by the peace secretariat and in the possession of *Sowetan* also included:

- The declaration of violence-ridden areas as "leadership areas of concern"
- Where senior leaders of political organisations would commit themselves to working together in those communities to achieve peace;
- Hostels and shack areas and their attendant problems would be analysed and prioritised using independent and international task forces, and the development of joint programmes to rehause

or upgrade hostels; and
● That funds be made available to create and make structures of the National Peace Accord functional and available.

The last point is directed at the Government which has until now not passed the R30 million budget submitted after the establishment of the secretariat last year.

The collapse of the workshop was described by Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall, as a bitter disappointment. He said a meeting of the committee would be held on August 11 to revive the workshop idea.

Over 2900 people have been killed in politically linked violence since the signing of the accord last September. In a paper presented to United Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance last week, Hall said the hostels and squatter camps in the PWV area were "the subterranean world of horror" in which his committee was to function and bring peace.

"The peace accord did not anticipate the deepening world recession, increasing unemployment and company failures, latterly exacerbated by one of the most severe droughts seen this century," Hall said.

In an interview on Monday, Hall said billions of rands pledged for reconstruction of houses razed during the violence, the creation of infrastructure for sewerage and the creation of jobs, were being held up by lack of accountable administrative structures in the affected areas.



Soldiers patrol the streets of Exaton, Sharpeville and Sebokeng closing trenches and removing barricades. Scraps of cars block some of the roads and hijackings are rife.

Putting end to taxi war

Recognising the Ivory Park squatter settlement as a township and upgrading of police are 'necessary to end violence', says Goldstone investigating committee:

Sowetan 30/7/92

THE most obvious steps to alleviate violence in the taxi industry in the Midrand area between Johannesburg and Pretoria would be to recognise Ivory Park as a township and to upgrade the police presence there.

These were the main recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone committee investigating taxi violence in the area.

The report issued in Pretoria on Tuesday said Ivory Park did not seem to receive any official recognition in the sense that the municipality's application to have it declared a township had not, after eight months, been approved.

Ivory Park is a fairly new squatter community of some 70 000 people.

The result was that the municipal law enforcement agencies did not enjoy official recognition in the area.

The mayor of Midrand complained that the SA Police were understaffed and ill-equipped to deal with some 200 000 people in the whole Midrand area.

No armoured vehicles were available and the area was policed from Halfway House, some 20km away, when Ollifantsfontein, a mere 2km away, would be the natural command post.

The committee, chaired by Mr DJ Rossouw, said there were suggestions

that the dispute had not died down and that further violence may be expected if the root causes were not addressed with urgency.

The roots of the discord were to be found in the commercial competition between taxi associations for the new market opening up there.

The committee also noted complaints that the Local Road Transportation Board's permit system was ineffective and a contributory cause of tension.

The committee's efforts to involve the South African Black Taxi Association (Saba) to which all taxi associations were affiliated, were fruitless. - *Sapa*

IFP launched in W Cape

APR 31/7/92 (11B)

Warm reception from mostly white audience at Fish Hoek meeting

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A WARM reception from a mostly white audience in Fish Hoek has marked the launch of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Western Cape.

About 250 people turned out at the civic centre last night to hear IFP central committee member and Kwazulu Minister of Health Dr Ben Ngubane declare that if there were a by-election in Simon's Town, the IFP would contest the seat.

The challenge won generous applause.

There was no heckling, though Dr Ngubane faced some tough questions from younger members of the audience on accusations of Inkatha complicity in violence and intimidation.

Dr Ngubane denied a claim that pressure was put on Kwazulu civil servants to become members of the IFP, or were forced to resign, and he rejected the notion that Inkatha sponsored violence.

The party's central committee had never planned or discussed any strategy of violence. It had always fully endorsed negotiation.

When the mostly middle-aged audience tried to shout down one young questioner, Dr Ngubane said: "I don't take offence when people ask a question, but if the person does not believe what I say, I cannot help that."

Earlier, he said it was matter of reality that when people were threatened or attacked, they hit back or took pre-emptive action.

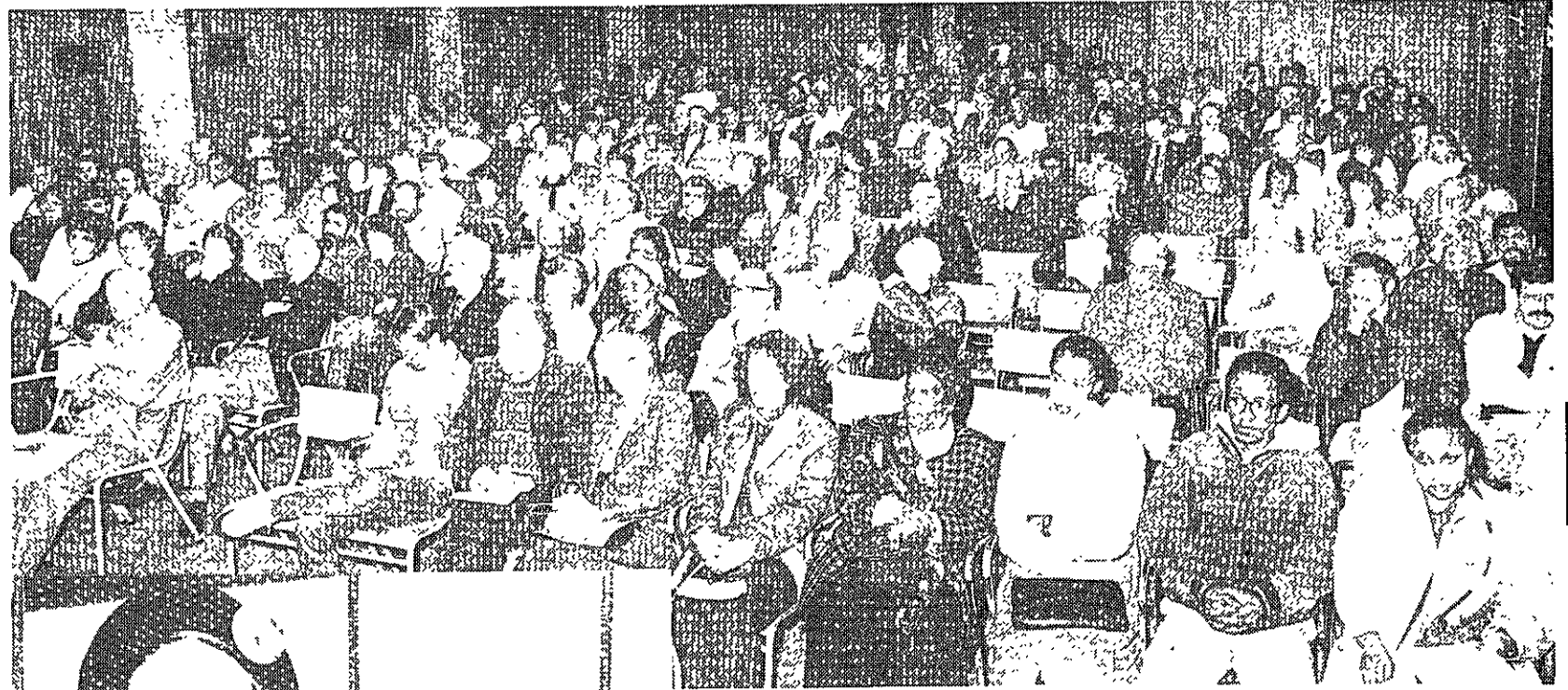
Young white IFP supporters — one from SACS — wearing Inkatha T-shirts, badges and black berets handed out pamphlets and application forms at the start of the meeting. At the end, about half a dozen members of the audience had decided to join Inkatha.

The first speaker was Professor Robert Schrire of UCT, who agreed to address the meeting in his capacity as a political scientist. He had no connection with the IFP.

He said he believed a political compromise was possible in South Africa because he did not think there were irreconcilable differences among the people of the country. However, there were irreconcilable differences among the political elites.

It was up the public to alter this, by exerting a stronger influence on political leaders.

The regional chairman of the IFP in the Western Cape, Mr Nicholas Myburgh, said Inkatha was planning a series of meetings in the region and would soon establish a permanent office with a full-time staff.



Pictures: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

IFP LAUNCH: ABOUT 250 people turned out at the Fish Hoek civic centre to hear Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Dr Ben Ngubane at the party's Western Cape launch last night.



BUTHELEZI FANS: Schoolboy James Ainslie — a member of an Inkatha group at Sacs — and Stellenbosch University student Annette Harms selling T-shirts, books and badges at last night's Inkatha Freedom Party launch in the Western Cape.

Fish Hoek (118) launch for IFP

THE relaunch of the IFP in the Western Cape took place at a public meeting in Fish Hoek last night. CT 31/7/92

The chairman of Inkatha's newly-established steering committee in the Western Cape, Mr Nic Myburgh, said his party had 4 000 members in the area, and considerable growth potential.

noves to Bloemfontein in the Free State

IFP rejects train finding

Sowetan 31/7/92

118

■ GOLDSTONE COMMISSION Attacks

on commuters done by hostel dwellers:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

THE finding by the Goldstone Commission that group attacks on train commuters were mostly done by hostel dwellers has been rejected by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The secretary of the IFP on the West Rand, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said yesterday the commission's identification of hostels as one of the sources of the train violence was false.

"People from the hostels never took

part in any violence. The IFP is against the sentence in the report that mentions hostel people as attackers of people in trains. To say that is wrong.

"Our people have always defended themselves against attacks by the ANC which said in early 1981 that it would kill councillors and then Azapo people and then Inkatha.

"We are a peaceful organisation and we deplore the killings of people. The blame must be laid where it belongs," Ndlovu said.

The commission found that while it could not apportion blame for the train attacks, "whenever a group of attackers

was identified, they turned out to be hostel dwellers. There were, however, other unidentified groups," the commission said.

The commission said the affected railway lines had about 27 hostels which were invariably located near stations and railway lines.

The ANC has expressed concern at some of the findings of the commission. It said the disclosure that police routinely destroyed records showed a desire on the part of the police to hide the nature of the train violence and its perpetrators. The organisation called for the phasing out of hostels.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadameng welcomed the commission's call for changing the face of stations and the introduction of stringent controls.

10 IFP members died in massacre, says chief

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

At least 10 Inkatha Freedom Party members were killed in the recent Boipatong violence and six of them were buried as ANC members on Monday, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

Speaking in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi said although the South African press was the freest in Africa, it was still subject to numerous restrictive laws and the intimidation of journalists by some organisations.

It was this intimidation, he said, which had resulted in "a desperate need for informed reporting".

He said that although many knew about the June 17 attacks in Boipatong, few people knew that:

- At least 10 IFP members were killed in the violence.
- At least six IFP members were buried as ANC members in Monday's mass funeral.

● Lawyers acting for arrested KwaMadala hostel residents obtained Supreme Court interdicts "to ensure that no persons arrested for the Boipatong massacre were tortured".

Chief Buthelezi was speaking on "The role of an independent media in a changing South and southern Africa" at a two-day Nieman Foundation/African-American Institute conference.

Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's speech, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the people who were buried in Boipatong on Monday had been buried "as members of a community that had been slaughtered", and not as members of certain organisations.

Miss Marcus said that was why it was even more tragic that township residents were often attacked at random, regardless of whether or not they were members of political organisations.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke will address the conference today.

15.45: Teacher Training.
 16.00: Little Rascals
 16.30: Filler
 16.40: Days of our Lives
 17.30: The Bold and the Beautiful
 18.00: Devotion
 18.03: Olympics: Live Day 10
 19.00: News
 19.30: Scoop
 20.00: ZD
 20.55: News Update
 21.00: Family Ties

Buthlezi: ANC must negotiate

ESTCOURT. — The ANC must be whipped back to the negotiation table, "it must be beaten into negotiating a joint future" for South Africa, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a rally near here yesterday.

In a blistering attack on the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC did not care if the national economy disintegrated "or if all the minorities are backed into a corner, as long as its power obsession is fulfilled".

Addressing IFP chiefs and leaders from the Okhahlamba region at the Wembezi township, Chief Buthelezi said violence was escalating and negotiations were stalling.

● More than 2 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters carrying sticks and shields marched peacefully through Durban on Saturday to voice their opposition to the ANC's mass action campaign.

Sapa

Armed

ARMED robbery delivery van businessman. Police said it was the car of a Mr. Industria, at point and fire. No arrests.

Too late

classified

BIRTH

BIRTH

To Andrew and Romy, born 31st Constantiaberg well.

DEATH

KURIE

Wolfe dearly loved grandfather peacefully 2nd remembered Rosemary and Kevin. Funeral Monday 12 noon night only at St. Francois, Sea.

KURIE

Wilfrid (Wolfe) husband of passed away August remembered Doreen and Leo. Mona and Leo their families.

KURIE

Wilfrid in me and with affection may he rest in Perel.

KURIE

Wolfe passed fondly remembered

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Probe into 'Koevoet action'

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE police had launched a "high-level" investigation into ANC claims of continued Koevoet police action in the southeastern Transvaal, an SAP spokesman said yesterday. **BIDAY 4/8/92**

The investigation would be headed by Brig Floris Mostert, who was in charge of the specialised SAP units which were supported by former Koevoet members.

The probe followed weekend allegations by ANC president Nelson Mandela at a rally in the southeastern Transvaal town of Driefontein that members of the Koevoet police unit, which is at present being disbanded, had carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday investigations by the organisation at this stage indicated that several policemen who "clearly could not speak any of the country's languages" had attempted to intimidate residents in the Driefontein area not to attend Sunday's rally.

The rally was held in commemoration of

ANC member Saul Mkhize who was shot by police in 1984.

Mandela told the rally he would bring the matter to the attention of the Goldstone commission. A commission spokesman said yesterday it had not yet received a request to look into the matter.

Niehaus said the matter would definitely be referred to the commission.

The SAP Public Relations Directorate said police would establish the facts of the alleged Koevoet actions, and stressed that the process of disbanding the Koevoet unit was well under way.

Dissolving the unit took time because of administrative procedures, a spokesman said.

Koevoet was established in the former South West Africa as a police counter-insurgency unit but was withdrawn to SA after Namibia became independent.

Criticism of Koevoet tactics last month led President F W de Klerk to announce the disbanding of the unit.

Inkatha spurns idea of NP alliance

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha has spurned the possibility of forming an alliance with the NP "at this stage".

This follows indications in a weekend speech by Natal NP leader George Bartlett to the provincial head committee that the party was contemplating a broad anti-ANC front embracing Inkatha.

But yesterday Inkatha's Walter Felgate said that "at this stage we can't think of being allies" because, among other things, the NP was still ambiguous about federalism. **BIDAY 4/8/92**

Government talked about federalism but in its proposals for an interim and new constitution had not come up with a genuine federal model that devolved power from the regions upwards.

The NP proposal was "basically a unitary state with regionalism built in ... and that is very problematic as far as we

Political Staff 11B

are concerned", said Felgate.

He also criticised government for holding bilateral talks with the ANC on constitutional issues and said this left other organisations uncertain as to what the NP's final model would look like.

Bartlett said the NP accepted a single Natal-KwaZulu state and a "future Natal constitution within a federal system must now receive our urgent attention".

The Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister said the time had come for "those who share common values and constitutional principles to openly meet together to plan for the future, the new constitution, the negotiation process and strategy".

Multiparty discussions between members of the anti-ANC front should start as soon as possible.

Treurnicht tries to stop CP split

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht yesterday moved to dampen the controversy raging in his party, which is threatened by a walkout of five MPs in the next two days.

Meanwhile Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers — who at the weekend made public the controversy and challenged CP policy in calling for a smaller Afrikaner homeland and negotiations with all parties — has claimed he is getting "overwhelming support" from fellow MPs and the public.

Treurnicht said he did not think the events at the Transvaal Youth Congress, where Beyers made his speech, would lead to a split. There were no grounds for a split and the CP hierarchy would try to talk the matter out. He said he would try to reconcile the parties this week and would meet Beyers before Thursday night's executive meeting. **BIDAY 4/8/92**

Treurnicht said the matter was not insurmountable. There was a basic agree-

BILLY PADDOCK

ment in principle between the two sides but misunderstandings had arisen.

Meanwhile the controversy has continued to rumble at lower echelons of the party with CP general secretary Lem Theron calling on Transvaal Youth Council chairman Moolman Mentz jnr to withdraw his declaration of support for Beyers.

Beyers' remarks were out of place, Theron said, and the CP was looking at the whole issue through the correct channels. An executive committee was considering the proposal by Beyers and four others and it would submit recommendations to the August 22 special congress in Kimberley.

But a source, who is planning to join the walkout this week, said the committee had met last week and had already made its decision to reject the proposals in the document "The Road Ahead".

● Comment: Page 8

...ment chief ... judgment ... were extrapolated

Federalism is the only way to go - IFP

Sowetan 24/8/92

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HISTORICALLY THE aborted negotiations at Codesa represent the second time that this question has been a constitutional issue.

■ HISTORY LESSON Inkatha's

Alastair J Macauley gives pros of a federal constitution:

The first time was in the negotiations of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and the Cape and Natal (which incorporated Zululand) self-governing colonies in 1910.

Natal surrendered its preference for federalism because it was persuaded that separate statehood within a federal structure would make the Orange Free State the poor relation in view of its then perceived lack of resources.

The discovery of untold wealth in the gold reefs of the Free State gold field still lay nearly 40 years into the future.

Thus the Act of Union was an act of faith in the creation of a unitary South Africa bringing together the two streams of Boer and Brit.

Fateful decisions

It was essentially government of, by and for the new white South African nation.

People of colour hardly counted in the equation and therefore like it or not, decisions vital to their future were made for them as though they were persons who were under guardianship.

Blacks today therefore, in rightly denying the legitimacy of the unitary state so created and its successor Republic and tricameral constitutions, are entitled to revisit the fateful decision which created the Union without their participation in 1910 and to reject the perpetuation of the basic unitary structure in favour of a federal structure.

Had the decision then been for a federation, it is undeniable that the history of South Africa would have been very different.

Afrikaner nationalism's drive for

domination over the whole of South Africa would have found a major stumbling block in Natal's predominantly English-speaking majority.

Economic development of the various provinces would, so the argument went, not achieve a balanced growth overall within a federal structure.

Economic research by Mr Peter Christensen of the Inkatha Institute has shown that central Government failed in this regard and in fact redistributed income from the poorer regions to the better off regions.

Could the realisation of such economic objectives ever have compensated for the ideologically inspired, Afrikaner nationalist, ethnic socialism, with its philosophic roots in pre-war Germany, which took flight in 1948 and which not only reduced people of colour to non-persons in so called white South Africa, but also reduced English speakers to an impotent political minority.

Liberation movement

Viewing this history as a liberation movement with a majority black membership, the IFP stands committed to ensure that never again will any new oppressor be able to rise up on the inheritance of a unitary state system of government bequeathed to it by successive Governments which so ruthlessly and so totally used the power of the unitary state to enshrine an evil racist philosophy.

The IFP has learnt that lesson well through its long struggle of successful resistance against apartheid within the country by peaceful means while others chose to adopt as exiles the "armed struggle".

The unitary system of government is fatally discredited in the IFP's eyes as a means of preventing "winner take all" centralised concentration and abuse of power and of preserving liberty.

Stubborn virility

The IFP looks also at the nations of the world and in particular those which have multi-ethnic populations. It finds that many if not most of these have adopted a federal type constitution.

These include Canada, Malaysia, Nigeria and Switzerland. And the mother of federalism, the United States of America, has produced the nation which stands as the greatest power the world has known and as a moral beacon in the defence of human liberty and plural democracy everywhere.

South Africa's natural ethnic diversity, whose stubborn virility has nothing to do with apartheid, cannot be ignored in future constitutional arrangements, although in the determination of regional federal states, economic viability is also a co-determinant in the IFP's view.

The IFP thus favours a federal constitutional model which, like the United States constitution, confers on the federal regional states the residual powers, that is, all the powers which are not specifically reserved to the federal government in the Constitution.

These latter might, for instance, include Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Posts and Railways.

(Alastair J Macauley is an attorney and in the IFP delegation at Codesa).

'Inkatha massacre' not true

By FRED KHUMALO

INKATHA's violence monitors made a mistake in claiming that the Durban train slaughter in which five people were killed by gun-wielding attackers, was aimed at their organisation.

After a probe by City Press, Ed Tillet, a spokesman for the Institute, conceded that he had erred when he issued a press statement claiming the attack on the KwaMashu-

bound train was politically motivated.

"I'm prepared to concede that it (the attack) was not necessarily politically motivated," he said.

He regretted that his initial statement could have fuelled tempers and resulted in more violence.

Tensions were already rising at KwaMashu hostel where most of the victims lived, and an urgent meeting had to be called to prevent hostel dwellers from attacking ANC sup-

porters.

However, the IFP leader at the hostel, GD Bhengu, said he had been able to contain their anger and explained to them that the attack was not politically motivated.

"We are satisfied by the evidence in front of us, that the people were killed as a result of a feud which goes back to rural reserves where these people were from. It was some sort of a tribal faction fight," he said.

APRESS 5/7/72

IPF man hits out at UN presence

DURBAN. (113) It was a "disgrace" that South Africa had to call in outsiders to solve their problems. U b n n

South Africans should sit down and resolve their problems themselves.

This was said here yesterday by Mr Thomas Shabalala, a member of the central committee of the IFP and an executive member of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

He was speaking at a press conference chaired by Mr B G Ramcharan, one of the 11 UN observers in South Africa to observe the mags action.

Mr Ramcharan said the combi carrying the UN banner had been applauded and waved at in townships near here, adding people had been seizing the opportunity to put across their points of view.

Mr Ramcharan, a lawyer from Guyana who has been with the world organisation for 19 years, declined to say whether he felt optimistic or pessimistic about SA's political future.

He said he had been able to speak at a gathering on Tuesday and conveyed a message of "peace, compassion and friendship".

He said a colleague, American Mr John Reninger, had also been in the region during the week.

ANC told to carry 'traditional weapons'

w/Man 7/8-13/89 z.

(113) (114)

By CARMEL RICKARD
IF Inkatha members continue carrying "traditional weapons", should African National Congress members do the same? ANC southern Natal general secretary Sbu Ndebele says they have no choice.

"It is our tradition too. If the police allow Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, we will have to do likewise."

While the call has proved popular with many Natal ANC supporters, it has come in for criticism. Durban's Legal Resources Centre says the idea is irresponsible and reckless.

The ANC head office has reaffirmed its policy that people "cannot come to marches armed in any way", and Inkatha says ANC members were carrying such weapons even before Ndebele's call.

Ndebele warned several times that the ANC in his region would begin carrying "traditional weapons" as a strategy to make police disarm Inkatha. He says patience ran out last

month when a group of armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters confronted ANC members at the start of a Durban city centre march.

The ANC was planning to try Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a mock trial and IFP supporters aimed to stop the "trial". Police intervened and prevented a fight, but Ndebele says the group should have been disarmed long before they reached their destination.

After that incident Ndebele called for ANC members to carry weapons. They were first seen in great numbers this week at a march of more than 10 000 people in Inanda outside Durban. Many in the crowd were kitted out with spears, sticks, shields, axes and pangas. They marched in regiments, singing traditional fighting songs and brandishing their weapons. A number also wore skins. Many people appeared to enjoy the opportunity to combine traditional and political feelings.

During the ANC's mass action in

central Durban this week, a number of marchers again carried such weapons. In a speech to thousands of protesters, Ndebele said "traditional weapons" would become a part of ANC marches.

They would be carried at all gatherings in the future as long as the police allowed Inkatha to bear such weapons in public. Ndebele said later that he was against the bearing of these weapons, but felt that the new strategy was the only way to stop them from being carried by Inkatha. "The day the IFP marches without these arms, the very next day so will we," he said.

Legal Resources' Howard Varney said he understood ANC frustration with police failure to enforce laws barring the carrying of such weapons in public. However, the ANC response — calling on its members to bear weapons — was quite unacceptable.

Varney added: "Weapons' bearing in the current climate is nothing more

than a show of strength and an act of intimidation, regardless of which organisation is behind it."

Varney said if ANC members were to bear arms in the same way as Inkatha, it would further entrench a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance. "It may well be that this trend may become unstoppable."

The IFP's Ed Tillett also criticised the ANC move: "Two wrongs do not make a right. We disapprove of our members carrying non-traditional weapons. When it was made unlawful to carry non-traditional weapons we began taking steps to ensure only sticks and shields are carried in future. Last Saturday's march in Durban showed the message has now reached most supporters."

Meanwhile, the ANC head office says there must be a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. If the government banned weapons in particular areas only, as happened this week, instigators simply moved elsewhere.

FM 7/18/92

INKATHA

(113)

Original view

What it lacks in membership, the newly formed western Cape branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party makes up for in enthusiasm. Regional chairman Nicholas Myburgh (30), a law graduate now farming at Swellendam, is so confident that he predicts the looming political battle will be between the IFP and the ANC alone. The Nationalists, he says, have no future. "The days of white politics are over, even for the NP. The choice is between freedom and slavery."

Brave words from a man who claims to have 4 000 members and almost no resources in an area where the exceptionally well-organised and cash-flush NP aims to muster close to 1m votes in an election — and the ANC claims overwhelming black support.

The formal entry of the IFP into the region is an important test for the party outside its Natal heartland and the Reef's migrant hostels. Though three IFP branches have existed in Cape Town's black townships for some time, they have been driven underground through fear of intimidation by more powerful rivals.

Myburgh hopes to change that. IFP central committee member Ben Ngubane was due in Fish Hoek this week for the party's first public meeting in the western Cape.

FM 7/18/92

(113)

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Myburgh disagrees that most people in the region have already made their political commitments, therefore leaving little room for the IFP. He believes many are still looking for a party with which they can feel comfortable. He says the IFP is attractive because it stands for individual freedom, cultural rights, the devolution of power to regions in a federal structure, and free enterprise in a market economy.

The party is not targeting any specific group for new members and will not actively

steal from rival organisations. The IFP's principles and philosophy will be attractive enough. "Our reading of the situation is that we have a groundswell of support." He also disagrees with the assessment that relative peace in western Cape townships is due to the absence of the IFP. He doesn't believe violence in the region is any lower than many other parts of SA.

Myburgh is not embarrassed by the region's all-white executive committee. IFP supporters in the townships are living under

conditions of "extreme intimidation" and it makes no sense for them to take on high-profile positions. For the same reason, recruitment in the Cape's black areas will be low key.

He says the region will initially rely on IFP headquarters for financial backing to set up a permanent infrastructure. However, he is confident that a number of ambitious fund-raising projects in the pipeline will benefit not only the region, but the whole party.

Inkatha gets ready to spar with Govt, ANC

STAR 7/8/92
113
By Peter Wollman

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Thembu Khoza said yesterday his organisation was "taking the gloves off" in response to the ANC's mass action campaign.

The ANC action had left more than 40 people dead on Monday and Tuesday this week, he claimed, and the country should be in mourning. But the media had hailed the mass action campaign as peaceful.

"The ANC claims its campaign was supported by 4 million people. Only 300 000 attended their meetings, which must mean 3,7 million stayed at home because of intimidation."

Mr Khoza, a Transvaal executive member of the IFP, said IFP supporters would be mobilised "to force the Government to stop giving in to the ANC all the time".

In an interview with The Star, he said: "The ANC pulled out of Codesa before the Boipatong massacre when it was defeated 11-8 in voting on constitutional issues. It then used Boipatong to justify its action.

"It was criticised cautiously when it should have been banished instead." But he said the ANC had to be forced back to the negotiating table because the country needed negotiation and compromise to achieve peace.

Mr Khoza said the IFP campaign, involving self-defence committees, open-air rallies, marches and indoor meetings, would be peaceful.

"The committees will be taught which buttons to press in an emergency, but they will not be trained to kill people.

"The ANC wolf must be exposed for what it is. Until that happens it will continue eating sheep at will. Those sheep are our supporters and innocent, politically unaligned communities being harassed by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the so-called self-defence units..."

He said it was nonsense to talk of banning traditional Zulu weapons when most of the deaths in the country were caused by the AK-47 rifle "carried by the ANC".

Mr Khoza said he was at the end of his tether over the preferential treatment the ANC was getting from the Government, the media and the international community.

The media should shoulder blame for some of the violence because it was "caused by the pen", he claimed.

The media often spoke generally of Zulu-speaking men being involved in attacks. This bred hatred and caused explosive situations.

Mr Khoza said "the people" were asking what the IFP was doing to protect lives and property in the face of violence during the mass action campaign.

"We are taking the gloves off. We are going to protect them, but all our actions will be peaceful."

● Reports — Pages 6 and 11

Deportation of
IFP man leaves
many questions

By MONWABISI NOMADLO

APRES 9/8/92
Mystery surrounds the sudden deportation of high-ranking Inkatha official Bruce Anderson.

This week the government refused point blank to explain the action.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Anderson was suspected of being involved in violence.

He said it was the public's right to know why the government had acted "in such a drastic fashion against a leading member of the IFP"

Reports meanwhile claimed Anderson was involved in arms smuggling for Inkatha.

Police could not confirm that he was arrested for arms possession shortly before he was deported.

Police spokeswoman Capt Ida van Zweel said Anderson entered SA with a passport on July 9 around 8:55 am and left on July 23.

He was in possession of a temporary permit to stay in the country until July 30," Van Zweel said.

Newspaper reports claimed Anderson - former chairman of Inkatha's Hillbrow branch - was arrested on his return from the US where he met rightwing organisations bent on arming Inkatha.

Home Affairs spokesman Thomas Dreyer confirmed that Anderson was deported to the UK on July 17, but refused to state the reasons.

He said the department was unable to respond to speculation that Anderson was involved in arms smuggling for Inkatha.

A spokesman from the State President's office, Casper Venter, said the office had no knowledge of the deportation.

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'Hit list' halts peace talks

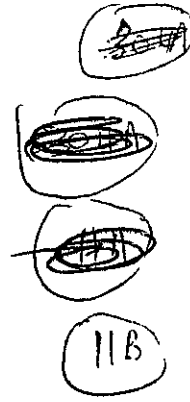
Guardian [w/lim w/mail]
PEACE talks in South Africa, scheduled to take place later this week, have been called off amid controversy over claims that the ANC has "sentenced to death" 12 Inkatha leaders and ordered its armed wing to execute them.

The National Peace Committee announced that signatories to the National Peace Accord had asked for a postponement to allow for further consultations.

The Natal Midlands branch of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party claimed in a statement at the weekend that ANC supporters had been given instructions to report any sightings of the 12 "wanted" men — allegedly sentenced to death at a kangaroo court last month — to its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could be killed.

The ANC leader in the Midlands, Harry Gwala, has a militant reputation, having been repeatedly quoted on the need to fight violence with violence. 1017-1617192

Inkatha had no choice but to boycott the proceedings of dispute resolution committees — set up regionally in terms of the peace accord — while this "farical" situation persisted, said a spokesman, Kim Hodgson.



STAR 10/8/92

IFP identifies blast victim

(11/3)

Police confirmed last night that on Friday they found body parts of an unidentified man who had been blown to bits outside Ratanda township, near Heidelberg.

West Rand police liaison officer Major Henriette Bester said police suspected that the man had been carrying a limpet mine that exploded.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Themba Khoza yesterday named the

man as Welcome Khanyile, the organisation's secretary in Ratanda. Major Bester said the man had not yet been identified.

Mr Themba said Mr Khanyile was last seen alive on July 30 when he was taken, allegedly by police, for questioning from his work in Heidelberg.

Major Bester said she could not comment on the allegations because

the identity of the dead man was not known to the police.

A pair of plastic gloves was found on the scene, Mr Khoza said. It was unlikely the ANC was involved in the death, he added.

Mr Khoza said the IFP in Ratanda would march on the local police station to demand an explanation from the police on the circumstances surrounding Mr Khanyile's death. — Sapa.

IFP calls for probe into Khanyile death

STAR 11/8/92

Staff Reporters



The Inkatha Freedom Party's PWV region yesterday called for a full investigation into the death of Ratanda branch secretary Welcome Khanyile, who was found blown to pieces outside the township near Heidelberg on Friday.

IFP regional organiser Themba Khoza said in Johannesburg that peculiar events leading up to Mr Khanyile's death made the IFP believe he was murdered.

Police said it appeared the man was blown up while carrying a limpet mine.

According to Mr Khoza, Mr Khanyile was picked up by police on July 30 and was not seen since.

"Police said Mr Khanyile had

been released. He also allegedly said Mr Khanyile might be in Natal. All further investigations proved fruitless."

The next news of him was when the police informed Mr Khanyile's workplace they had found his identity card next to the body.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that although police had questioned Mr Khanyile on July 30 after receiving information he was allegedly involved in the smuggling of firearms, he was released at 1.20 pm the same day.

● A woman who had been shot in the head was found dead in her yard in Alexandra township yesterday. Mr Khoza claimed the dead woman, Soalega Miga, was an IFP youth leader.

the nation in brief

Buthelezi slams De Klerk

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the Government for "its permissiveness" with the ANC

Addressing a luncheon yesterday, Buthelezi said in unbanning political organisations, State President Mr FW De Klerk "released political threats out onto our streets and onto our politics"

"Never before has there been a white government so permissive of wide-scale disruption and so permissive of action deeply damaging to the economy as current mass action threatens to be," he said.

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3/10/92

Uwusa campaign

A RECRUITMENT drive by the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) begins in earnest this month in all sectors of the economy, says national spokesman Duke Senagomo. He says the drive could bring in more than 1 200 new members a month over several months.

11B

NEWS First step towards breaking deadlock ● Bhamjee lawyer slams 'piecemeal' trial

Mandela to meet

FW and Buthelezi

Sowetan 12/8/92
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi within four weeks.

The meeting will take place as part of a summit of the National Peace Committee (NPC) of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting is regarded as the first step towards breaking the present deadlock in negotiations.

Speaking at the start of a plenary session of the NPC in Sandton north of Johannesburg yesterday, NPC chairman

Summit of the National Peace Committee:

Mr John Hall said: "We expect to have that meeting within the next four weeks."

Hall said the purpose of the proposed summit was to review the National Peace Accord and to see "how effective it has been and how we may in fact make that Peace Accord more effective."

At present the only obstacle to such a meeting taking place was a complaint by the IFP over a remark allegedly made by the ANC president.

The NPC's executive met before yesterday's plenary session.

IFP members march

ABOUT 350 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters yesterday marched on the Ratanda police station to protest against the mystery death of a local leader of the organisation.

Police spokesman Major Emerentia du Preez said no reports of violence were received. (118)

The IFP supporters were protesting against the death of Mr Welcome Khanyile, whose body was found on the outskirts of Ratanda township on August 6.

00welan 13/8/92

Mandela: IFP adamant

Little chance of talks until amends made for 'government surrogate' charge

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has put its foot down and said there was little chance of political negotiations re-starting until African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela made amends for the allegations he levelled against the IFP at the United Nations.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, said in an interview in Umtata yesterday: "Until this issue is cleared up, many things cannot be done."

Mr Mandela said in his address to the UN's Security

Council debate on South Africa last month that the IFP was a surrogate of the government and no agreements could be made with the IFP.

IFP leaders have taken this as an insult and an affront to IFP pride. The issue was raised at this week's meeting of the National Peace Committee. The executive of the National Peace Committee meets again on August 18 to see if it can at least agree on an adjudicator to look into Mr Mandela's remarks.

The IFP also complained to the National Peace Committee about ANC allegations that IFP leaders were murderers,



Dr Frank Mdlalose

and the ANC's mock trials.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was undermined by Mr Mandela saying no agreements could be reached with the IFP. "We are so insulted that our presence within the Peace Accord needs to be reviewed."

"These remarks were in his prepared speech for the Security Council and we take strong exception to that. They were not off the cuff remarks."

"If we cannot be regarded as people on our own by the ANC — if they do not think that we are an organisation that stands on its own feet — then what is the importance of having a National Peace Accord? They

should have said so then. We would not have signed it if we were surrogates."

Initial ANC response to the IFP's anger ranged from telling the IFP that Mr Mandela's remarks were legitimate expression to suggesting they were "nothing really to worry about".

Dr Mdlalose declined to say what the IFP would like the ANC to do to amend the situation.

But until the issue is cleared up it is unlikely that IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi would attend a peace meeting with Mr Mandela and President De Klerk and it is unlikely

that the IFP would throw its weight behind efforts to re-start negotiations. The climate surrounding renewed negotiations has been improved recently by the positive meeting between the PAC and a government team and reports of informal but positive contact between senior ANC members and government people.

If the ANC does make amends on this issue, the IFP would like a multiparty conference of review to sit to look at how the negotiation process has been conducted so far. Dr Mdlalose has raised the idea already with other Codesa participants.

Clothing industry agreement

SHARON SOHOUR
Labour Reporter

EMPLOYERS and unionists party to the Clothing Industrial Council have signed historic agreements after lengthy negotiations, narrowly averting strike action in the beleaguered sector.

The agreements were the first industry-wide accords concluded nationally this year.

Reached between the employer bodies the Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association (CCMA), the Garment Manufacturers' Association, the Cape Knitting Industry Association and the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union

(Sactu) about two weeks ago, they were signed yesterday.

Union assistant general secretary Mr Ebrahim Patel said the agreements were the first which sought to extend union rights and facilities to non-parties.

Mr Patel said the union had sought not only to attain the maximum improvement in conditions of employment for members but also to work towards creating a viable industry.

"It has meant settling for wage levels we might have otherwise been reluctant to accept," Mr Patel said.

Mr Patel said the union had sought not only to attain the maximum improvement in conditions of employment for members but also to work towards creating a viable industry. "It has meant settling for wage levels we might have otherwise been reluctant to accept," Mr Patel said.

CCMA chairman Mr Simon



IFP warns of coup

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that any seizure of power in South Africa by the ANC alliance would be crushed in the same way the allies smashed Iraq during the Gulf War. *Sowetan 3/18/92*

"If there is a seizure of power in this country, then there will be a violent backlash which will make the whole of mother Africa shudder ... it will be a backlash of unprecedented strength ... it will wipe out whatever government has seized power," he said in a speech at a funeral of a Phatheni family, at Richmond in Natal. (113)

Crowns join hands

IFP man linked to gun running

By EDDIE KOCH

W/M can 14/ - 20/8/92
A SELF-CONFESSED arms smuggler has implicated Bruce Anderson, the white Inkatha official deported from South Africa last month, in a racket that involved smuggling AK47 rifles out of Mozambique into South Africa.

The gun-runner says Anderson acquired about 40 AK47 rifles and "a few anti-personnel mines" from contacts in Mozambique and then arranged, through a middleman in Swaziland, for the consignment to be dropped off at a shop in kwaMashu township near Durban.

The Weekly Mail's source claims to have personally supervised arrangements for Anderson's cargo of weapons to be transported from Mozambique to Natal.

The Department of Home Affairs has refused to comment on the reasons for Anderson's sudden deportation to England last month. Inkatha declines to say why their official was booted out of the country. And British officials remain tight-lipped about Anderson's expulsion.

Asked if the Inkatha official's expulsion was linked to gun-running, Home Affairs' Chris Pretorius said: "We do not give reasons, as you know, for people being deported."

But sources close to Mozambican intelligence this week confirmed that Anderson had close ties with Renamo rebels in Mozambique and has long been suspected of involvement in the movement of weapons from that country into South Africa.

Anderson also visited Washington last year where he made contact with a number of rightwing movements and inquired about the possibility of purchasing weapons.

Mozambican intelligence sources added that President Joaquim Chissano discussed the issue of arms smuggling between the two countries with President FW de Klerk when the two leaders met at the opening of the new Polana Hotel in Maputo last month.

"De Klerk said he would take action against anyone who was supporting Renamo from South African soil if concrete details were supplied to him," a leading Frelimo member told *The*

Weekly Mail.

British diplomats, who ask not to be named, say they are also certain that the expulsion was related to the Inkatha official's involvement in gun-running.

Anderson was the chairman of Inkatha's Sandton branch and a delegate for the Zulu movement at Codesa. He also served on an interim dispute resolution committee in Alexandra township.

He came to South Africa in 1981 after being convicted of fraud in Zimbabwe where he lived for a number of years. Anderson became a confidante of Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama as well as Ndabaningi Sithole, Zimbabwe's rebel nationalist leader.

He was also a member of Britain's neo-fascist National Front before he emigrated to Rhodesia in the late 1970s.

Anderson was declared a persona non grata on July 17 this year and was given a one-way ticket to England on that day. It is believed he will be attending a reunion meeting for members of the Rhodesian special forces in London this weekend.

Inkatha supporters accused of harassing students and teachers

IN the face of persisting allegations of harassment by Inkatha of students and teachers who associate themselves with progressive organisations, PUPILS FORUM asked Inkatha to spell out its policy on the right of students and teachers to freedom of expression and choice.

PUPILS FORUM published an article recently in which ANC spokesperson Jabulani Mkhungo claimed that hundreds of students from kwa-Makutha township in Natal were likely to miss their final year examination because of violence by Inkatha supporters. Already two high schools, St Magdalen and Folweni were reportedly deserted by students. While in Ngwelezani township, students from various schools marched to the ANC offices where they pleaded for protection following reports last week that Inkatha vigilantes were planning to attack them.

Responding to allegations that Inkatha elements brought schooling to a halt at various areas in Natal, kwaZulu Education and Culture minister, L. Mtshali said, "It is common knowledge that destablisation of education is part of the policy of making the country ungovernable. Those who advocate that policy are responsible for schooling disruptions."



L. Mtshali, kwaZulu education and culture minister

Undemocratic

Furthermore, he blamed the South African government for organising the provision of education on undemocratic foundations. "It is the inalienable right of every child to enjoy equal access to education. This goal can only be realised if democratic principles underpin the future education policy," he said.

According to Mtshali, black education should receive top priority in the allocation of funds. The formula of financing education, Mtshali said, should be revised in order to enable the disadvantaged blacks to catch up with their counter parts in various race groups.

Mtshali said Inkatha advocated regional administration and control of education in order to secure community involvement and participation.

He said the government should urgently address the following:

- the provision of adequate classroom accommodation;
- the reduction of pupil/teacher ratios to acceptable levels. In primary schools it should be 35:1, secondary 30:1;
- the introduction of free and compulsory education from primary school level to standard eight;
- the provision of education support - teaching aids, books and stationery;
- the training of teachers to handle special education for mentally retarded and handicapped children.

Pupils Forum (in New Natal) 148-20/8/92

PUPILS FORUM



THE DAILY EVENING NEWS

Expelled Inkatha official linked to arms running

W/Map
14/8-20/8/92

11B

INKATHA official Bruce Anderson was suddenly deported from South Africa last month. Neither South African nor British officials will explain the expulsion.

This week *The Weekly Mail* learned that Anderson was long involved in smuggling AK-47 rifles out of Mozambique into South Africa.

His deportation followed a meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, where De Klerk is believed to have agreed to prevent covert Renamo operations in this country.

PAGE 2

A ...

Bus depot besieged

115

■ INKATHA members led by kwaZulu MP Simon Ntombela laid siege to a kwaZulu Transport (KZT) bus depot in Pietermaritzburg for five days, preventing buses from leaving the depot. The action, which began last Wednesday and lasted till the middle of this week, was aimed at stopping bus drivers — who are mainly members of Cosatu affiliated Transport and General Workers Union — from blockading the city centre as part of the mass action campaign. The group defied a court interdict brought by the company to remove them. The siege turned violent with buses being stoned by the impis and the houses of some drivers being gutted.

14/8 - 20/8/92

Puzzle over expulsion

Sowetan 14/8/92
■ Rumours that immigrant is involved in arms smuggling:

By Victor Tsuai

THE deportation of the former Inkatha Freedom Party member, Mr Bruce Anderson, deepened further yesterday when the Department of Internal Affairs insisted it would not reveal reasons behind its action.

Further inquiries by the *Sowetan* and the African National Congress as to why

the authorities would not disclose reasons in the interests of the public met with a firm "No" from the department's spokesman, Mr Thomas Dreyer.

According to ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus at first Anderson was perceived to be welcome by the Department of Internal Affairs.

Niehaus said: "Now that he is seen not to be welcome, they see fit to cover up

for him. We believe that Andersen was involved in activities that are highly embarrassing. (115)

Anderson was deported from the country on July 17 after being declared persona non grata. He was a senior member of the IFP and one of its representatives at Codesa.

Sowetan has been reliably informed that Andersen's deportation could have been as a result of "criminal activities" possibly linked to arms smuggling.

Deported man 'smuggled arms'

CT 15/8/92

Political Staff

(11B)

AN Inkatha Freedom Party official, Mr Bruce Anderson, who was deported from South Africa last month, had been implicated in the smuggling of AK-47 rifles from Mozambique, it was reported yesterday.

The Weekly Mail reported that a self-confessed gun-runner had disclosed that Mr Anderson had acquired 40 AK-47s and a few anti-personnel mines and arranged for them to be dropped off in Kwa-Mashu in Durban.

IFP official Ms Suzanne Vos said she had spoken to Mr Anderson by telephone yesterday morning, and he had stated that the Weekly Mail story was wrong.

He had said that, if he decided to report on his involvement in "the hidden war in Southern Africa against the surrogate terrorist organisations of the former Soviet Union", he would do so in a book.

'Success achieved by fear'

THE IFP yesterday claimed most free will. people who took part in the ANC's "The other 3½ million stayed away mass action campaign this week were because of intimidation," he said. intimidated. (118) Mr Khoza criticised the govern- Senior IFP member Mr Themba ment for allowing the mass action to Khoza said no more than 500 000 took go ahead, saying it was not in the best part in the general strike of their own interests of the people.

Premiums set to rise sharply

LIFE insurance policy premiums particularly for young people will increase because of AIDS, a spokesman for Southern Life said at a seminar on AIDS yesterday in Johannesburg.

The insurance industry had recognised that the HIV virus, which can lead to full-blown AIDS, "is going to become a killer of young people in a big way", Paul Trymens said.

The industry's ability to provide life assurance to the average man in the street might become endangered, he warned, unless it introduced changes.

Testing applicants for the HIV virus itself would become common.

"The second thing that will happen is that there'll be a steady increase in the premiums that young people will have to pay."

"Even though a young person might be tested negative and is given life assurance, the younger he is the more likely it is he might still become positive because he has not changed his (social) behaviour," Sapa.

SACC probe into

ANCC under way

8/10/92 17/8/92

PATRICK BULGER

AN SA Council of Churches (SACC) team which plans to visit ANC camps to test claims of maltreatment and disappearances also wants to inspect government installations used in the covert war against the ANC.

SACC Justice and Social Minister director John Lamola said the SACC had been given the go-ahead two months ago to begin interviewing people who claim family members had gone missing in Angola and still has a presence in Uganda and Tanzania.

Lamola said the SACC was planning to visit the ANC's camps once a full list of missing people had been drawn up. He said the SACC team had been in contact with a number of ANC dissidents who had returned from exile complaining of maltreatment.

"Our intention is to go with a list of names. The visit will involve international church figures," Lamola said.

He said the visit to the camps, permission for which was granted by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, would probe alleged human rights violations committed by the ANC in exile.

"We have stood against human rights violations of the apartheid regime. We

should not overlook what has happened outside the regime," he said.

Lamola said the SACC wanted to visit government installations used during the undercover war against the ANC, in particular Viakplaas police camp, which regarded policeman Dirk Coetzee said was used as a base for attacks on anti-apartheid figures.

Meanwhile, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions in its camps had not completed its report and would sit for another day, a source close to the commission said.

The source denied that the commission had named ANC administrative official Mzwai Pilliso as being primarily responsible for abuses in the camps.

The source said the commission's terms of reference were limited to an investigation into conditions of detention, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about loss of property.

The ANC said a report would be submitted to Mandela and that there would be no comment on the issue until he had studied and made public its findings. The ANC said it had committed itself to publicising the findings when it set up the commission.

Buthelezi issues fresh appeal on peace to ANC

8/10/92 17/8/92

MB

MSINGA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in a bid to end the strife in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga and neighbouring districts in Natal, Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika consisting of him, Mandela and President F W de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC... All I have said is that unless Dr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish.

"I say today to Mandela yet again, act against the violence with me. I say to him, have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should share platforms to combat the violence.

He also slammed the ANC's withdrawal from Codessa. "The going is going to get tough because of political tensions created by the ANC's refusal to go back to the negotiation process."

Meanwhile, eight people were wounded in Alexandria, north of Johannesburg, when attackers armed with AK-47 and R-1 rifles fired on the police but missed their target, wounding bystanders instead.

The wounded were treated at a clinic in the township. On Saturday, two bodies were found, police said in their daily unrest report. One had been shot and another hacked and strangled to death.

On Saturday night a commuter was shot dead and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by unidentified gunmen on a train in Soweto between Phomolong and Dube stations.

No arrests were made. Two bodies with hack wounds have also been found at Ivory Park, Midrand, where a taxi war claimed four lives last week.

Buthelezi offers new peace bid

MSINGA. Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in ending the carnage in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga in Natal, Chief Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika with him, Mr Mandela

and President F. W. de Klerk ruling the country. "I want no alliance with the ANC. I have never wanted to rule with Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela. All I have said is that unless Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and I come together to combat violence, it will flourish.

"I say to Mr Mandela yet again: act against the

violence with me. I say to him: have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should shape platforms to combat the violence. I say to him: have the courage to put South Africa first and help me act against the violence instead of fanning the flames by refusing to enter into any peace agreements."

Buthelezi issues fresh appeal on peace to ANC

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Buthlezi offer to Mandela

MSINGA, Natal — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Sunday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to join him in ending the carnage in the country.

Speaking here, Chief Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika with him, Mr Mandela and Mr F W de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC. I have never wanted to rule with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela. All I have said is that unless Mr Mandela, Mr De Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish."

● The West Rand branch of the Pan-Africanist Congress is prepared to mediate at "branch level" between fighting groups in the region, chairman Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya said in Johannesburg yesterday. — Sapa

Buthelezi calls for conference

Political Staff
INKATHA Freedom
Party president Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi
has called for a multi-
party conference to con-
sider negotiations and
the peace process.

At a Boland Chamber
of Commerce reception
in Paarl, he said a na-
tional block had to be
thrown up against the
government's negotia-
tions with the ANC to
endorse the ANC's de-
struction of the Codesa
negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi said
the ANC was trying to
force the government
into a weak position af-
ter its defeat at Codesa.

He said if the ANC's
demands were acceded
to, there would be no
democratic negotiations,
and only the National
Party and the govern-
ment would be left bar-
gaining for a place in
the ANC's sun.

He criticised Presi-
dent De Klerk for offer-
ing to hold a bush sum-
mit with the ANC to
reach an understanding
with the organisation.

He also blamed the
government for what he
called its "tolerance of
the ANC's blundering".

He said the IFP would
resist at all costs the
ANC's power tactics.

IFP on anthem row

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said it supported the right of sports lovers to sing what they liked. *Sowetan 18/8/92*

The organisation said the singing of Die Stem before Saturday's rugby Test against the All Blacks was in keeping with the occasion and in direct response to dictatorial attempts by the ANC. *(113)*

If Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika was sung by the spectators there would have been no outcry, the IFP said.

IFP seeks

protection

against

ANC, SAP

STAR 2/18/92
By Montshiwa Moroke

The IFP will not sit back and allow its members to become "cannon fodder for the ANC's shooting range", the deputy chairman of the IFP's West Rand Youth Brigade, Themba Ndlovu, said yesterday.

He said the IFP would encourage its members in the Transvaal region to form protective units to counter the escalating number of attacks on their lives and property.

While the violence was rapidly increasing, there was no visibly effective action from the security forces, and the perception was that they were in cahoots with the ANC.

Mr Ndlovu said two men and a woman were killed and seven others seriously injured during an attack at Orlando station on an "IFP coach" on the 9615 train from Vereeniging to Johannesburg on Wednesday.

"Why were the Nancefield hostel dwellers the only commuters subject to an intensive body search by the SADF at Orlando station?"

He said that on Monday IFP member Welcome Khanyile had been killed by an ANC mob at Ratanda, Heidelberg. On Tuesday, another IFP member, known only as "comrade Yaliwe", had been shot dead as she walked past the Selby municipal hostel. A third member, Mvunyelwa Dladla, had been shot dead by striking workers in Benrose, near Johannesburg.

"It has now become the common course of events that directly after an SAP or SADF raid on IFP hostel dwellers, removing their only means of defence, an ANC raid is sure to follow," Mr Ndlovu said.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant Eugene Henning said one person died and six were injured in Wednesday's train attack.

Lieutenant Henning denied that the SAP was taking sides with any political organisation and said police were there "to help people of all colours".

FM 21/8/92

(113)

because of the party's links to township violence, and because it was impossible for Sasco, Azasco, and Paso to exist on the campuses of education establishments administered by the KwaZulu government.

The students staged a 90-minute occupation of the university's administration buildings last Thursday — the day of the Sadesmo launch — to draw attention to their claim.

It was during the sit-in that the demonstration turned sour. Students allegedly wrecked rector Jairam Reddy's office; destroyed equipment including computers, a photocopier and fax machine; wrecked furniture; and broke windows.

Damage costs

University public affairs spokesman Michael Sutcliffe has played down the extent of the damage. He said this week that the cost was still being assessed and could be R5 000-R10 000.

The students then reportedly forced the "small Sadesmo delegation," which had gathered in the university's main hall to hear an inaugural address by IFP Women's Brigade head Faith Gaza, to retreat from the hall through a back entrance. The university was then closed for the rest of the day "in the interests of the well being of the students and staff."

Sutcliffe and Nevill say all the campus's registered student organisations have subsequently jointly condemned the way in which the resolution was implemented by students.

The real issue is freedom of speech. As in other areas of society, much work needs to be done to promote tolerance.

It is ironic, and yet perhaps inevitable, that the universities serving communities most affected by apartheid are now often those which are the most intolerant of diversity of opinion.

POLITICAL INTOLERANCE

No easy walk

FM 21/8/92

(113)

Political tolerance took a knock at the University of Durban at Westville when a student occupation of buildings turned into an "orgy of destruction." The reason for their protest: an expression of anger at an attempt to launch an alleged Inkatha front organisation on the campus.

SRC president Rupert Nevill says students voted at a mass meeting not to allow the establishment on campus of the SA Democratic Student Movement (Sadesmo) because it was an IFP front organisation.

New role for two former

Africa leaders

STAN 22/8/92.
TWO former African
leaders could be ap-
proached to arbitrate in
a dispute between the
Inkatha Freedom Party
and the ANC. (21) (115)

As a result of the dis-
pute, the IFP has indi-
cated it would not attend
a meeting on September
14 of political groups
which signed the Nation-
al Peace Accord. (115)

The dispute arose
after the IFP objected to
statements by ANC lead-
er Nelson Mandela in his
speech last month to the
UN Security Council.

NPC chairman John
Hall yesterday said it
was a "sensitive issue at
this stage". It is under-
stood the ANC has
agreed to the arbitra-
tors. — Political Staff.

Investigate ANC, says IFP

CIP/MS 23/8/92

(11B)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is to ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate alleged ANC involvement in the massacre at Mpushini, outside Folweni, south of Durban.

IFP Umlazi branch head Reuben Mfeka said on Friday the IFP would ask the Goldstone Commission "to probe into the alleged abuses of members of the ANC's self-defence units".

Mfeka called on the ANC to

account for S'bu Mkhize, labelled by police as the country's most wanted man, being buried with ANC honours.

The IFP also called on the ANC to explain why its members who allegedly took part in Tuesday's attack were wearing security force uniforms.

Mfeka alleged that "ANC members are attempting to implicate and discredit security force mem-

bers and in doing so are creating a climate of ungovernability".

ANC media officer Dumisani Makhaye called on the police to "produce evidence" of security force uniforms being found on ANC members.

He said Mkhize was a respected member of the ANC and not a criminal. His only crime was that he refused to "do the bidding" of the IFP. - Sapa

Swekani 7/18/92
Uwusa move

(11B)

(11B)

THE Inkatha-aligned United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) will appoint a new general secretary, national co-ordinator Amos Ndlozi confirmed in Johannesburg.

An informed source told Sapa the new general secretary would be Butch Jaantjies, who led the consumer boycott in Boksburg in 1988 when petty apartheid legislation was passed.

EVEN by the increasingly brutal standards of South African killings, this week's execution of the Nzimande family at Mkhobeni, outside Richmond, was shocking.

Five men in brown uniforms which looked just like those of the South African Defence Force went to the home of local Inkatha leader Pana Nzimande on Sunday around noon. They asked him to produce the two kwazulu government G3 rifles with which he had been issued. After he had done so, the men ordered the family to line up against an inside wall, then raked their victims with heavy fire from their AK47s and R4s.

Nzimande, his wife and four children were killed, but two other children survived.

The blood was hardly dry on the walls when the political accusations began to fly. Inkatha reacted strongly to news that its local organiser and leader had been murdered along with most of his family. The national chairman of the party, Frank Mdatose, said the assassination of Nzimande and his family was an act of callous brutality carried out by people prepared to stoop to mass murder even of children to achieve their ends.

"The murder is not random, but is part of a structured political pattern. We know of many similar cases, where ANC members dressed in

Political row follows

IFP family slaughter

W/M 025 25/8 - 2/9/92.

It was a quiet Sunday afternoon for the

Nzimande family of Mkhobeni—

until they were lined up

against the wall and raked

with heavy gunfire.

By Weekly Mail Reporter

SAP or SADF apparal have killed our people."

Commenting on the killings, other IFP officials claim they were carried out as part of a plan to remove Inkatha's influence from Mkhobeni, and fill the leadership vacuum with African National Congress leaders.

ANC president Nelson Mandela is due in the

region early next week, and some IFP officials have speculated that the killings were related to the visit. "We do not say that he was personally involved in any way. However, we can imagine a scenario in which local comrades feel they should 'present' him with an area free of Inkatha influence." They said that in the days since the killings, ANC members had already begun to recruit members in the Mkhobeni area.

One Inkatha official said he believed members of Unkhonto weSizwe carried out the attack, saying it formed part of a pattern in which MK killed people while wearing security uniforms to create confusion and turn people against the police.

The ANC has strongly denied all these allegations, saying they will conduct their own inquiry into the incident. Regional secretary Sifiso Nkabinde says people should bring evidence that

those involved were MK members, and stop "this hunt. It is a mischievous insinuation made by those people who stop at nothing in a futile attempt to put us in the dock where we must defend ourselves".

Inkatha asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the incident, and what they believe is a wider problem of attacks carried out by people wearing security force uniforms.

Commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone has asked for a full police report on the incident and requested the IFP to hand over any information it may have about the killings.

In the wake of the Mkhobeni killings, Inkatha has challenged the SAP to explain the criteria they use for offering rewards leading to the arrest of people involved in political killings.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that the police had offered no reward in connection with the Nzimande killings, nor in response to any other Inkatha slaying.

However, the SAP offered rewards and launched major investigations when a white person or ANC figure was killed.

The rural area around Richmond has been contested territory for more than a year, with periodic outbreaks of serious violence.

NEWS Top IFP bosses instigated violence, commission told ● 5 bodies found in veld

'Mr 01' tells of train attacks

So wefen 27/8/92
TRAIN STRIKES Witness says IFP

TWO senior IFP leaders instigated Nancefield Hostel dwellers to attack ANC followers, a committee of the Goldstone Commission into train violence was told yesterday.

Under cross-examination by counsel for the IFP Mr Louis Visser, a witness identified only as "Mr 01" who was a police informer, said the two leaders had addressed several meetings at the hostel.

He told the committee that hostel dwellers were told that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had said Zulus should be attacked and forced back to Natal.

He said there was tension between the hostel dwellers and township residents, with the former believing that all township residents were ANC supporters or members who had to be attacked.

He said the killing of an IFP member had led to the attack on a train at

leaders instigated hostel dwellers:

Nancefield Station on June 25 last year.

"Mr 01" said as a hostel resident he was afraid to move about in the townships for fear of being recognised and attacked. He therefore asked for a firearm from a policeman called Danie, but had not received it.

He was among hostel dwellers who went out on an attack on a train but had to turn back because he was armed only with a panga while the rest of the group had firearms. Five had pistols while two had AK-47 rifles, the witness said.

"Mr 01" said he had expected to be paid about R40 000 by the police for information he gave concerning train

attacks. However, he did not receive the promised amount.

Instead, after his lawyers had raised the issue on his behalf, he was paid R3 000 by the police. However, he claimed not to know what the R3 000 payment was for.

"Mr 01" said the causes of the violence in the townships and hostels included ethnic conflict between Xhosas and Zulus, slogans sung by ANC supporters and insults against IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He was not sure whether political rivalry between the IFP and the ANC was a cause of the violence.

Three policemen die in collision

Five treated at hospital:

By Abhey Makoe and Sapa

THREE policemen were killed and five injured when a Casspir and a private vehicle collided at the intersection of Sebokeng and Vereeniging roads yesterday.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said police were investigating the cause of the accident and a possible charge of culpable homicide was being considered.

The dead policemen were based at the Vereeniging Internal Stability Unit. The accident occurred about 5:30am, Van Deventer said.

He identified those who died as Con-

stable RW Sheepers (20), Constable J Rathebe (25) and Constable TJ Khoai (30).

The five injured were Constables JT Visser, who is still being treated at Vereeniging Hospital, G Keogh, G1 Mntuwi, JL Kokam and KA Maduna, who were all discharged.

Van Deventer said the driver of the car was 28-year-old Mr M Hugo of Vereeniging. He was admitted to Vereeniging Hospital.

In another incident, two policemen were injured, one seriously.

Police said yesterday that Constable MJ Maputa (23) and Constable VB Shihambi (23) were sitting in a guards' room at the hostel when five men kicked the door open and shot them.

NEWS Top IFP bosses instigated violence, commissioner

'Mr 01' tells of train attacks

TWO senior IFP leaders instigated Nancefield Hostel dwellers to attack ANC followers, a committee of the Goldstone Commission into train violence was told yesterday.

Under cross-examination by counsel for the IFP Mr Louis Visser, a witness identified only as "Mr 01" who was a police informer, said the two leaders had addressed several meetings at the hostel.

He told the committee that hostel dwellers were told that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had said Zulus should be attacked and forced back to Natal.

He said there was tension between the hostel dwellers and township residents, with the former believing that all township residents were ANC supporters or members who had to be attacked.

He said the killing of an IFP member had led to the attack on a train at

Sowetan 27/8/92
■ TRAIN STRIKES Witness says IFP

leaders instigated hostel dwellers:

Nancefield Station on June 25 last year.

"Mr 01" said as a hostel resident he was afraid to move about in the townships for fear of being recognised and attacked. He therefore asked for a firearm from a policeman called Danie, but had not received it.

He was among hostel dwellers who went out on an attack on a train but had to turn back because he was armed only with a panga while the rest of the group had firearms. Five had pistols while two had AK-47 rifles, the witness said.

"Mr 01" said he had expected to be paid about R40 000 by the police for information he gave concerning train

attacks. However, he did not receive the promised amount.

Instead, after his lawyers had raised the issue on his behalf, he was paid R3 000 by the police. However, he claimed not to know what the R3 000 payment was for.

"Mr 01" said the causes of the violence in the townships and hostels included ethnic conflict between Xhosas and Zulus, slogans sung by ANC supporters and insults against IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He was not sure whether political rivalry between the IFP and the ANC was a cause of the violence.

Fences won't solve hostels issue - IFP

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Inkatha Freedom Party has supported the Government's rejection of a recommendation by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that hostels in troublespots be immediately fenced to help prevent violence.

Giving evidence before a Goldstone committee looking into the role of hostels in township violence, IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said problems could not be dealt with through barbed wire.

The Department of Local Government and Housing has also rejected fencing as a step to curb violence, saying such a move would be counter-productive and would exacerbate the isolation of hostel dwellers, embittering them further.

Mr Felgate said IFP policy on hostels was that they were a necessary "transitional mechanism" between apartheid and

the new South Africa.

"Any attempt to remove them would have adverse effects on social stability. Hostel dwellers are human beings and they are exercising their right to be where they are. Those rights should be protected."

Shortage

Mr Felgate said the IFP would prefer to see hostel upgrading programmes conducted under the auspices of the National Peace Secretariat's local dispute resolution committees. He conceded that these were not yet operational.

He asked, however, that the Goldstone committee meet with the secretariat to inquire how it thought the hostels issue should be approached.

The IFP policy was much the same as that spelt out for the committee by KwaZulu Minister of Interior Emanuel Sithebe, who said the demolition of existing accommodation at a time when there was a critical hous-

ing shortage would be "nothing short of criminal".

In addition, the economic contribution made by hostel dwellers in urban areas was so great that their absence would probably result in a collapse of rural economies in many parts of South Africa.

The reality of South Africa was that its business and industries largely depended on migrant labour, as did the rural economies.

While it was not suggested that present hostel accommodation was satisfactory, the right to choose to make use of such accommodation should be respected, Mr Sithebe said.

The "glib acceptance of culpability" of hostels and their inmates, without due regard to the new social threats to hostel dwellers in changing political circumstances, ought to be avoided, Mr Sithebe said.

The ANC will present evidence to the committee on September 8 to give its policy on hostels.

STAR 28/8/92

11B

~~11B~~

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Hostels 'not the cause of violence'

PRETORIA. — The removal of hostels would have an adverse effect on stability and the economy in South Africa, an Inkatha Freedom Party representative told a committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating the future of hostels here yesterday.

Mr Walter Felgate, a member of the IFP central committee, called on the commission to develop an understanding of the valuable role hostel-dwellers played in holding poverty at bay in rural areas.

Mr Felgate said the IFP believed that about 300 000 people, each supporting between 10 and 12 dependants, lived in single-sex hostels.

He argued that thorough investigation would show that the presence or absence of hostels was not the cause of the violence. CT 28/8/92

The Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association vice-chairman, Mr Zakhele Mlambo, told the committee that hostel-dwellers did not want to be surrounded by 10-metre-high fences "as if they were animals".

The committee sits again on September 8. — Sapa

In life changes dramatically when she meets a sculptor and gets passionately involved with him. However, this love results

Cape forum for Cosatu women

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape branch of the Cosatu Women's Forum was launched in the city at the weekend with the aim of promoting women's issues both in and out of the workplace.

Ms Thasneem Essop, a co-ordinator of the Forum, said it sought "the equalisation of salaries, 12 months paid maternity leave and the establishment of child care facilities in or near the workplace".
Sexual harassment would also receive attention, said Ms Essop.

Buthelezi warns ANC

RICHMOND. — The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that any seizure of power in South Africa by the ANC alliance would be crushed in the same way the allies smashed Iraq during the Gulf War.

"If there is a seizure of power in this country, then there will be a violent backlash which will make the whole of mother Africa shudder... It will be a backlash of unprecedented strength... It will wipe out whatever government has seized power," Chief Buthelezi said in a speech to mourners at a funeral of a Phaheni family here.

Mr Fana Nzimande, his wife, Nkon-

akho, and their four children were killed by unknown gunmen last Sunday.

Chief Buthelezi suggested the killings were carried out by the ANC's military wing, UMKhonto weSizwe, and described them as a declaration of war.

"I do not know who these militarily trained men are who have killed these victims so cruelly... but we are aware that there have been members of UMKhonto weSizwe who have been trained in Transkei to kill and who have crossed from Transkei to kill people in our region in this horrible manner."
Sapa (18) ct 31/8/92

Unsolved Mysteries
22:34: Knot's Landing
23:28: America's Top 10

Eight die in weekend unrest

PRETORIA. — Eight people were killed and four wounded in unrest-related incidents countrywide, according to the police unrest report for the 24 hours that ended at midnight on Saturday.

Police said gunmen shot and killed a one-year-old child at Khayelitsha. A man was wounded in the incident.
The bodies of two men — one with gunshot wounds and the second with hack wounds — were found at Thokoza, Alberton. The body of a man who had been hacked was found at Evaton, Vereeniging.

The bodies of two men with stab wounds were found in Alexandra, and in another incident in the same area, police found two men with gunshot wounds.

Two people attending a funeral were shot and killed by gunmen at Baboyi, Port Shepstone. A third person was stabbed and wounded at the funeral.
Sapa (18) ct 31/8/92






POP GOES MONTAGSON (centre) with some of gum to get

Little Kar

By JEN CROCI
SOUTH AFRICA's super Groove arrived in the Karoo town of Montagu to give a concert the school a competition — and a police escort into the city.
The school's 250 pupils all stop to win the petition, sponsored by manufacturer.
From around 6pm main route into the town than it ever has been: cars and buses from

ONE HOUR
COLOUR DEVELOPING
AND PRINTING SERVICE
30/0 DISCOUNT
ON PRINTS
OR **FREE** COLOUR
FILM

PLUS FREE ALBUM VOUCHER
30 VOUCHERS QUALITY FOR A LARGE ALBUM

EN

Beware of backlash,

STAR 31/8/92

Buthelezi tells ANC

RICHMOND — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that any seizure of power in South Africa by the ANC alliance would be crushed in the same way the Allies smashed Iraq during the Gulf War.

"If there is a seizure of power in this country, then there will be a violent backlash which will make the whole of mother Africa shudder.

"It will be a backlash of unprecedented strength. It will wipe out whatever government has seized power," Chief Buthelezi said in a speech addressed to mourners at a funeral of a family who were killed at Richmond in Natal.

Fana Nzimande, his wife Nkonakho and their four children were killed by unknown gunmen on August 23.

Chief Buthelezi said he had begged and pleaded with ANC

leader Nelson Mandela to heed history, and not to blunder like Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had blundered.

"I say to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance: if you seize power, you will be like Saddam Hussein, who was smashed up."

Trained

Chief Buthelezi suggested that the August 23 killings were carried out by the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and described them as a declaration of war.

"I do not know who these militarily trained men are who have killed these victims so cruelly, but we are aware that there have been members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who have been trained in Transkei to kill and who have crossed from Transkei to kill people in our region in this horrible manner."

— Sapa.

Buthelezi to wreck supercop proposal?

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Goldstone Commission's planned "supercop" task force to probe violence was thrown into doubt last night when Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed deep concerns about the proposals.

In a late night statement the KwaZulu Chief Minister said the IFP was concerned that "very far-reaching proposals have been made by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone without proper consultation with the parties whose members, willingly or unwillingly, have been most drawn into the violence".

With the IFP a significant player in the unfolding political drama in the country, its reservations are bound to have a significant effect on the creation of the task force.

To page 2

From page 1

Both the government and the ANC have backed the plan, but last night Chief Buthelezi — without going as far as rejecting it — indicated that he was far from happy.

Stressing that the IFP's comments were "made constructively", he said "the IFP, as a victim of violence, is concerned that its views were not sought prior to the decisions announced by Mr Justice Goldstone".

Commenting on specific proposals by Judge Goldstone, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP was concerned:

● That recommendations made on the basis of UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance's recommendations "were not reached in consultation with parties on the ground in South Africa".

● About whether police officers reporting to Judge Goldstone, "and presumably being directed by him, would be more effective than the same officers pursuing their objectives in the normal manner".

● That the decision to employ attorneys or advocates "has been made without reference to the main political players and, more importantly perhaps, without setting up procedures for the proper multi-party selection process".

IFP shuns hearings after blasts

^{CT 219192}
DURBAN. — The IFP says the Bruntville hostel committee has resolved to suspend all further voluntary cooperation with the Goldstone Commission hearings following two grenade attacks in the township before yesterday's sitting of the commission in Mooi River.

The commission adjourned yesterday morning to intervene in clashes sparked by the Bruntville attacks.

An IFP information centre spokesman said two grenades were tossed at 6am yesterday at the Bruntville hostel and the old Bruntville community hall, housing at least 20 refugees displaced from their homes. (21) (113)



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

DISRUPTION: South African Students Congress members angered at the presence of an Inkatha speaker.

Student hecklers halt UCT debate on violence

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

ANGRY students prevented a lunchtime debate on violence from taking place at the University of Cape Town because they were not consulted seven days in advance, in terms of university regulations governing outside speakers.

The crowd of South African Students Congress supporters, who far outnumbered other students at the gathering, objected to the presence on the panel of a speaker from the Inkatha Institute, Dr Gavin Woods.

Afterwards UCT vice chancellor Professor Stuart

Saunders said "some speakers decided they would not be able to speak because of limited time and heckling".

Professor Saunders added that "the rules for holding meetings had not been followed".

Dr Woods, who cut a lonely figure at the front of the auditorium, said he was at UCT as an "academic researcher as part of the debate on violence".

He was disappointed at "the intolerance of the students" and declined to speak in the face of "hostility".

Sasco chairman Mr Duncan Sebifelo, who was allowed to address the meeting, said a

number of organisations had not been consulted.

Mr Sebifelo said Sasco felt "very strongly that we cannot allow a situation where Inkatha is going to exercise what they term freedom of expression when Sasco is effectively banned from a number of Natal tertiary campuses".

Sasco believed in the basic principles of freedom of expression and tolerance, "which forms the essence of Sasco's principles", Mr Sebifelo said.

He announced that the debate should continue but when the chairman started to speak his voice was inaudible because of the heckling.

Other invited speakers included Mrs Mary Burton of the Human Rights Commission and Mr David Everett of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

Mrs Burton said she "respected Sasco's right to protest if procedures were not followed although it was a pity the debate was not heard".

Mr Everett, whose organisation has been monitoring violence in the PWV area for two years, said students' anger was "entirely understandable".

He said it was "very sad that Inkatha have not had to publicly account for their actions".

11B ARC 3/1/92

Inkatha returns to inquiry on Bruntville violence

By Peter Wellman

11/8

STAR 3/9/92

person. The ANC denied responsibility for the attack.

MOOI RIVER The Inkatha Freedom Party returned to the Goldstone Commission's committee of inquiry into violence here yesterday after pulling out because of two hand grenade attacks against hostel inmates on Tuesday.

After the IFP's chest-beating confrontation with ANC supporters in Bruntville that followed the attacks, police said the grenades had injured one

One of the targets was "displacees" who had moved into the hostel because of attacks against them by ANC township residents.

But finally the committee got down to what it had come for, before the grenades and the spear-waving stand-off. What caused the violence, and how it can be stopped.

The morning session was a drawn-out and inconclusive

skirmish between IFP official Philip Powell and ANC branch executive member Mncedisi Mthethwa.

Mr Powell seemed to want to show that the ANC had deliberately driven IFP members out of Bruntville.

Mr Mthethwa denied this, saying the ANC wanted to implement the National Peace Accord.

Questioned about an earlier newspaper interview in which he had said the ANC could drive Inkatha out of Bruntville in 20 minutes, he acknowledged that

his remarks were a violation of the accord.

This was a point scored for Mr Powell, but beyond that neither man really made much headway in a rambling set of questions and answers about the dates, and times of an IFP meeting with a representative of the Midlands Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Whether IFP members were justified in carrying weapons to it, or whether ANC members were there first, with their own weapons, was not resolved. In the afternoon there was

a bit of a wrangle between Mr Mthethwa and advocate Jenny Wild, for Moolriver Textiles.

They went round and round over how long ANC supporters had observed a work stayaway last year, and the circumstances of ANC workers being dismissed by the factory.

The company is by far the town's biggest employer. What emerged under cross-examination of Mr Mthethwa was how ANC structures in Bruntville work. For instance, street committees are controlled by the ANC Youth League.

BIDAWY 4/19/92

Inkatha, Renamo meet

INKATHA and the Mozambican Renamo rebel movement jointly committed themselves to upholding free enterprise, human rights, freedom and full democracy at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday between the movement's leaders Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Afonso Dhlakama. (16)

TBA

Bruntville IFP to stop carrying weapons

MOOI RIVER — Inkatha supporters from Bruntville will stop carrying dangerous weapons in public from next week, a local IFP leader told a committee of the Goldstone Commission yesterday. *STAR 4/19/92*

Bruntville IFP secretary Alex Sokhela told the committee that his party had taken the decision to lay down arms after an undertaking to the commission by the ANC on Wednesday that it would not attack Inkatha members in the

township. *(113)*

But he said the IFP would blame the commission's committee "should an IFP member be killed in attacks by the ANC in future".

Mr Sokhela's remarks came amid reports of the stabbing of ANC member Charlie Shabalala in Mooi River yesterday. Mr Shabalala is reported to be badly injured.

Witnesses told reporters that a group of men armed with spears had stabbed a man outside a bottle store. *(113)*

Police have not yet confirmed the incident. *(113)*

Local ANC leaders welcomed the IFP's decision on arms, but added that yesterday's stabbing made the undertaking hollow. *(113)*

The carrying of weapons has come under severe criticism from the ANC and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who made recommendations that the issue be addressed urgently. *(113)*

The hearing continues. *(113)*

— Sapa. *(113)*

'Bugger up' ANC - Buthelezi

THE ANC had to be stopped in its tracks before the future was destroyed, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing the Inkatha Youth Brigade at Emandleni Matleng Camp in KwaZulu, Buthelezi warned the youth that unless they "bugger up the ANC, they are going to bugger up you and your future".

The ANC was totally committed to the seizure of power, and the youth would have to take action for survival and democracy in the face of failing peace initiatives.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of trying to seize power clothed in the "superficial trappings of the ANC democratic cloth" and called on the Inkatha Youth to "politically

annihilate" the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe.

Authoritarian parties such as the ANC and SA Communist Party had a new brand of leadership which would "ride on the backs of the impoverished, screaming socialist slogans while they themselves live off the fat of the land".

The ANC was responsible for the campaign to isolate the country as well as for lost markets and lost employment. *ANC 6/9/92*

Buthelezi also accused the ANC of "manipulating Codesa" in its efforts to seize power.

The ANC's mass-action campaign was aimed at intimidating the government sufficiently to make it a "conniving partner" to be used in the ANC's ascent to power.

"The ANC and its allies will go on to make SA ungovernable and to force the resignation of the State President by the end of the year."

Inkatha leaders were being killed almost every second day in an attempt to break the power of Inkatha as opposition.

"I now say: enough is enough. Let every member of the Youth Brigade hear me when I say that the ANC has to be stopped in its tracks before the future is destroyed," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha was the only party capable of halting the ANC.

The Inkatha youth had a vital role to play in action for survival and democracy by participating in self-protection units. — Sapa

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The Inkatha youth had a vital role to play in action for survival and democracy by participating in self-protection units. Sapa

ANC kisses Codessa goodbye

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week gave the moribund Codessa its kiss of death.

As the ANC adopts a more hardline position, the organisation has virtually declared negotiations to be between itself (including the Cosatu/SACP alliance) and the government.

As a sop to the other parties, it is suggested that a multi-lateral forum must not be allowed to undermine agreements between the government and the ANC alliance.

This new position is contained in a document reproduced in the SA Labour Bulletin.

Some of the proposals are at-

ready being implemented. Tomorrow sees the opening shots in the attempt to oust Ciskei strongman, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Brig Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Minister - Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope are the three main homeland leaders the alliance aims at unseating.

A boycott of PAYE (Pay-as-you-earn) tax is likely to be launched next month.

The ANC proposals also put paid to any hopes for the revival of a Patriotic Front which includes the PAC and Azapo. The document says the mass-action campaign exposed the "opportunism and ineffectiveness of a number of ANC and the government.

political formations (PAC, Azapo etc) whose main mission has been to compete with the ANC alliance rather than taking on the regime".

The document also proposes action against banking giant Standard and Anglo American Corporation, which are considered "major financial supporters" of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

More mass actions are also called for, leading to fears that the next three months could see serious social upheavals.

It is unlikely that Azapo and the PAC would form part of any multi-lateral forum whose brief is to rub-ber-stamp agreements between the ANC and the government.

Seven strikers wounded in hospital clash

By THEMBA KHUMALO

TENSIONS over a three-month healthworkers' strike peaked at Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg on Friday when security guards shot striking workers trying to enter the premises.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) officials claim the guards intended to kill the strikers, as none were shot in the legs.

Nehawu shopsteward Siphwe Mabaso, who was one of seven workers wounded, said the trouble started when a delegation of 15 strikers tried to persuade the guards to open the hospital gates or call a senior hospital official to talk with them.

"We asked the guards to let us in, but they became arrogant and threatened to shoot us if we didn't go away."

About 600 striking workers had come to hear the outcome of a meeting between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu, Mabaso said.

After police manning the main hospital gate refused the delegation entry, the group went to another entrance, manned by hospital security guards.

Mabaso said the guards suddenly opened fire, wounding several workers in the head. Mabaso was shot in the head and shoulder.

"When I tried to get treatment at the hospital a white policeman chased me off the premises," said Mabaso.

Hillbrow hospital superintendent, Dr Norman Smith, refused to comment about the incident and referred City Press to TPA headquarters in Pretoria, where a spokesman was not available.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the TPA is to launch an investigation into the shooting at the hospital. TPA director general Andre Cornelissen said: "I urgently appeal to the relevant parties to remain calm. An attitude of confrontation would benefit nobody."

Police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer confirmed that a shooting involving a security guard and protesters had taken place at the hospital.

Buthelezi warns of ANC danger

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Unless members of the Inkatha Freedom Party "buggered" up the African National Congress, the ANC was going to "bugger" both the IFP youth and their future.

This message was clearly spelled out to a relatively subdued audience of about 6 000 young people at Ulundi at the weekend when the president of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, addressed the annual general conference of the brigade.

The youth wing of the IFP is estimated to have at least 500 000 paid-up members.

Chief Buthelezi said there were white civil defence units everywhere in the country, as well as thousands of neighbourhood protection units.

"There is absolutely nothing to stop you, as youth, from mobilising people at neighbourhood level to establish their equivalents in black society," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC

IFP delegates stone man

DURBAN. — An alleged member of the ANC, Mr Vusi Mdletshe, was stoned and beaten up after being challenged by angry members of the IFP Youth Brigade.

The incident took place at the annual general conference of the brigade being held at Ulundi at the weekend.

Mr Mdletshe was treated at a nearby clinic for serious injuries.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, launched a scathing attack on the ANC at the conference, accusing it of failing to seek democracy. He told delegates that the ANC, together with apartheid, was responsible for the dismal state of the South African economy.

was totally committed to the seizure of power in South Africa.

The ANC was continuing to cause mass impoverishment.

"No investor will want to pour millions upon millions of dollars of foreign investment into this country while the ANC, at the drop of a hat, is prepared to cripple the country through mass action and national strikes.

"They just do not care to what extent our fragile economy is further damaged by lack of investment and by sanctions that still

remain in place."

Chief Buthelezi urged the thousands of delegates and observers to obtain their identity documents as soon as possible, in preparation for the first-ever non-racial elections.

He accused the ANC of trying to seize power clothed in the "superficial trappings of the ANC democratic cloth" and called on the Inkatha youth to "politically annihilate" the armed wing of the ANC, uMkhonto weSizwe.

Authoritarian parties such as the ANC and SA

Communist Party had a new brand of leadership which would "ride on the backs of the impoverished, screaming socialist slogans while they themselves live off the fat of the land".

The ANC's mass action campaign was aimed at intimidating the government sufficiently to make it a "conniving partner" to be used in the ANC's ascent to power.

"The ANC and its allies will go on to make SA ungovernable and force the resignation of the State President by the end of the year."

Buthelezi calls on youth to stop ANC

ULUNDI — The ANC had to be stopped in its tracks before the future was destroyed, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told his youth brigade at the weekend.

He said the ANC was committed to the seizure of power, and the youth would have to take action for survival and democracy in the face of failing peace initiatives.

Buthelezi said the ANC as well as apartheid were responsible for the dismal state of the economy, Sapa reports. (113)

And he warned Inkatha youth that unless they "bugger up the ANC, they are going to bugger up you and your future". (113)

Buthelezi's speech on Saturday followed the deaths of at least 10 people, aged between 18 and 22, in Natal's Bomela township near Port Shepstone. The youths, who were reportedly leaving for the Ulundi congress, were shot by a large group of gunmen on Friday night. B/DAM

Police said eight of the dead were Inkatha supporters. 7/19/92

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has condemned the killing "in the strongest of terms", as well as other killings in the recent upsurge of violence in Natal.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of trying to seize power clothed in "the superficial trappings of the ANC democratic cloth".

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi ^{B/DAM 7/19/92} (113) ~~(113)~~ □ From Page 1

He called on the youth brigade to "politically annihilate" the ANC's armed wing.

Parties such as the ANC and SACP had a new brand of leadership which would "ride on the backs of the impoverished, screaming socialist slogans while they themselves live off the fat of the land", he said.

The ANC was responsible for the campaign to isolate the country as well as for lost markets and lost employment.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of "manipulating Codesa" in its efforts to seize power.

The ANC's mass action campaign was aimed at intimidating government sufficiently to make it a "conniving partner" in the ANC's ascent to power, he said.

The ANC and its allies would try to make SA ungovernable and force President F W de Klerk's resignation by the year-end, he said.

Buthelezi said Inkatha was the only party capable of halting the ANC in its tracks.

IFP horror at killings

DURBAN — Inkatha yesterday expressed horror at the Bisho killings but claimed that the ANC and its allies had planned the incident and had sought confrontation with the Ciskei security forces.

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said his party supported peaceful protest, but he claimed that the march had been "planned and deliberately designed to spark confrontation".

"The international community has now had the opportunity to see how SACP/ANC strategies are carried out at grassroots level."

Inkatha demanded a full investigation into the incident as well as allegations around it levelled against the ANC and SACP, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night said the Inkatha response was "utter nonsense".

□ The ANC is planning to march on a QwaQwa police station today to demand the resignation of homeland leader T K Mopeli.

Yesterday Mopeli said he would remain in his post until a new dispensation came into being. Sapa.

B10A4 9/9/92

Blunt Inkatha warning to ANC

cr. 11/9/92 Political Staff

118 (S)

DURBAN.— The IFP has given a blunt warning that if the ANC "uses undemocratic methods to force the government of KwaZulu to disband then it will be met with undemocratic responses".

Central committee member Mr Walter Felgate was responding to reports that the ANC was discussing a march on Ulundi to demand the disbanding of the KwaZulu government.

He added that even a protest march on the KwaZulu capital would be "absolute folly in today's climate".

The NP and DP have urged the ANC to scrap its plans, warning that there was a massive potential for bloodshed.

African National Congress southern Natal regional organiser Mr Bheki Cele said a march was being planned for KwaZulu.

But he said details had not been worked out at this stage and the organisation's three Natal regional leaders would meet to fix dates and places.

However, ANC head office spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that "no firm decision has been taken at this stage, and speculation about these things causes so much unnecessary emotion".

spectators had smashed the despite attempts by marshals to

US group suing over 'weapons for IFP'

CT 12/9/92 (118)

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The American Committee on Africa (ACOA), a United States pressure group close to the ANC, is suing the State and Commerce Department for documents it believes will demonstrate the US government has been turning a blind eye as American weapons find their way into the hands of Inkatha warlords.

A court hearing is set for Monday in New York at which a judge is expected to decide whether or not to force the government to hand over the papers ACOA has been seeking under the Freedom on Information Act.

ACOA's Mr Richard Knight yesterday declined to discuss details of the case beyond saying that he hoped to

obtain "a considerable number of documents" relating to licensing of shotguns and ammunition for export to or through South Africa.

It is believed that ACOA will present evidence of what it claims are illegal transactions via Malawi and that a Capetonian may testify, but Mr Knight was elusive on the subject.

Last year, ACOA sent out fund-raising letters headlined "Murder in South Africa — Made in the USA" premised on a claim that US companies had "illegally" sold South Africa some 20 tons of shotguns and ammunition between June and December 1990.

Guns of the same type, ACOA said, were being used by Inkatha and other groups against their opponents.

Policema on city t

Staff Rep

A POLICEMAN was shot and his colleagues seriously injured last night after a gunman shot them, a police spokesman said.

Assistant Constable Peter Lavis, was killed. Sergeant 26, of Eerste River, was injured to his shoulder and Assistant Constable 19, of Kraaifontein, was injured.

Police spokesman Major Opperman said last night a passenger was identified by late last night during the drama and had to be taken to hospital for treatment.

A passenger began firing when he boarded the train, Major Opperman said.

A struggle ensued during which several rounds were fired. A man has been

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Coming Springbok 1992

Form defence units - IFP

118

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, on Saturday urged IFP members in Port Shepstone, Natal, to form their own protection units. He made this remark at the funeral of 12 IFP Youth Brigade members who were gunned down at Bhomala, near Port Shepstone, on September 4 this year. Mdlalose said protection units would help end the violence and "gangsterism" aimed at IFP members. - Sapa.

Sowetan 14/9/92

Gun salute for student

(113) (114)
16/9/72
IFP demands MK probe

DURBAN. — The IFP has demanded that a special unit be established to investigate the role of the ANC's military wing following the killing of 32 IFP supporters in four recent attacks in KwaZulu.

IFP spokesman Mr Kim Hodgson said an investigation into the alleged training of uMkhonto we-Sizwe cadres in Transkei was also being sought.

Meanwhile, peace talks between the IFP and the ANC at Richmond have been suspended, and police have offered a R20 000 reward for information about those responsible for the massacre of eight people at Umgababa on Monday. — Sapa

Inkatha warning on Ulundi march

RADICALS within the ANC would prove to the world they dominated the organisation if a proposed march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi went ahead, Inkatha spokesman Themba Khoza said yesterday. He said the ANC was divided at leadership level over the issue and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had been sent to Natal to try to persuade militants to call off the march. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus could not confirm last night that Ramaphosa had been sent to the region. He said the ANC would decide whether or not to march after the Goldstone commission reported its findings on the Bisho massacre next month.

RAY HARTLEY (118)
ANC officials in Natal said this week plans for the march were going ahead, in spite of fears of bloodshed in the wake of the Bisho killings.

It is believed Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer met Judge Richard Goldstone last night on the issue, but details were not available.

Khoza said the march would lead to widespread retaliation by Inkatha members in the rest of the country.

"As far as I can read the situation, the people on the ground might cause a problem by trying to stop the march."

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

B10M 17/9/92
The KwaZulu police, who would probably be delegated to deal with the march, were not independent of the SA government, said Khoza.

Pretoria would bear the responsibility if they opened fire on marchers.

But Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the KwaZulu police were dealing with the situation independently.

The KwaZulu government would formally request assistance from government if it felt this was necessary.

The national peace committee was powerless to intervene to stop the planned march as long as it remained legal, spokesman Mark Manley said yesterday.

Manley said if it became clear there would be violence, similar action to that

(118) (118) □ From Page 1
taken at Bisho would be initiated. This would mean senior peace committee personnel, including chairman John Hall, attending the march and trying to defuse confrontation.

UN monitors were in Natal to meet the region's dispute resolution committee, which would brief them.

He said it was likely they would meet political leaders from all sides.

A Goldstone commission spokesman said there would be no comment until it was certain the march would take place.

The KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee said yesterday it would meet all parties and Goldstone to discuss the proposed march.

KwaZulu government officials could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

■ Lecturers' strike at Turf ends

IFP not impressed by Mandela's proposals

Sowetan 17/9/92

THE INKATHA Freedom Party has rejected the hand of friendship offered by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

They say the conciliatory remarks by the ANC leader had been a "face-saving" gesture.

Mandela said in an interview published in *Sowetan* yesterday that the ANC was eager to restart negotiations, urging the Government to make good its undertakings on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that while the IFP welcomed steps to get South Africans back to the

■ Remarks are a gesture to "save face":

negotiation table, the organisation saw the ANC as the chief "wrecker" of negotiations.

Mdlalose said the ANC had bitten off more than it could chew and was now reaping the rewards of intensely negative international and domestic criticism of its revolutionary agenda.

"The organisation is now desperate to save face by negating its spoiler image through generous offers by its statesmanlike president."

Inkatha slams church 'bias' (16)

INKATHA this week denounced several church leaders for "selectively mourning" victims of massacres, especially when victims were members of the ANC. *CP/Res 20/9/92.*

The organisation claimed clerical leaders such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane had visited the scenes and bereaved family victims of ANC massacres and had ignored victims of Bhomela and other massacres involving IFP members.

■ Reports by CP Correspondents, Sapa, Reuter.

Buthelezi

109 118

CT 21/9/92

warns of war

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has labelled as a declaration of war what he terms ANC intentions to march on his capital to topple him.

Facing the media in a prerecorded interview on SATV's Agenda news programme last night, he said: "If they are coming to talk with me, if they are going to do that through illegal means, then they must expect people to resist that through illegal means."

He said he would "not raise a finger" to stop the ANC's planned march on KwaZulu, but warned that there was a lot of anger among Zulu people in particular, not just among the IFP.

Chief Buthelezi said it was nonsense to assume that because he had issued warnings of a possible civil war recently, it meant he was going to cause it.

Inkatha also warned at the weekend against the march on Ulundi, saying it could result in a violent confrontation which would "make the Bisho blood-bath look like a Sunday school picnic".

A statement by its central committee, after a meeting in Ulundi on Saturday, appealed to the alliance not to proceed with the plan.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus responded that the ANC was debating whether to proceed with the march — but emphasised it would not "back out" of the principle of mass action. It would seek to minimise the risks involved, and the march on Ulundi was being considered in the light of that approach.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa

STAN 2119/92
**ANC considers
NPC findings** (11A)
Political Reporter (27A)

The ANC will today be studying findings by the National Peace Committee (NPC) that it breached the Peace Accord.

The Government complained about the ANC's mock trials in Maritzburg on June 26 and Inkatha objected to comments on the trial by ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala.

The NPC ordered the ANC and SACP to distance themselves from the actions in Maritzburg by September 30.

The mock trial sentenced 11 Inkatha leaders to death.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A MARCH by the ANC-led alliance on Ulundi could result in a violent confrontation which would "make the Bisho blood-bath look like a Sunday school picnic", Inkatha warned yesterday.

In a statement issued by Inkatha's central committee after a meeting in Ulundi on Saturday, Inkatha appealed to the alliance not to proceed with the plan.

The statement warned that the march could "unleash the kind of violence that may serve as an opening chapter to the kind of civil war that would render negotiations a political pipedream for the foreseeable future".

It went on to say that the march was a "serious and unspeakable insult to the sovereignty of the Zulu people and to the

Inkatha warns of march bloodshed

dignity of the King". (113) (107)

Inkatha warned that it would "do everything possible to support any initiative of the Zulu people to defend the dignity of the Zulu nation, which the alliance's intended march to Ulundi threatens to trample underfoot". (113) (107) 21/9/92.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus responded that the ANC was debating whether to proceed with the march on Ulundi — but emphasised it would not "back out" of the principle of mass action.

The ANC had decided to continue with its campaign of mass action, but would

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

seek to minimise the risks involved, he said, and the march on Ulundi was being considered in the light of that approach. (113) (107) 21/9/92.

In addition to the march, a wide range of options — including the occupation of KwaZulu offices and marches elsewhere — were being evaluated.

Niehaus said the Inkatha remarks were "very belligerent and irresponsible", and added that they violated the conditions of

the peace accord. The statement only contributed to intensifying the political tension, rather than finding a basis in accordance with the peace accord to deal with the problems. (113) (107)

There could be no free political activity if threats of violence were made, and the ANC could not allow itself to be blackmailed by the threats, Niehaus said.

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

... a course on investigative journalism in Johannesburg, took time off to visit the Sowetan scandal in his country that led to a shake-up in government, and Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste (right), discuss the Sowetan investigations system with Investigations editor Mathatha Tsedu (extreme left with cap).

SADF unit must quit - IFP

■ Security forces accused of collusion with African National Congress in Natal township:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for the removal of 121 Battalion - the South African Defence Force's so-called coloured unit - from Wembezi, near Estcourt.

In a statement at the weekend, the organisation accused the security forces of collusion with the African National

Sowetan 22/9/92.
Congress in the township.

A spokesman for the IFP, Mr Ed Tillet, said that the organisation's Wembezi chairman, Mr Duke Mbongwa, had been forced to flee the township because he believed the SAP were in collusion with the ANC to assassinate him.

(118) (circled)
He added that Mbongwa was arrested 15 times "on trumped-up charges" ranging from attempted murder to illegal possession of arms and ammunition. Mbongwa had been acquitted in every case because of lack of evidence.

ET 23/9/94
11B

IFP ends ban on peace talks

MOOI RIVER. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has lifted its suspension on participating in local dispute resolution committees in the Natal Midlands and is prepared to engage in peace talks in strife-torn Bruntville, a Goldstone Commission committee heard yesterday.

IFP Midlands leader Mr David Ntombela told the commission the National Peace Committee rulings that the ANC Midlands region had violated the peace accord and intended dealing with these violations had led to this decision.

Mr Ntombela's statements came during his evidence before the commission, chaired by Professor Dirk van Zyl Smit, which is looking into political violence in and around Mooi River.

Earlier, ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala told the commission during his evidence that, as a loyal member of the ANC, he was committed to the peace process and the National Peace Accord.

In his evidence, Mr Ntombela said the IFP would "start all over again" involving itself in the Midlands peace process.

The National Peace Committee in turn had to discuss the accord's violations with Mr Gwala and stress that people should not make public statements which incited violence.

The IFP withdrew from these structures earlier this year owing to alleged ongoing attacks on its members and alleged inflammatory remarks by Mr Gwala. — Sapa



Sowetan 23/9/92

Civil war warning (11B)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party predicted unprecedented levels of violence and possibly a civil war if the ANC's proposed march to Ulundi takes place. (S) (S)

In a press statement issued in Johannesburg on Monday the IFP condemned the ANC's decision to close down hostels and its referring to traditional weapons as a propaganda issue.

The Inkatha Freedom Party called for the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and the Transkei government, claiming that they play a major role in the political violence in the black community. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

Govt-ANC impasse persists

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The tough battle to remove the obstacles blocking a crucial summit on violence will continue today, after the Government and the ANC failed to reach agreement in hours of talks yesterday.

The Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee, meeting separately, failed to nail down a provisional agreement drafted by their negotiators on political prisoners, hostel security and curbing dangerous weapons.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will meet again today to try to solve outstanding problems.

It now seems unlikely that the summit between Presi-

dent de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will take place on Saturday as planned — although this has not been ruled out. This would mean a delay for more than two weeks, until Mr Mandela's return from an overseas visit.

Sources close to the talks confirmed that the main disagreement was whether Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres convicted for their part in fatal landmine explosions at Messina should be released immediately or as part of a general amnesty.

However, minor disagreements also remained on the hostels and weapons questions.

It is understood that the Government is prepared immediately to release about

80 of the hundreds of prisoners identified by the ANC as political.

But it is in effect still insisting that it will only release McBride and the MK cadres as part of a general amnesty.

Government sources said last night that the ANC had been told during yesterday's talks that legislation had been prepared for the short session of Parliament, starting October 12, that would make it possible to release the three ANC prisoners — as well as political offenders from other parties.

It also emerged last night that the Government is setting an important condition for the summit — a commitment from the ANC to keep its mass action campaigns peaceful.

FEARS that Inkatha is co-opting members of the notorious Mozambique rebel group Renamo have been fuelled by the arrival in kwaZulu of a mysterious detachment of Portuguese-speaking soldiers from Mozambique.

The *Weekly Mail* sent a reporter to kwaZulu this week to investigate reports that a "Renamo-type group" would be deployed in kwaMashu township, an African National Congress stronghold where tension is mounting over Sunday's Shaka Day rally.

A highly placed kwaZulu Police (KZP) source confirmed that 36 trained Portuguese-speaking men were recently brought to kwaZulu from Mozambique and are now based in Ulundi under the command of the KZP. The Mozambicans were imported with the help of members of the South African Police based in northern Natal, he added.

The source said they are intended to boost KZP strength when necessary, particularly if the threatened ANC march to the kwaZulu capital, Ulundi, goes ahead.

He said the Mozambican soldiers had breakfast on Tuesday with kwaZulu Minister of Police and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KZP commissioner Major General Jac Buchner, KZP deputy commissioner Brigadier Sipho Mathe and other senior KZP officials.

Mystery Mozambicans

boost KZP manpower

W | Mail 25 | 9 - 1 | 10 | 92

A highly placed kwaZulu Police source has confirmed that a mysterious detachment of Portuguese-speaking soldiers from Mozambique is operating in the homeland.

Weekly Mail Reporter

operating in the homeland

Weekly Mail Reporter

Also on Tuesday, KZP officers were briefed in Ulundi by Buchner. He allegedly discussed strategy for handling the Shaka Day rally and told the officers that "people would be coming" to help the KZP. They would provide extra manpower for the celebrations, and would later help to police other kwaZulu townships.

The source said that during a break in the discussions, a KZP van driven by a uniformed sergeant arrived, bringing 18 men whom he said had been fetched from the SAP in Piet Retief.

118

The men all spoke Portuguese, with a Captain Manzini from Esikawini acting as interpreter. They were later taken to the Ulundi government offices to meet and breakfast with Buthelezi and the other senior police officers.

According to the source, the other 18 Portuguese-speaking soldiers arrived separately and all 36 have now been placed under KZP command in Ulundi.

ANC northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu said he had received sketchy details of the mystery arrivals earlier this week and that officials of the organisation had asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate.

Buthelezi strongly denied the reports and dismissed any suggestion of a "Renamo-type group" operating from Ulundi as "a figment of ANC imagination".

And Inkatha official Suzanne Vos yesterday also called for a Goldstone Commission investigation. She said Ndlovu should be called before

the commission to divulge his sources, adding that his statement was a highly inflammatory violation of the National Peace Accord.

The *Weekly Mail's* source said the Mozambican unit's brief is to back up the KZP forces this weekend in kwaMashu, where serious trouble associated with Sunday's Shaka Day rally is expected. On Wednesday five people were killed in unrest in the township, police reported yesterday.

The source added that Buchner had told his officers on Tuesday that all members of the KZP had to be on duty over the weekend and that no leave would be granted.

Buthelezi will address Sunday's rally in kwaMashu's Princess Magogo Stadium. Both Inkatha and the ANC have claimed they have information about attacks planned by the other side to ensure chaos in the township over the weekend.

Leaders of the two sides have urged a strong presence of international and local monitors on Sunday to minimise violence.

Pro-ANC organisations in the area have urged that the rally be called off, or be held in central Durban. Local civics are organising "mass evacuations" of several sections, particularly those along the route of the traditional march to the rally.

IFP quits peace group

DURBAN. — The IFP in Natal has withdrawn from the Lower South Coast Local Dispute Resolution Committee.

The regional IFP leadership, the Izingolweni Tribal Authority and the Umzambe tribal structures yesterday gave problems with the LDRC structure and lack of respect for tribal structures as reasons for the withdrawal.

The leadership also said it was a protest against continued attacks on IFP members in the area, especially the murder of Mr. Samson Majola — one of the LDRC IFP representatives — and the recent massacre of 12 Inkatha Youth Brigade members. — Sapa.

CT 26/9/82

Buthelezi

118

warns civil servants

CT 26/9/92

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he was not opposed to KwaZulu civil servants joining the ANC, but objected strongly to those who undermined the homeland government and who supported the planned march on Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking to civil servants called to an urgent meeting in Ulundi after the gutting of three government employees' homes there this week.

The three were named as ANC supporters in an anonymous pamphlet recently.

The attacks also came after Chief Buthelezi told a meeting of civil servants last week they had to pledge their loyalty to the KwaZulu government or "get out".

Yesterday he said those who wished to join the ANC had the right to do so.

But it was deceitful and treacherous for civil servants to work for KwaZulu, "and at the same time work to undermine what KwaZulu is doing".

He pledged the KwaZulu Police would leave no stone unturned to bring the arson culprits to book.

● Three people have been killed in political violence in KwaZulu over the past two days, police confirmed.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Col Moses Khanyile said a man was shot dead and three injured at KwaMakhutha early yesterday. On Thursday a man was shot dead at the KwaMakhutha High School.

At KwaMashu men's hostel a man was killed in an attack on Wednesday.

● On the eve of tomorrow's Shaka Day Rally in KwaMashu, the ANC and

CP to help resist ANC 'rabble'?

DURBAN. — The Conservative Party in Natal yesterday called on its supporters with civil defence training to be prepared to render assistance to Inkatha during the planned ANC march on Ulundi.

The whites of Natal had for years lived in perfect harmony with the Zulu people and would not stand by idly "while a trusted neighbour is undermined by a prancing, dancing, arrogant rabble", said CP Natal chairman Mr Carl Werth.

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has resigned his party's Transvaal chairmanship, apparently without providing any reason for the move.

His successor as Transvaal chairman is the deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

● At the party's provincial congress in Pretoria, CP supporters were urged in a proposal not to pay their television licences until the SABC "acted fairly and justly".

CP MP Dr Pieter Mulder said the legality of the motion would first have to be tested before a final decision was taken. — Sapa

the IFP have called for a strong police presence in the township to stave off any possible violence.

They also asked for UN peace observers and the National Peace Secretariat to be present at the rally which is due to be held in an ANC stronghold.

● Chief Buthelezi's response to the proposed march on Ulundi was staggering in its arrogance, Simon's Town's ANC MP Mr Jannie Momborg said yesterday.

KwaZulu's Chief Minister should also not be surprised that people were targeting his government for a march, he said at the opening of National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union offices on the University of Orange Free State campus in Bloemfontein.

Mr Momborg said Chief Buthelezi did not speak for all Zulu people. — Political Staff, Own Correspondent, Sapa

Summit deal upsets Buthelezi

Inkatha 'out of talks with government'

11B

~~28/9/92~~

BIDAY

28/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, angered by bilateral agreements between government and the ANC, yesterday announced the withdrawal of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government from talks with government.

Buthelezi, in a statement from Ulundi, rejected agreements reached between government and the ANC at the summit on Saturday and said KwaZulu would not be bound by these decisions and legislation stemming from them.

De Klerk is due to meet Buthelezi this week and it was not clear yesterday whether the meeting would go ahead.

De Klerk faces a major task in persuading Buthelezi to accept the summit agreement, which he was careful to describe on Saturday as one between "two of the major role players".

It is understood Buthelezi felt "left out" and was particularly concerned about government's agreement to ban the carrying of weapons in public.

A senior government source said yesterday De Klerk would have to convince Buthelezi that government did not come to any deals with the ANC which compromised the Chief Minister's position.

It was also announced in a joint statement yesterday that government and the PAC would meet soon at senior leadership level in a neighbouring country to discuss drawing up a new constitution.

Meanwhile, the ANC is to become involved in drafting legislation for the introduction of an interim government of national unity.

The ANC national executive meets this

week and is expected to approve the agreements reached at the De Klerk-Mandela summit.

Government and the ANC are expected to meet within two weeks to thrash out broad enabling legislation for the first stage of an interim government.

Senior ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday that when the national executive committee had given the go-ahead, an intensive bilateral session with government would take place before the short session of Parliament in October.

Slovo said it was "an accepted fact" that legislation would be put before Parliament to set up transitional executive commit-

● Reports: Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

tees next month, and neither side wanted any problems to arise out of this.

"We will therefore have major bilateral negotiations lasting several days to thrash out some of our key differences on constitutional issues."

Slovo said key issues such as regionalism would take time — possibly months — to negotiate, but there had been general agreement at Codesa on the transitional committees and some other points to be included in first-phase legislation.

It is understood that an all-inclusive multiparty negotiation forum such as Codesa is unlikely to be held again. Instead, there will be a series of bilateral negotiations between government and various

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

BIDAY

28/9/92

11B

~~28/9/92~~

From Page 1

parties, such as Saturday's summit, where agreements are made. Then an all-party conference will be held to finalise the agreements.

De Klerk hinted at this on Saturday when he said government was involved in meeting leaders and their parties to discuss and resolve differences between them. This would continue because the different parties had different concerns, he said.

There were also indications that the ANC would try to assist De Klerk in his problems with Buthelezi by scaling down its mass action campaign.

Slovo said yesterday that mass action had to be seen in conjunction with the negotiation process.

"Mass action has achieved a great deal. It was intended to put negotiations back on track, and now that negotiations are mov-

ing ahead we can possibly hold back."

He said there was not much left on the agenda of mass action, but some formula would have to be found to retain the right to demonstrate peacefully without threatening or provoking violence or intimidation.

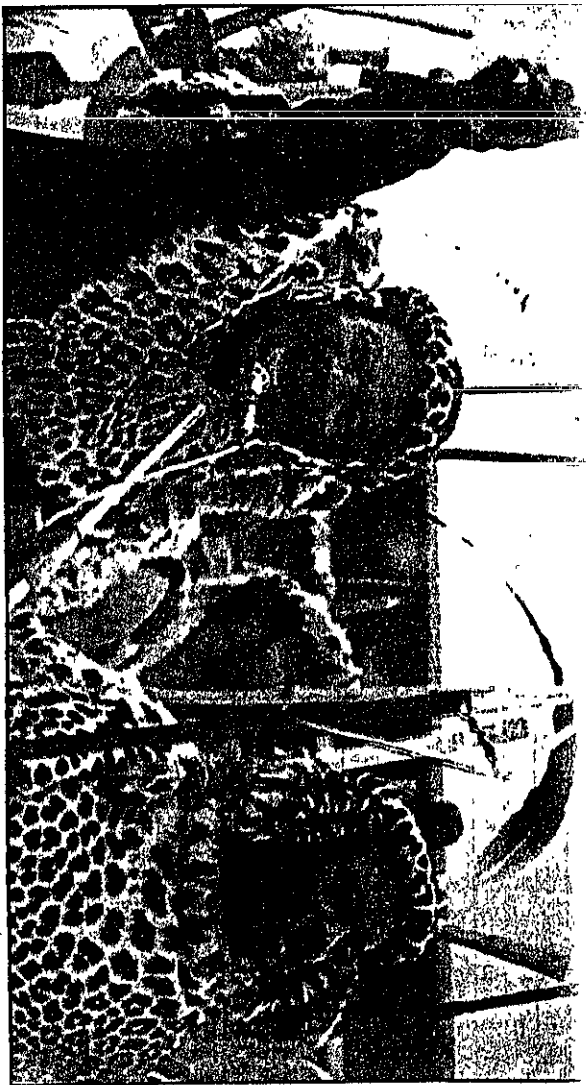
The major decision at the summit was that a constituent assembly would be sovereign in being bound only by constitutional principles agreed to by all the major role players.

This body would be democratically elected and would function democratically, which meant that "unreasonable" majorities in decision-making would be foregone.

There would be definite time frames for the assembly to be elected and it would also have a prescribed time frame in which to reach agreement.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left) and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini sing traditional songs in KwaMashu, Durban, yesterday at a rally commemorating the founder of the Zulu nation, Shaka.

■ KILLER TO HANG
Gabriel Mahakoe faces the hangman for murder of farmer and family **PAGE 4**



IFP blow to peace

■ HOPES SINK Buthelezi's new demands put damper on agreement between the ANC and FW:

Sturpan 28/9/92.
HOPES for peace and an early resumption of negotiations, raised after the Kempton Park peace summit, sank yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party announced its withdrawal from all talks.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a Shaka Day rally in KwaMashu, Durban, called to commemorate the founder of the Zulu nation, that the IFP also rejected the agreements reached between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk at Saturday's summit.

Join the swing to Bell's - your No.1 choice

See story page **2**

Buthelezi rejects overtures

GOVERNMENT has been involved in "vigorous and strenuous efforts" to placate Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and convince him not to persist in boycotting constitutional talks.

However, Buthelezi dug his heels in even further at a news conference in Durban yesterday, confirming he had cancelled his scheduled meeting with President F W de Klerk today. *B/DAM 29/9/92*

In another development, a government delegation led by De Klerk held lengthy bilateral talks with Bophuthatswana's president Lucas Mangope and his delegation yesterday.

It is understood there was some tough bargaining over a variety of issues, such as Bophuthatswana's controversial new labour legislation, mass action, and the transfer of land. There were also discussions about De Klerk's meeting on Saturday with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

A source said government regarded the fallout with Buthelezi as very sensitive and

(11B)

BILLY PADDOCK

delicate. It was giving urgent attention to improving communication channels with Buthelezi to convey an accurate picture of the weekend agreement and how it genuinely did improve the negotiation process.

Buthelezi said he had "no quarrel" with bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC or any other party, but he objected to bilateral decision-making and the bilateral implementation of decisions.

He said Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would never accept the idea that government and the ANC could make binding decisions and agreements about matters affecting third parties of the country as a whole.

While he was not prepared to talk to government, he was prepared to meet the ANC. He intended also consulting the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments to

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

B/DAM 29/9/92 (11B) □ From Page 1
propose a multiparty conference to review what went wrong at Codesa.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe called on Inkatha and the KwaZulu government to approach the latest developments in a positive spirit as their contributions were essential to a speedy movement towards peace.

Buthelezi's reaction was based on misperceptions, because the fencing of the hostels was a Goldstone committee recommendation, which Inkatha had accepted. The banning of weapons was also a Goldstone recommendation as well as that of

UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, which was also accepted by Buthelezi.

"The understanding reached with the ANC with regard to constitutional matters does not go beyond consensus reached at Codesa and to which Inkatha was a party," Van der Merwe said.

Inkatha senior negotiator Walter Felgate said the ANC and government's agreement should be put to the conference of review so that it could be assessed and be subject to scrutiny and multiparty agreement.

● Comment Page 6

Buthelezi shuns De Klerk

IN KATHIA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would not meet President FW de Klerk today as previously planned. (11/6) (1992)

During a news conference following Sunday's announcement that the IFP and the KwaZulu Government had withdrawn from current negotiations with the Government, Buthelezi reiterated he found the 'Record of Understanding' reached between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and de Klerk unacceptable. He said he had 'no quarrel' with bilateral negotiations between the Government and ANC but the issue to which he objected was bilateral decision-making and bilateral implementation of decisions. Sunday 29/11/92

IFP dashes new hopes raised at peace summit

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

118 (118) (118) (118)
■ NOT BINDING Buthelezi says ANC black-

mailed Government and will reject agreement:

HOPES for peace and an early resumption of negotiations, raised after the Kempton Park peace summit, sank yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party announced its withdrawal from talks.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected the agreements reached between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk at Saturday's summit.

Buthelezi said the ANC had held the Government "up to ransom" at the summit.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government will not be bound by any decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

"I declare that any laws which the South African Government may be able to pilot through Parliament giving legal effect to bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC will be rejected as spurious and illegitimate by the IFP and the KwaZulu government," Buthelezi said.

The Government agreed to prepare and pilot legislation through Parliament in October which will make it possible for the release of more political prisoners.

The summit itself was made possible by an agreement - placed as a pre-requisite by the ANC

- by the Government to release all remaining political prisoners.

The release of at least 150 started on Friday night while Robert McBride (30), Mzondelele Nondula (29), and Mthethelèle Mncube (32) are expected to be released today.

As many as 250 others will be released by November 15 in terms of the legislation which will go before Parliament next month.

Other agreements reached at Saturday's summit includes a ban on the possession and public display of weapons and the fencing of hostels - both will be done in terms of guidelines established by the Goldstone Commission.

While these were the ANC's central demands, other agreements reached included consensus that a democratically elected constituent assembly would draft a constitution within a pre-determined period in terms of principles agreed beforehand and with effective deadlock breaking mechanisms firmly in place.

The Government and the ANC also agreed that there would be an interim government of national unity that would govern in terms of an interim constitution.

A "bosberaad", called a lekgotla by Mandela, will be held between the Government and the ANC where four "outstanding issues" will be discussed. These are:

- A climate for free political activity.
- Repressive security legislation.
- Covert operations and special forces.
- Violence.

The ANC said in return that it would reconsider mass action and consult with its regions.

In announcing the agreements, De Klerk and Mandela said a firm basis was laid for the resumption of negotiations that were initially collapsed at Codesa 2 in May and later suspended by the ANC after the incidents at Botopong.

In conclusion, Mandela said: "It is the duty of all South Africans to ensure our efforts today and the sacrifices of so many are not in vain.

"Let us move forward with courage, honesty and determination to build upon and consolidate today's summit to create a peaceful, just and democratic South Africa."

Meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that the Government will release mass murderer Barend Strydom, possibly today.

Govt-ANC accord marred by IFP reaction

Buthelezi quits talks

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

STAR 28/9/72
The optimistic mood for a speedy resumption of negotiations generated by Saturday's Government-ANC summit was badly marred yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi vehemently denounced the summit agreements and withdrew from dialogue with the Government.

At the summit President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed a "Record of Understanding" for the release of all remaining ANC political prisoners by November 15, for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons — except with a judge's permission — and for the fencing and guarding of 28 hostels, also by November 14.

Mass action

A first batch of 150 ANC prisoners was freed over the weekend.

As a result of the agreements, Mr Mandela said the ANC delegation would recommend to the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) that the ANC return to constitutional negotiations — from which it withdrew in June.

It is expected that the NEC will give the nod after which a round of "intensive" bilaterals — and an in-depth "bosberaad" to iron out differences on transitional arrangements with the Government would follow.

The ANC also agreed to

Buthelezi quits talks, accord marred

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tear down fences with their bare hands if necessary.

Mr de Klerk said last night that because of the trust he had built up with Mr Buthelezi, he would not respond publicly to the IFP leader's criticism but would write to him.

He said Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers would respond in detail to Mr Buthelezi later last night.

It now seems unlikely that the IFP will attend a Government-organised "indaba" on federalism today and tomorrow for nine Codesa parties sympathetic to the idea of strong regional powers.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer expressed regret at Mr Buthelezi's withdrawal from discussions with the Government, but added that nothing

should be allowed to disrupt the communication between the ANC and the Government.

But the Ciskei government and some right-wing organisations sided with Mr Buthelezi, suggesting that a conservative bloc was forming on the issue.

Foreign soil

Meanwhile, the Government pressed ahead with its plans to include as many parties as possible in negotiations, announcing that it would soon meet the PAC in "a neutral venue" — probably Gaborone in Botswana or Harare in Zimbabwe — to discuss a constituent assembly.

Government sources said they had agreed to the PAC's demand for a meeting on foreign soil to help the PAC out of

the corner it had painted itself into.

The issue of a general amnesty for all political offenders — including State officials — could not be resolved at Saturday's Government-ANC summit. This thorny issue is likely to feature at bilateral meetings.

However, Mr de Klerk announced afterwards that the Government intended going ahead with legislation next month which would allow him to indemnify political offenders of all parties — including those not yet charged and sentenced.

Mr de Klerk promised at a media conference on Saturday night that the Government would only grant such an amnesty on the basis that offenders would have to apply for indemnity — as ANC members had.

review its strategy of mass action.

The agreement has been widely hailed, locally and internationally as a breakthrough for negotiations. Business organisations have especially welcomed the ANC's decision to rethink

mass action which they regard as bad for commerce.

But Mr Buthelezi's dramatic move yesterday has soured hopes and destroyed any illusions that the Government might have persuaded him to accept a ban on the carrying of Zulu cul-

tural weapons and tight security measures for hostels.

Speaking at Shaka Day in KwaMashu, Durban, he warned that he would never ask for permission to carry Zulu cultural weapons and that hostel dwellers would

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FW mounts rescue bid as talks face fresh threat

TOS WENTZEL and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will try to salvage hopes for renewed negotiations this week following Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's vehement denunciation of the weekend summit agreements and his withdrawal from dialogue with the government.

A meeting between Mr De Klerk and the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, scheduled for tomorrow, has been called off, as has a further meeting of parties interested in federalism.

Mr De Klerk expressed regret about the Zulu leader's outburst, which came after the State President's summit on Saturday with African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said he would write to Chief Buthelezi at length to explain the background to some of the weekend decisions and to assure him he was not being sidelined.

One of the problems is that there is no communication between the ANC and the IFP, and Mr De Klerk urged the two sides to get together.

At the summit, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela signed a "record of understanding" for the release of all ANC political prisoners by November 15, for a ban on carrying dangerous weapons — except with a judge's permission — and for the fencing and guarding of 28 hostels, by November 14.

Speaking yesterday at Shaka Day in KwaMashu, Durban, Chief Buthelezi said he would never ask for permission to carry Zulu cultural weapons and that hostel dwellers would tear down fences with their bare hands if necessary.

Reacting to Chief Buthelezi's remarks, acting Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Dawie De Villiers said the summit was never meant as an attempt to exclude any other party.

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Govt busy on consumer shield

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Government was investigating how consumers could be given greater protection and assistance through legislation, Deputy Finance and Trade and Industry Minister David Graaf said at the weekend.

Speaking at the National Consumer Union's AGM, he said to emphasise government's seriousness on the issue of consumer protection, an ad hoc technical committee on consumer legislation under the chairmanship of Prof Louise Tager had been set up.

The consumer as an individual was in a weak bargaining position against commerce and industry.

However, legislation gave some protection and the Harmful Business Practices Act was a most important form of basic consumer protection.

The Credit Agreements Act ensured consumer protection against exploitation, and trade inspectors were investigating daily contraventions of the Act.

The SA Co-ordinating Consumer Council was being restructured to make it more representative of the population.

Inkatha, KwaZulu pulled out of talks after summit

BIDAM 28/9/92
BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday withdrew his party and the KwaZulu government from the negotiation process following the ground-breaking summit on violence between government and the ANC on Saturday.

He rejected the agreement and cancelled a meeting set for later this week with President F W de Klerk, saying he wanted first to consult colleagues and democratic leaders.

"We will either have bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC which will lead to the victory of revolutionaries over institutionalised South African influences and democratic forces, or we will have multilateral negotiations leading to a fair, race-free democracy in which the ANC is one party."

Buthelezi said he would go to his constituency to seek rejection of the summit agreement that put the negotiation process back on track.

"My view now is that negotiation for the future constitution for SA cannot go ahead," he said.

What was required was that:

- Agreement be reached in a multi-party negotiation forum;
- That Umkhonto we Sizwe be dis-

banded immediately;

Agreement be reached on the structure and process of negotiations, which would safeguard against any single party ever again disrupting the negotiation process.

He said Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would not be bound by decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC. Any laws which government might pilot through Parliament, making legal bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC, would be rejected as "spurious and illegitimate" by his organisation.

He rejected "with contempt the notion that two out of the 18 participants in Codesa have the right to decide, unilaterally, when and under what conditions negotiations can be resumed". Inkatha and the KwaZulu government rejected the notion of a constituent assembly becoming SA's constitution-making body.

A constituent assembly elected in the present climate of intimidation could not be expected to be truly representative of South African opinion, Buthelezi said.

Farmers' input

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Agriculture and its associated industries contributed 25% of total GDP, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said at the opening of the Nootgedacht Agricultural Development Centre at the weekend.

Agriculture was the greatest provider of jobs and the cornerstone on which rural economies and community development rested. The drought and its effect on agricultural production had significantly contributed to negative economic growth.



Standard Bank Investment Corporation Limited

(Registration number 69/17128/06)
("SBIC")

Result of share offer in lieu of the cash dividend

The offer to receive new ordinary shares in lieu of the cash dividend made to shareholders registered on Friday, 21 August 1992, closed

Talks

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sible for me to consult with colleagues and democratic leaders in South Africa," said Chief Buthelezi. CT 28/1/92

Mr De Klerk said last night that it was "a pity" that Chief Buthelezi had reacted in the way he had, particularly as he had been kept informed about all the matters included in the Record of Understanding.

Dr De Villiers also said Chief Buthelezi had been personally informed of the progress made in preparation for Saturday's meeting as well as the subjects on the agenda.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi warned that the IFP and his government would not be bound by decisions made in bilateral negotiations and would reject as "spurious and illegitimate" any legislation piloted through Parliament to give effect to these agreements.

In what appeared to be a veiled threat, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP and KwaZulu government "are not marginalised and it is my sincere hope that we will not have to prove the reality of that statement". The IFP was a "national force" and it and the KwaZulu government "can only be ignored at the peril of the negotiation process".

Chief Buthelezi added that he was "appalled" at the implication in the Record of Understanding "that South Africa's future could be decided by the South African government and the ANC".

The IFP and KwaZulu government had "fundamental objections" to many aspects of the agreement, he said.

At the same rally, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini appealed to South African political leaders to bury the hatchet but accused the ANC alliance of attempting to "wipe the Zulus off the face of the earth".

The military government in Ciskei last night backed the IFP stand and said the agreements between the ANC and the government flew in the face of democracy.

Dr De Villiers said Chief Buthelezi's interpretation of Saturday's agreement was "not correct" and the government's decisions on dangerous weapons and hostels did not have their origin in the agreement with the ANC.

The agreement registered only, in regard to constitutional issues, matters on which broad consensus was reached at Codesa with the approval of the IFP.

Both Mr De Klerk and Dr De Villiers said Chief Buthelezi's reaction reflected one of the key problems in the negotiating process, which they said was that the ANC and IFP would not talk to each other.

● The government and the PAC confirmed last night that they had agreed to a meeting soon in "a neighbouring country" — reported to be Botswana — "with the aim of urgently discussing issues related to the drawing up of a new democratic constitution".



But despite Chief Buthelezi's sharply-worded attack on the agreement and the ANC, President F W de Klerk said last night that he hoped Codesa II, involving all parties, would take place "soon". It was difficult to put a time frame on this but he hoped they would take place before the end of the year or at least early next year, Mr De Klerk said.

Both Mr De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela expressed support in separate interviews on agenda that military negotiations should be resumed as soon as possible.

The government denied in a statement, issued last night by the Acting Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Dawie de Villiers, that its discussions with the ANC were an attempt to exclude any other party and said they were aimed at getting multi-party talks under way again.

Chief Buthelezi's tough statement came within 24 hours after Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had ended their summit meeting in Johannesburg with a highly optimistic "Record of Understanding" — and breathed fresh life into the negotiations.

Mr De Klerk, who said he had developed "a relationship of trust" with Chief Buthelezi, accepted that the meeting between them, scheduled for tomorrow, would now not take place, but said he would be writing him a lengthy letter dealing in detail with his concerns.

Mr Mandela, who confirmed that the ANC would re-assess its mass action campaign in light of the agreements reached on Saturday, also committed his organisation to talking to all homeland leaders and all political players.

He would not be drawn on Chief Buthelezi's statement but said he hoped that "Mr De Klerk will sort things out with Chief Buthelezi".

The government denied in a statement, issued last night by the Acting Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Dawie de Villiers, that its discussions with the ANC were an attempt to exclude any other party and said they were aimed at getting multi-party talks under way again.

Chief Buthelezi's tough statement came within 24 hours after Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had ended their summit meeting in Johannesburg with a highly optimistic "Record of Understanding" — and breathed fresh life into the negotiations.

Their eight-hour meeting confirmed agreements on freeing political prisoners, the banning of dangerous weapons and securing of hostels — and gave rise to a commitment from the ANC to re-consider mass action.

This immediately gave rise to hopes that the ANC's planned march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi would be called off.

But a clearly angry Chief Buthelezi told a Shaka Day rally in KwaMashu, near Durban yesterday that he rejected the Record of Understanding signed by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

Buthelezi pulls out over ANC

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Talks setback

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Fears of anti-ANC front in making

Govt in bid to

STAR 29/9/92.

woo Buthelezi

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is trying hard to woo back into dialogue its estranged ally, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amid fears of a separatist front forming among anti-ANC homeland leaders and the Conservative Party.

Mr Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government at the weekend in protest against President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's summit agreement on a constituent assembly, banning dangerous weapons, guarding hostels and releasing political prisoners.

The IFP leader was due to meet Mr de Klerk today but cancelled the meeting and will instead meet Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope.

President Mangope met Mr de Klerk and members of his Cabinet yesterday and gave the impression that he was more inclined than before to keep his homeland independent, according to senior Government sources.

They believed he had been encouraged to take this position by his recent talks with the CP, by support from Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and now by Mr Buthelezi.

The formation of a separatist bloc had the potential "to move things in the wrong direction and make it harder to get negotiations going again", one source said.

Mr Buthelezi announced at a press conference yesterday he would begin today to meet with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, President Mangope and TK Mopedi of Qwa-

Qwa to discuss their way forward. Mr Buthelezi said it was important that he should not be seen as a spoiler who just wanted to hurt the negotiation process.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday welcomed the objections by Chief Buthelezi and Brigadier Gqozo against the agreements reached on Saturday and said:

"The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC-SACP tyranny or betrayal by the

● To Page 3

Govt in bid to woo Buthelezi, fears of anti-ANC front

From Page 1
Mr de Klerk would write to Mr Buthelezi over the next few days to "calm" him and coax him back to talks, Government sources said.

The sources said the Government would prefer not to alienate him, but that it would in the end have to enforce the ban on weapons and the hostels security, whether Mr Buthelezi liked it or not.

Some members of the ANC's national executive committee are to lobby for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi to win his support for the summit agreements.

However the prevailing view, ANC sources say, is Mr Buthelezi's strategy to magnify the importance of the IFP through violence and that such a meeting would only encourage that. The ANC's National Executive Committee meets tomorrow to ratify the summit agreements - especially the decision for the ANC to return to constitutional negotiations.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday the KwaZulu government was under the jurisdiction of the SA Government and Mr de Klerk should "cause" Mr Buthelezi "to fall in line with his thinking".



Chief Buthelezi

Urgent bid to placate ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Buthelezi

Political Staff **APC 29/1/92**

THE government is trying to woo estranged Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi back into dialogue amid fears of a separatist front forming among anti-ANC homeland leaders and the Conservative Party.

It is understood that President De Klerk has invited Chief Buthelezi to an urgent meeting.

The IFP leader angrily broke off talks with the government at the weekend in protest against President De Klerk's summit agreement with ANC leader Nelson Mandela on a constituent assembly, banning dangerous weapons, guarding hostels and releasing political prisoners.

Chief Buthelezi was to meet Mr De Klerk today, but cancelled the meeting and will instead meet Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Sources said they believed that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mangope could harden each other's resolve to remain aloof from negotiations.

The formation of a separatist bloc had the potential "to move things in the wrong direction and make it harder to get negotiations going again," one source said.

Meanwhile, the ANC has urged Chief Buthelezi to become part of the process of bringing peace and democracy to South Africa instead of making provocative and threatening statements.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "The summit was about the carrying of dangerous weapons, violence and hostels. Stopping the violence would make for greater political freedom. Therefore we find Chief Buthelezi's attitude strange."

US urges IFP to join talks

The Argus Foreign Service

(118)

nr 29/7/92

WASHINGTON. — The Bush administration, long a supporter of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has urged it to return to the talks.

"We urge the IFP, and all other parties, to participate in

negotiations which are the only hope for a peaceful resolution to the violence in South Africa," a State Department spokesman said today.

The weekend talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk, were welcomed by the spokesman.

Buthlezi, FW in tussle

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ET 29/9/92

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is facing a tussle with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to retain the support of the government's Codesa allies following the deals struck at the weekend summit meeting.

Chief Buthelezi reacted to the summit by pulling the IFP and KwaZulu government out of all talks with the South African government.

He said he planned meetings with "those people at Codesa who sided with us".

These included Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Mr T K Mopedi of QwaQwa. These leaders had been grouped together in the government camp during the negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi's objective was a multi-party conference to assess the shortcomings of Codesa and to broaden the base of negotiations, which would take place "quite soon".

He claimed Mr De Klerk had signed the summit agreements with the ANC knowing that Chief Buthelezi would



REACTING ...
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

oppose them vehemently.

He believed in doing that Mr De Klerk may have made a fundamental mistake and could become isolated in the same way as former president Mr P W Botha when he introduced the tricameral Parliament in 1983.

He said he found the "Record of Understanding" reached between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk unacceptable.

Chief Buthelezi said he had "no quarrel" with bilateral negotiations between the government

and the ANC or any other party, but he objected to bilateral decision-making and bilateral implementation of decisions.

"There can be no prospect of negotiations while KwaZulu is excluded," he said.

● Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday called on political role players to reject the "Record of Understanding" between the government and the ANC.

"Caving in to overseas and ANC/SACP pressures, which resulted in such disastrous concessions and the release of murderers and bombers, is much too high a price for continued negotiations with the ANC," he said.

November date set for hostel fencing

MID-November had been set as the deadline for the fencing off of hostels identified by ANC and government negotiators at the weekend as places of violence, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

A well placed source said 15 hostels, including the KwakMadala Hostel — linked to the Bopalong massacre — and the Matata Hostel in Alexandra had been identified by negotiators as key trouble spots.

National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday government had targeted 27 hostels for fencing and regular searches. Niehaus said no exact starting date had been set at the summit for the fencing, but it would be "within weeks". An annexure to the Record of Understanding would be released this week, he said.

Discussions would be held with business about improving security at privately owned hostels if these were identified as places where violence was planned, Niehaus said.

The fencing off of hostels would take place in consultation with hostel residents, but the accord did not stipulate that Inkatha — opposed to fencing — needed to be consulted beforehand, he said. New hostels could be added to the list if they emerged as violence flashpoints, Niehaus added.

The Goldstone commission paved the way for the speeded-up tackling of an hostel problem on Friday when it announced certain hostels needed to be iso-

lated and dealt with to reduce violence. The commission statement represented a reversal of its earlier position that all hostels needed upgrading.

In a separate development, the Transvaal Provincial Administration said yesterday negotiations were under way between itself and "key role players" on the upgrading of 89 Transvaal hostels at a cost of R194,6m, with agreements concluded already in 21 cases.

TPA Physical Planning and Development head John Mavuso said final decisions were made on hostel upgrading only after consensus had been achieved with community organisations.

"Up to now, consensus has been reached at 21 hostels, while the parties concerned are negotiating at 49 other hostels. In another 19 cases, talks are being held to identify and bring together the parties concerned," he said.

"The Cabinet decision to upgrade and/or convert hostels into family units, and thus to improve the living conditions of the residents, was not made lightly," he said. At least 400 000 erven were needed to deal with homelessness in the PWV alone, he added.

Government had voted R324,6m to the upgrading of hostels for this financial year, according to recent evidence given to the Goldstone commission by Wessels.

B/DH 29/9/92

RAY HARTLEY

Inkatha blames deaths on MK

Down Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha claims that members of the ANC's armed wing were involved in a "military-style" weekend massacre of nine of its members in the Khengesthe area of Richmond.

The ANC has admitted one of its members was killed in the conflict, but has denied the ANC sanctioned an attack on the area, or that Umkhonto we Sizwe members were involved. Inkatha also criticised the SAP for failing to protect local residents, reports Sapa.

Durban SAP spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi rejected claims of ineffective policing, saying patrols had been stepped up in the Richmond area recently.

Houses were looted and burned, telephone lines were cut and two cars were burned in the attack. ANC Midlands spokesman Reggie Hadebe said party supporters were trying to return to the area when they were attacked.

During the weekend another 11 people died in violence. Three men were hacked to death at Botoyi, near Fort Shepstone in Natal. Four were shot dead at Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale, Natal. Two more bodies were found at Umhazi, near Durban.

A soldier was shot dead in one of 39 incidents of arson, looting and assault in Ciskei.

Technikons lagging behind universities

PRETORIA — Despite government efforts to upgrade technikons, about three times more students still studied at universities, National Education Minister Piet Marais said yesterday.

Although the growth in student numbers was much greater at technikons than at universities, it would take a long time to achieve even distribution of students between the two types of institutions, Marais said.

Honest attempts were being made to bridge the differences between the First and Third World components in the SA education system in the midst of serious economic limitations, he said.

This was clearly illustrated in a recent government report, Education Realities in SA, 1992, he said.

The nearly 6,5% of GDP spent by government on education in 1991/92 was "very high", he said.

Releasing the report — following the publication earlier this month of a similar report by the Development Bank, called Education in South Africa, a Regional Overview, 1991 — Marais said SA had nearly 27 000 educational institutions, including 21 universities and 15 technikons.

The Development Bank study revealed that there were 18 different education departments in SA.

The number of pupils and students receiving formal education was nearly 10,8-million, of which 64% or 6,9-

GERALD REILLY

million were in primary schools, Marais said.

However there were many other countries where more was spent. In 1990, 1 392 out of every 100 000 people in SA were studying at tertiary institutions, Marais said.

This was exceptionally high ratio compared with African countries, but low compared with developed countries such as France, New Zealand and the US.

The average annual growth in pupil student enrolment between 1986 and 1991 was nearly 4%.

Significant

The report showed that of the 402 700 staff working in education departments — excluding universities and technikons — 81% were college- and school-related educators.

Between 1986 and 1990 the percentage of educators with the minimum three years' training rose from 47% to 57%.

Marais said it was significant to compare certain indicators in the education system with those of other countries.

The primary education pupil-teacher ratio of 33:1 in SA in 1991 was lower than the 36:1 in other African countries.

US tries to woo Inkatha back to fold

■ Alliance between CP and homeland leaders feared as Treurnicht welcomes their opposition to summit:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE United States has joined the Government's efforts to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party back into negotiations amid fears that the organisation was pulling together an anti-ANC bloc that could throw negotiations off balance. IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dug himself in by first announcing his total withdrawal from all contact with the Government, and by refusing yesterday to meet

State President FW de Klerk.

Buthelezi yesterday, however, met two prominent ANC opponents, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, Inkatha Freedom Party sources confirmed.

Government sources and political commentators yesterday said there were fears of a separatist front emerging, with some black homeland leaders finding common cause with the Conservative Party.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday sparked fears of an alliance between

itself and homeland leaders when he welcomed Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo's opposition to the agreements reached at Saturday's summit.

Treurnicht said: "The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC/SACP tyranny or betrayal by the Government."

A US State department official said yesterday: "We regret the IFP's decision to withdraw from negotiations. We urge the IFP and all other parties to participate fully in negotiations. They are the only hope for a peaceful resolution to the problems of violence in the country."

The ANC reacted with scepticism about the emerging anti-ANC front of homeland leaders and the CP.

Soefan 30/9/92

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ANC debates meeting with Inkatha leader

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are poised to take urgent steps to placate Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders who yesterday rejected the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will meet today to decide whether it is willing to approve a top-level ANC-Inkatha summit.

Government is separately involved in an all-out effort to woo Buthelezi back to the negotiating table.

Buthelezi was in Mmabatho yesterday to meet Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to rally support for his opposition to the agreement reached between government and the ANC at the weekend. The three leaders rejected the agreement and decided to call a meeting soon with other leaders and organisations sharing their concerns.

In a vociferous statement yesterday, Buthelezi slammed the Record of Understanding, comparing it to a campaign of "ethnic cleansing".

The agreement was an attempt to hijack the negotiations process and would result in "Zulu concentration camps", he said.

The Record of Understanding was "intended to support the violence" and the "continuous string of assassinations" of Inkatha members, he said.

A senior ANC source yesterday predicted a tough NEC debate over whether the ANC should "swallow its pride" and agree to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting in an attempt to patch up relations with the Kwa-Zulu leader who withdrew from negotiations at the weekend.

BIDAM 30/9/92
BILLY PADDOCK
and ALAN FINE

Some NEC members believed that, following the weekend concessions from government on prisoner releases and violence, the ANC was in a sufficiently comfortable political position to relent on a meeting with Buthelezi.

This would alienate elements of the ANC's rank and file but, the argument holds, the organisation had delivered enough to its membership to mitigate these effects.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela himself was believed to be cool towards the idea of a face-to-face meeting with Buthelezi because of recent verbal attacks by Buthelezi. Natal representatives who have been involved in a bitter war of words with Inkatha were also expected to oppose the idea.

Meanwhile, it is expected President F W de Klerk will suggest a high-profile leadership meeting with Inkatha in the next few weeks. It is understood that government also plans to emphasise Buthelezi's importance in the negotiating process.

De Klerk is to communicate by letter with Buthelezi within the next couple of days and is expected to explain that there are few, if any, differences of principle between Inkatha and government. He would also urge him to agree to a high-profile meeting with Mandela.

Government's negotiations commission, which meets today under De Klerk's leadership, is expected to formulate the approach to Buthelezi.

Government now believes it probably

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

underestimated Buthelezi's sensitivity to the way in which the summit with Mandela was handled, and it is desperately trying to correct the oversight.

However, it is also understood that De Klerk would not accept an Inkatha veto over legislative transitional processes and a new constitution. Should Buthelezi refuse to accept broad agreements necessary for the process to move forward, then De Klerk would go forward without him.

Government sources insist the agreement with the ANC did not even go as far as the recommendations of the Goldstone commission and UN special envoy Cyrus Vance which Buthelezi had accepted. Therefore Buthelezi's objection was not one of principle so much as protocol.

At the same time, government negotiators had travelled to QwaQwa, Lebowa

and Venda to inform and consult leaders on the summit discussions.

DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday said he could understand Buthelezi's feelings at being excluded. The DP was also excluded.

"But I believe Inkatha and the DP and all others, must recognise that co-operation between the NP and the ANC is absolutely pivotal if we are in the end to achieve agreement of which, of course, we must all be part," he told a meeting in Grahamstown.

In a joint communiqué, Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo said the public was profoundly concerned at the bilateral agreement dealing with issues which had an impact on all other parties. The meeting decided to call for the rejection of the Record of Understanding.

From Page 1



Patrick Laurence analyses the rationale of Buthelezi's withdrawal gambit

IFP out to match Mandela

STAN 30/9/92

(118)

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BY withdrawing from the negotiating process, Mafongosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party president and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has embarked on a similar tack to that taken by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela's decision to sever ties with the De Klerk administration and to withdraw from constitutional negotiations in June had two central aims: to pressure Mr de Klerk into taking concrete action to halt the carnage in the townships and to mobilise and consolidate ANC support.

The ANC leader's tactical manoeuvre, prompted by outrage over Boppatong, succeeded spectacularly at both levels.

Mr de Klerk's administration agreed to take action to control migrant workers' hostels — which, the ANC contends, often serve as "barracks" for IFP militants in the township war — and to prohibit the possession and display of dangerous weapons in public, including the "traditional weapons" (spears, battle axes, sticks and shields) often carried by the IFP's Zulu members.

During the hiatus in its contact with the "De Klerk regime," the ANC turned the full blast of its formidable propaganda machine

onto Mr de Klerk and used its "mass action" campaign to mobilise support for its demands, including the immediate installation of a government of national unity.

The question posed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to withdraw from negotiations — announced after the signing of a "Record of Understanding" between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at the weekend — is simple: can he duplicate Mr Mandela's achievement by forcing Mr de Klerk to backtrack on his concord with the ANC and, at the same time, galvanise IFP members and sympathisers for the coming struggle?

Chief Buthelezi is not in as strong a position as the ANC. Judging from opinion polls, his IFP has lost out heavily to the ANC in the past five years. Its support in the black community appears to be largely confined to the Zulu people and even there it is challenged by the ANC.

But Chief Buthelezi, a tough and resilient politician with prodigious energy, is not in a hopeless position: the 10 to 12 percent of the vote which experts think the IFP would win in a general election is indispensable to Mr de Klerk's hopes of winning an election against the African National Congress or — at worst — of fore-

stalling an ANC landslide victory. It is significant that Foreign Minister Pik Botha's calculations that a NP-alliance victory is possible assume a vital contribution from the IFP.

President de Klerk's election strategy, with its associated policy of regionalism or federalism, depends on forging an alliance with regional black leaders, of whom Chief Buthelezi is undoubtedly the most important.

That gives Chief Buthelezi greater leverage on the De Klerk Government than opinion polls suggest.

Believing that the ANC has singled out KwaZulu for special attack — the present campaign against the selected "bantustans" was preceded by one in June 1990 where KwaZulu was singled out — Chief Buthelezi talks of the need to defend "the Zulus" against threat from the ANC and its South African Communist Party ally.

Political analysts describe Chief Buthelezi's response as "playing the tribal card". If so, it is not a bad card — in the tactical sense — to play.

The Zulus are the largest ethnically defined community in South Africa. Chief Buthelezi is the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, having held that position for more than 20

years. He is a descendant of Zulu kings and he has the backing of the present Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini.

In the past week Chief Buthelezi has addressed three mass rallies: in each he abandoned Western for traditional Zulu dress, drapping a leopard skin across his shoulders and holding a shield, a stick and a spear in his hands; at each he warned Zulus their very existence was at stake and their foes planned to wipe KwaZulu "off the face of the earth".

More specifically, he compared the ANC's planned march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi with the invasion of Zululand by a British army in 1879. The implication was not missed by his indignant audiences: the ANC is an alien force and the Zulus who support it against KwaZulu are comparable to the "loyal natives" who fought for the British against their own kinsmen in the last century.

Speaking last week at Ndandla not far from the grave of Ceshwayo, the Zulu king who resisted British invaders, Chief Buthelezi said to a chorus of approval: "Every Zulu remembers that the last march on Ulundi was that of the British soldiers."

Linked with his appeal to Zulu history and pride is a thinly veiled

threat of secession, a move which could activate the latent but potentially powerful centrifugal forces in South Africa.

Many of the ANC's political foes, from Lucas Mangope's nominally sovereign state of Bophuthatswana to Afrikaner right-wingers who dream of establishing a separate Afrikaner state, have put secession on the agenda as a last desperate option.

In a recent speech in Ulundi Chief Buthelezi told KwaZulu's civil servants: "KwaZulu is not a construct of apartheid... it has a historically established sovereignty. We can either negotiate to become part of a new federal South Africa acceptable to us or negotiate out of whatever contractual relationships the rest of South Africa would wish to establish with the ANC."

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi, who believes that Mr de Klerk has been manoeuvred by the ANC into giving way to its demands and harnessing the cause of the IFP, has announced that he plans to begin a series of meetings with black leaders who are similarly threatened by the ANC's drive to establish a unitary state with a powerful central government.

Significantly, too, the De Klerk administration believes that Chief

Buthelezi's stand has already acted as a catalyst by encouraging the formation of a separatist front favouring confederation above federation.

Chief Buthelezi has already touched on a theme which may strike a responsive — and angry — chord in anti-ANC quarters: the contrast between President de Klerk's "appeasement" of the ANC on its demands for firm action on hostels and the carrying of spears, and his apparent failure to insist on the dissolution of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the surrender of its arms caches.

Chief Buthelezi told journalists in Durban that President de Klerk had responded "limply" when he raised the issue of the ANC's guerrilla army with him at a recent meeting.

Mr de Klerk's public silence on the ANC's underground army since he raised it last December, only to be verbally mauled by Mr Mandela in front of whirling TV cameras and frantically scribbling journalists, will not help him. Nor will the finding by the Institute of Race Relations that the vast majority of deaths in South Africa's on-going township war are due to gunfire, not stabbing. □

Benoni now a city

THE East Rand town of Benoni has been declared a city, the eighth in the Transvaal, by the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

The other Transvaal cities are Johannesburg, Pretoria, Germiston, Roodepoort, Vereeniging, Pietersburg and Boksburg. *Sowetan 11/10/92*

Kempton Park is poised to become the ninth Transvaal city.

Benoni Mayor Mrs Anna Taljaard said in a statement on Wednesday she had always seen Benoni as the leading town on the East Rand. Now, with city status, it had "really come to the fore as the City of Lakes". - Sapa.

IFP bail decision *11B*

THE final decision on the bail application by the 71 Inkatha Freedom Party members appearing in connection with the Boipatong massacre will be heard tomorrow.

The lawyer representing the men, Mr As Burger, told the court on Monday: "If president FW de Klerk agrees to grant amnesty to criminals and murderers accused of horrible crimes I do not see why men who are technically innocent should be refused bail." *Sowetan 11/10/92*

He said during the Sebokeng night vigil case last year no "bloodbath" ensued after the IFP members were granted bail as the investigating officer in both cases, Colonel John du Pont, had predicted. *Sowetan 11/10/92*

The magistrate, Mr G Rainders, dropped charges against one of the suspects, Mr Elphas Mbatha.

Feud rages on Ratanda

Sowetan 1/10/92

■ RIVALRY Although unions have agreed to peace, the war continues in Heidelberg township:

11B

By Ike Motsapi

THE truce signed by members of the Food and Allied Workers Union and the United Workers Union of South Africa at the beginning of the month appears to be off.

Fighting between the two unions has spilled into Ratanda Township where 23 people have been killed and many injured since May 19 this year.

The feud started when members of Fawu went on a legal strike at the Escort Heacon Factory in Heidelberg in May this year.

Management hired scabs while the wage negotiations were in progress.

The strike was resolved early this month and trouble erupted when Fawu members tried to return to work and were prevented from doing so by Uwusa members.

Divided into factions

This resulted in a fight which caused about 23 houses belonging to IFP members in Ratanda to be damaged.

The workers at the company are now divided into two factions. Those who support Fawu and its ANC alliance and those who support the Inkatha-linked Uwusa.

On September 9 the two groups got together and decided to stop fighting.

The agreement signed by Fawu and Uwusa in Ratanda binds the parties on the following issues:

- All workers are obliged to respect the principle of tolerance, freedom of choice and association;
- All workers must refrain from intimidating or threatening any other person within the factory premises;
- Both parties agreed to take responsibility for their members not interfering with each other;
- Uwusa workers agreed that Fawu members were entitled to return to work;
- The leadership of both unions undertakes to take all reasonable steps to ensure

that their members abide by the terms of the agreement and,

● No worker shall be entitled to be in possession of any weapon on company premises.

However, the feuding parties resumed their hostility this week when a bus carrying members of Fawu was attacked with handgrenades near the Ratanda Hostel.

On Monday scores of people were injured when police fired pellets on a huge crowd.

Saw ball of fire

Local residents believe it was the IFP avenging a member who was killed in the township on Sunday.

One of the survivors, Mr Banzi Nhlapo whose sister was also on the bus, said: "I saw a ball of fire flying towards the bus."

"Before I could make out what was happening it hit the bus and people were hurt, burnt and charred," Nhlapo added.

Mr Thamba Khoza of the Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday blamed the ANC for the latest flare-up in the area.

Uwusa's East Rand organiser, Mr Agrippa Shandu distanced his organisation from the attack.

He said he believed the handgrenades that exploded inside the bus belonged to members of Fawu.

Increased tension in township

Mr Obhed Nkosi, chairman of the Ratanda branch of the ANC said the latest attack increased tension in the township.

"It also led to the destruction of the homes of four Inkatha members."

The ANC has called for the hostel to be:

- Subjected to immediate and regular searches;
- A 24-hour access control by security forces to be established;
- Regular patrols of the hostel and;
- Immediate fencing of the hostel.



Bafana Mashinini is taken to hospital after being wounded in violence in Ratanda.



A house that was destroyed in the Ratanda violence.

FM 2/10/92

~~SECRET~~ (11B)

to prevail on him to re-engage in talks.

"It looks like more room for more negotiations," said one NP member dryly, observing that Buthelezi's criticism of cosy bilateral deals between government and the ANC was at best a half-truth. De Klerk has pointed out that Buthelezi was kept informed almost every step of the way.

"It's politicking, grand standing; maybe he feels it's his turn (for a summit with the State President)," he adds.

If Buthelezi hopes for similar talks — which surely can be arranged — he realises, says one observer, that he cannot force government's hand in the way the ANC did, any more than he could derail Codesa by staying away. It is also suggested that, with government having paved the way for the PAC's entry into negotiations, any gap left by Inkatha could almost be filled by the Africanists. This sounds bizarre, but it's never been a case of one or the other. Buthelezi remains an important player, even a key one.

However, Buthelezi's decision to meet and form a common front with bit players like Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo this week, may be seen as a sign of growing political marginalisation — and a lack of judgment.

The three homelander issued a joint statement calling for the rejection of the Record of Understanding. While they accepted the right of all parties to hold bilateral discussions, they objected to decisions being made in this way "which impact on others not involved in the decision-making." They also decided to call a meeting of organisations sharing their concern to discuss the way forward.

Not only was Buthelezi's pride wounded by being apparently ignored by the De Klerk/Mandela indaba, but the meeting succeeded in paving the way for a return to multiparty constitutional talks.

Not that he believes that is the best way to draw up a new constitution. In his Mma-batho speech on Tuesday he likened the government/ANC pact to the Von Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement between Hitler's Germany and the USSR — it was a recipe for the "ethnic cleansing" of Zulus.

He preferred an expert committee designing a constitution.

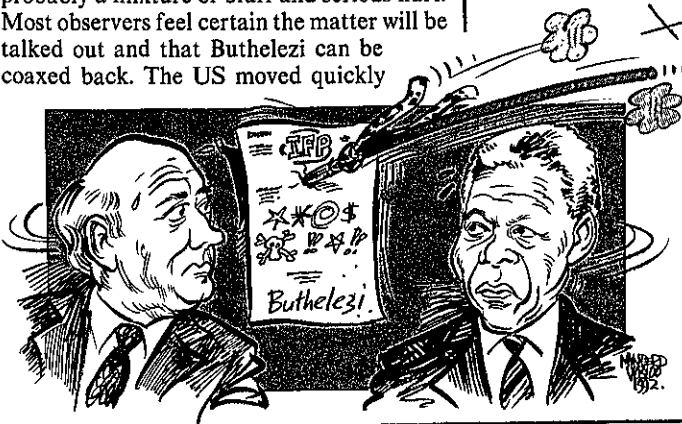
Buthelezi said: "The signing of the Record of Understanding . . . has served notice on us

NEGOTIATIONS — 1
Strong feelings

FM 2/10/92

~~SECRET~~ (11B)

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's furious withdrawal from talks with government, following the Mandela/De Klerk "Record of Understanding" signed last weekend, is probably a mixture of bluff and serious hurt. Most observers feel certain the matter will be talked out and that Buthelezi can be coaxed back. The US moved quickly



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that Mr De Klerk and Dr Mandela think they can decide upon the parameters of negotiations unilaterally and then get us to fill out the flesh of the body politic they have decided on.

"We say no to this. We know of no revolutionary movement in the history of the world that has drawn up a constitution which enables parties opposed to it to win an election and form a government. The ANC will be no exception.

He adds: "If we permit the agreement to stand as binding on us, the SA government and the ANC would feed on the SA body politic for their own destructive glory. That is how strongly I feel."

Inkatha leaders assassinated in Natal

THE military-style onslaught against Inkatha leaders in Natal continues unrelentingly. For more than a month there has been one or more mass killing virtually every 10 days.

Inkatha leaders in Natal are increasingly the victims of military-style attacks, reports CARMEL RICKARD

On Tuesday evening this week prominent Ningsizimu deputy mayor and Inkatha branch leader Gideon Sibiya was murdered. He was standing outside his business at the Smith hostel in Umlazi when gunmen opened fire with AK47 rifles.

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SOUTH AFRICA was thrown back to a fresh political crisis at the weekend when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced he was pulling out of negotiations in protest against what he described as government "connivance" with the ANC to rig a settlement, writes David Beresford.

The chief's angry announcement came just hours after President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela had concluded a deal to bring the ANC back into the negotiating process.

The ANC leader and the president signed a "record of understanding" on Saturday which set out a basis for the resumption of negotiations, including agreement that the country's new con-

stitution will be thrashed out by an elected constituent assembly, and that there will be a non-racial interim government. The "understanding" confirmed government undertakings on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of migrant worker hostels, and the outlawing of "cultural" weapons.

In front of well over 10,000 warriors brandishing "cultural weapons" including spears, axes, and clubs, Chief Buthelezi, dressed in traditional leopard skins, declared any attempt by the government to disarm them would be defied, fencing outside their hostels would be destroyed "with their bare hands", and any a constituent assembly would be "emphatically rejected".

Nelson Mandela tried to smooth over the crisis, assuring the country that the views of all political leaders would be taken into account.

President de Klerk said later it was "a pity" that Chief Buthelezi had reacted in this way. He said peace seemed unlikely in South Africa "until Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela have made their peace".

The chief's furious response to the de Klerk/Mandela rapprochement follows hints that he is considering leading his homeland of KwaZulu to secession. The threat is seen as hollow, but his boycott of negotiations will hugely complicate the reform process.

The dangers posed by Chief Buthelezi's

defiance were also underlined in the densely populated Durban township of KwaMashu on "Shaka Day", commemorating the founder of the Zulu nation after a service addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

Thousands of armed Zulus surged through the streets, a large group wrestling with heavily armed riot police in one incident, in which an unidentified gunman fired shots without apparent effect. As evening fell at least one woman was reported to have been shot dead and five people injured in random gunfire from moving vehicles. On Saturday, in another area, 11 Inkatha members were reported killed by unidentified gunmen.



Mystery baron ... A portly figure in kilt and sporran, introduced by King Goodwill Zwelithini as a 'special guest' at Sunday's Shaka Day celebrations, has presented something of a mystery. Introduced as 'Baron Lee of Lanark', he was assumed to be another British eccentric indulging in the romance of the Zulus. But *The Weekly Mail* has had some difficulty tracking the title down. It does not appear in Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, the definitive guide to the British aristocracy. Inkatha officials were unable to help, beyond saying he was a close friend of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. A diplomatic source described Lee as 'a wealthy American who, for some unknown reason, acquired the title and owns a castle in Lanark (Scotland)'. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Beware the cornered chief

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a man in a corner — and those who know him well warn how tough this can make him.

For months, opinion polls have suggested that his support base has been diminishing and that he is no longer a contender for central political power. His international standing is at rock-bottom as the major Western governments, who feted him a few years ago, are now only willing to acknowledge that he can't be left out of negotiations because of the havoc his supporters could cause.

His most reliable support base, the kwaZulu Police, from which he has drawn many of his infantry in his bloody battle with the African National Congress in Natal, has suffered a barrage of criticism at the Goldstone Commission, in the courts and in the documents of human rights organisations. Exposure has meant the withdrawal of the covert support he was getting from the security and intelligence forces.

With the ANC dropping nationalisation as the pillar of its economic policy, Inkatha is increasingly losing appeal among both local and international businessmen. As funds from the government become less free-flowing in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal, the organisation is increasingly strapped for cash.

And this week, the government and the ANC dealt the final blow by taking a giant leap towards a political settlement and appearing to sideline Buthelezi.

Even worse, they dealt with two issues particularly important to the chief and his political base: dangerous weapons and the hostels.

It may have been tactless for President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela not to pay some obeisance to Buthelezi's formidable pride and ego when they announced their Record of Understanding last Saturday, but a showdown with Buthelezi was probably inevitable. There was almost no chance that the government could meet the ANC's demands on dangerous weapons and hostels without a confrontation with Buthelezi.

Buthelezi's strong reaction did not come out of the blue. He had been sounding increasingly shrill in recent weeks in his protests against bilateral ANC-government talks. And as his national power base came under more and more pressure, he began to toy with ideas of regional power and new alliances, even secession.

"He feels the pressure of being isolated and marginalised. He doesn't feel the government is giving him much support in this regard. He is inclined to be desperate — to say and do things that he wouldn't normally do. It is important that he shouldn't be driven into this corner," says a senior ex-Inkatha official.

Wimail 2/10-8/10/92 (115)
As Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi becomes increasingly isolated, those who know him warn that he is a dangerous man to put in a corner.

By PHILIPPA GARSON and ANTON HARBER

More than aware of his unpredictable personality and shrinking support base, some government figures would rather dump the Inkatha leader for the ANC, if the latter dropped the South African Communist Party.

It's no wonder he's looking toward — or at least threatening to look toward — an alternative power base with other homeland leaders like Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Brigadier Upa Gqozo.

All three have in common a hatred for the ANC and a terror of losing power when the homelands are reincorporated. Add the Conservative Party or recently formed Volksunie and a potentially significant pro-confederalist bloc with a dangerous emphasis on ethnicity looms.

Comments the director of the Centre of African Studies, Eugene Nyati: "No other homeland leader has the same kind of reach in the international community. Buthelezi has put together a considerable international support network. This is fast disappearing, however. There is a growing feeling in the West that Buthelezi has overplayed his hand. And the more big business is confident to do business with the ANC, the more dispensible Inkatha becomes."

What then will become of Inkatha, whose voter support ranges from 250 000 to three million, depending on whom one talks to. While the ANC continues to snub the Inkatha leader, the potential for civil war cannot be discounted.

ANC negotiator Matthew Phosa believes Buthelezi's capacity to unleash civil war depends entirely on the extent to which the government backs him. If kwaZulu is reincorporated, his capacity to thwart the transition to democracy will be significantly curtailed.

Phosa describes Buthelezi as a panicking leader — unaware, like Gqozo and Mangope, of the international pressure on the government to find common ground again with the ANC. "He is playing on the Zulu nation. It is the last card he can play politically."

It is significant that Inkatha's decision this week to withdraw from talks with the government was made by Buthelezi himself, without any reference to his central committee.

A former central committee member told *The Weekly Mail* that "Inkatha is nothing

without Buthelezi. Everything is streamlined and centralised. There is no debate.

"He has tended to dominate all the structures of the organisation. Any new leader would have to struggle to reconstruct the organisation so that it could become an accountable movement," the source said.

Liberal tendencies have emerged from time to time within Inkatha, particularly among sections of the youth eager for a less acrimonious relationship with the ANC. Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose and Youth Brigade leader Musa Zondi are seen as moderate leaders, perhaps capable of steering the organisation along a more conciliatory route.

But speculation about a successor to Buthelezi is generally regarded as taboo within the organisation. As one former Inkatha figure put it: "To talk about a possible successor is tantamount to treason."

The 64-year-old leader, despite his diabetes and eyesight problems, is a robust teetotaler who regularly visits health spas. He has steadily created a multi-faceted identity and power base that would rule out chances for any commoner to make a bid for power. He is a slick politician, chief minister of state, police and justice, and traditional chief all rolled into one.

Over the years Buthelezi has eroded the power base of the Zulu monarchy, while increasing its symbolic role. As he retreats to his most trusted support base as self-proclaimed leader of the Zulu nation, he appeals more desperately to Zulu nationalism and traditional respect for royalty. Despite his insistence on King Goodwill Zwelithini's presence at Codesa, the Zulu king is apparently dismissive of politics and couldn't care less if he was there or not.

The Inkatha leader has also tended to get rid of those within Inkatha who have generated their own power bases. Some believe that behind his appointment of whites to key positions in the organisation is the knowledge that they cannot threaten his individual power base.

Gerhard Maré, author of *An Appetite for Power*, says Buthelezi has won the support of many Zulu-speaking traders by protecting them with an "ethnic curtain" that forces Indians to trade outside kwaZulu.

But he has had less success among sections of the kwaZulu civil service. Whereas some years ago he bent over backwards to gain their support, he has recently called on them to pledge their undivided support or "get out".

When the ANC put Gqozo in a corner, he lashed out viciously, killing 29 demonstrators. Will the same happen with Buthelezi? "He is hanging in a tree without a ladder," says Phosa. "We will try to do everything to give him a ladder."

Meet Buthelezi, UN asks Mandela

By PHILIPPA GARSON (113)
UNITED NATIONS secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali made a personal appeal to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela early this week to meet Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before his departure to China. *W/Ma*

However, sources say Mandela is reluctant to concede such a meeting, and the ANC's three Natal regions are fiercely opposed to it.

Since the Inkatha leader withdrew from negotiations in protest against bilateral decisions taken at the weekend between the government and ANC, Mandela has come under strong pressure to meet Buthelezi.

President FW de Klerk has made several public appeals for the two leaders to meet. *2/10 - 8/10/92*

After heated debate at the ANC's national executive meeting on Wednesday a decision was taken not to give the green light for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit — at least not yet.

Deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma argued strongly for such an encounter to take place, the sources said, but met opposition from representatives of the three Natal regions.

Zulus to march today

Weekend Argus Correspondent

(118) ART
31/10/92

DURBAN. — Thousands of Zulus are expected to converge on Durban today for a march through the city centre to be led by Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said yesterday that the marchers would be protesting against the Record of Understanding signed by President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke out this week about the frustrations that bedevil his position as a key figure on the country's haphazard road to a new dispensation.

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

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

In the process he:

- Disclosed that he no longer looked on State President FW de Klerk with trust;
- Accused Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer of "stoking the fires of conflict";
- Defended his associations with people like the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and the Conservative Party;
- Told of the obstacles to getting together for talks with ANC leader Nelson Mandela;
- Denied that his recent use of intemperate language like "bullshit" and "bugger up" indicated that he was running on a temperamental short fuse (colleagues in fact accused him of being too patient, kind and Christian); and
- Accused most journalists who sought interviews with him of doing so with the hidden agenda of making propaganda for the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

On his revised opinion of Mr de Klerk, he asked how he could fall 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.

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

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

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

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

The bilateral agreement

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

FURY OF A ZULU CHIEF SCORNED

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

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

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

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

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

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

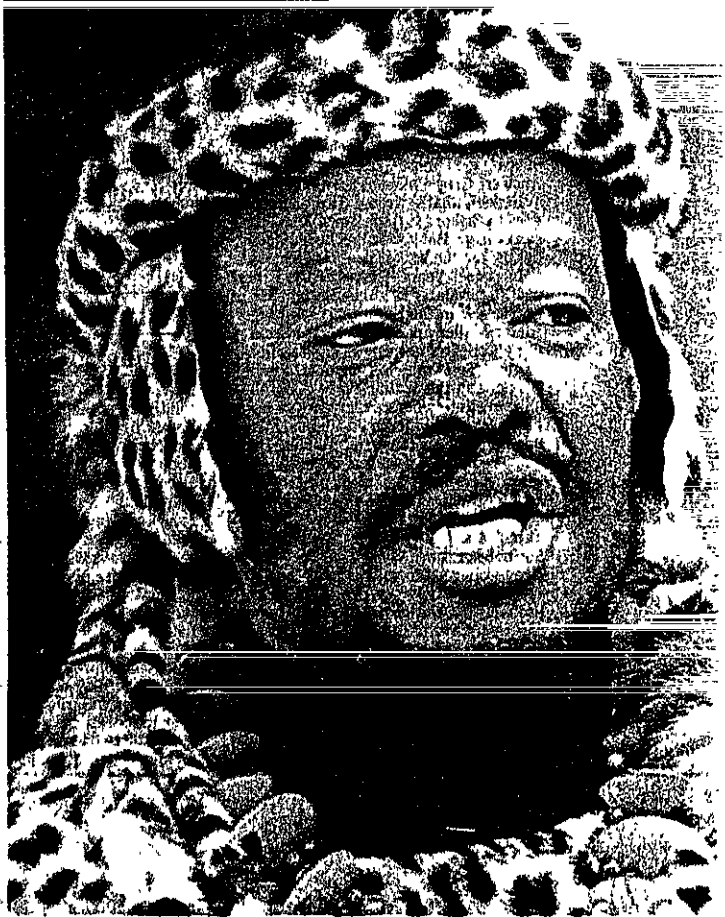
And, also by that token, he would not be associating with Mr de Klerk and with Mr Mandela whose ANC had continuously "poured out vitriol" against him and had even broadcast appeals in the past for his assassination.

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

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

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

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



Picture: [unreadable]

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

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

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

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

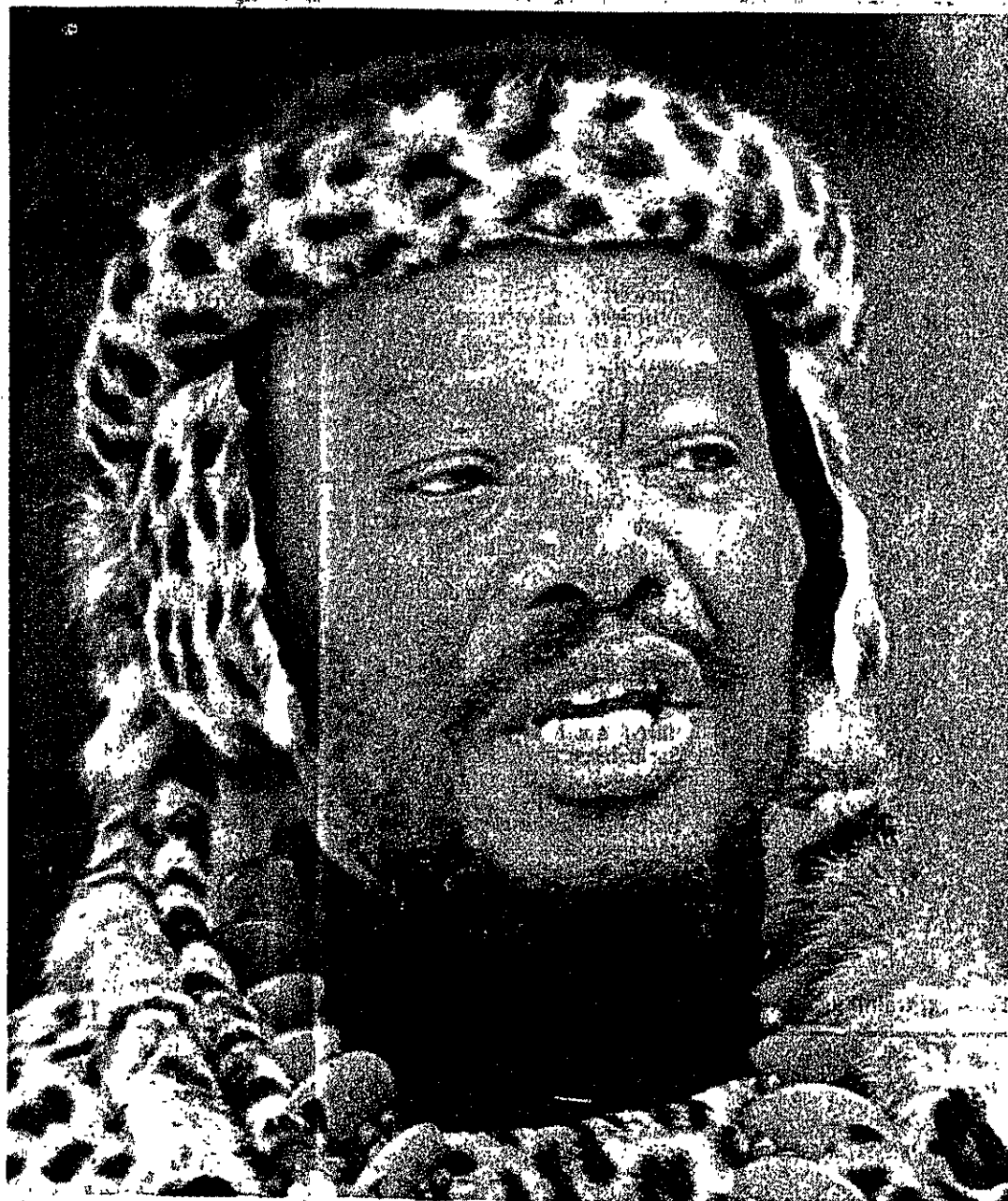
tics. Zulus are people and bluntly with the chiefs."

Would they use like "bullshit" or for instance?

"I have never words to other never said that bullshit — I consulted any leader tacked Mandela. Such allegations to me and to my In my cabinet are most brilliant never known."

"To imply that just like sheep is ing to them and people say so to make nonsense to a dictator."

How did he feel leadership of the Party?



Picture: HORACE POTTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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IFP PRESIDENT MAN-GOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

writes: *5 times (BYSS)*
IT gives me great pleasure to express my personal appreciation for what Germany is doing and has done to assist in the development of South Africa. I particularly value the friendship the people of Germany offer to South Africa at this juncture of our history. *4/10/92*

The people of war-torn Germany came together as a nation after the Second World War to put their political house in order and to repair the damage which bad government and the war had done to the economy. I admire the ability of the German people demonstrated in the success of doing both.

Germany is a united country and the German people built their smashed economy up to make their country an industrial and commercial giant of the world.

South Africa desperately needs to establish a national will to achieve exactly what Germany achieved. Whenever I have been to Germany I have found an understanding of our South African problems which has encouraged me greatly.

Successive German governments have refused to censure German investors and entrepreneurs who have chosen to invest in South Africa. Germany has emerged as a major trading partner of South Africa and we can only hope that the flow of German capital and technological and managerial expertise to South Africa will be greatly stepped up to back the process of democratisation in this country.

As President of the IFP I can say that Germany has always been committed to the socio-economic development of the poorest of the poor in this country and has always been prepared to be even handed in what it does to assist various development projects involved in the upliftment of the people.

Right now, we as South Africans have to make critically important choices. We have to make choices about the negotiation process

which will take us from an apartheid society to a democratic society. South Africans have to choose who they want to guide us through the negotiation process and into the first government after apartheid.

Germany, I believe, will understand the issues involved. German citizens who form part of our society certainly understand the issues. The German community of this country is respected by South Africans from all walks of life. I am confident that both Germany itself and the German community in this country will continue to make their contribution both to the development of democracy and to economic recovery from the ravages of apartheid.

I, of course, am hopeful that Germany, which itself is a federal state, will continue to see the advantages of federalism for South Africa and will find ways and means of supporting the federal cause in this country.



It really is a pleasure for me to add my voice to those who congratulate Germany on its historically important achievements. I wish Germany well on its day of national unity. May Germany grow from strength to strength and make an even greater contribution to the development of the European community and to the development of South and Southern Africa.

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Buthelezi takes a hard line on MK

CTS/10/92

11B

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Negotiations cannot go ahead without the disbanding of the ANC's army — uMkhonto weSizwe — and the demobilisation of its military personnel, vowed KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend.

He was speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in the KwaHlabisa district in KwaZulu.

Meanwhile, a meeting of organisations who reject the agreements reached between the ANC and the government during the recent "summit" will be held in Johannesburg tomorrow.

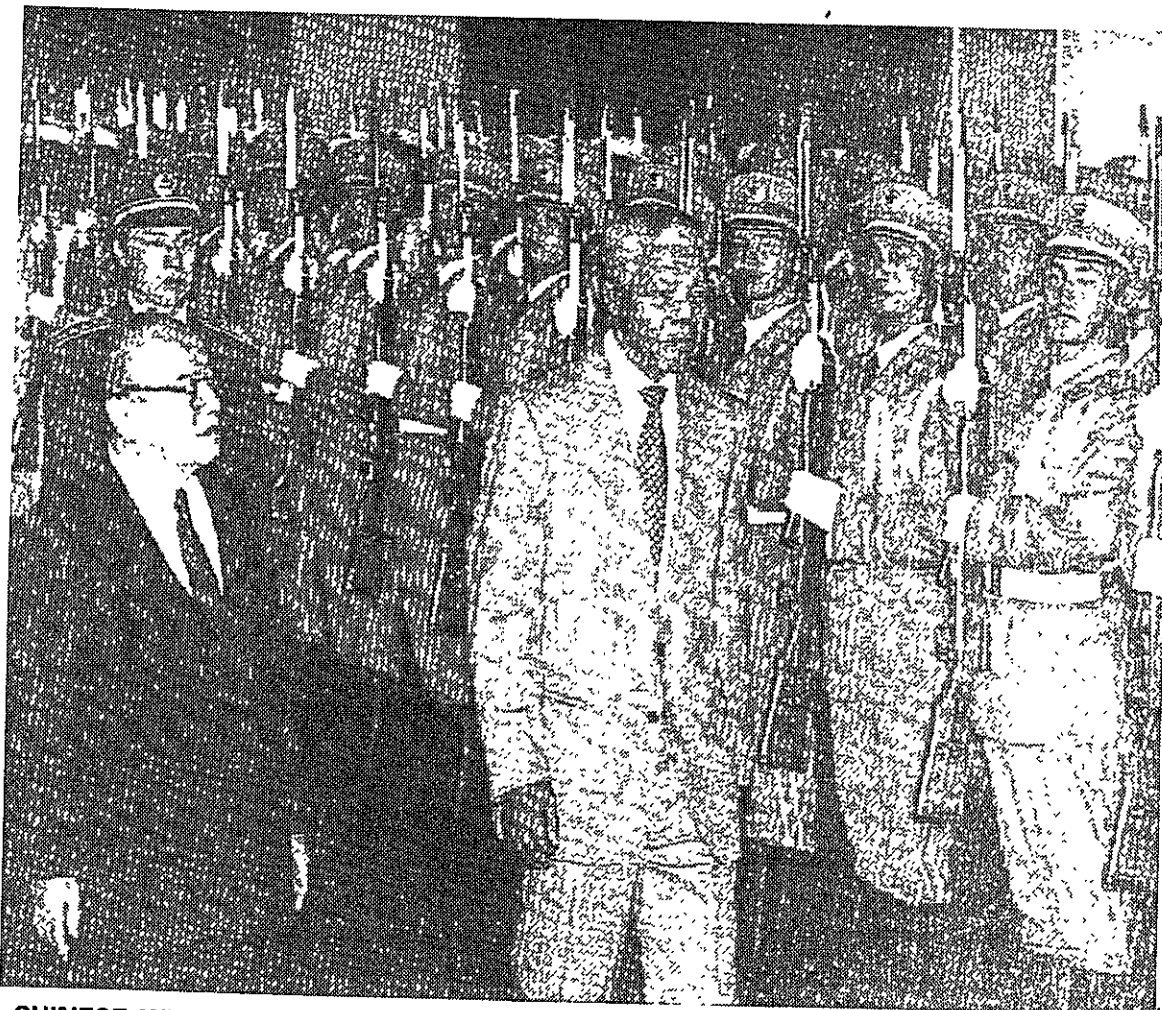
The organisations include the KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Conservative Party. It has been speculated that the meeting could signal sharp realignment in South African politics.

Addressing another Shaka Day celebration at Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast, Chief Buthelezi said he would never tell his people to lay down their cultural weapons.

Commenting on MK, he said: "uMkhonto has got to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact. If it is to remain and continue after an interim government is established either on its own, or as part the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

He said the focus on traditional weapons was totally disproportionate considering the destruction and devastation caused by the ANC's military wing. The IFP president also said the level of indiscriminate killing and brutality in the KwaZulu region had increased drastically.

This follows uMkhonto's concerted mobilisation strategy to penetrate KwaZulu. The ANC's support in this region is negligible and they are unable to establish a foothold in our communities. Hence, the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region is extreme-



CHINESE WELCOME ... ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela inspects a guard of honour with Chinese President Yang Shangkun yesterday during a ceremony in Beijing's Great Hall of the People held to mark Mr Mandela's arrival in China.

ly high on their political agenda," he charged.

Arms caches had been discovered outside Ulundi, "intended for the use of ANC marchers" trying to topple the KwaZulu government, he said.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear he would not take orders from the central government which was being transformed into a "spineless lackey" of the ANC/SACP alliance.

The KwaZulu leader has also threatened to withdraw from the National Peace Accord. He announced at the weekend that if the government, in terms of its agreement of understanding with the ANC erected fences around hostels to "cage in" his people, he would ask them to tear them down.

He protested that his people were not animals to be separated from the rest of the community.

Buthelezi issues ultimatum

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a potentially crippling ultimatum, ruling out national negotiations until the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was disbanded.

In a strongly-worded speech which disregarded diplomatic and government efforts to woo him back to negotiations, Buthelezi called on his followers to be prepared for death.

Buthelezi was speaking in the Hlabisa district of Natal in the latest of a series of Shaka Day speeches.

Buthelezi said he would not stand by and watch his people massacred in the ANC's "bloody battle for power".

"It is time to say: Thus far and no further. If that means we will die, so be it."

The ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible and hence the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region was high on the ANC's

agenda, he said. (113)
Arms caches had been recently discovered outside Ulundi, "intended for the use of the ANC marchers in their attempt to topple the KwaZulu government".

Issuing an ultimatum to government and the ANC, Buthelezi said without the immediate disbandment of the ANC's "ruthless army" and the demobilisation of its military personnel, negotiations could not proceed.

"MK has got to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact.

"If it is to remain and to continue after an interim government is established either on its own, or as part of the SADF, ... count me out of these agreements."

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

He said the Zulu people had been dealt the ultimate betrayal by government, who was supporting the ANC's vendetta against Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi told a meeting at Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast on Saturday if government erected fences around hostels to cage in his people, he would ask them to tear them down.

Buthelezi also threatened to consider

pulling out of the national peace accord.

Regarding the ANC's proposed march on Ulundi, Buthelezi said he was surprised government and the international community had so far said nothing about protecting the Zulus during such a march.

He said if they intended to stand by and watch the slaying of innocent human lives, then the Zulus would defend themselves.

□ From Page 1

Vosloorus residents vow to resist eviction ● Buthelezi warns De Klerk

116

Disband MK - Buthelezi

South Africa 11/04/92
■ IFP leader says he is disgusted:

NEGOTIATIONS cannot go ahead without the immediate disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the demobilisation of its military personnel, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at the Shaka Day celebrations at KwaMtsane, KwaZulu, Buthelezi said he regarded as a "declaration of war" last weekend's summit agreement between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Last week President FW de Klerk signed an agreement with the ANC while knowing full well that I would oppose it vehemently - and in doing so Mr De Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation," Buthelezi warned. - Sapa.

PAC meeting Buthelezi to discuss the violence

By Katzer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

STAN 8/10/97
113

The Pan Africanist Congress will meet KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi today to discuss violence and political tolerance, the PAC announced yesterday.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the meeting — which comes two days after Buthelezi and his allies met in Johannesburg to discuss the ANC-Government's September 26 Record of Understanding — will also discuss recent political developments and "strategies towards the establishment of democracy" in the country.

Moseneke said the PAC wrote to Buthelezi and the ANC this week, asking for meetings with them. He said his organisation had offered to mediate between the two parties, and had indicated that "ultimately it will be up to the ANC and the IFP to get together and talk".

The PAC delegation will be led by its president Clarence Makwetu.

● The PAC, the ANC and the Southern African Development Community have agreed to organise "a blockbuster musical event" in Zimbabwe on April 17 next year to raise funds for famine relief in southern Africa, PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille said yesterday.

Disband MK says Buthelezi

5/10/92
Political Reporter

Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMsane outside Mtubatuba, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "the anarchy now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

"MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he doesn't want to return to

78. ● To Page 3

Disband MK: Buthelezi

118 ● From Page 1

negotiations and the consequences of full democracy," said Mr Niehaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities".

This, he said, had put "the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region high on (the ANC's) political agenda".

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain ... after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Sat-

urday, Mr Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying their September 26 "Record of Understanding" amounted to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people".

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk knew that he would oppose it, and in so doing Mr de Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance".

IFP boss speaks on weapons

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend he would never tell his people to lay down their cultural weapons. (113)

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration at Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast, Buthelezi said he would never take orders from the Government which he said was becoming a "spineless lackey of the ANC". Jonathan 5/10/92

the
nation

in brief

282 (113) 200
Bail refused
for IFP 70

SEVENTY Inkatha Freedom Party members held in connection with the June 17 Boipatong massacre were denied bail on Friday after Mr AG Reynders ruled in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court that if released they would be difficult to trace.

Their crimes were among the most serious in South African history and releasing them would be very risky considering the accused had come from different areas. No amount of bail could ensure they would return to face trial, magistrate Reynders said. The case was postponed to October 26.

Soweto 5/10/92

Loose cadres danger to IFP

DURBAN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his supporters would be in danger from uMkhonto we Sizwe cadres if MK was disbanded, ANC Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadzabe said yesterday. (118)

Responding to a weekend demand by Chief Buthelezi that MK be disbanded, he said this would cause cadres to become "loose cannons". — Sapa CT6/10/92

Stern govt warning to Inkatha

EAST LONDON — Government last night issued a stern warning to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a "go-it-alone" option was not on and represented a road to more conflict and violence.

Speaking on the eve of a meeting between disgruntled homeland leaders and right-wing parties, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said he hoped the "immensely regrettable" decision to pull out of talks did not emanate from the belief that Inkatha and Natal could chart their own political future.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said at

~~2/11/92~~ Political Staff 113

the opening of the NP's Cape congress.

"The ANC cannot go it alone, nor Inkatha, even with limited support from other parties — solutions must be found on a multiparty basis," said De Villiers.

TIM COHEN reports that three homeland leaders are meeting in Johannesburg today to "chart a course back to negotiations" against a background of intensified efforts by government and the ANC to placate them.

The ANC yesterday said it would consider favourably a meeting between it and Inkatha at presidential level "provided thorough preparations aimed at making

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

such a meeting a success are made".

The ANC was responding to an ultimatum issued by Buthelezi that his party and the KwaZulu government would not take part in negotiations until the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe was disbanded.

This call was inconsistent with the search for a political settlement in SA, the ANC said in a statement.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday that Ciskei's military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope would attend today's summit. All have rejected government's Record of Understanding agreement with the ANC.

Other parties, including other homeland leaders, the CP and the Afrikaner Volkunie had been invited, but because of the short notice given to the parties, it was not clear who would attend.

The summit, called The Conference for

~~2/11/92~~ 113 □ From Page 1

Concerned South Africans, would discuss what was required before multilateral negotiations could begin again.

Felgate said a top-level meeting between Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela could not be held until mediation — agreed to by the national peace accord — between the two leaders by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda had occurred.

However, Sapa reports that Kaunda has called off the SA visit.

"That mission is no longer possible — I don't think there is any need for it," Kaunda was quoted as saying before leaving on a two-week trip to the US.

Felgate said Inkatha would also not attend the reconvening of the peace accord signatories, due to take place later this month, until the mediation process had taken place.

Buthelezi told not to 'go it alone'

STAR 6/10/92

11B

On the eve of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Buthelezi's alliance-building summit, the Government cautioned him last night against trying to go it alone in negotiations.

Opening the Cape National Party congress in East London, Cape NP leader and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers warned against separatist tendencies.

Chief Buthelezi meets Bophuthatswana President Dr Lucas Mangope, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaners Volkunie in Johannesburg today to discuss a negotiations alliance.

Dr de Villiers said no political dispensation aimed at restoring peace and stability would be viable unless it enjoyed the support of the majority.

"We must negotiate ourselves out of the morass in which we find ourselves. We need the IFP and Chief Buthelezi. Neither the ANC nor the government can go it alone," he said.

The Government was devoting attention to stumbling blocks preventing the IFP from

taking part in negotiations.

The Minister of State Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told the SA Institute of International Affairs in East London last night there had been no "capitulation" to the ANC in agreements reached in the "Record of Understanding" at the Government/ANC violence summit.

There had been no "ganging up or exclusivity" against other parties, he said.

Angered

Today's alliance-building meeting, which an IFP source said would be attended by political and business leaders, comes a week after Chief Buthelezi met Dr Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo in Mmabatho.

Chief Buthelezi, angered by the signing of the "Record of Understanding" by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on September 26, withdrew from all further contact with the Government and consulted his allies in an attempt to form an anti-ANC alliance.

They agreed to meet again today to discuss the way forward.

Yesterday, the IFP would not release a list of the organisa-

tions attending the summit or its agenda.

The CP's high-powered delegation, to be led by leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, will include deputy leader and Transvaal leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, foreign affairs spokesman and Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley, Natal leader Carl Werdt, Cape leader Jan Hoon and Free State leader Alex Danzfus.

In the Afrikaner Volkunie delegation will be Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, Bethal MP Chris de Jager, Standerton MP Rosier de Ville and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, who recently broke away from the CP to form the new party.

● AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche offered his full support to Brigadier Gqozo when the two leaders met in Johannesburg yesterday.

Brigadier Gqozo and Mr Terre-Blanche said in a joint statement released after their meeting they had agreed the ANC "should immediately cease its violence, cowardly behaviour and intimidation".

"The AWB will support the Ciskei government if the ANC threatens its authority with violence," the statement said. — Political Reporter and Sapa.

New alliance gets off the ground

Southern 6/10/92 (113) ~~IFP~~
■ **PRIME MOVERS** Inkatha gathers supporters

together to challenge FW, Mandela summit decision:

AN ALLIANCE of homeland and right-wing political parties opposed to the Government and the African National Congress gets off the ground at a conference near Johannesburg today.

The meeting follows talks between prime movers, the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government, the leaders of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Conservative Party over the past two weeks.

Initially these parties were drawn to each other because of their support for the regionalism/federalism concept.

Opposition, and open hostility, to the ANC and Government grew after the signing of the Record of Understanding at a peace summit between State President Mr FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

The IFP initiated today's meeting and issued invitations to all homeland leaders and parties as well as political parties sharing their views.

Among those having confirmed are the CP, its newly formed rival the Afrikaner Volksunie,

Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, QwaQwa and Gazankulu.

An IFP spokesman said that by late yesterday more parties and business leaders were still indicating their willingness to attend the conference.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose will open the meeting at 9am at the Indaba Hotel in Witkoppen. The agenda will be finalised at the meeting, the IFP said.

The homeland trio of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana and the two right-wing parties have charged that by reaching agreement with the ANC - on the future of negotiations - the Government deliberately excluded other players, especially those who took part in the Codesa process.

However, speculation abounds that today's summit will yield an alternative negotiating forum and thwart any agreement De Klerk and Mandela might reach in future.

The right-wing parties have said the Government was now an ANC ally and was yielding to the organisation's demands.

The homeland trio have said De Klerk re-

Alliance rejects accord

STAR 7/10/92
Political Reporter

An alliance of homeland and right-wing party leaders has resolved to ask President de Klerk to stop implementation of the recent "Record of Understanding" signed by him and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Speaking yesterday after the "Conference for Concerned South Africans" outside Johannesburg, IFP leader Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi said those at the meeting — including CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Ciskei and Bophuthatswana leaders Oupa Gqozo and Lucas Mangope — would not be bound by any agreements or legislation to which they were not party.

The De Klerk-Mandela agreement paved the way for the release of political prisoners, the

(118)
banning of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels.

Buthelezi said a delegation would ask De Klerk to abandon the agreement.

The meeting endorsed Buthelezi's demand that Umkhonto weSizwe be disbanded, and recommended the scrapping of Codesa, replacing it with a forum which would include the PAC, the CP, Azapo and the AWB.

Hani tells IFP: Drop die-hard white racists

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party members should distance themselves from the warm embrace their leader gave to die-hard white racists this week, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday. CT 8/10/92

Mr Hani was apparently referring to Tuesday's mini-summit which was attended by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's Dr Lucas Mangope, and right-wing groups including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"Enough is enough. Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Mr Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said Mr Hani.

Chief Buthelezi had once presented himself as an anti-apartheid fighter and had even borrowed the colours of the African National Congress for his IFP, he said.

Yet CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht "represents racist white foremen who daily make the lives of migrant workers a misery. His followers represent the most backward white farmers who oppress farm labourers." Whatever the IFP's differences with the ANC alliance, Chief Buthelezi's relationship with white racists was degrading, said Mr Hani.

● The IFP said yesterday that it would never allow the National Party and its "new-found allies", the ANC and SA Communist Party, to dictate to the majority of South Africans and destroy their future. — Sapa

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Strange

bedfellows

at indaba

Star 8/10/72



CISKEL military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was deep in conversation with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht walked towards them.

The diminutive brigadier — who a day earlier had met the Africaner Reestrandseweging's Eugene Terreblanche — stood up, shook hands with Treurnicht and hugged him like an old friend. Press photographers kept clicking their cameras as the two men, later joined by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzzenberg, engaged in animated discussion.

It was the same with the leadership of the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie, headed by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers. There was no language problem, as Gqozo had already demonstrated on the SABC's "Agenda" programme. He speaks stammer Afrikaans. He

The "Conference for Concerned South Africans" held at the Indaba Hotel, outside Johannesburg, on Tuesday, was full of such politically incongruous sights. One of the odder alliances to be thrown up by the new South Africa was on display.

At the conference Gqozo clearly felt he was among friends. On his arrival he said it was normal among Afrikaners for neighbours to rally around one another when one of them was in trouble.

The meeting, he said, was such an exercise. The headmaster-like Mangope was not as visibly excited about the cross-cultural indaba. He had been sitting on the sofa quietly chatting to Gqozo before the CP leaders came their way.

On the road to the new South Africa, the strangest people bump into each other. Political Reporter KAZER NVAISUMBA describes the informal side of this week's gathering of homeland leaders and while rightwingers near Johannesburg.

There was it seemed, a lot on his mind. But he, too, exchanged pleasantries with Treurnicht.

Sitting alone in a corner were two National Peoples Party delegates, talking quietly to each other. Praetorising or socialising was not for them — and neither, it seemed, were other delegates eager to strike up a conversation with them.

Then, to complete the mosaic, there was Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell, an observer rather than a delegate, who looked fairly uncomfortable. Already in the conference hall was a delegation from the SA Chamber of Commerce, led by director-general Raymond Parsons.

Godsell was overheard asking Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Suzanne Vos: "Where is your leader?"

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, clearly the man of the moment, was not there. His guests — including conference co-conveners Gqozo and Mangope — had arrived at 9 am, but he did not make an appearance until 10 am.

Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the ANC and the Government, but the more vicious personal attack of President de Klerk came, somewhat surpris-

ingly, from IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mdlalose, who said the different leaders had gathered "to strike a blow for democracy in South Africa", said De Klerk was "becoming a threat to the negotiations process", and that he and his Government had "turned to political expediency in bowing to ANC demands".

"We now see that he was trading on the support that we were giving to whatever he did right. He basked in the warmth of applause for what he did that was right, and when it came to opposing the ANC, he always claimed that he was in good company, and pointed to us and other black parties who opposed the ANC."

"When the ANC was at its worst, President de Klerk was at his consultative best. Our experience leads us to the conclusion that we have to prepare for a negotiating future in which Mr de Klerk will not be able to cross back to where he was before when he opposed the ANC. It is now a matter of having to deal with him protected by the ANC," Mdlalose said.

His message was well received by the new allies. Although they met and talked to many people, the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie delegations appeared purposely to avoid one another. This was just one of the day's oddities: former rightwing white colleagues finding it easier to chat to black South Africans than each other.

Asked if he had exchanged pleasantries with his former leader Treurnicht, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Beyers gave a curious answer: "We have no problem." It was that kind of day. □



Odd alliance . . . Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and deputy Ferdi Hartzzenberg greet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tuesday's "Conference for Concerned South Africans" outside Johannesburg.

Shun racists, Hani tells IFP

Sowetan 8/10/92

■ Reference to mini-summit between homeland leaders and white right-wingers:

MEMBERS of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) should distance themselves from the warm embrace their leader gave to diehard white racists this week, South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Hani was apparently referring to Tuesday's mini-summit which was attended by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope, and right-wing groups including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"Enough is enough. Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths to which

Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said Hani.

Buthelezi had once presented himself as an anti-apartheid fighter and had even borrowed the colours of the African National Congress for his IFP, he said.

Racist white foremen

Yet, CP leader "Dr" Andries Treurnicht represents racist white foremen who daily make the lives of migrant workers a misery. His followers represent the most backward white farmers who oppress farm labourers", charged Hani.

Whatever the IFP's differences with the ANC alliance, his relationship with white racists was degrading, said Hani.

- Sapa

Buthelezi, the king and ANC

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Could Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi survive politically if the ANC won over the Zulu king? PATRICK LAURENCE put the question to Buthelezi during an interview in Ulundi.

THE African National Congress has offered King Goodwill Zwelithini "a more glorious kingdom" in a bid to woo him onto its side politically, charges Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president.

The wooing of the Zulu monarch is reportedly motivated by an attempt to break Chief Buthelezi's power-base in the Zulu community.

But, Buthelezi says, the stratagem is based on a false premise: his power is independent of the king and even if the monarch is enticed into the ANC camp his political power would remain intact.

"It is a fact," Buthelezi says of talk in political corridors that the ANC is trying to lure the king to its side.

"Before it was banned, the ANC invited the king to Lusaka. The intention was to drive a wedge between me and the king. There were messages to the effect that if he agreed, if he played ball, he would be made King of all South Africa.

"Which, of course, made the king smile ... he is not so dim that he can't see that that is not possible."

Buthelezi goes on to recall an attempt by ANC leader Walter Sisulu to see Zwelithini "on his terms" — not in Ulundi in the presence of Buthelezi — and a later attempt by Nelson Mandela to persuade him to agree to Sisulu's proposal.

"It is concrete evidence that there are efforts, even now, to try and do that," Buthelezi says.

There is even corridor talk of an ANC plan to buy the king's loyalty and guarantee his present monarchical status and his financial standing under an



Chief Buthelezi . . . confident of his position.

ANC government.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus strongly denies that there is a plan to bribe the king.

Mandela does want to meet the king, he confirms. But, he adds, there is "nothing sinister" about Mandela's wish for a meeting, especially as it could help lower the political tensions and restore peace.

Buthelezi, a descendent of the great Zulu king, Cetshwayo, is aware of the corridor talk.

"There are promises like that," he says. "I don't know if they have been put to the king directly. I wouldn't know. But there are promises of a more glorious kingdom if the king goes along with them."

But, Buthelezi says, even if the ANC did succeed, it would not break his political power because the "ordinary Zulu people" do not see the king as a political leader.

Their reverence for him is the reverence due to a monarch, not the obedience given to a political leader, Buthelezi avers.

He refers to attempts by the Vorster government in the 1970s to use the king to establish opposition parties to challenge and break Inkatha's hold, first by promoting Shaka's Spear and

then Inala.

Both attempts failed, Buthelezi says, predicting that any bid by the ANC to use the king politically will similarly fail.

A high-ranking member of the Zulu royal family, Israel Mcwayizeni, is already a member of the ANC. Mcwayizeni, who acted as regent until Zwelithini came of age and who was elected to the ANC's national executive committee last year, is seen by some observers as a harbinger of changing political fortunes.

Buthelezi, however, is not concerned by Mcwayizeni's ANC membership. Mcwayizeni, who used to be the king's representative in KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly, was "pushed out" by the king, he says.

"It was I who pleaded with the king not to push him out," Buthelezi adds. "After all he was a senior uncle and (the king) should not be without him. But the king, apparently, had seen through him even then."

Buthelezi, who cites Mcwayizeni's presence in KwaZulu to rebut ANC charges that he is intolerant of political dissent, adds: "They quarrelled. I think the ANC influenced him to politicise (the quarrel) to have a dig at me. It has nothing to do with me."

In recent weeks Buthelezi has referred to the ANC challenge, and in particular to its plans to march on Ulundi, as a threat to the Zulu people.

His statements have evoked anger among the ANC's Zulu members. They insist — to quote Aaron Ndlovu, chairman of the ANC's Northern Natal Region — that they are as much Zulu as Buthelezi and that their opposition to Buthelezi is not, and cannot be, a threat to the Zulu people.

Buthelezi defends his right to talk on behalf of the Zulu nation, citing the positions of his great grandfather and his father as "prime ministers" to the Zulu kings, Cetshwayo and Solomon Dinizulu, as precedents for his own prominent role.

"From the beginning of the Zulu kingdom my family has been very close to the Zulu king," he says, adding: "My great-grandfather was, of course, the prime minister of Cetshwayo and the commander-in-chief of the Zulu army."

Then, he continues, there was "a hiatus", when the Buthelezis did not fulfil their role as "prime ministers".

The link, however, was re-established during the reign of Solomon, the present king's grandfather, Buthelezi says, recalling that Solomon asked his father, Mathole Buthelezi, to help solve a family quarrel.

His father, "a man of natural wisdom", solved the problem with tact and understanding, causing Solomon to ponder how he could revive the old link with the Buthelezi family.

"The principal induna of the king then said: 'Why don't you offer the hand of one of your sisters in marriage?' That is how the marriage of my father to my mother took place. It was really political."

Buthelezi, who succeeded his father in 1953 and who has served as KwaZulu's Chief Minister since 1970, says of his political leadership: "Even if there was no KwaZulu Legislature that would still be my position." □

PAC meeting with Buthelezi 'opportunistic'

By Kaiser Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(118) STAR 9/11/92
The ANC has criticised the PAC for meeting Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi yesterday, saying the meeting was an opportunistic attempt by the PAC to gain political advantage.

Acknowledging receipt of a letter from the PAC asking for

a meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss violence, the ANC accused the PAC of seeking to ingratiate itself with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo shortly after the Bisho massacre.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu met Gqozo in Bisho after the September 7 killings to express his concern about developments in the homeland.

Gqozo later issued a statement saying the PAC leadership had offered its support for him.

"The ANC is disturbed by the insensitivity of the PAC which sought to ingratiate itself with Gqozo so soon after the massacre at Bisho. The ANC views the PAC's meeting with the IFP as an attempt to gain political advantage from the differences between the ANC and the IFP."

Responding to the ANC's criticism, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said it was the duty of his organisation "to meet all sides and organisations of the oppressed".

Alexander denied the PAC was ingratiating itself with homeland leaders, and said the ANC was responding to Gqozo's misrepresentation of the meeting he had with Makwetu.

Rightwing students speak for Inkatha

110-15710192

FORMER officials of the disbanded National Students' Federation — a rightwing campus group which received secret state funding — have found a new political home as Inkatha Freedom Party spokesmen.

Among them are two senior IFP officials who were disciplined for serious acts of misconduct while studying at Rhodes University in the late 1980s: Kim Hodgson, the Inkatha Institute's chief spokesman, and IFP southern Natal spokesman Ed Tillet. Both regularly release statements and research on violence and related topics.

The rush to join Inkatha occurred soon after the NSF was disbanded in August 1991, when NSF president Danie Kriel admitted what had previously been denied: that the NSF, along with the IFP, was receiving covert government funding, in a scheme codenamed Project Jackal.

Some earlier NSF leaders, such as its founder Russel Crystal, openly joined the National Party, while retaining close links with the IFP. Crystal is now the South African representative of the United States-based International Freedom Foundation. And former University of Cape Town NSF leader Arthur Kemp achieved prominence within the Conservative Party, rising to the position of deputy editor of the party's mouthpiece, *Die Patriot*.

But the IFP's strident anti-African National Congress stance appears to have made it the organisation of choice for the younger generation of former NSF stalwarts. Among the most prominent of them now speaking for Inkatha are ex-NSF presidents Nicholas Myburgh and

ident: "The pamphlet was written by another NSF official, David Styles — who has also joined Inkatha — and was personally distributed by Hodgson."

Asked to comment, Hodgson said there were both "elements of truth and distortion" in the allegations, but he refused to elaborate.

Tillet (26), also a Rhodes NSF official who later served on the Students' Representative Council, was rusticated by the university for a year after being caught in an examination with notes in a spare exam book on November 7 1986.

University records show he was

If the voices that speak for the Inkatha Freedom Party are familiar, it's because they come from leaders of a shady rightwing alliance vocal on white campuses in the 1980s.

By GAVIN EVANS

found guilty of three disciplinary offences, "regarded as unbecoming in a student of the university" including having in his possession a spare exam book and extra notes. He

was initially excluded from Rhodes for two years, but this was reduced to one year on appeal and he later returned to complete his degree.

Asked to comment, Tillet said: "It is not a question of whether this is correct or not — this is a smear against my name." He asked for the allegations to be faxed to him, stated they were untrue, and thereafter refused to comment further.

The former NSF leaders are certainly not the only whites who have recently come to the fore in the Zulu-dominated organisation.

Among the more prominent are Walter Felgate, widely regarded as

Research and a former SRC president for Social and Economic Research at the university's Institute for Social and Economic Research

Says Patrick Tandy, a researcher at the university's Institute for Social and Economic Research and a former SRC president

University records show that he was found guilty of contravening the University Press Code through "distorting and suppressing certain facts", and was fined R50.

Myburgh (29), who founded the Popular Students' Alliance at Stellenbosch University, is the IFP's western Cape chairman. He had a spell in Denis Worrall's Independent Party, then in the Democratic Party's youth wing, before emerging as the IFP's key man in the Cape.

As a chairman of the Student Action Front in Pietermaritzburg, is now an IFP Natal Midlands leader and serves on the party's central committee.

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI is adamant that he is not planning an alliance with far-rightwing and other homeland leaders involved in this week's Conference for Concerned South Africans.

In an interview shortly after the conference this week, Buthelezi said he hoped that the conference would help get on track "more representative multi-party negotiations". But an alliance was not possible because he has "fundamental differences with some of the people who were at the meeting".

Buthelezi revealed that he had received a letter from President FW de Klerk suggesting that he send Dr Gerit Viljoen "to listen to" Buthelezi. Buthelezi had not decided how to respond to the request.

This week's conference at a hotel north of Johannesburg drew together Buthelezi and leaders of the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. In a statement afterwards, they announced the creation of a "steering committee which will form a liaison structure for members of the conference and for planning the way forward".

The meeting, Buthelezi said, was called to deal specifically with the Record of Understanding signed last week by De Klerk and the African National Congress' Nelson Mandela. "All of us felt it was wrong and felt we should consult about it. It (the Record of Understanding) set a wrong precedent: that any two parties can make decisions which impact on the rest of the parties and hope that whatever they decide on can be foisted on the rest."

Asked if he intended to work with CP leader Andries Treurnicht in the future, Buthelezi said: "I remind you that some of the vitriol I have suffered from flows from the fact that I was always prepared to talk to the government. I talked to the government even though I was in opposition to them."

"I have known Dr Treurnicht since long ago, when he was a member of the National Party. I have always tried to persuade Dr Treurnicht to come to Codesa, even if I have not succeeded. He is a South African, he has a constituency. There is no way you can

No rightwing pact on the cards, says Buthelezi

Homeland leaders and the rightwing met this week to respond to the recent government-ANC Record of Understanding. Kwazulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke to **ANTON HARBERT** after the conference.



Strange bedfellows... Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and Kwazulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at this week's talks

Photo: GUY ADAMS

have a new constitution in this country and leave out his constituency if you want it to last."

Asked if members of his organisation objected to him meeting Treurnicht, he said: "Must your newspaper go out of its way to make this as nega-

with military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, before talks could continue, he said: "I have no way of forcing them. The state president raised the matter in December and Dr Nelson Mandela said there and then that he would not disband it. So what authority do I have to make him do it?"

"But I cannot see that while people are being killed at the rate in which they are being killed, by cadres of Umkhonto, there can be a way forward, there can be negotiations."

Later in the interview, however, he said that he is not angry "with the ANC as the ANC."

"There are some differences between us ... but if Dr Mandela entered here, you would see that our relationship as brothers has never changed."

Why then did he talk of "buggering them up"? "You can interpret that any way you like, I was talking to young people. I said that these people are buggering up your future and if you don't bug ... stop them in their tracks, they will bugger up your future with all the burning of schools and the killings."

"I think that was justified. People who want to interpret that as negatively as possible are free to do so."

He then shifted his line on talking to the ANC leader: "Why do you think there should be problems in talking to another black man who has been my friend for more than 30 years?"

He added that the planned mediation by former African presidents Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere would have to be "sorted out" first.

"They are elder statesmen of Africa and they have a role to play. They have a long and good relationship with the ANC and I have known them and they have respected me for a long time. I think they will come as conciliators rather than people who would sit in judgment, so I think it is appropriate that they come."

Buthelezi denied that he had come under pressure from the government or the international community to withdraw his opposition to the government-ANC agreement that was designed to get negotiations on track again. He had seen three ambassadors, but none of them had come to put pressure on him, he said.

Police to investigate Inkatha 'lawyer'

Wendell 9/10/15710192

(118)



9/10-15710192

THE first case being investigated by a Goldstone Commission appointee in Natal has been dealt a severe blow — the defence lawyer appearing for three Inkatha accused turns out not to be a lawyer at all. The Mtunzini chief magistrate has handed the matter over to the police, and the case will probably have to start again from scratch.

Five counts of attempted murder hang over the heads of the three accused, alleged to have attacked Eskikhawini Congress of South African Trade Unions shop steward Bheki Ntuli's house with a hand grenade on August 27. Eight people were killed that night in a series of attacks, and it is expected that the accused could soon face additional charges. After community allegations of a cover-up by kwaZulu Police and the local South African Police, a Goldstone Commission investigator appointed a senior outside SAP officer to take over the case.

The bail application of the three accused has so far taken four full days. Spearheading the

Police are investigating whether a defence lawyer appearing for three Inkatha accused is really a lawyer at all. By **CARMEL RICKARD** and **Weekly Mail Reporter**

application, cross-examining witnesses and leading evidence is a balding, loud-spoken man with a hot temper. He is well-known in the courts of northern Natal where he has conducted a number of cases. In Johannesburg he is known as a priest of the Apostolic Church, a millionaire businessman and a lawyer, with a huge mansion he is trying to sell in Soweto's elite "Beverley Hills".

He told reporters at the Mtunzini court this week his name was "R Gabela", but angrily refused to give his full name. However he signs court documents "VD Gabela". His Mandini

post box is registered in the name "Vusimuzi Dennis Gabela" with the business "Gabsons Carriage and Transport", and a Tugela Mouth Road address.

Asked by reporters who he worked for, Gabela mentioned a couple of companies before settling on the Johannesburg firm Lowenberg and Jvanbhaga. However staff at Lowenberg said Gabela was "not a lawyer" and that his job was to "look for work for us. He goes out to bring us clients in Motor Vehicle Assurance matters and criminal work". Neither the Natal Law Society, the Transvaal Law Society nor the Association of Law Societies has any record of any Gabela.

NLS officials said that it was against the law for anyone to pretend to be a lawyer. It constituted fraud and the commercial branch of the SAP would be asked to investigate. Mtunzini's chief magistrate has confirmed that the law societies have told him they have no record of Gabela and that he has handed the matter over to the police.

He said the Eskikhawini case in which Gabela is appearing would reconvene on October 15.

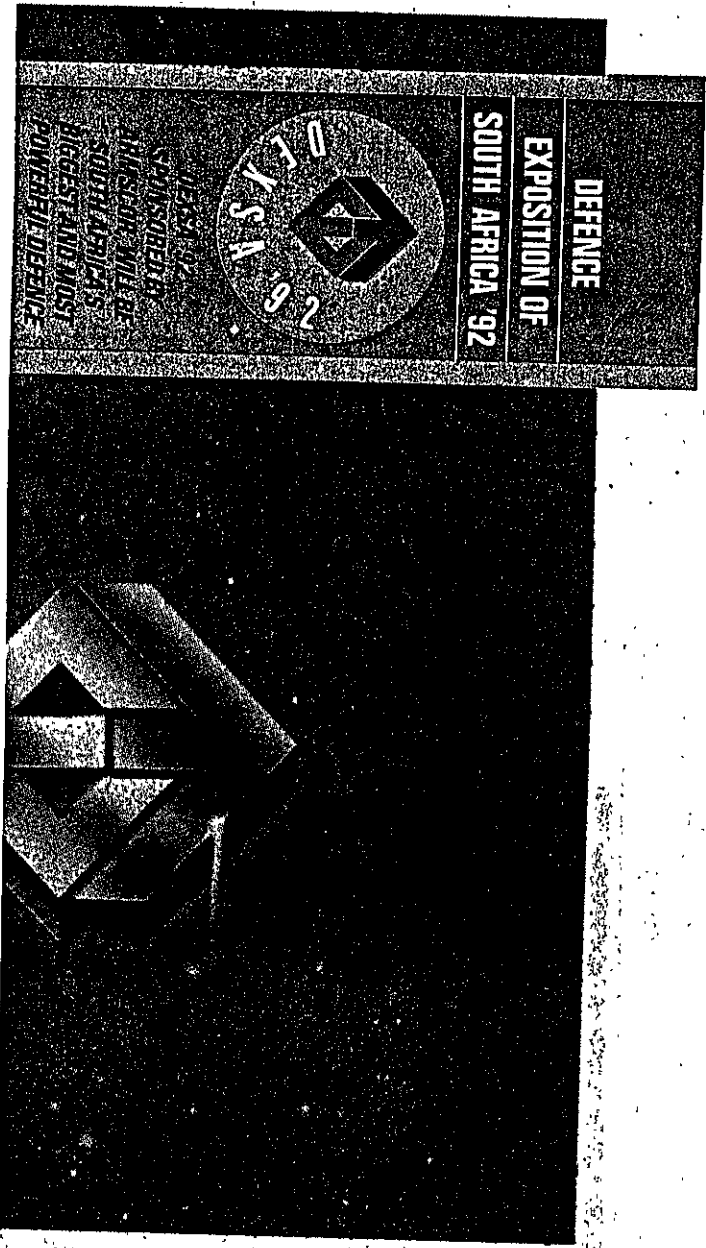
If Gabela was in court on that day he would be asked whether he could satisfy the court that he was in fact entitled to appear. If he could not satisfy the court, "the case cannot be proceeded with". The presiding magistrate will then decide on the next step, by checking on whether there are any precedents. However he believed the case might well have to start afresh.

Officials at the Mtunzini and Empangeni magistrates' courts have confirmed that Gabela has appeared in several cases. In fact on Wednesday of this week alone, one of the Empangeni prosecutors had two cases involving Gabela on the roll, both of which she discussed with him to arrange a postponement date. Yesterday he was not at home. Relatives said he was out at court, either Mtunzini, Empangeni or Eshtowe. They said he had given up Gabsons, and was now "spending all his time on court work".

Many questions are being asked about Gabela and his work. For example, after Monday's court session, why did he take two German-made G3 firearms from his car and give them to the bodyguards of Eskikhawini Inkatha chairman Lindi Mbuyazi? Mbuyazi had been attending court after giving evidence last Friday urging the magistrate to grant bail.

Eshtowe court officials said Gabela was well known to them for practising in the regional court where he handled serious matters. He told them last year that he worked as a legal adviser to the kwaZulu government but that this year he was practising on his own. However, kwaZulu department of justice officials denied that they knew him.

Gabela also caused drama in court when he cross-examined the investigating officer. Quite unexpectedly, he claimed that Ntuli's legal representative, John Wills — who is keeping a watching brief for Ntuli and Cosatu — had impersonated a policeman in an effort to obtain access to one of the accused. The magistrate said he took a very serious view of the allegations and postponed the case so the police could investigate Gabela's claims. Wills has strongly denied Gabela's allegations which he says are defamatory. He has reported the matter to the Natal Law Society and has made a statement to the police.



May I have the next dance, FW?

BY QUINTON RHODES

THINK of a game of political musical chairs. South African politics has looked a lot like that recently.

When the music of the last round of stallo-tops, everybody sits in the closest chairs. Then, in the political version of the game, you form an alliance with whatever happens to be sitting in the chairs closest to you.

Sometimes in the game you try to sit on more than one chair when the music stops. But whatever, the real fun of the game is in hurling abuse at whoever happens to be sitting on the chairs not included in your alliance.

At least that is the way it has appeared to bewildered observers.

How else do you begin to understand the image of white racist CP leaders Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Harzenberg embracing and kissing black homeland leaders at this week's Conference of Concerned South Africans? Or the burgeoning alliance between the far right AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Kagzani? Or the footsy-footsy being played between the government and the ANC? Or the sudden softening of the ANC's hardline position in relation to the government? Or for that matter the way State President FW de Klerk's major partner in federalist scheming and in political powerplays against the ANC - Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi - has now become his most implacable enemy?

In looking closely at the shifting of alliances, they are far from random. In general they represent one of two things: either an acceptance in the wake of a protracted deadlock and re-statement of ideological position, or the essentially reactive banding together of minor players seeking strength in numbers in the fight for their political lives.

There's a logic in the unusual shifting of political alliances, the most recent example being the meeting between Inkatha and the far right. Reporter QUINTON RHODES argues it's a case of strength in numbers.

Crucially, there was a moment of rapprochement between the government and the ANC which accompanied the Mandela/De Klerk summit of two weeks ago. De Klerk was forced to accede to ANC demands for a ban on dangerous weapons, an isolation of violence-prone hostels, and the long outstanding release of political prisoners.

The summit itself was crowned by a Record of Understanding, which appeared to signal a period of renewed rapid movement in the negotiations process.

This version of the negotiating process represents the fruition of a shift in ANC strategy - though of course it reverts to the mode of functioning in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes. It is equally significant that the international community has also been active in reinstating this interpretation of the settlement in SA as one essentially between the ANC and the government.

This follows a shift in blame which places Inkatha at the centre of the recent violence. With Buthelezi effectively sidelined, the ANC went a step further at last, trying its earlier confrontational, mass action-based tactics with regard to the homelands.

The NEC decided on - but did not publicly announce - a move to lock the homeland governments of Ciskei, Kwa-Zulu and Bophuthatswana into a series of bilateral discussions aimed at securing a climate of free political activity

for the ANC within the relevant areas. Mass action will only be used as a last resort.

Although the issue of SACP chairman Joe Slovo's so-called sunset clause calling for the guarantee of a period of power sharing has been publicly shelved in the face of NP nerves and Buthelezi's petulance, it is still being explored behind closed doors. It remains the most significant intervention of the immediate past.

Of course an incipient NP/ANC alliance is the worst of all nightmares for the lesser figures in South African politics. It would spell the demise of the homeland regimes and the end of big brother De Klerk's protection of the powers of their leaders.

The point is that none of the homeland leaders - and this includes Buthelezi - can afford a democratic political process.

The hidden agendas behind the federal alliance, which De Klerk was trying to put together before the Bisho massacre, were essentially aimed at avoiding open elections and maintaining the homelands status quo.

Particularly at risk here was Buthelezi's power base in KwaZulu. The nod-and-wink agreement embodied within the federal alliance was that, by careful manoeuvring, he would be guaranteed at least the northern areas of Natal.

But with the signing of the Record of Agreement, all that slipped away, not only because the government was beginning to pursue different relationships at his expense, but also because his militarist trump cards - traditional weapons and the hostel armies - were taken away.

The government pulled the carpet out from under Bop's feet too by endorsing in the Record of Understanding the ANC's right to free political activity in the homelands. Hence Bop's hardline rejection of the

Record of Understanding, the Goldstone report's similar insistence on free political activity, and its threats of force against mooted mass action.

Ciskei was presented with a special problem. With the continuing insistence by Mandela that Bisho should again be targeted for the ANC's next show of popular force, Gqozo knows its defence force simply cannot afford to react the way it did on September 7.

However, homeland hardliners received some respite when NP leadership had to face the Cape Congress in East London this week. The overwhelming message they delivered was one of anger against the ANC.

There is also real anger growing against the ANC for failing, as De Klerk sees it, to honour written and unwritten undertakings which came out of the summit.

First among these is the agreement that the ANC would "review" its mass action campaign - which it has done only to the extent that certain protests have been sealed down and others deferred.

There is also the question of a general amnesty for State-connected political criminals, which individual members of the ANC promised would be endorsed as a quid-pro-quo for releasing political prisoners. It has since become clear that the ANC has no intention of supporting legislation De Klerk will be passing through parliament this month in an attempt to close the book on the past, thus avoiding further inquiry into State crimes which would certainly reach cabinet level.

In the end the homelands, fabrications of the more deranged fantasies of apartheid that they are, cannot survive without the support of De Klerk. He in turn has no alternative but to pursue bilateral talks with the ANC.

SOUTH Africans this week woke up to news of an unholy political alliance.

Surprise. Surprise. Members of this unlikely coterie included Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Chief Lucas Mangope, Brig Oupa Gqozo, Prof Carel Boshoff and a representative of Hudson Ntsanwisi.

Unbelievable, some said. Incredible, said others. Political suicide, said those who were more forthright.

"Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths to which Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said SACP secretary general Chris Hani.

"They don't have any fundamental basis for co-operation. Inkatha has always opposed apartheid, while the Conservative Party was seeking to reintroduce it," said National Party secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe.

I too, tried to figure out what happened and the only explanation I could come

MY WAY
with Khulu Sibilya

A mixed up marriage

11B
CP News 11/10/92



up with was it could only happen in SA.

Anywhere else in the world political battle lines are clearly drawn. If you're a conservative, a democrat or centre to left or centre to right leader, your constituents are fully informed.

After the Bisho massacre, Gqozo needed a shoulder to lean on. And threats by the ANC to march to Bophuthatswana forced Mangope to find new friends immediately.

As for Treurnicht and the Volksunie, coming together with black leaders is nothing but a marriage of convenience. It was the very

Treurnicht who only recently refused to accept blacks sharing the same facilities. Have Buthelezi, Gqozo, Mangope and Ntsanwisi forgotten?

Buthelezi wants to be all things to all people and we cannot make a clear distinction as to which hat he wears or when.

When he attended the celebration of this alliance, was he representing the KwaZulu government, Inkatha or the Zulu nation? And who mandated him?

It is really time for Buthelezi to clarify his position. He has claimed to be anti-tribalist, but speaks on behalf of the Zulu nation.

Yet when the chips are down and he thinks he has been sidelined - as was the case when the NP and ANC met in talks - he embraces the very people who hate his guts and skin colour.

As I have said before, Buthelezi is not a man to be trifled with. Like him or hate him, you cannot afford to ignore him.

However, one has to question his wisdom in embracing people such as Gqozo (who still has to answer for Bisho),

Treurnicht, (an unapologetic racist), Carel Boshoff, (who will do everthing in his power to prevent white folks from mixing with blacks), and Hudson

Ntsanwisi (long discredited by his own people).

Whatever people say, I still refuse to judge Buthelezi by the company he is now keeping. There is more to it than we have so far been told. If the NP had not ditched him and the ANC not marginalised him, Buthelezi would still be fighting Treurnicht.

As for Gqozo, the less said about him the better.

Any leader worth his salt would have shown remorse for those killed and injured, or would have offered an apology or tendered his resignation. Instead Gqozo said he would do it again.

The wounds have barely healed and the families of those who died are still weeping. Already Gqozo is holding secret meetings with black-haters and racists like AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

History is a harsh judge of the likes of Gqozo. If he thinks he has found a haven with the AWB and the CP, he has missed the point.

Afrikaner home idea 'doomed'

JOHANNESBURG — Attempts by the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) to establish their own Afrikaner homeland were doomed because there was no room in the whole of South Africa which could boast a white majority, said Boerestaal Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder at a Kruger Day rally at the weekend.

And in Krugersdorp on Saturday the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, warned the day could come when the Afrikaner would have no other choice but to declare war. **CT 12/10/92**

Police wounded by robbers

JOHANNESBURG — Two South African women were critically wounded and another received slight injuries yesterday after robbers held up a supermarket in Lenasia. The robbers entered the supermarket, held up the owner and stole cash and goods. As they fled, they fired at policemen in a vehicle on the Soweto highway, critically wounding two and slightly injuring a third. Police asked the public to be on the lookout for a BMW with a Bloemfontein number, and said the occupants were heavily armed and extremely dangerous.

An assistant constable was wounded by a gunman firing an AK-47 from a car on the Golden Highway about 8am yesterday. Police said Constable R Farrel was taken to hospital. — Sapa

Buthelezi: 'No right-wing alliance'

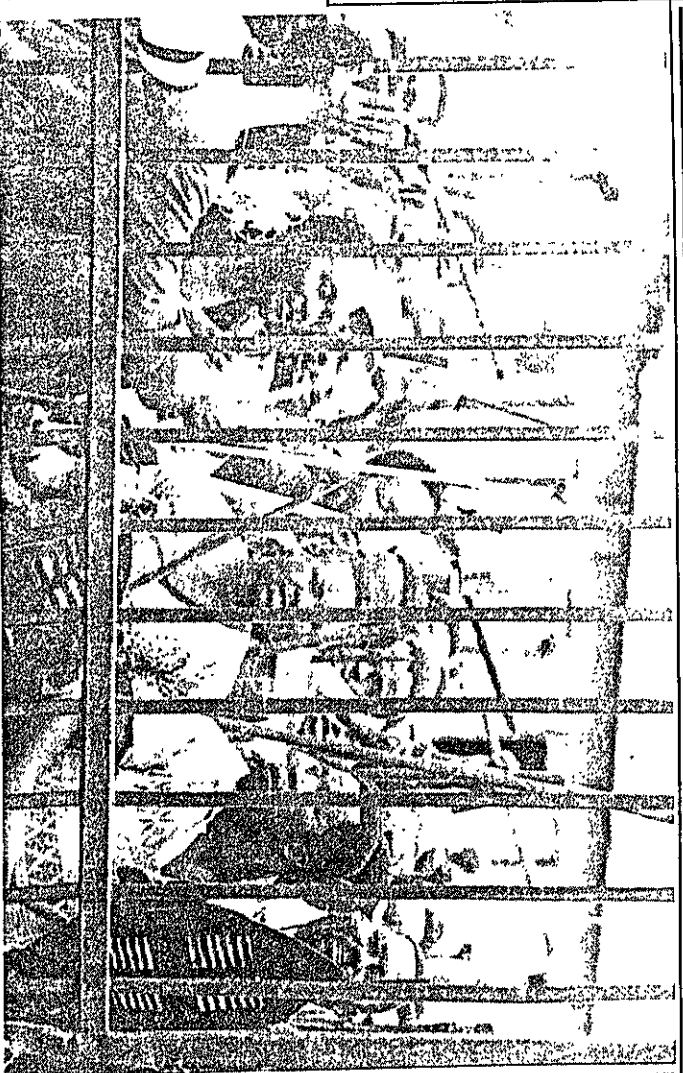
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has denied that last week's talks between members of the Conservative Party and the Volksunie Party as well as certain black leaders, represented an "alliance with right-wing parties".

He was addressing a crowd of about 7 000 members and observers at the Inkatha Women's Brigade's annual conference at Ulundi, drawn from 1 000 branches of the party throughout the country. "It is amazing that both the Afrikaans press and the English press have tried to portray that picture," he said. "The only white political parties that were represented at the meeting were the CP and the Volksunie Party."

Political parties and governments that were represented included the Hoputhuswana government, with a government delegation led by President Mangosuthu Oupa Gqozo, a delegation of the Xhosa Party, a delegation led by Chief Ntombi, Mr Ismail, representing the National People's Party, and the IFP led by myself," Chief Buthelezi said.

The IFP president said the time was now ripe to get a multi-party conference of review off the ground. He called for umkhonto, welfare, the military wing of the ANC, to be disbanded, negotiations to be put back on track and mass actions to be suspended and said marches against capitalists to topple governments had to be abandoned.



SHOW OF STRENGTH . . . IFP members with their weapons inside the gates of a workers' hostel in Thokoza yesterday. There was tension after an ANC march passed the Zulu hostel on the way to a rally. **Picture: AP**

TOP ANC man gunned down

JOHANNESBURG — Senior ANC official Mr Prince Mhlambi was one of three men killed when gunmen riddled the victims' car with bullets at the weekend. **CT 12/10/92**

Two others were injured in the incident, which police said took place in Mampanga Section, Kaitshong, Witwaters, however. Mhlambi was shot in the chest and abdomen, and the shooting took place in Thokoza. Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce could not confirm Mr Mhlambi's death. The two wounded men were treated at Natashraai Hospital. The names of the dead have been withheld pending identification. According to witnesses, the four youths in the car with Mr Mhlambi when he was shot, all members of a local football club.

Hope for resumed talks

Political Staff

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet President F W de Klerk as early as this week to discuss issues that have driven a wedge between Inkatha and the government. And there is optimism in government circles that multi-party negotiations could resume by the end of next month. Plans are under way for a meeting between Mr De Klerk and a delegation from last week's Conference of

FW will try to win confidence

Political Staff

WHEN President F W de Klerk addresses Parliament today he will try to restore confidence in the negotiation process and demonstrate to jittery Nationalists and business people that he has not lost his nerve.

In the face of mounting economic pressures, mass action by the ANC alliance and increasing criticisms about the cost and purpose of the 10-day short session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk will want to show that his government remains firmly in control.

As he affirmed at last week's Cape congress of the National Party, he is convinced he is on the right path, and he will fight off criticisms of the government's role in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk wants it to be seen that he is effectively leading the country to the new South Africa and that he is on the most sensible course towards transition. The government hopes the session will consolidate parliamentarianism and support behind its strategies about negotiations.

The ANC leadership, meanwhile, faces internal criticism from activists who believe it has made too many concessions to the government for it to be able to fight elections by next year.

Attacks on right, left expected today

ANC marchers outside Parliament today will symbolically rename Stalplein — in front of Mr De Klerk's Tutyhny's offices — Albert Luthuli Square.

Under pressure from some in his party who believe the government has been "soft" on the ANC, Mr De Klerk is expected to continue bashing the organisation. He will also direct some of his venom at the Conservative Party, which believes it has taken on new life since its meeting with Buthelezi and other homeland leaders last week.

Mr De Klerk is expected to assert that his talking out with Chief Buthelezi has been an over detail and not principles. The short session has largely been dismissed as a waste of time.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday described the session as financially wasteful and "another racist and unrepresentative exercise".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the stated reason for the session — to pass legislation agreed to in negotiations — had not materialised and so it was something of a "face-saving" exercise for Mr De Klerk.

Legislation to be passed during the session will empower Mr De Klerk to rationalise the Own Affairs administrators and appoint people to the cabinet without their having to become MPs within a year. This would allow him to appoint blacks to the cabinet, although the government has stressed that it has no such plans at this stage.

Other legislation will end by-elections, make provision for a general amnesty for all "political" crimes committed before October 1, 1990, and outlaw hard gambling.

Dr De Beer said the rationalisation of Own Affairs — if part of the broader rationalisation of the civil service demanded by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys — might save money. He said the legislation could have a bearing on Mr De Klerk's "taking steps to dismantle the tri-cameral system".

IFP 'yes' to PAC mediation

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has accepted an offer from the PAC to act as an intermediary between it and the ANC.

However, the PAC is looking to the ANC for a reply to its proposals to end violence in South Africa, the PAC said yesterday. (18) (2)

Meanwhile PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu yesterday said decisions taken by the government and other organisations would not be binding on other parties. — Sapa CT 13/10/92

IFP 'yes' to PAC mediation

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However, the PAC is looking to the ANC for a reply to its proposals to end violence in South Africa, the PAC said yesterday. (IB)

Meanwhile PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetlu yesterday said decisions taken by the government and other organisations would not be binding on other parties. — Sapa CT 18/10/92

IFP kept informed, says Meyer

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government claimed yesterday that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been kept informed of the "progress and contents" of negotiations with the ANC which led to the controversial "Record of Understanding" on September 26.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told Parliament that it was therefore unfair of Chief Buthelezi to have broken off negotiations with the Government on the grounds that he had not been informed.

Meyer said the Government regarded the IFP's participation in negotiations as important.

The Government would again inform the IFP of progress in negotiations when it met the party this week.

Meyer said the IFP should explain how it could co-operate with an apartheid party like the Conservative Party which believed in racism.

He was apparently referring to the recent meeting and agreement between the CP, IFP and other homeland parties.

Earlier, President de Klerk said a series of important bilateral talks would be taking place over the next two weeks between the Government and other parties.

Bargaining chips are on the table

By S'BU MNGADI

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is waiting with baited breath as the ANC deliberates over the logistics of a mass march on Ulundi.

The ANC's three Natal regional executive committees held a mini summit in Richards Bay on Friday to discuss the pending march.

However, instead of announcing the date and programme, the Natal executive leadership was vague.

Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe told City Press yesterday the meeting resolved to establish "a sub-committee to map out details of a campaign of free political activity in KwaZulu" which the ANC-led tripartite alliance would soon launch.

He added the campaign would culminate in a march on Ulundi.

Natal ANC leaders stubbornly persist that the march will go ahead,

and this position was endorsed by the ANC's national executive committee a fortnight ago.

But as days go by without even a tentative date for the march, the Natal executive appears to have changed its tune.

Sunday picnic

Privately they concede the organisation would not dare lead its supporters to the slaughter which Inkatha leaders have warned would mark the beginning of a civil war and would make the Bisho massacre look like a "Sunday picnic".

Natal senior ANC sources told City Press the tripartite alliance was merely waging a "psychological war" on Buthelezi whom they allege had been successfully driven to sleepless nights at the prospect of ANC-supporting Zulus marching on his seat of power.

Northern Natal ANC chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu said the psychological war will "ultimately force the Inkatha leader to concede free political activity in KwaZulu.

The prospective march this week prompted the SA government to appeal to the National Peace Secretariat to intervene in a bid to stave off the tensions, according to Law and Order Deputy Minister Danie Schutte.

NPS chairman Dr Antonie Geldenhuys said meetings would be held with all concerned parties to work out "suitable conditions" for the march.

The ANC hopes the NPS will persuade it to call off the march in exchange for free political activity in KwaZulu.

Northern Natal ANC secretary Senzo Mchunu maintains free political activity in KwaZulu is much closer.

Breaking the sound

By S'BU MNGADI

establish SA's first national theatre of the deaf

ch is by Zulu 'nation' as weapons ban protest



r Daniel Motsuenyane, Mrs

Ban 'Zulu nation march' call by ANC

Sowetan 16/10/92.
■ Warning that stability could be threatened in Pretoria's Atteridgeville township:

By Mandla Zibi and Josias Charlie

~~11B~~ ~~2017~~
knowledge, no one had been evicted from the hostel.

THE African National Congress (ANC) in the PWV region has called on the Government to stop a "Zulu nation march" in Pretoria's Atteridgeville township due to take place tomorrow.

The ANC yesterday warned that the march could threaten stability in the township.

The call comes in the wake of an ANC statement accusing the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) of being responsible for the death of a Saulsville hostel inmate, Mr. Vuyisile Bonya, last Sunday. The ANC claimed the man was killed during the launch of an IFP branch at the hostel on Sunday.

The situation at the Saulsville hostel was quiet this week, contrary to reports that some inmates had been evicted. A spokesman for the hostel complaints office told *Sowetan* that according to his

This refuted rumours that alleged IFP members at the hostel had driven out non-members from their rooms. The spokesman said only one man had asked to be relocated to another section of the hostel and this was a routine request.

The IFP's Themba Khoza yesterday denied that the march was organised by the IFP saying it was only a "Zulu nation march".

"The march has been planned by Zulus who want to show their defiance of the Government's intention to outlaw the carrying of cultural weapons," Khoza said.

He said the marchers would show their defiance by carrying other weapons as well on Saturday.

Asked to comment on the ANC's objections to the march, Khoza said the IFP dismissed them as evidence of the ANC's interference and political intolerance.

MK blamed for IFP deaths

By CARMEL RICKARD

16/10-22/10/92.
THE Inkatha Freedom Party has directly blamed Umkhonto weSizwe for the killing of 60 IFP supporters in six recent Natal massacres, after another murderous attack this week.

On Wednesday, about 20 uniformed men killed and burnt Lena Mvonu, wife of Mthiyoke Mvonu, the IFP vice-chairman in Felekisi, near kwaMakutha outside Amanzimtoti, according to Inkatha central committee member and kwaZulu health minister Ben Ngubane. They then shot dead four others in the homestead, including two children.

Dropping Inkatha's previous innuendo, Ngubane directly pointed a finger at the African National Congress' armed wing, saying the attack bore all the hallmarks of MK. He also warned that the spate of killings would have to be addressed before the IFP would consider returning to the negotiating table.

"The six massacres over the last six weeks have all followed a similar pattern and this without doubt is a planned strategy employed by MK and ordered by the ANC," he said.

"Nelson Mandela, as commander-in-chief of MK, must take direct and full responsibility for the actions of his death squads."

The phrase "death squads" appears deliberately chosen and follows the ANC's constant reference to "death squads" allegedly financed, trained and run by the state.

Ngubane said that in each case in which Inkatha people were killed, "trained assassins wearing security force uniforms" carried out the massacres. He also claimed that following four of these incidents ANC or MK members have either been arrested or killed by inkatha members in self-defence at the scene of the massacres.

He listed the continued killings of Inkatha supporters as one of the major issues which had to be addressed before any further constitutional talks were held.

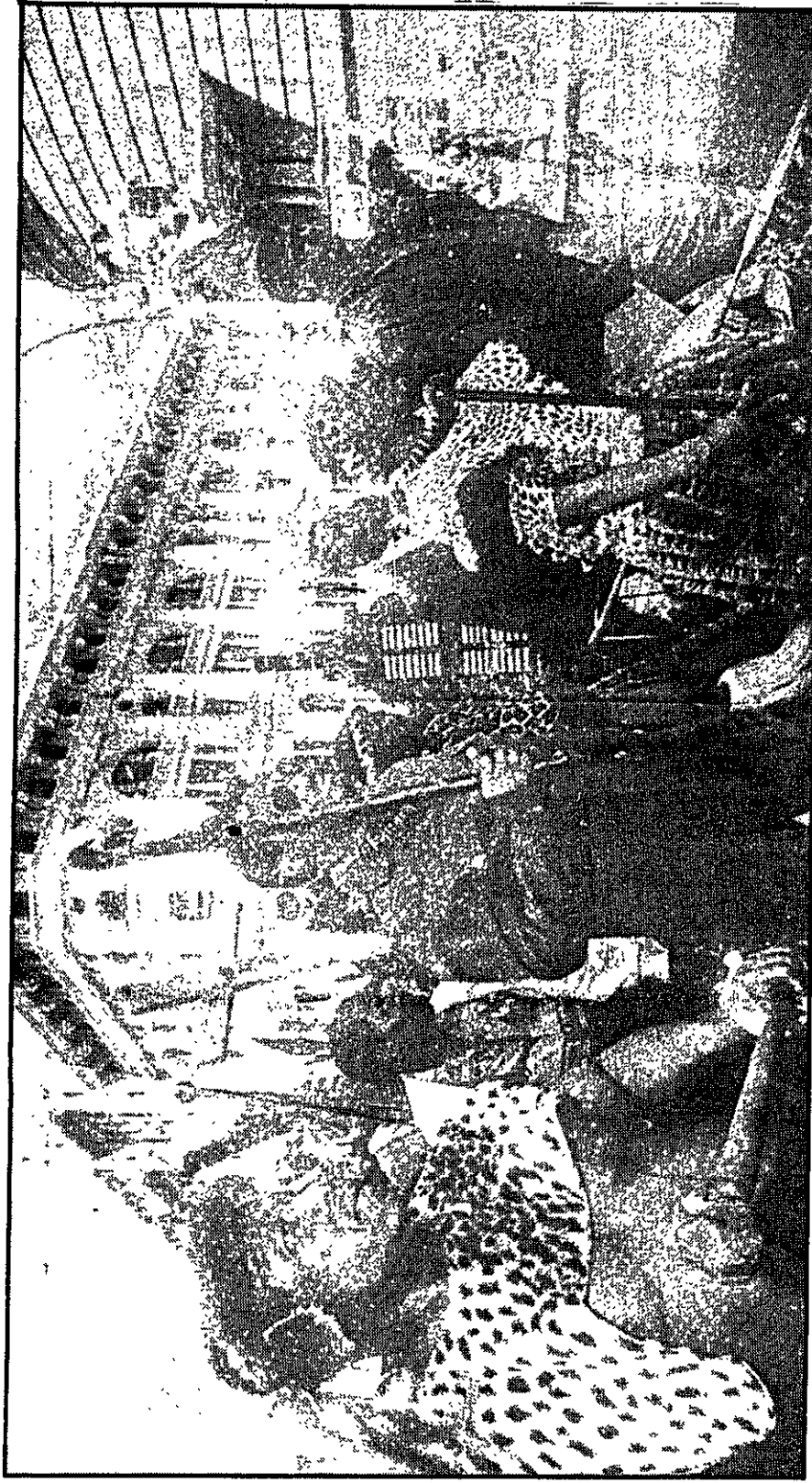
"Inkatha is adamant that MK, the death merchants of the ANC, must be disbanded immediately and unconditionally." Ngubane said the IFP would otherwise find it difficult to explain to its members why they went back to talks "while the killings continued".

Reporting breaches of the peace accord to the National Peace Committee proved a waste of time. When the ANC was found guilty of violating the accord "there is no internal discipline of those who have violated the accord, and the ANC just shrugs its shoulders as if violations are of no consequence."

Police ban on IFP weapons

JOHANNESBURG —
Police yesterday turned down an application by the IFP for its supporters to carry weapons during a protest march here tomorrow.

The IFP will march to police headquarters at John Vorster Square to protest against the recent agreement between the government and the ANC on the release of political prisoners. — Sapa (115)



Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

PROTEST Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi leads an estimated 20,000 Inkatha supporters to John Vorster Square

HUNDREDS of police officers watched the march. Inkatha supporters defied a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons and marched through Johannesburg carrying spears, axes, sticks and knobkerries.

On Friday night, SAP regional commissioner General Gerrit Erasmus turned down a request by march organisers to carry the weapons in public.

As a wave upon wave of Zulu impis — led by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — marched from the George Goch stadium to John Vorster Square, police stood on the sidelines, but made no attempt to disarm them.

A spokesman for the police said afterwards it would have been "unwise" to try to confiscate the weapons.

IMPIS ON THE MARCH

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Freedom Party has approached the government to release 40 prisoners which it claims are political.

Among them is controversial former Kwazulu deputy minister of the interior Samuel Jamile.

Trade unions and right-wing political parties have also added their voices to the clamour of those claiming their supporters are

political prisoners, said a spokesman for Correctional Services Minister Adrian Vlok.

He said the November 15 deadline agreed to by the ANC and the government in their Record of Understanding for the release of all political prisoners may have to be extended.

Mr Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1989 for the 1989 murder of a former tenant of a woman whose throat he cut. He was acquitted on 10 other murder and attempted murder charges.

The government and the ANC held a four-hour meeting on Thursday in which they studied a list of 150 names. It was decided the co-accused of those already released should receive preference and a list of 25 names has been forwarded to Mr Vlok for consideration.

'KwaZulu officials get the call-up'

City Press 18/10/92
By S'BU MNGADI

INKATHA yesterday called up thousands of KwaZulu civil servants to take part in a march through Johannesburg streets, callers told City Press. (11B)

Before leaving Ulundi for Johannesburg at 7 pm on Friday, newly appointed "street indunas" of the Zulu king's Inala regiment read a roll call - street by street - to ensure none of the able-bodied civil servants dodged the call-up. (11B)

A fearful KwaZulu government official telephoned City Press on Friday and warned: "If we are killed or arrested in Johannesburg, the world must know we were forced to take part in the march."

The civil servants had been warned to arm themselves with "traditional weapons" - in defiance of a clause in the Record of Understanding outlawing the carrying of traditional weapons in public.

Those senior KwaZulu government officials who qualified for government-issue guns were encouraged to arm themselves in case violence broke out during the march, Ulundi residents told City Press.

Following last month's ANC threats to march on the KwaZulu capital, the civil servants were reportedly mobilised into ANC-like defence committees.

Buthelezi may face criminal charges for leading marchers - police

IN OPEN DEFIANCE

'KwaZulu officials get the call-up'

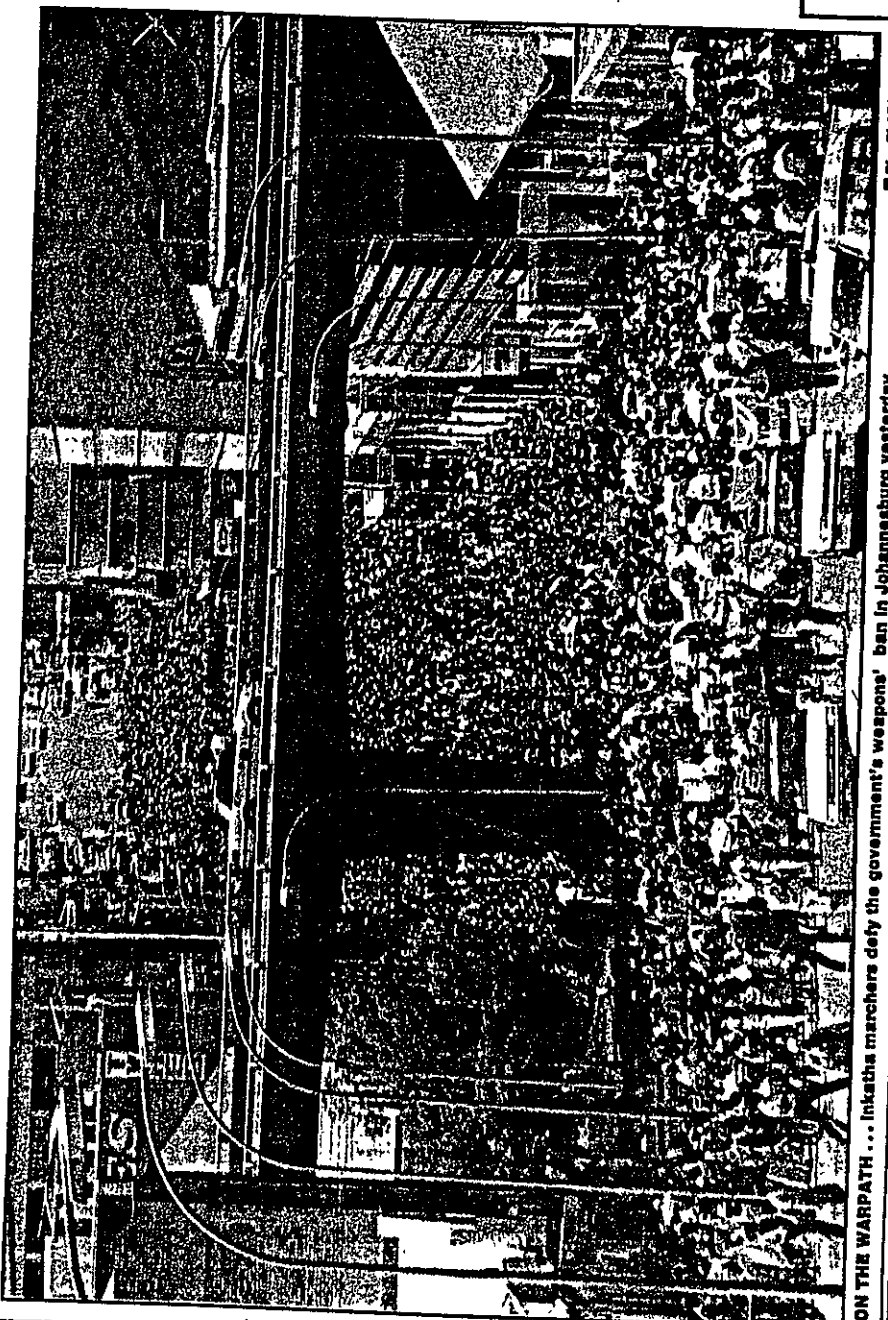
By SBU MINGADI

INKATHA yesterday called up thousands of KwaZulu civil servants to take part in a march through Johannesburg streets, called the City Press.

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ON THE WARPATH... Inkatha marchers defy the government's weapons' ban in Johannesburg yesterday.

CP Reporters
18/10/92

ABOUT 30 000 Inkatha supporters defied a government ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public and marched - armed to the teeth - to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg yesterday.

However, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman told City Press that KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could face criminal charges for leading the marchers.

Opperman said dockets would be opened and submitted to the Attorney-General for his decision on whether or not to prosecute Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders.

The captain could not say what charges the Inkatha leaders would face.

He said police had issued notices prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons and this was defied.

The march was preceded by a rally addressed by Buthelezi at George Goch Stadium.

Buthelezi told his upholding supporters that the Zulus would not allow themselves to be fenced inside the hotels "like pigs".

He rejected outright the Record of Understanding reached by State President FW De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela last month.

The IFP marchers were busied in four hotels and squatter camps in the Transvaal and some of the vehicles bore Natal registrations.

The police, who were out in full force, watched helplessly as the chanting impis waved their weapons in the air while clasp their shields.

The march was also attended by Angela Davies who leads the United Nations delegation of observers to monitor violence in this country.

PHOTO: TLADI KHULLE

March: IFP defiant over police charges on weapons

(118) ARG 19/10/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior Inkatha Freedom Party member says the IFP will not be intimidated by a police investigation of charges against leaders for defying the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons during a march here on Saturday.

At least 20 000 IFP supporters, led by party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and armed with shields, metal and wooden sticks, sjamboks, axes and baseball bats, marched from George Goch hostel and down Commissioner Street to John Vorster Square to deliver a petition against last month's ANC-government agreement to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons and to fence in hostels.

After the march Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said Chief Buthelezi could be among those facing charges because his sup-

porters had ignored the ban.

IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said the carrying of "cultural weapons" during the weekend IFP march was not sanctioned by Chief Buthelezi but was "an inherent right of every Zulu".

He added: "We'll continue carrying these traditional weapons and face charges. We're not bound by decisions reached by the ANC and the government."

Captain Opperman, who said dockets would soon be forwarded to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand for his opinion on whether the IFP leaders would be prosecuted, yesterday said police were in possession of footage of the march filmed from the air and the ground.

"Dockets have already been opened but at this stage we can't say when they'll be forwarded to the Attorney-General," said Captain Opperman.

**ON
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WITH AFRICANS.**

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Huge Inkatha march completed peacefully

MORE than 20 000 Inkatha supporters who took part on Saturday in what some observers believe was the largest political march yet seen in Johannesburg, dispersed peacefully after president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and party official Frank Mdlalose handed a memorandum to a senior policeman at John Vorster Square.

However, about 30 cinemagoers were injured and the Goodhope Cinema damaged when a crowd panicked, rushing to get away from three Inkatha supporters who entered the cinema after their march. The memorandum handed to Witwatersrand police district commissioner Brig Braam Strauss contained several demands, among them that the controversial Record of Understanding between government and the ANC be reviewed by all parties involved in consti-

11B
8/10/92 19/10/92
tutional negotiations.
Although police warnings about carrying weapons were ignored, no arrests were made.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said leaders would possibly be rebuked and decisions on prosecutions would be taken by the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand.

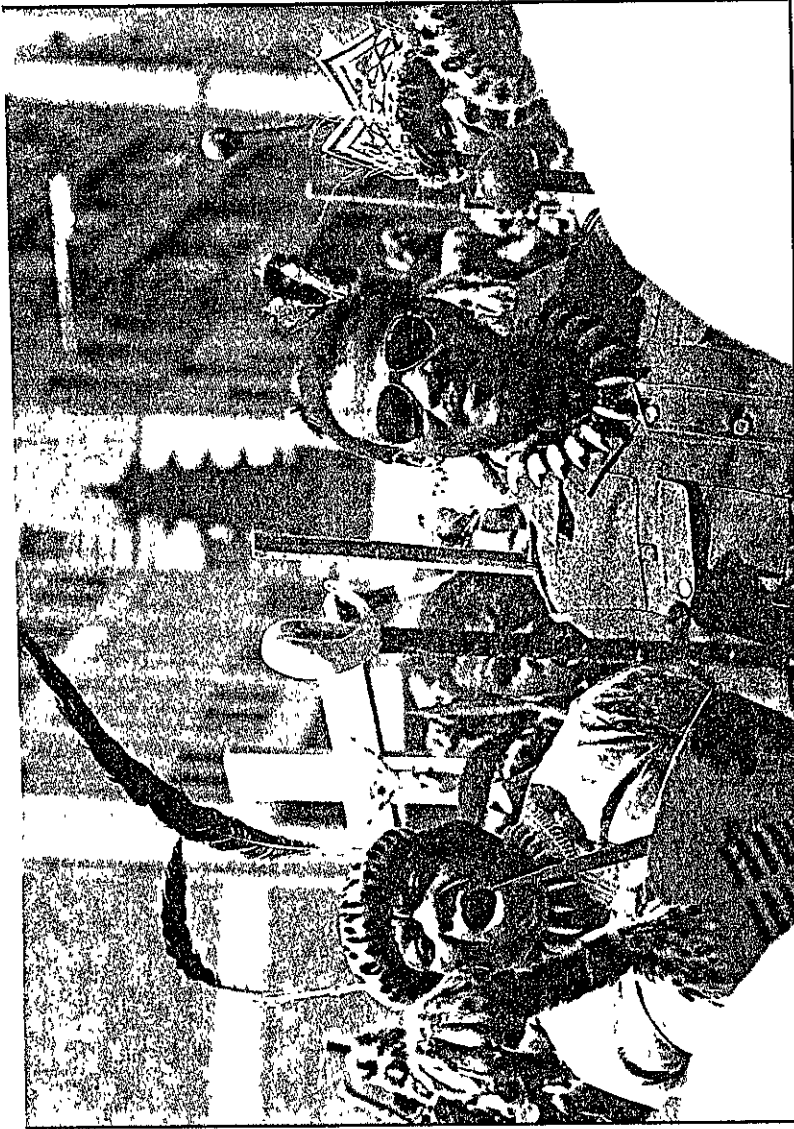
"In volatile situations such as this, it would be dangerous for police to move into the crowd to confiscate weapons and arrest people," said Opperman.

Meanwhile Goodhope Cinema manager Sanjith Lutchman said most of the cinema's 400 seats and its doors had been broken and babies had been hurt when patrons rushed to get away from Inkatha supporters.

Soon afterwards, the cinema's patrons were back in their damaged seats. — Sapa.

Dangerous wepaons

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi leads a march by heavily armed supporters through the streets of Johannesburg in protest against the banning of traditional weapons. PIC: THE STAR



■ **OCTOBER 19**

The need for Press freedom comes under spotlight at a seminar in Soweto today **PAGE 6**

IFP leader

dares cops

Soweto 19/10/92. 115
 ■ **WEAPONS BAN** The IFP challenges the Government to charge "Zulu nation" leaders:

IN THE wake of Saturday's march by the Inkatha Freedom Party in Johannesburg, the organisation yesterday dared the State to prosecute the leaders of the "Zulu nation" for defying an arms ban.

It was not the IFP as a political party that was marching, it said, but "Zulus", central committee member Mr. Musa Myeni said.

The march was to protest against an agreement the ANC reached with the Government which led to the banning of "traditional weapons".

Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda arrived in the country on Saturday to mediate between the IFP and the ANC.

Each Cigarette a Masterpiece

VAN THUN
Beethoven

20 00 in Reef IFP march

(118)

CT 19/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 20 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who took part on Saturday in what some observers believe was the largest political march yet seen in Johannesburg, dispersed peacefully after IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu minister Dr FT Mdlalose handed a memorandum to a senior policeman.

The march began at the George Goch Stadium about 11am. The crowd reached John Vorster Square without serious incident and the memo was handed to Witwatersrand police district commissioner Brigadier Braam Strauss.

One demand in the memo was that the "Record of Understanding" between the government and the ANC be reviewed by all parties in constitutional negotiations.

In spite of warnings by police that dangerous weapons were prohibited, marchers arrived armed with knobkerries, spears, shields and iron bars. No arrests were made.

Shopowners closed



MASS MARCH . . . Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (centre) leads thousands of supporters on a march to Johannesburg's main police station at the weekend to hand over a memorandum. Picture: AP

their shops and the marchers were joined by hundreds more supporters along the way.

A large contingent of police, SA Defence Force troops and traffic officers monitored the march.

● In incidents apparently connected to the march, two people were

slightly injured, a man was arrested for attempted robbery and a vehicle was reported hijacked, police said.

● National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall says all parties have agreed to be bound by the decision by adjudicators into a dispute which arose after

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told the UN that Inkatha was a surrogate of the government.

Mr Hall welcomed former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda as one of the adjudicators in Johannesburg on Saturday. Dr Kaunda will be joined by retired judge Mr Justice G Kotze today. — Sapa

NEWS Wide indemnity powers for FW de Klerk ● Low-intensity war in Natal alleged

APLA

IFP report slams ANC over 'hit squad campaign'

So vefan 19/10/92

11/3

■ MK operatives wearing SAP, SADF uniforms - claim:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has released a special report claiming covert ANC hit-squad operations against its supporters in Natal.

Compiled by the IFP information centre in Durban, the report is titled "The new face of low-intensity war in Natal: Killers in SAP and SADF uniforms".

The report says 49 IFP office-bearers have been assassinated since the signing of the National Peace Accord in September last year, bringing to 230 such deaths since 1985. Since last August, 55 lives, including those of four leaders, have been lost.

The report says: "Intensifying military-style attacks on IFP supporters and assassinations of tribal and IFP leaders in Natal since August have triggered a sinister new phase of covert ANC hit-squad operations in the province. "These killings have further receded

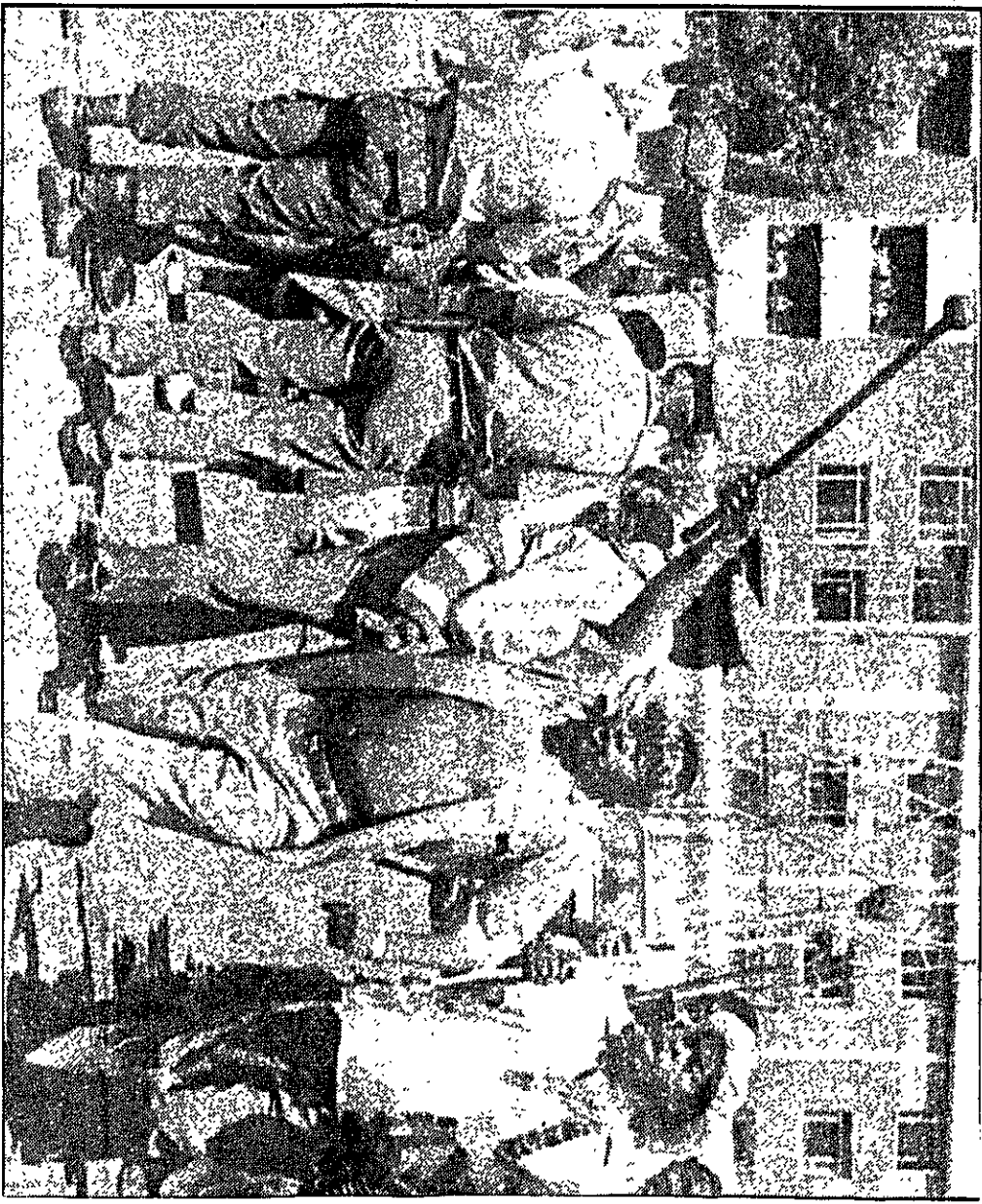
dwindling peace hopes and increased prospects of civil war.

"Significantly, where arrests and convictions have been made (and the police record in this regard is abysmal), the assailants have mostly claimed to be ANC members or supporters.

"The systematic elimination of IFP leaders and supporters cannot be said to reflect a random ad hoc pattern of violence. Instead, it illustrates the ANC/SACP alliance agenda to broaden its base by paralyzing the IFP and rendering its rival politically impotent."

The report details the attacks on its supporters and notes: "Evidence of ANC infiltration of the SADF and collusion between elements of the security forces and the ANC is also likely to emerge in the future."

The IFP says the Government "appears reluctant" to address the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) and cautioned that there can be no negotiations if MK is not disbanded, disarmed and its cadres demobilised.



Inkatha Freedom Party supporters brandish traditional weapons during a march through the Johannesburg city centre on Saturday. The marchers went to John Vorster Square police headquarters to protest against the banning of all dangerous weapons.

Zulu nation was on the march, not IFP - Myeni

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ CINEMA STAMPEDE Babies hurt as scared

cinemagoers flee Inkatha impi:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said a march by 30 000 people led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday was a march by the "Zulu nation" and not of the IFP as a political party.

IFP central committee member Mr Musa Myeni told *Sowetan* that the organisation, as a political party, had had nothing to do with the march.

Asked to comment on police statements that Buthelezi and other leaders faced possible charges for defying the ban on weapons Myeni said: "I am not aware of this. The police must explain if they want to prosecute leaders of the Zulu nation and may launch a full investigation if they wish. They must name all the Zulu leaders they want to charge."

KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi led chanting supporters through the city streets to John Vorster Square to protest against the Govern-

ment's ban on the carrying of traditional weapons in public.

The marchers defied the ban and openly carried their weapons.

Buthelezi handed a petition to the police protesting against the Record of Understanding between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela which led to the ban on traditional weapons.

Buthelezi, surrounded by KwaZulu Minister Dr Frank Mdlalose and other leaders, told the crowd at a pre-march rally in George Goch that De Klerk's acceptance of the ANC's conditions for returning to negotiations "have nothing to do with negotiation but everything to do with joint action by the State and the ANC against other parties at Codesa and in particular the Zulu nation".

Buthelezi said Zulus would not allow themselves to be fenced inside hostels like "pigs".

Police said at the weekend that a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Earlier, about 30 cinemagoers were injured and the doors of the Goodhope Cinema damaged when a crowd panicked trying to get away from three Inkatha supporters who entered after their march, reports Sapa.

Irate manager Mr Sanjith Lutchman said most of the 400 seats had been broken and babies hurt as people rushed to get away.

Police videotaped the damage and said those hurt could file charges if they so wished.

Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda arrived in South Africa on Saturday to mediate in a dispute between the IFP and ANC.

24 die in Natal unrest

DURBAN. — At least 24 people have died violently in Natal since Sunday.

And most of the Local Dispute Resolution Committees in the province have been unable to begin work because the IFP has withdrawn from those in Umlazi, Port Shepstone and Groutville.

The party claims the ANC has a hidden agenda and that IFP supporters were killed while peace structures were in operation.

The ANC has denied the claims, saying its supporters are dying as well.

Meanwhile the toll in Natal mounts.

In the worst attack at the weekend at least nine people died in

the ANC-supporting Amagcino township near Umgababa on the South Coast.

Residents yesterday said several hundred attackers invaded the area early on Sunday morning, searching for "comrades" and shooting and hacking those they found.

Police arrested five people after Sunday's killings, and hundreds of Amagcino residents fled the area. More than 30 shacks were destroyed and many others were burned.

In other incidents since Sunday, police reported three killings in Odlamini, outside Wartburg in the Midlands, and three

deaths in Umbumbulu, south of Durban.

Four people died in political unrest in KwaMashu, north of Durban, two in clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in the Uganda shack settlement, Umlazi, and one in KwaMakhutha, near Amanzimtoti.

One person was killed in Richmond's Ndaleni township in the Midlands, and a person was murdered near Esikhaweni on Natal's North Coast.

● The South African Council of Churches yesterday condemned the continuing violence in Natal.

It said it was still shocked by last week's killing of eight people linked to the IFP. — Sapa

War threat in refugee row

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose visited the troubled Phatheni township in Richmond yesterday in an attempt to defuse the situation — and the ANC vowed to "match the war declared by IFP on ANC members in the area by nothing else but war".

An angry ANC Natal Midlands regional secretary Mr Sifiso Nkabinde said: "The IFP people may think they have won the battle but they must rest assured we will eventually win the war".

Trouble began when the ANC national leadership who had accom-

panied ANC refugees to Phatheni, left the township. IFP supporters eventually forced the refugees to seek shelter at the local school, where they spent a night before being taken back to Richmond.

A spokesman for the IFP Information Centre, Mr Kim Hodgson, said the organisation was convinced that some of the people who were said to be refugees were not from the area but were trained ANC members.

Stones injure police at Paarl

THREE policemen were injured and about R2 000 damage was caused to vehicles at Paarl at the weekend.

The police were injured by a stone-throwing crowd trying to free a person held for shoplifting in Paarl East, police said. In Silvertown a crowd slashed tyres of a tow truck, causing about R1 600 damage. A police vehicle was stoned.

Government, IFP plan bush summit

THE government is attempting to arrange a bosberaad — bush meeting — with the IFP to discuss differences that have arisen between them.

It hopes the meeting will follow a bosberaad with the ANC scheduled for next month.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, emphasising that it was important to have the IFP on board when multi-party negotiations resume, made the announcement last night.

Mr Meyer said a government delegation would meet representatives of the KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments on Thursday.

The meeting will be a follow-up to last week's Conference of Concerned South Africans.

At that meeting the conference tabled its reservations over the Record of Understanding signed by President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

General gave order: 'Shoot to kill AWB'

POTCHEFSTROOM. — A police general gave his men orders to shoot back at Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members, but said in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday there was no shooting after he had given the command.

Major-General Adriaan de la Rosa, who co-ordinated the police operation during the clash with the AWB during a public meeting in Ventersdorp addressed by President FW de Klerk on August 27, was giving evidence at the public violence trial of AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and 14 others.

When a constable asked him what to do if the AWB opened fire again, General De la Rosa, who was attending to two wounded policemen, told him to shoot to kill. However, the shooting had stopped.

The trial continues today. — Sapa

MPs 'squabble over perks'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

RUMBLINGS among so-called "brown Nationalists" about the division of spoils in the own affairs Ministers' Council is threatening to break into open revolt.

Disgruntled MPs — said to number about two dozen — are pushing for a special meeting to resolve their differences with Mr Jac Rabie's Ministers' Council and some MPs were hopeful that a meeting could be arranged as early as today.

The clash was summarised by one MP in the House of Representatives as "a squabble involving perks and personalities".

Among the reasons cited for anger among the rebel MPs:

● The failure of the Ministers' Council to make good on promises to MPs when they defected to the NP to look after the needs of their constituencies regarding housing and other services.

● The apparent unwillingness of the entrenched Ministers'

Council to consider a system of rotating ministers which would spread the high pension and re-trenchment packages enjoyed by ministers more evenly.

● The promotion to ministerial status of some of the last — and allegedly less competent — defectors to the NP.

● The manner in which overseas trips for MPs are awarded.

Senior Nationalists yesterday dismissed suggestions that there were any serious divisions or tensions in the party.



Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela breached the national peace accord in his recent address to the UN security council. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Kaunda adjudicates on Mandela today

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide by midday today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela violated the national peace accord during an address to the UN in July. *B/D/M 20/10/92*

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been refusing to attend peace accord meetings since late July in protest at Mandela's statement to the UN. *[Handwritten mark]*

[Handwritten mark] RAY HARTLEY *[Handwritten mark]*

Mandela allegedly told the international body Inkatha was a government surrogate.

A national peace committee spokesman said yesterday efforts by ANC and Inkatha lawyers to settle the dispute over the alleged transgression failed, and it had been decided that Kaunda and Kotzé would adjudicate after hearing both sides. *[Handwritten mark]*

Inkatha vows to defy ban

INKATHA would continue defying the law banning weapons in public because it was unenforceable and a product of government and ANC connivance, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He was reacting to inquiries about why Inkatha ignored Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus's ruling that marchers not carry weapons during a Johannesburg march on Saturday.

Felgate rejected the notion that the ruling was made in terms of a government notice of February 28 and not as a result of the summit between President

B/D/M 20/10/92
BILLY PADDOCK *(115)*

FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last month. *[Handwritten mark]*

Meanwhile, police opened a docket and indicated Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi might face charges, as he led the march.

However, spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said video footage taken during the march had to be studied before a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Felgate said Buthelezi had not condoned the carrying of weapons but he would not, in principle,

have called on the marchers to lay them down either.

AK-47s, of which "the ANC had thousands stashed in arms caches", were the major cause of violence and killings, he insisted.

□ Meanwhile, Sapa reports gunmen shot and killed five people in Natal yesterday, taking the death toll in two days to 18 in the strife-torn province.

KwaZulu police said three people were gunned down in Umbumbulu township, another in Esikhawini near Empangeni and the fifth victim killed in Kwamakhuta, south of Durban.

The 18 deaths in Natal, where more than 1 200 people have died so far this year, brought to at least 20 the number of people killed in unrest in the country over the weekend.

In the worst incident, eight people were killed early on Sunday at Umgababa by raiders wielding pangas and spears and firing home-made guns.

RISON.

E *[Handwritten mark]*

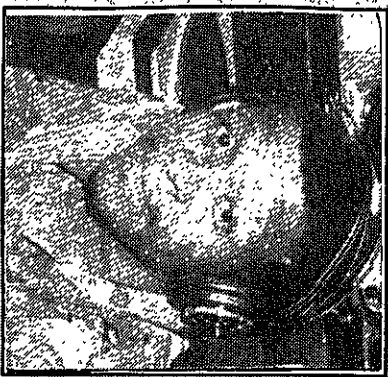
Not all Zulus are IFP - callers

Wesley
11/10/91
10/10/91

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By T sale Makani



with Tim Modise

BEING Zulu did not necessarily make one an Inkatha Freedom Party member or a supporter of the organisation's activities, an irate caller told the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Callers were reacting to a statement by IFP central committee member Musa Myeni in yesterday's *Sowetan* that Saturday's march was not a IFP march but a march by the Zulus.

By claiming that the march was by Zulus, Myeni is claiming that all Zulus supported the IFP or their march and this is not true. Secondly the march was not a cultural event, it was a political one. It is a known fact that IFP

members do carry guns and AK-47s. So for them to claim that all AK-47 attacks are by the ANC is not true.

Hope, Central Johannesburg

"I think it's about time characters like Musa Myeni stop engaging in dangerous lies and propaganda. When was he chosen the spokesman of the Zulu nation? The trouble we see is caused by people who want to see themselves running the country but do not have the courage to ask the people's mandate because they know they will not get it."

Khosi Molapo, Watville, Benoni

"The last time Myeni was on your programme he opposed marches and mass action. I find it ridicu-

lous that they engaged in the so-called Zulu march."

Mawethu, Randfontein

"I appreciate and encourage democratic rights but some of the people like the IFP contravened the law."

"What is Mr. De Klerk saying about it? What is he going to do because a law has been broken."

Musa Myeni is trying to embrace all Zulus into the violence and create the impression that all the Zulus were behind the march."

Sibusiso Mvelase, Durban

"I am a Zulu-speaking South African and I am not a member of the IFP. It is wrong for the IFP to generalise and say they are representing all the Zulus."

I do not see the difference between the IFP's Saturday march and the march the ANC is planning on Elandi.

Buthelezi travels all the way from KwaZulu to march in Johannesburg and has the guts to say the ANC should not march in KwaZulu."

Khosi Nkosi, Mofolo Village, Soweto

next Talkback topic

IS unity in black politics an impossible dream? Is Azapo still a viable organisation? Will Azapo enter negotiations soon? These are some of the questions you can ask Azapo, publicly secretary Strini Moodley, who is our special studio guest tonight.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Government, IFP plan bush summit

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20/10/92
ET 20/10/92
THE government is attempting to arrange a bosberaad — bush meeting — with the IFP to discuss differences that have arisen between them.

It hopes the meeting will follow a bosberaad with the ANC scheduled for next month.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, emphasising that it was important to have the IFP on board when multi-party negotiations resume, made the announcement last night.

Mr Meyer said a government delegation would meet representatives of the KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments on Thursday.

The meeting will be a follow-up to last week's Conference of Concerned South Africans.

At that meeting the conference tabled its reservations over the Record of Understanding signed by President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

IFP chief to face charges over march?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be charged for leading a protest march of 20 000 IFP supporters armed with illegal dangerous weapons in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel last night condemned Inkatha for flouting the ban on dangerous weapons and threats by Inkatha leaders that such acts of defiance would continue.

Mr Kriel said: "This situation is absolutely unacceptable and holds serious implications for peace, stability and law and order in South Africa."

GOVT AND IFP PLAN BUSH SUMMIT

See PAGE 2

"In the final analysis the SA Police have no choice but to enforce the law. Consequently, the SAP are investigating the breaking of the law by the IFP in Johannesburg on Saturday."

Dockets would be handed to the attorney-general of the Transvaal for his decision, said Mr Kriel.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, carrying a shield and stick, also led the march.

Central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said afterwards: "We'll continue carrying our weapons and face charges. We're not bound by decisions reached by the ANC and the government."

● 24 die in Natal unrest
— See Page 2

Buthelezi: Charge ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ me as chief minister _{CT 2/11/92}

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged Law and Order Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel to charge him in his capacity as Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for Saturday's march in Johannesburg.

The Inkatha Freedom Party president said the march, by about 20 000 Zulus carrying traditional weapons, had not been an IFP event.

Chief Buthelezi was reacting to Mr Kriel's statement on Monday that the Zulu marchers had "flouted the law" by carrying weapons and the actions of the IFP in Johannesburg at the weekend were to be condemned.

"It was a march which was staged on the recommendation of the caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly," he said.

"Let the attorney-general charge me as suggested by the minister, and if I am convicted I will be prepared to go to jail to dramatise the way this government treats me and the way it treats the leadership of the ANC-SACP alliance.

CP to meet govt in step closer to talks

Political Staff

THE CP will take another step to full involvement in negotiations when it joins the Conference of Concerned South Africans delegation which will meet the government tomorrow.

Cocosa will be represented at the meeting, to be held in Pretoria, by members of the KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, as well as the CP. The CP will be represented by deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, and the MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley.

Cocosa was formed earlier this month at a meeting of organisations opposed to the making of decisions by only the government and the ANC.

"The Zulu people felt there were problems facing the Zulu nation after the Agreement of Understanding was signed between President (FW) de Klerk and the leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela."

Chief Buthelezi said he was "unrepentant" about the march.

"Prisoners guilty of the most heinous crimes are released in terms of extra-judicial agreements between political parties." — Sapa

IFP rally 'to penetrate FW's support base'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to address a public rally at the Durban City Hall today.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said the rally is part of "a nationwide campaign to deliver the IFP message of liberal democracy and federalism to the people".

Mr Tillett said the rally was part of a series at which Dr Buthelezi would "spread the message".

He said today's rally was aimed particularly at "penetrating President De Klerk's traditional support base".

Mr Tillett said the rally was also aimed at wooing potential African National Congress and Democratic Party supporters.

He said other meetings in Indian and coloured communities were in the pipeline.

Asked if Chief Buthelezi's recent "hob-nobbing" with rightwing organisations would not hamper the drive to woo support, especially from the DP, Mr Tillett said the recent meeting with rightwingers was "irrelevant to the IFP's campaign to spread its message".

"The IFP has always been a traditional home for liberals because of its belief in free enterprise, liberal democracy and federalism."

He said today's meeting was aimed at explaining why Dr Buthelezi had rejected the recent bilateral agreement between the ANC and the government on the fencing of hostels where thousands of IFP supporters lived.

Buthelezi call for majority support

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on the "silent majority" to come out of the closet to help forge the new South Africa, saying: "Let us not lose this war by default — it is either now or never."

He was speaking last night at the city hall here at a public meeting, which may be seen as the first salvo in an election campaign. Chief Buthelezi also reminded business and industry leaders that the IFP represented an

enormous constituency on which to base free enterprise.

"Our businessmen and captains of industry would do well to note that the IFP, the majority of whose members are black, represents an enormous constituency on which to base a free enterprise economy in South Africa. I have warned against relying on the shifting sands of ANC/SACP/Cosatu economic policy to provide a stable foundation for the future," he said.

He also said that the "full power of the state

will not succeed in dismantling KwaZulu and re-writing the boundaries of KwaZulu and Natal without we in KwaZulu and you in Natal agreeing in advance to the changes to be made".

The KwaZulu leader said he had no doubt that the IFP occupied the liberal centre of politics in South Africa.

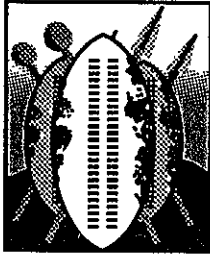
The IFP believed in the creation of conditions that would make foreign investors eager and willing to invest in the development and prosperity of South Africa. (118) CT 23/10/92

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI FM 23/10/92

Message of the drums

11B ~~11B~~

The Inkatha leader has a stronger case than simple ethnicity and aggression



Is the importance of what Mangosuthu Buthelezi is saying and doing being overshadowed by his famously abrasive manner? The KwaZulu Chief Minister tends to get a bad press — and memories are not

so short as to forget the funding link between the security forces and Inkatha. But, when one assesses what Buthelezi is really saying, does he make sense?

The answer is yes.

In terms of their recent Record of Understanding — a useful guide to the degree of co-operation between the major constitutional players — government and the ANC evidently accept the view that the numerical strength of parties should figure in the planning of a new constitution. Of course, details have yet to be thrashed out in multiparty talks — but that is what the understanding signifies.

Buthelezi's argument is that *all* parties, large and small, should in principle be involved in making the rules — from the outset. It is difficult to fault him on that. It goes to the essence of the debate in the present crisis triggered by Buthelezi's withdrawal from negotiations, which he charges have been hijacked by the big two players.

In conveying his displeasure so forcefully, the IFP leader may inadvertently have obscured his message. One leading political scientist comments: "What we are seeing is the manoeuvring of an increasingly desperate political leader who feels excluded from a role he believes he merits, but which the electoral opinion poll evidence suggests he does not ... Buthelezi is therefore playing the Samson role of threatening to pull down the house if he is not given a role he feels he is entitled to. He is increasingly playing the ethnic card."

Whether or not one accepts that view, Buthelezi is not just another homeland leader like those with whom he has recently been linked — Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope. As a major regional figure — in the wider Kwa-Natal context — he has a unique claim for a degree of federal independence based on Zulu history and geographical location. And even though most opinion surveys — including those carried out by Lawrence



Buthelezi

Schlemmer of the Human Sciences Research Council — put his support at 10%-12% nationally (compared to 25%-30% for the NP and 45%-50% for the ANC), he is undoubtedly crucial to any workable political arrangement.

Inkatha head office, incidentally, reckons popular support for the IFP would be about 30% in a federal system. Calculations of electoral support are, however, "relatively unimportant" provided "the constitution of a country is a good, effective and democratic" one, the KwaZulu leader says.

Buthelezi is a remarkable figure. As Chief Minister of KwaZulu — a position filled by his family since the days of Shaka — he steadfastly resisted homeland independence. Even if all of Natal were to be incorporated into KwaZulu he was not prepared to accept independence — though he once toyed with the idea as a *quid pro quo* for the release of Nelson Mandela. He first called for the ANC leader to be set free in 1974.

But despite repeating this call down the years, Pretoria paid no heed — until in 1990, after the collapse of communism, President F W de Klerk, who mentioned Buthelezi as having helped him to reach his decision, did finally release Mandela, who has said he appreciates Buthelezi's contribution.

Buthelezi's real contribution to the destruction of apartheid can also be measured by the following:

- He undermined influx control by astutely using his position in the system to grant KwaZulu citizenship certificates to non-Zulus — which allowed a number to migrate to the region to look for jobs;
- His "multistrategy" approach to politics — the art of the possible — included "strategic interaction" with government as well as other groups;

- He thwarted government's plan to cede Ingwavuma in northern Natal to Swaziland in 1982 by fighting the matter in the Supreme Court; and
- His point-blank refusal to consider P W Botha's idea of a black advisory council, to sit in tandem with the President's Council, from which blacks were excluded, killed off that plan. He implacably opposed the tricameral constitution, whose demise he predicted and to which he contributed.

More than any other factor, Buthelezi's rejection of KwaZulu independence blocked grand apartheid by preventing the denationalisation of the biggest ethnic group — the



Traditional warrior ... defence of a cultural realm?

Zulus, who number 7m, or 27% of the African population. Yet he seems somehow never to have been truly credited for all this — and today even his claim to be the leader of the Zulus is challenged by the ANC.

What is clear is that Buthelezi (62) leads a large and disciplined, mainly Zulu party which claims 2m-3m members. Inkatha says it has organised "between 2 400 and 2 500" branches, 60% of them in KwaZulu/Natal. A branch consists of any grouping of more than 30 individuals. White members number about 6 000 and about 160 whites sign on each week, according to the head office in Durban.

Buthelezi — who used to be a member of the ANC and a young lieutenant to its former president Albert Luthuli — was at one time regarded by the ANC as keeping alive the flame of internal resistance to apartheid. At a meeting between the two organisations in London in 1979, Inkatha was apparently given to believe that the ANC would make public its private view that the "cultural liberation movement," as Inkatha then was, was a legitimate organisation working for the same goals as the ANC, though through nonviolent means.

However, the ANC evidently changed its mind soon after that meeting after elements in the organisation repudiated the decision. Buthelezi has said the ANC sought to assassinate him.

The rift was apparently sealed by a divergence over sanctions and disinvestment, which Buthelezi opposed in the name of working black people who would, he argued,

be the first to suffer the consequences. Buthelezi had by then of course unambiguously and courageously embraced free-enterprise economics, while the radical chic still trumpeted socialism.

As far as Buthelezi was concerned, it was an illusion to believe that armed struggle would bring liberation; instead he emphasised black unity and effective organisation before white power could be tackled. "We know that a national convention will take place when black power threatens white power and there is a need for whites to come to terms with it," he said 10 years ago.

Also 10 years ago, it was at Buthelezi's behest that the Buthelezi Commission proposed a power-sharing, nonracial regional assembly for KwaZulu/Natal, based on equal votes but with a black/white joint executive and minority safeguards. Government, stupidly, ignored the report — in principle consistent with Buthelezi's present stance on federalism.

Buthelezi now argues that a new constitution should be drawn up not by an elected body or national convention — an election would be compromised by violence — but by a committee of experts. Others maintain that only a more legitimate political order would put a stop to the violence. Elections, it is pointed out, have been held in less-than-tranquil circumstances elsewhere — for example, Angola and Namibia.

But Buthelezi charges that no revolutionary movement has ever drawn up a constitution which enables parties opposed to it to win an election and form a government. "The ANC will prove to be no exception."

He adds that the Record of Understanding seals a long process of bilateral negotiations which first developed at the margins of Codesa and eventually took its place. It is "the peak of a much deeper and broader agreement between government and the ANC on how to share SA."

He further contends: "The two parties agree to a strategy of ethnic cleansing of the uncomfortable and politically vociferous Zulu minority and what they perceive as their political expression, the Inkatha Freedom Party. The tools of this operation are intimidation and provocation; the tactic is the planned escalation of the confrontation."

The Inkatha leader maintains this is no exaggeration — and that the "policy of rendering the Zulu people impotent before major changes occur is not a new one." The British had the same in mind as a prelude to their unification policy. Buthelezi sees a "clear trend" in which Zulus are being targeted, "including the systematic assassination of hundreds of middle-level leaders of the IFP and traditional chiefs."

To Buthelezi "a constitution is the result of a process of

development and negotiations, and its characteristics are likely to resemble the characteristics of such a process." The ANC-government agreement short-circuits this process and has buried the ideal of pluralism. "Only pluralism, as territorial, social, economic and cultural pluralism, is our guarantee for democracy and freedom in SA," he adds — a strong point. The alternative could be totalitarianism.

The constitution, Buthelezi believes, should organise only the limited powers of the SA federal government. It should respect the general powers of the member states, and of the individuals in universities, families, churches, trades unions and so on.

"A constituent assembly vested with the power of electoral suffrage," he argues, "will not feel bound to follow any principle. As any other body, it will claim the greatest amount of power possible, and will draft a constitution which will bring under its scope and will organise the greatest amount of powers possible."

The Zulu ethnic minority, says Buthelezi, is the only major social formation in SA that is not armed. White minorities as well as the ANC have piled up immense hidden arsenals. He distinguishes the kind of modern weapons they have from cultural ones, which "are a sign and a token of the militancy of this ethnic group to defend its cultural and ethnic identity. They are a tool of self-identification and a reminder of their ethnic roots and history. Their primary purpose is not to cause injury to others . . ."

What of the violence-wracked hostels? Buthelezi says: "As the dwellers of the hostels learnt how to react and respond to the (ANC-inspired) violence, they became the centre of Zulu awareness and political identity. At that point the ANC looked for a more permanent solution aimed to destroy in mortification that Zulu awareness and sense of pride which so effectively had succeeded in reacting to the ANC's violence and intimidation."

The inevitable resistance by hostel dwellers "will allow government and the ANC to adopt further actions aimed to eliminate from the political process the Zulus, the IFP and any other political formation which does not fall into line." But government will lose out anyway since, once the final stages of the understanding are being implemented, it "will find itself with very little to claim or negotiate. At that point the agreement will look more like that entered into between the lion and the sheep in Aesop's famous fable, whose



Gqozo

moral might become SA's epitaph."

Buthelezi observes that the type of principles underlying them will characterise the type of state we have. A centralised government supported by strong national parties, which denies all differences in the population, will favour a straight proportional system with a nationwide constituency.

The IFP "stands for a federal system characterised by residual powers in the member states and regionalisation within each state. We believe in pluralism, personal and local autonomy and a limited role of government." His party

wants to ensure the "representation of the people and their interest, not the representation of their affiliation to vague concepts used to aggregate people at a national level. We believe in and demand single individual constituencies in which anybody can run for office without the control or approval of national parties and organisations."

Again, he has a strong point here.

"We want to ensure that political representatives are elected through the electoral process, rather than witnessing elections which for all practical purposes elect political parties which in turn allocate their votes to the individuals they have previously chosen."

In terms of constitution drafting, the IFP had proposed that Codesa should be the forum to produce a set of binding constitutional principles, which should be submitted to a referendum. Once approved, these would become the binding outline for a Constitution Drafting Committee. The committee would prepare a draft constitution to be submitted to the approval of the electoral body in conjunction with the first free election.

The constitution cannot be negotiated and written "under spotlights" at Codesa, or in a constituent assembly, Buthelezi contends. Hence his committee of experts nominated by the various parties to do the job.

While all this is more than plausible, Buthelezi's extravagant accusations of "ethnic cleansing" — meaning, as we have learnt from ex-Yugoslavia, a form of genocide — tend to detract from the legitimacy of his case.

The militant tradition of the Zulus, in turn, can hardly be wished away.

Buthelezi the statesman — and his history has shown him at times to be just that — should lower the tone, though not the substance, of his objections. He should drop the ethnic war-talk and re-enter the negotiations — even if it means accepting that he does not, after all, command the biggest national following in the land. That, ultimately, can in any case only be decided by an election, by all participants. ■



Mangope

IFP 'non-traditional' weapon

By CARMEL RICKARD

AS violence and political intolerance reaches new heights in Natal, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a campaign to woo whites and other "non-traditional supporters" in the region.

Fliers in the form of a letter addressed to "my fellow countrymen" were put under doors in many Durban suburbs during the week, inviting "you and your family and friends" to the Durban City Hall for a meeting due to be held last night. The purpose of the gathering was to "exchange views and jointly take stock of the state of the nation".

On the stock-taking agenda was the cultural weapons issue, Umkhonto weSizwe and its alleged role in the killing of Inkatha members as well as the decision of Inkatha to pull out of talks.

Buthelezi's approach came as the violence in the region raged more fiercely than ever. Some monitors estimate well over 40 people have died in the past week.

Reports of the latest killings indicate new levels of savagery. Incidents include two decapitations; the disembowelment of a woman and the burning alive of a six-year-old child, who was caught while fleeing from a burning hut and thrown back into the flames.

On Sunday morning Umgababa joined the list of areas savaged by large-scale killings. Before dawn two groups described by

witnesses as "impis" attacked the apparently African National Congress-aligned sections 35 and 37. At least 40 houses were burnt and at least 12 people killed.

People in the community claim they saw three white people with the "impis". They claimed one wore South African Defence Force-style browns, another was dressed in camouflage and the third in dungarees. According to other claims, as the "impi" was pushed back, members of the South African Police arrived at the scene, but stood by and did nothing to intervene.

Another ANC-aligned area on the south coast was also targeted this week. Five people were killed in the Shozu area outside Adams Mission at the beginning of the month. Early last week another attack left three dead. Last Friday and Saturday the attacks were repeated and five people, attackers and residents, were killed.

On Tuesday five Inkatha supporters in Bhukulwandle next to Felekise, were killed. This follows an incident in the area on Saturday in which Joseph Nzama (74) was shot and decapitated on his way home from the taxi rank. His head was removed by the attackers, and has not yet been recovered.

Nzama was politically unaligned but his grandsons are staunch ANC supporters. Since he was murdered, his home has been burnt down.

Kaunda's daunting new task

By THEMBA KHUMALO

KENNETH Kaunda's mission to this country is a tough one.

He arrived last Saturday to try and reconcile the ANC and Inkatha.

His task ran into snags on the very first day of his arrival when Johannesburg reverberated from the impi warty of "Jautu..."

Semi-naked Inkatha supporters in traditional garb brazenly carried sharpened weapons in open defiance of the government's ban on traditional weapons in public.

The former Zambian president is here at the invitation of the National Peace Committee

to broker a long-standing stalemate between the two warring parties.

He has come at a time when relations between Mandela and Buthelezi are at their lowest ebb to date.

Thousands of their supporters, among them women and children, continue to die in Natal and the Transvaal as the two leaders publicly tear at each other's throats.

The last time they spoke face-to-face was in April 1991 in an urgent meeting to save deteriorating relations among their supporters.

Attempts to arrange another meeting between Mandela and

Buthelezi fell through after they attacked each other at the UN Security Council.

The last straw came after the signing of the Record of Understanding between Mandela and State President FW de Klerk in Kempton Park late last month.

The document stated that the two had agreed that in order to quell the raging township violence all dangerous weapons, including cultural weapons, must be banned and hostels fenced with barbed wire, restricting the free movement of the inmates.

This angered Buthelezi and barely 24 hours later he rejected the pact and withdrew Inkatha from any multilateral talks for

democracy. He also vowed to urge his supporters to defy the ban en masse.

Kaunda has been called in to end the stalemate. His international image and reputation as a peacemaker in Africa, added to the fact that he readily accepted his defeat without qualms during the democracy elections in his country last year, are factors that have elevated him to the status of a "suitable man for the job".

While he allowed various liberation movements from SA, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to launch military operations from his country, Kaunda is known to have encouraged their leaders to talk to their enemies.



PEACEMAKER... Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda (centre), flanked by Mandela and Sibusiso M Plozi TLADI KHUMALO recently.

Strange bedfellows applaud Buthelezi

By S'BU MNGADI

STRANGE political bedfellows converged on the Durban City Hall on Thursday night to hear Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for Natalians to close ranks behind him.

Billed as Inkatha's first major thrust into the white electorate, the meeting attracted well-heeled madams and bosses in pin striped suits, suburban tannies, township aunties, amabutho and toyi-toying youths.

They sat excitedly next to each other, many probably for the first time, as they waited for "His Ex-

cellency, The President of the IFP, Dr MG Buthelezi" to emerge from behind a forest of flowers decorating the stage.

Earlier, Inkatha supporters sang and toyed in praise of Buthelezi as they made their way to the City Hall. But once inside the hall, the singing was drowned by a predominantly white audience.

At 7.55 pm Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose apologised for the delay and announced that "His Excellency" was on his way.

Mdlalose then made a special request to the au-

dience: "When his Excellency does come through, you must show our respect by standing up," he said.

The requested elicited giggles from the audience, who unlike the Inkatha faithful, were not used to being taught how to behave in the presence of their leader.

The Inkatha national chairman then joined other senior leaders in ushering people to vacant seats in the front.

The big moment arrived at 8.03 pm.

Surrounded by a posse of multiracial Inkatha leaders, Buthelezi entered the hall from the back -

eliciting a standing ovation and wild applause.

In the glare of photographers a tannie was moved to pin a flower on the chief minister's lapel before returning to her seat in the second row from the front.

In his speech Buthelezi rejected the ANC-SA government's bilateral talks and their Record of Understanding.

He said Inkatha had from early days accepted the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals and now stood for a democratic Federal Republic of SA, of which KwaZulu/Natal would be a constituent state.

Plea to ANC, IFP leaders

■ 26 die in Folweni in attack
and counter-attack

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

POLITICAL leaders yesterday implored ANC leader Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet after a weekend of slaughter in Natal.

At least 20 people were killed during a traditional celebration on Saturday night.

Police confirmed that 15 gunmen with AK-47 rifles stormed into a kraal in the Mpesheni reserve near Folweni and opened fired.

The attack was allegedly a retaliation for an attack on Friday night in which six teenagers were killed.

President FW de Klerk yesterday pledged the support of the South African Police to the KwaZulu police in their investigations.

He also said the Goldstone Commission would be requested to broaden and intensify its investigations of violence in Natal.

"I furthermore believe that Mandela and Buthelezi owe it to the country, and more specifically, to the people of Natal, to meet as soon as possible," De Klerk said.

The PAC said a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi was now a "a necessity rather than an option".

IFP takes a tough line

11/13 ~~2/13~~

Journal 28/10/92

■ Talks with Government to remove obstacles for return to negotiations:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party adopted a tough negotiation line with the Government at a meeting in Durban on Monday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and other Government people met with the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Simon Gumedede.

The meeting was called by the Government to remove obstacles so that the IFP can return to negotiations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off talks with the Government after President de Klerk signed the Record of Understanding with the African National Congress.

At Monday's meeting the IFP took a tough stand, political sources said. The IFP told Meyer they felt they had been let down by the National Party and now had a lack of trust in the NP.

Before the IFP could go back to the negotiation table, the Government would have to take strong action against Umkhonto we Sizwe. The IFP accused the Government of not doing enough to maintain stability.

News in brief

IFP moves on prisoners

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has launched a campaign for the immediate release from prison of a large number of its members, including former KwaZulu Cabinet Minister and convicted murderer Samuel Jamile, who is serving a life sentence at Durban's Westville Prison for murder. *Sowetan 28/10/92*

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said the party had identified at least 46 prisoners who it felt qualified for political amnesty and a list was being processed to be submitted to the Department of Correctional Services. The IFP expected its members to be freed before Christmas.

IFP launches prison release campaign

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has launched a campaign for the immediate release from prison of a large number of its members, including former KwaZulu deputy interior minister and convicted murderer Samuel Jamile.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said his party had identified at least 46 prisoners which it felt qualified for political amnesty. He expected a large number of IFP members would be released before Christmas.

He said a list would be submitted to the Department of Correctional Services soon. — Sapa

Olive branch offered to IFP

Sowetan 29/10/92. (11B) (17)

■ PEACE PIPE National Peace Committee

wants ANC, IFP to meet to discuss violence:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE National Peace Committee is planning a meeting - possibly within days - between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the crisis in Natal.

NPC chairman Mr John Hall will meet Buthelezi today to invite him to such a meeting. Mandela has already accepted an invitation for talks involving signatories of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting will discuss the violence that is sweeping Natal, which led on Tuesday to the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe.

Hadebe was killed when the car in which he, ANC legal adviser Mr John Jeffries and executive member Mr Shakes Cele were travelling, was ambushed near Richmond.

The Cabinet met yesterday to discuss the crisis in Natal and the State Security Council will meet today to discuss measures that could be implemented to prevent the violence from escalating into civil war.

It is understood that State President FW de Klerk is considering sending troops into the region and possibly declaring parts of Natal "unrest areas".

De Klerk yesterday said he was shocked by Hadebe's murder.

The IFP said yesterday it was "very disturbed" by the killing.

"Though he was no friend of the IFP, we abhor this senseless killing."

Hadebe assassination 'may be linked to probe'

RAY HARTLEY
8104 12/11/74

THE assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe could be linked to an investigation he was conducting with ANC intelligence into the military training of Inkatha members, ANC northern Natal liaison officer Bongani Msoni said yesterday.

Hadebe said in an interview last week he had new information proving Inkatha members were being

given military training in Natal. He said many had been brought in to destabilise the ANC in the region. Asked for details, he said he was still compiling the information.

He said the "nature of the war in Natal was changing, with the number of hit squad attacks increasing. The temperature is hotting up. We see an escalation of violence, but we are not really surprised. It is just a continuation of the general pattern.

"Throughout Natal there is military training of Inkatha people. They are training people and arming them for attacks against us. Violence is the regional strategy of the right and Inkatha. When there are prospects of a peaceful settlement, there is an escalation of violence," he said.

Hadebe described a meeting with Inkatha to defuse tensions over a possible march on Umtata as "a bit out of the question".

"We need to start by intensifying local actions against KwaZulu. There's no question of head office trying to postpone (a march) indefinitely.

"All accept that the ANC is a factor in Natal that cannot be wished away."

He said violence was being deliberately shifted back to Natal from the Transvaal because of the effects of international attention on the Boipatong massacre in June.

The ANC claimed earlier this year that 36 Renamo soldiers had been transported into Natal, with the co-operation of the SAP, to undermine ANC efforts to march on Umtata.

The claims prompted an investigation by the head of the Goldstone commission's special investigative unit in Natal, Major Frank Dutton.

A well-placed source said yesterday the investigation was making good progress but it was too early to say whether or not the claims were accurate.

Inkatha has repeatedly denied it has any links with Renamo or is involved in the military training of its members.

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid tribute to Hadebe.

"We mourn his death. We will always be inspired by his life and pledge to continue the struggle to a new SA he would be proud of."

The message was sent by telegram to Hadebe's wife, who is expecting her sixth child.

DP leader Zach de Beer said Hadebe's assassination was "a grim warning to all South Africans that our option for a peaceful solution is being increasingly narrowed".

3 more die in Natal unrest

Own Correspondent
MARITZBURG. — Three more people died in continuing violence in Natal when armed gunmen attacked the kraal of a headman in the Umbumbulu area yesterday morning. *CT 30/10/92*

Also, a prominent IFP member, Mr Sichizo Zuma, was shot and seriously wounded while driving in Edendale early yesterday.

And police said yesterday they had opened an attempted murder docket after local IFP leader David Ntombela was shot at while driving near Henley Dam on Wednesday.

Meanwhile hundreds of residents from the Ngunyameni Reserve outside Umlazi attended a reconciliation service yesterday to celebrate the signing of a peace agreement.

IFP criticises Hadebe offer

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — The IFP has described the government's R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the killers of ANC leader Mr Reggie Hadebe as a "disgraceful display of selective morality." *CT 30/10/92*
"We remind the government that 252 IFP leaders have been assassinated since 1985," the organisation said.

Cop stabbed, shot to death

JOHANNESBURG. — A policeman died, one was injured and a group of policemen were stoned in unrest yesterday.

The body of a police constable with bullet and stab wounds was found in the veld next to KwaMazibuko Hostel in Katshehong yesterday.

In Soweto, a policeman was injured yesterday when a grenade was hurled into his house.

Constable M Khumalo was asleep in his house when the grenade was thrown into his bedroom.

At Mbekweni, near Paarl, policemen were stoned whilst conducting a search. A man was hurt when police used rubber bullets to ward off the attack.

A family caught in Natal's crossfire

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Beauty Ngcobe, a 46-year-old Inkatha supporter whose husband was gunned down in front of her three years ago, allegedly by ANC activists, endures attacks on her house in Imball township, 10 kilometres from Maritzburg, almost every night.

Her crime is to live in an African National Congress area of Imball, but she is stuck in a vicious circle, as her house, pockmarked with bullet holes,

is unseizable.

Mrs Ngcobe says one Friday in September, township ANC activists threw a grenade onto her roof while she was eating dinner with her five children, aged between four and 22.

The grenade rolled off, and exploded behind the house's side wall. "They pay kids to do it," says Dennis, Mrs Ngcobe's 18-year-old son. "The ANC tsotisis approach kids who have nothing, give them a grenade or

an AK-47, and say, 'here, if you kill so-and-so we'll give you R50'."

Dennis says he holds no bitterness towards his fellow Zulus, and he hopes for a time when he can live in peace with his neighbours.

During a night spent with the Ngcobe family in Imball, the house was shot at several times and stoned once — a quite normal procedure for a Friday night, according to the family. *CT 30/10/92*

Many of the people who are dying in Natal have little passion for politics, and, like the Ngcobes, differ from their enemies only nominally.

Dennis Ngcobe, in spite of being an Inkatha member, was fond of Mr Reggie Hadebe, whom he said had strived vainly for peace in the region: "It's not Reggie, or even Mandela who orders the fighting. It's the tsotisis right here." — Sapa-AFP

Natal: Troops to be doubled

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Amid indications that an urgent meeting of National Peace Accord signatories is in the offing, President F W de Klerk announced last night that the Defence Force will double the number of troops currently deployed in Natal.

Mr De Klerk also announced that unrest areas are to be declared in the violence-racked province and "high density" police patrols would be initiated "to stop the infiltration of MK members" from the Transkei into Natal.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze warned that the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe could be "the spark that sets Natal alight".

The special investigation unit was doing "everything possible" to track down the killers.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the Defence Force would, within a week, "double the number of troops currently deployed in Natal in support of the South African Police".

Defence Ministry spokesmen last night declined to give details on their troop strengths in the province, saying such information was never made public for security reasons.

Mr De Klerk said the SAP would also further reinforce its manpower in Natal and "deploy additional units, including the Internal Stability Division, more widely throughout the province".

General Johan Swart, head of the division, told a press confer-

Govt, ANC will meet to plan 'bosberaad'

THE government and the ANC will meet "more than once" in the next week to plan a "bosberaad" between the two parties — but no date had yet been fixed for the proposed meeting, a government spokesman said last night.

The government also said it was unaware of plans for a November 15 summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

AFP reported that both parties had tentatively agreed to the summit date, but the Director-General of the State President's office, Mr Dave Steward, told a press briefing last night that he had no knowledge of such a meeting.

And senior Department of Constitutional Development spokesman, Mr Marius Kleynhans, said: "We don't

know anything about this."

Mr Kleynhans said the government would have discussions with the ANC on the proposed bosberaad "over the next week or two" but added that "no firm date has been set as yet".

Sapa reports that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night that he was not interested in bilateral talks with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to end violence in Natal.

"The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the Patriotic Front is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum who should come together to address the matter," Mr Mandela said.

ence last night that about 300 members had been deployed in Natal in recent weeks and more would arrive over the weekend.

General Swart thought three unrest areas would be declared, but could not give details.

Government sources indicated earlier this week that Richmond and areas of the South Coast were of particular concern Maritzburg — the scene of fresh violence yesterday — may also be considered.

Mr De Klerk also said that the police may have to establish bases along the Natal/Transkei border to secure the area.

The ANC last night rejected as "brazen lies" allegations by Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw that Transkei was used as a base for MK to launch attacks on southern Natal and the eastern Cape.

Mr De Klerk added that the government would ask Mr Justice

Richard Goldstone to "become more personally involved" in the Goldstone Commission's investigations into violence in Natal.

"The government reiterates its call on Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela to meet as soon as possible," said Mr De Klerk.

National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall said last night after a meeting with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi that "extensive preparatory work" was being done in the hope of making such a meeting possible.

Mr Hall held "constructive talks" with Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday, and with Chief Buthelezi yesterday.

He will now meet Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela and then report to an executive meeting of the National Peace Committee. It is understood this will take place early next week.

ANC man shot in Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — ANC member Mr Bejile Baysi was seriously injured when his house in Nonibe, between King William's Town and Peddie, was attacked with grenades and rifle fire on Wednesday night. *CT 30/10/92*

A Ciskei Police spokesman said a police constable had been arrested.

Eyewitnesses said Lieut Hulana was shot 18 times in the stomach during a quarrel. He died instantly.

● The deputy commander of the police station in NU 13, Mdantsane, Lieutenant Jack Hulana, was shot dead at a party at the Mdantsane prison on Wednesday night. *CT 30/10/92*

Transkei strike broadens

UMTATA. — Prison warders, court prosecutors and magistrates joined a growing civil servants' strike in the Transkei yesterday after a breakdown in negotiations over salary parity. *CT 30/10/92*

And the homeland's military council issued an ultimatum to nurses on strike at more than 29 hospitals to return to work immediately.

In another development, the Transkei Radiographers' Association announced a general strike by all paramedics, beginning on Monday.

Prosecutors and magistrates said they would meet at Umtata's Regional Court today, and would remain there until further developments. — Sapa

TV TODAY

TV1		TV2	
8:00: GMSA	15:15: Viva Family Vh	15:30: Fashion, Foot	16:00: Sugar & Spice
8:03: Daybreak News	15:30: Magic of Two	16:00: Sugar & Spice	16:30: Balm of the Linn
9:00: CTV	16:00: Sugar & Spice	16:30: Balm of the Linn	16:40: Days of our Linn
11:05: The Vital Element. Platinum.	16:40: Days of our Linn	17:30: The Bold and t	18:00: Ezimtoti
12:00: Larry King	17:30: The Bold and t	18:00: Ezimtoti	18:30: Doors
13:00: Headline News	18:00: Ezimtoti	18:30: Doors	18:57: Devotion
13:30: Business Day	18:30: Doors	19:00: News	19:30: Sports Arena
14:00: 6-15	19:00: News	19:30: Sports Arena	20:00: Pick a Tune
14:30: Tele-school, Home Economics.	19:30: Sports Arena	20:00: Pick a Tune	21:00: News update
15:00: World of Chemistry	20:00: Pick a Tune	21:00: News update	21:12: Royal Family
15:30: The Paw Paws	21:00: News update	21:12: Royal Family	21:42: Les Girls. A Cx
16:00: Lion Series of Bible Stories	21:12: Royal Family	21:42: Les Girls. A Cx	starring Gene K
16:35: Grimm's Fairytales Classics	21:42: Les Girls. A Cx	starring Gene K	Kay Kendall &
16:55: Danger Bay	starring Gene K	Kay Kendall &	which a music
17:00: Another Life	which a music	and is then ro-	22:48: Joe Cool Linn. F
17:30: Music Biz Quiz	and is then ro-	22:48: Joe Cool Linn. F	this show inch
17:57: Compass	22:48: Joe Cool Linn. F	this show inch	pearance by c
18:00: News	appearance by c	feeding muscle	ophoniast Sadet
18:15: Top Billing	feeding muscle	ophoniast Sadet	with top US Est
18:00: Tropical Heat	ophoniast Sadet	with top US Est	including Paul;
20:00: Die Nuisa	with top US Est	including Paul;	Franklin.
20:30: Sending Vietnam	including Paul;	Franklin.	0.43: CNN Internatio
21:30: Stoppie Bus	Franklin.	0.43: CNN Internatio	14:00: Kiso
22:00: Die Manne van Afdeling K3	0.43: CNN Internatio	14:00: Kiso	14:30: Young Reader
22:30: Maupassant Vertel	14:00: Kiso	14:30: Young Reader	
0.25: Gedagte vir die Dag	14:30: Young Reader		
0.30: Transmission ends			

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(11B)

In the first place it would contradict his long-standing opposition to independence for KwaZulu. But there are practical reasons, too, why such a step would be untenable. They hinge on three factors:

- The need for unanimous support from the entire region's population;
- The ability to go it alone financially; and
- The muscle to withstand a military attempt to reverse a UDI.

Idasa's Alec Boraine says: "Bluntly, Natal/KwaZulu cannot go it alone. For such a move to be possible consensus is necessary between the main players and I simply cannot see that taking place, particularly with the ANC's stress on an undivided SA."

The consequences of unilateral action would be catastrophic: "One has the spectre of Yugoslavia in mind. It is true that there is no way Buthelezi can be left out of a political agreement flowing from negotiations, not because he has the electoral strength, but because he has the ability to disrupt."

This view is endorsed by RAU's head of political studies Prof Albert Venter, who points out that Buthelezi enjoys sufficient support among the country's 7m Zulus to cause considerable trouble even if he doesn't secede. "It is not clear whether Buthelezi still harbours national ambitions, but he clearly still wants to dominate the Kwa-Zulu/Natal region. The trouble is, neither the IFP nor the ANC are willing to play second fiddle in Natal."

The Human Sciences Research Council's conflict studies chief researcher, Anthony Minnaar, also points to the futility of gambling with secession. Quite apart from the economic problems, there would be insufficient support among all Natalians for a breakaway. Furthermore, the military odds would be firmly against the IFP. "One cannot help but predict a no-contest with 7 000 KwaZulu police ranged against 12 000 members of the SAP as well as the SADF."

And, though Minnaar doesn't mention it, this would be one occasion where MK would endorse the actions of the security forces. ■

KWAZULU-NATAL

FM 30/10/92

UDI not on

(11B)

Just how far can Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi go? Is a unilateral declaration of independence for KwaZulu (or the whole of Natal) within his reach if he can't negotiate a federal structure — or is it an empty threat?

Phrases such as "going it alone" have increasingly crept into Buthelezi's public utterances. SA Council of Churches senior vice-president Sheena Duncan warned last weekend that secession by Natal/KwaZulu would precipitate a bloody civil war.

In the same vein, Buthelezi's recent announcement that the Inkatha Freedom Party was picking up where the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba left off in the Eighties could also be interpreted as preparation for such a step. The IFP is intent on completing the process of establishing a Joint Executive Authority and Joint Legislative Authority for the region. Logically, it would be much easier to carry a single "country" into independence rather than two patchwork relics of apartheid.

The reality is that Buthelezi would have to think long and hard before such a drastic step.

A young warrior who wants to be a nurse

118
W/M/maul 30/10 - 5/11/92

By PHILLIPA GARSON

MICHAEL DLAMINI squats under a tree, a sub-machinegun under his arm. An 18-year-old matric pupil, he nurtures dreams of becoming a nurse. Now, however, the task has fallen on his shoulders to defend the Patheni community against "African National Congress attackers".

Late last year Dlamini was one of a group selected by the chief to go for a week's training at Inkatha's Emandleni youth camp in Amatikhulu. There, Dlamini says, kwaZulu Police (KZP) trained him and about 100 others from all over Natal on gun use and methods of attack and defence.

Emandleni may have been the site of intensive training for some time. According to the ANC, chiefs around Natal have been instructed to make available 20 young men each for training in preparation for the proposed ANC march to Umtata.

Meanwhile, Dlamini waits in readiness in the midst of a vicious war, which has fractured the communities in the lush hills around Richmond. ANC supporters from Patheni, refusing to submit to the chief's decree that only one organisation (the Inkatha Freedom Party) can operate in the area, have been hounded out of their homes.

They have fled to nearby Ndaleni, an ANC stronghold. There, Inkatha supporters have been routed in a sim-

ilar fashion, and most have fled to surrounding rural areas.

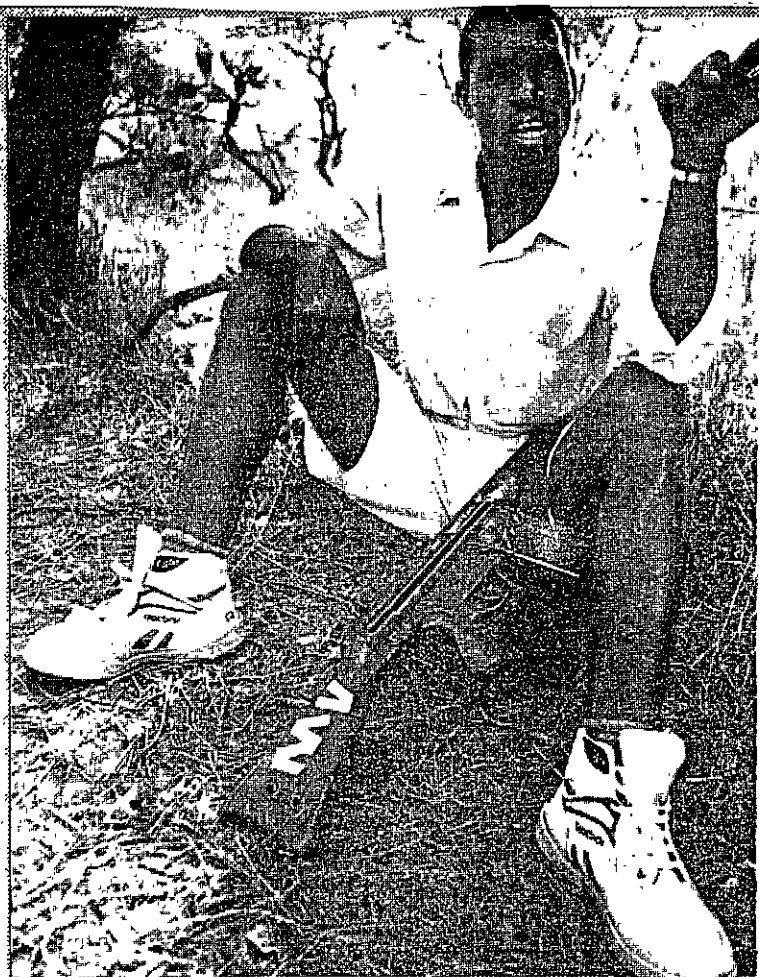
Dlamini is angry that the ANC supporters from his village won't submit to the chief's decrees. They were told not to toy-toy and to respect the fact that this is kwaZulu and there is only one organisation that can exist here.

Recently, the Patheni refugees attempted to return to the empty shells that were once their homes but were halted by Inkatha members. Despite efforts of a large contingency of local and United Nations peace monitors, the return mission was a disaster.

The refugees gathered in a local school, trapped by an Inkatha contingent poised to attack from the nearby tribal court. As darkness fell, ANC leaders who had accompanied them were nowhere to be seen. When the refugees attempted to leave the school that night they were shot at. After retreating to the safety of the school grounds, they had no option but to leave the following morning.

Schoolteacher Favourite Vezi, wife of Patheni warlord Paulus Vezi, says she knows little about what lies behind the war. Her home has been attacked several times and many friends and relatives have died, including Chief Fana Nzimande, who was lined up against a wall with his family and gunned down.

Vezi says he was killed because "he was strong in using weapons".



Michael Dlamini wants to be a nurse saving lives. Instead, he was ordered to be a soldier

Photo: GUY ADAMS

"We are afraid here; we are living in a war situation." Those who have been her neighbours for decades are now her enemies.

In nearby Ndaleni the statue of

Jesus bleeds. Residents have painted it red as a symbol of the ceaseless blood-letting.

They look forward to the day they will scrub the statue clean again.

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1992

NOV. - DEC.

INKATHA PEACE BID

'In Kangwane new cars are almost free'

By ELIAS MALUKE and DESMOND BLOW

THE Kangwane government is squandering millions of rands on cars for its officials - both black and white. New cars, some of them luxury cars costing more than R250 000, are bought for 15 percent of the value and in some cases interest-free loans are made to the official to pay the 15 percent.

It has been estimated that R22-million of SA taxpayers' money - which is part of the R300-million a year the Pretoria government pays towards the Kangwane budget - has been squandered on more than 400 vehicles sold to officials over the last couple of years on what has been described as the "gray train".

Yet despite a complaint by a representative of the auditor general in Pretoria to this effect a year ago, and a police inquiry which followed, no action has apparently been taken, and the "irregular" practices have continued. *Clares 11/11/92*

An investigation by City Press of several weeks has revealed that in August 1991 a new "fringe benefit" car scheme was brought into effect because the old one was being abused, but the new scheme still offered cars at far below market value.

The scheme for top officials of the 11 Kangwane administrative departments alone is believed to have cost the Kangwane administration R7-million, money which it is claimed they do not have. A cheque for as much as R285 000 is given to an



By SIBU MINGADI

Clares 11/11/92

AS Natal reentered on the brink of a full-scale civil war yesterday, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi offered to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss peace.

Buthelezi was speaking to journalists at Durban's Curries Fountain minutes before leading about a 20 000-strong Inkatha-sponsored "Zulu march" through the city in protest against the recent ANCSA government Record of Understanding.

Buthelezi said in his talks with National Peace Committee chairman John Hall on Thursday he agreed to meet Mandela to discuss the peace process on former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's recommendations.

This, he added, was in spite of the dispute between Inkatha and the ANC over Mandela's charge before the UN Security Council recently that Inkatha was a surrogate of the SA government.

Earlier this week the Inkatha leader was still holding out for a one-to-one meeting with his ANC counterpart, but Mandela rejected this in favour of a special meeting of all NPA signatories.

However, Buthelezi yesterday rejected a meeting between signatories of the NPA, saying talks between Inkatha and ANC leaders

Buthelezi offers to meet ANC for talks

were needed first.

At least 130 people have died in Natal this month.

In another surprise move yesterday, Buthelezi discarded his traditional garb and weapons for a black suit.

Buthelezi was, however, surrounded by KwaZulu Cabinet ministers, Inkatha leaders and warriors in full traditional regalia and armed with spears, shields, stiles, pangas, knobkerries, machetes and other weapons.

Buthelezi's aides were at pains to point out that there was no connection between Buthelezi being unarmed and threats by the SA Police to prosecute him and other Inkatha leaders for leading a similar march in Johannesburg on October 18 in defiance of a government ban on carrying traditional weapons in public.

In a brief address to marchers yesterday, the Inkatha leader expressed his disappointment that the march attracted fewer people than the Johannesburg one, estimated at 30 000 people.

"I was hoping that because Natal is our home-base this march will be bigger than the Johannesburg march," he said.

At the Durban City Hall Buthelezi presented a petition to a senior SAP officer for transmission to State President FW de Klerk. The petition, by "the Zulu nation's representatives", rejected outright the Record of Understanding.

However, Inkatha has lodged an application with SA's Department of Correctional Services for the release of about 50 members in terms of the Record.

Inkatha prisoners include former deputy interior minister Samuel Bhebezwe Jamile, serving a life sentence for murder and attempted murder. On Inkatha's list of "political prisoners" are 10 others serving life sentences for crimes against political opponents.

"We promise the government a hard time if they do not relent to our demands," said Inkatha media officer Ed Tillet.

He said Jamile, like some other Inkatha members jailed for murder, were "freedom fighters" who had "committed the offences while fighting ANC tyranny".

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa slammed the move. "They (Inkatha) would like to use the Record of Understanding, which is dismissing out of hand... I have never seen such hypocrisy and political expedience," he said.

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By RYAN CRESSWELL

MORE than 20 000 Inkatha supporters marched through Durban yesterday to protest against the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC. Members from all over Natal marched from Curries Fountain to the city hall. Women and children carrying banners declaring: "Cultural weapons don't kill our husbands," or "Secret deals won't work," led thousands of chanting warriors armed with shields, knobkieries and spears through the streets.

20 000 IFP members in protest march

25
118
S/Times 1/11/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The memorandum — signed by Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha chairman

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

Weapons

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

ARES

NATION	RETURN FARES
TH.....	R2990
NEY.....	R3490
BOURNE.....	R3990
SBANE.....	R3990
KLAND.....	R4770
FAR EAST	
rg.....	R4990
hannesburg.....	R4990
SEASONAL ADJUSTMENT	
30-9320	



ON SALE: AK-47s AT R40 EACH

SITimes 1/11/92

By CHARLENE SMITH

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

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

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

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

Direction

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

These investigations are under the direction of General Krappies Engelbrecht.

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

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

Purpose

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Help

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

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

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

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SPECIAL ADVERT

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANC heavyweights in bid for Natal peace

AN explosive situation has arisen in southern Natal as the ANC and Inkatha battle for control of turf
ROY RUDDEN and CHARLENE SMITH report

St Louis 11/19/91
We can run into serious difficulties," While political leaders are battling to bring peace and get talks resumed, violence is eating into communities along the Natal coast.

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

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

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

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

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

Sporadic incidents of killing have occurred since then, and this has led to the massive security crackdown announced on Thursday by President de Klerk after meetings of the Cabinet and the State Security Council. IFP spokesman Ed Thillet claimed the Transkei Defence Force was training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres "at the South African taxpayers' expense" and trafficking illegal arms to be used in hit-squad missions against IFP leaders and activists in Natal.

"The unrelenting killing of IFP leaders and supporters in military-style killings is directly linked to the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the proliferation of arms caches. The government appears reluctant to address the issue."
The ANC, not surprisingly, claims it is the victim of the attacks. ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said the violence against ANC members was accompanied by a tense psychological

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

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

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

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

● See Page 25

Inkatha gun runner says SADF was arms channel

Sunday Times Reporters

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

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

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

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

Probe

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

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

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

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

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

□ To Page 2

Gun runner confesses

□ From Page 1

ful civil war against them".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kwazulu leader Chief

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

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

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

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

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

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Power-sharing on the cards

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

Document proposes devolution of power to regions:

THE ANC and its allies are considering power-sharing with the National Party.

This is revealed in a document which was circulated under strict confidentiality at last week's meeting of Patriotic Front affiliates in Port Elizabeth.

The organisation, however, said the idea was not official ANC policy, but confirmed that it had been explored in the discussion document.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said it was "just a discussion document outlining certain views".

The proposals in the document suggest that the ANC would be prepared to enter into deals with the National Party on critical issues such as the devolution of power to regions and the white-dominated civil service in a new dispensation.

By Mathatha Tsedu
and Ruth Bhengu

THE INKATHA Freedom Party yesterday denied that a white man was smuggling arms for the organisation.

Mr Bruce Anderson, who represented the IFP at Codesa until he was deported to Britain in July, said in a newspaper report yesterday that guns and explosives had been smuggled from Mozambique's rebel movement Renamo to the IFP for use in political killings.

The IFP has asked the Goldstone Commission to ask Anderson to give evidence before it.

National IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose described the claims as a "pack of lies".

IFP spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos also denied that the organisation ever had any dealings with Renamo or had its own army.

"The IFP emphatically denies that it has ever bought arms or acquired arms in the way Mr Anderson said it has, or in any other way," she said.

IFP denies deal with Kenamo

Former official says he smuggled arms from Mozambique's rebels:

Vos distanced the IFP leadership from Anderson's allegations.

Anderson's revelations came hardly 24 hours after IFP leader Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi led an estimated 20 000 supporters through the streets of Durban, calling for the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Sizwe.

The IFP has always said killings by AK-47 rifles were the work of ANC guerrillas.

Together with the SADF, it last week accused the ANC of infiltrating guerrillas from Transkei to commit murders in Natal.

The arms smuggling revelations came as Buthelezi told his followers and the world that he would not attend any multilateral peace meeting to discuss the end of violence before a meeting between himself and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mandela has already rejected such a proposal, saying similar meetings in the past had failed.

As Buthelezi spoke in Durban on Saturday, 11 people who were killed in a raid a week ago, were buried at Mpushini Village, Folweni, near Amanzimtoti.

next Talkback topic

The Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show opens the lines tonight for you to raise any topic of your choice.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Gun claims: Probe wants IFP man

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CT 2/11/92
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry would like to see former IFP official Mr Bruce Anderson testify on claims that arms were channelled from Renamo to Inkatha by the SADF's Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI).

The SADF has denied the allegations while the IFP has described the claims, made in an affidavit, as a "pack of lies". Mr Anderson was deported from South Africa in July.

Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday commission lawyers had contacted Mr Anderson in London to "discuss the circumstances under which it might be possible for him to testify".

Mr Justice Goldstone said the allegations by Mr Anderson were relevant to the commission's inquiry into the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in political violence and intimidation.

Mr Anderson said in his affidavit he had been approached last year by IFP foreign affairs chief Mr Musa Myeni who "told me that weapons and ammunition were desperately short" and were needed to counter ANC attacks.

Weapons

He said he had met his "old friend" Mr George Barrett, Renamo's representative in South Africa, and "asked him if he could arrange weapons through Renamo for the IFP".

Mr Barrett agreed to look into this and "subsequently the weapons were then collected and distributed by DMI to Inkatha".

Meanwhile, unrest monitors fear an influx of guns and trained operatives into Natal could lead to a new pattern of violence and more killings.

Claims that the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe is operating from Transkei has been strongly dismissed by the organisation. However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said: "We know that MK is infiltrating across the border ... our intelligence is so good that we are spending a lot of time and money on patrols there."

Mr Anderson said he hoped by going public the ANC "may be persuaded to abandon their policy of political violence and terror" if they realised the forces ranged against them.

However, IFP central committee chairman Mr Walter Felgate yesterday suggested Mr Anderson may have been trying to hit back at the IFP for not giving him a job in London.

BILLY PADDOCK

NATIONAL peace committee chairman John Hall is shuttling between Ulundi and Johannesburg in a bid to broker a face-saving reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha which could lead to a meeting between leaders of the two parties.

This follows former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's failure to mediate between the two parties over ANC president Nelson Mandela's statement to the UN that Inkatha was a government surrogate with which he could not conclude agreements.

Neither Inkatha nor the ANC was prepared to comment on Hall's activities, but an Inkatha source said the major problem for the organisation was Mandela's statement that the ANC was not prepared to

New bid for ANC, Inkatha to meet

BLOAM 3/11/92
conclude agreements with Inkatha. If this was so, no agreements reached in any negotiating forum could be relied on, he said.

A further issue which could keep Inkatha out of the process was the ANC's recent discussion document, made public yesterday, in which it stated its desire to conclude a bilateral agreement with government on the powers, functions, duties and boundaries of regions. *(11B)*

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he will reject any bilateral agreement between the ANC and government

(11B) To Page 2

New bid *BLOAM 3/11/92*

that had implications for other parties.

Hall's attempt at brokering a meeting is specifically aimed at getting the peace accord apparatus to work efficiently and to reduce violence.

A senior government negotiator said yesterday that while it was vital that peace structures be fully supported and that everything was done to make them work, other initiatives had to be found.

He said there was an absolute urgency for multiparty talks to get going again before the violence "really gets out of control". Once that happened any thoughts of an election being held and its result being accepted would be virtually impossible.

He said bilateral talks were vital to clear the path to an understanding.

"No two parties can think of going it alone," he said. "Whatever talks are happening or are going to happen at a bilateral level are preparatory talks for multiparty negotiations."

(11B) From Page 1

The source said parties had to get together to find a political solution, but also to discuss ways of preventing a further escalation of violence.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said there was absolutely no attempt on the part of the ANC and government to come to conclusive agreements about the future in bilateral talks and then to impose these agreements on other parties. Bilateral talks with numerous parties were necessary to create the conditions to make the multilateral talks successful.

"We see the bilateral process as discussing a range of issues relating to negotiations at multiparty level, and trying to find the common thread where we can find agreement rather than concentrating on the divisive ones. Then we can move ahead more quickly to the real negotiations in a multiparty forum where decisions are taken," Maharaj said.

Anderson claims a 'pack of lies'

BILLY PADDOCK
INKATHA was convinced its name would be cleared when the Goldstone commission tested allegations by its former official, Bruce Anderson, that he had been gun-running for the organisation.

Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos yesterday said she would welcome Anderson's allegations being tested thoroughly by Judge R Goldstone as this would show without doubt it was a "pack of lies".

It is also understood Anderson was demanding permanent residence status in SA in return for testifying.

This, a source said, made Anderson's claims questionable, especially when the organisation had physical proof dating from as recently as August and "stating unequivocally on his honour that he had never been involved in any form of gun-running or acquiring weapons for Inkatha".

Anderson has claimed he arranged a supply of arms for Inkatha last year after setting up a meeting between Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and Inkatha foreign affairs head Musa Myeni. The arms were "collected and distributed" by SA Military Intelligence, he alleged.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose has denied the allegations outright, stating Inkatha "emphatically denies acquiring arms in the way Anderson claims or in any other way. We also deny having dealt with Renamo in any way whatsoever."

Interim rule needed

FLOYD COUTTS

AN INTERIM government would have to be instituted without delay to restore credible authority and bring violence under control in SA, former Anglo American chairman Gavin Rilly said in Toronto, Canada, yesterday.

He told Canadian Club members SA leaders would have to raise their vision beyond horizons set by party ambitions and seek constitutional agreements with a long-term chance of working.

"Finally, and perhaps most difficult, we must do these things very soon so that we can make progress towards rebuilding the economy of southern Africa before it becomes totally moribund," he said.

Initiatives like the national peace accord, the national housing forum and the economic forum were cause for optimism.

"It is nevertheless vital that we move quickly to an acceptable form of interim authority so that a proper process of governing can get going again at all levels," he said.

SA was languishing in its worst recession since the beginning of the century, which unfortunately coincided with the need to meet the expectations of participants in a new democracy.

"In the short term there is a stark deficit of available resources to keep the bare minimum of governance proceeding. For the long run there is a hopeful and increasing congruence between the important political groupings that a free enterprise system, with a strong market emphasis, is more likely to provide economic growth than some centralised dirigiste system."



Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh during his visit to Mzimhlophe Hostel yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela, Buthelezi must talk

GERALD REILLY
PRETORIA — An urgent meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be held so that a political solution could be found to curb violence, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said yesterday.

Weekend violence in Alexandra township, in which 11 people died, and strife in Natal stressed the need for a political solution, Kriel said in a statement.

"Political manoeuvring, while more and more innocent men, women and children are being killed, is completely unacceptable to government," Kriel said.

RAY HARTLEY reports that new obstacles to a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi were raised by ANC southern Natal regional organiser Bheki Cele yesterday. Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions had insisted on a meeting with Inkatha before they would sanction a national summit between the two leaders.

He said agreements would first have to be reached at a regional level and then ratified at a national meeting.

CHAPMAN

IFP will state its position

11B
2/11/92

■ Renewed fighting in Natal:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is expected to state its position on the violence that is sweeping Natal at an executive committee meeting of the National Peace Committee (NPC) tonight.

The NPC had hoped that an urgent meeting of the signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA) would be held over the weekend or early this week.

This summit would have brought together face-to-face ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as well as President FW de Klerk.

According to sources, NPC chairman Mr John Hall's shuttle diplomacy last week seems to have borne little or no fruit following Buthelezi's insistence at the weekend that he wanted a one-on-one meeting with Mandela as opposed to a full meeting of the NPA signatories.

Buthelezi repeated his position during a television debate in which Hall was a participant.

An NPA spokesman said a meeting of the NPA executive takes place tonight to assess the crisis. The IFP which is a member will be asked to clarify its position, the spokesman said.

CT 4/11/92

IFP letter 118 contradicts arms claim

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party hopes to hand to the Goldstone Commission a letter in which deported party official Mr Bruce Anderson states "unequivocally" that he had never supplied arms to the organisation.

Mr Anderson claimed at the weekend he had helped smuggle Renamo weapons into South Africa for use by the IFP.

Yesterday IFP spokesman Ms Sue Vos said the party intended to present Mr Anderson's earlier letter to the Goldstone Commission.

Ms Vos said that in his letter to the IFP leadership, Mr Anderson had written: "... the press have made certain speculations about my deportation, including that I am a British intelligence agent, I was supplying guns to the IFP, I was behind the violence.

'On my honour'

"I must state, unequivocally, on my honour, that I have never been guilty of any of the above and have never intentionally betrayed ... our party."

Ms Vos said the letter was dated August 10 — after Mr Anderson's deportation.

● The IFP is to ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate the role of the ANC's armed wing in attacks on the party, it was announced yesterday.

● An estimated 40 IFP Women's Brigade supporters in Durban marched on the home of Natal Indian Congress and ANC member Mr Pravin Gordhan yesterday.

A spokesman said the group of widows and orphans marched on Mr Gordhan's home to demand he point out arms caches they believed were hidden in Natal. — Sapa

IFP branch expels (116) ET 5/11/92 'arms smuggler'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Bruce Anderson, the deported Inkatha official, who claimed to have played a role in smuggling Renamo arms to the IFP, has been expelled from the party's Sandton branch.

The branch also resolved at a meeting this week that Mr Anderson should be booted out of the IFP.

The moves follow outrage within the IFP at Mr Anderson's claim in an affidavit that he had helped set up a deal in which Renamo arms were smuggled into South Africa, and then distributed to the IFP by Military Intelligence.

Slammed

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose denied the claims and asked the Goldstone Commission to probe them.

Yesterday the Sandton branch released a copy of a resolution adopted at a Monday meeting in which it slammed Mr Anderson's "self-confessed alleged complicity" in the infiltration of arms and "the public disclosure thereof".

It also revealed that Mr Anderson had furnished the branch committee with an "undertaking" following a disciplinary inquiry in 1991. His behaviour represented a "flagrant breach" of this. The statement did not elaborate on the reason for the 1991 inquiry.

Anderson expelled

DEPORTED Inkatha official Bruce Anderson, who claimed to have played a role in smuggling Renamo arms to the IFP, has been expelled from the party's Sandton branch.

After outrage at Anderson's claims in the media, the branch also resolved this week that he should be booted out of the party.

GIPMAY 5/11/92

(1/5)

the nation in brief

Sowetan 6/11/92
Prison deaths probe

A POLICE general and 12 former magistrates have been appointed to prevent and investigate deaths in detention, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Twenty former police generals have also been appointed to visit police cells at any time.

Law and Order Minister Hemus Kriel had given an undertaking to appoint a team of retired magistrates to look into deaths in police custody.

In the meantime, General Louw Malan, of police headquarters, would investigate every death in detention.

Sowetan 6/11/92
Tutu, Buthelezi meet

116
ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu met Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi yesterday to discuss a proposal for a joint meeting of all black political leaders.

"The Archbishop's request was part of the continuing efforts by church leaders to work for an end to violence and to facilitate a lasting political settlement which accommodates the aspirations of all South Africans."

"Since this was an issue under discussion in the National Peace Committee, the meeting resolved to await the outcome of current discussions in the committee," a statement from Buthelezi said.

Sowetan 6/11/92
March on Parliament

SEVERAL hundred members of the Western Cape Principals' Forum marched on Parliament yesterday to demand a single, democratic and nonracial education department.

A memorandum was handed to Mr Boetie Arendse, the chief inspector of extra-curricular activities in the Department of Education and Culture in the so-called coloured House of Representatives, to shouts of "We want Abe" (HoR Education Minister Abe Williams). - Sapa.

Friday November 6 1992

WOMEN'S & CHILDREN'S

IFP's non-traditional weapon

W/mal 6/11-12/11/92.

White Inkatha supporters are taking up arms in Natal's conflict, reports

PHILIPPA GARSON 116

WHITE supporters of Inkatha are increasingly prepared to take up arms in the ground war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in Natal.

"We are tired of our people getting killed. We're getting pushed out of negotiations, becoming a voice in the wilderness. It's about time people took sides. We're a force to be reckoned with," said a white man brandishing "traditional weapons" who joined about 15 000 IFP members in a protest march through Durban last Saturday.

Pointing out that he prefers to be known by his Zulu name Mehlwemamba (eyes of the mamba), Shaun (surname unknown) was unequivocal about his support for Inkatha. "I would fight for Inkatha," he said.

Asked if he had done so in the past, he replied: "That's an unfair question."

He said he had served 11 years in Military Intelligence and still works for the South African Defence Force in Natal's townships in an "unofficial capacity".

"I am not scared to come out of the closet, but I would say there are literally thousands of members who are scared to do so because of what people will say," he added.

IFP central committee member Albert Mncwango, who co-ordinates paramilitary and other training of Inkatha's "self-protection units", confirmed that Mehlwemamba is a member of his regiment. On the man's SADF background, Mncwango's reply was: "When people join Inkatha, we don't screen them."

Mncwango said a "deluge" of whites — about 600 a week — have been joining the IFP since the government signed the Record of Understanding with the ANC.



Brothers in arms ... White warrior 'Mehlwemamba' brandishes a spear and shield, while his companion conceals a firearm beneath traditional garb
Photo: GUY ADAMS

A recent Markinor survey showed that the IFP has considerable support among whites. While only 11 percent of the 800 whites polled expressed support for the Conservative Party, at least 15 percent said they would vote for the IFP and 30 percent were positive about the organisation. The survey concluded that "every second white expresses a positive attitude towards the IFP".

Whites occupy most of the IFP's public relations positions and several sit on its central committee.

Evidence of the increasing involvement of white supporters in Natal's conflict include:

- Reports by residents of Amagcino, an ANC stronghold in Umgababa, that at least two whites were among Inkatha fighters who attacked the community on October 18. The attack, which left at least eight people dead, was in apparent

retaliation for a gruesome ambush of a bakkie carrying Inkatha supporters, which also claimed eight lives. One of the white men allegedly involved wore dark blue overalls and the other wore jeans and a coloured shirt.

● Peace monitors present during a confrontation last month between Inkatha supporters at Patheni, near Richmond, and ANC refugees attempting to return to the area, noticed an armed white man among the Inkatha members who gathered at the local chief's tribal court.

Steve Collins, national co-ordinator of the Network of Independent Monitors, said: "There was a white, bearded man with ginger hair who seemed to be with the chief's bodyguards. He stayed quietly in the background but he looked prepared for a fight."

● The shooting of kwaZulu government representative Philip Powell after an IFP rally in Imbali in April. Powell, a former president of the rightwing National Students' Federation and an ex-policeman, was shot in the legs and an arm. His bodyguard was also shot. Powell carries a powerful Lougar assault rifle and says he has been ambushed seven times in the past two years.

● Former Natal rugby player Adam Mortessagne, a farmer and police reservist in the kwaGengshe area, openly supports the IFP. The ANC has accused him of training IFP members on how to shoot and of transporting them to sites of conflict.

After several attacks on his life, Mortessagne drives an armoured vehicle. When *The Weekly Mail* tried to contact him this week, a white man claiming to be his bodyguard said he was out of town.

● Farmers and businessmen in the Richmond and Ixopo areas have long shown allegiance towards the IFP. *The Daily News* last year reported the existence of training camps on private farms.

uRambo meets his hero

By S'BU MINGADI *SP* 11/17/92 (116)

THE Rambo-like white man who marched alongside Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi through Durban's streets last Saturday is a veteran Department of Military Intelligence (MI) agent.

In an interview with City Press this week, 31-year-old Sean Daniels spoke frankly about his co-operation with Inkatha leaders in townships and squatter camps north of Durban in the 1980s.

Although Daniels took part in an Inkatha-sponsored "Zulu march" in protest against the ANC-SA government's Record of Understanding, he was relieved State President FW de Klerk had rammed into law the Further Indemnity Bill in the President's Council.

"I have done a lot of things that I am not proud of. And fears that an ANC government might invoke these things (crimes) if and when it comes to power have been at the back of every MI agent's mind," he said.

All Daniels could say of his clandestine operations in "Sector North" — townships and squatter camps north of Durban — was: "Karl Marx said: 'In order to make an omelette, you must break a few eggs.'" He refused to reveal how many "eggs" (people) he had broken.

The MI agent met his long-time hero Buthelezi for the first time at the Saturday march. "What an honour that was," he said enthusiastically.

Outbursts

Condoning violent outbursts of some Inkatha leaders and supporters, Daniels said: "There is so much a person can take before hitting back. I too have been pushed too far on many occasions... It doesn't make me happy to see a teenager taking a potshot at me with a home-made gun. I hit him first and I don't always miss."

During Daniels' national service he fought in Angola with the notorious 32 Battalion, whom he said were "committed and dedicated to their course".

Daniels returned to Durban and joined a supermarket chain as a security manager. During the many run-ins between him and workers he informed for the security police.

He was later appointed regional security manager. He then joined MI at the Natal Command, where he worked after hours.

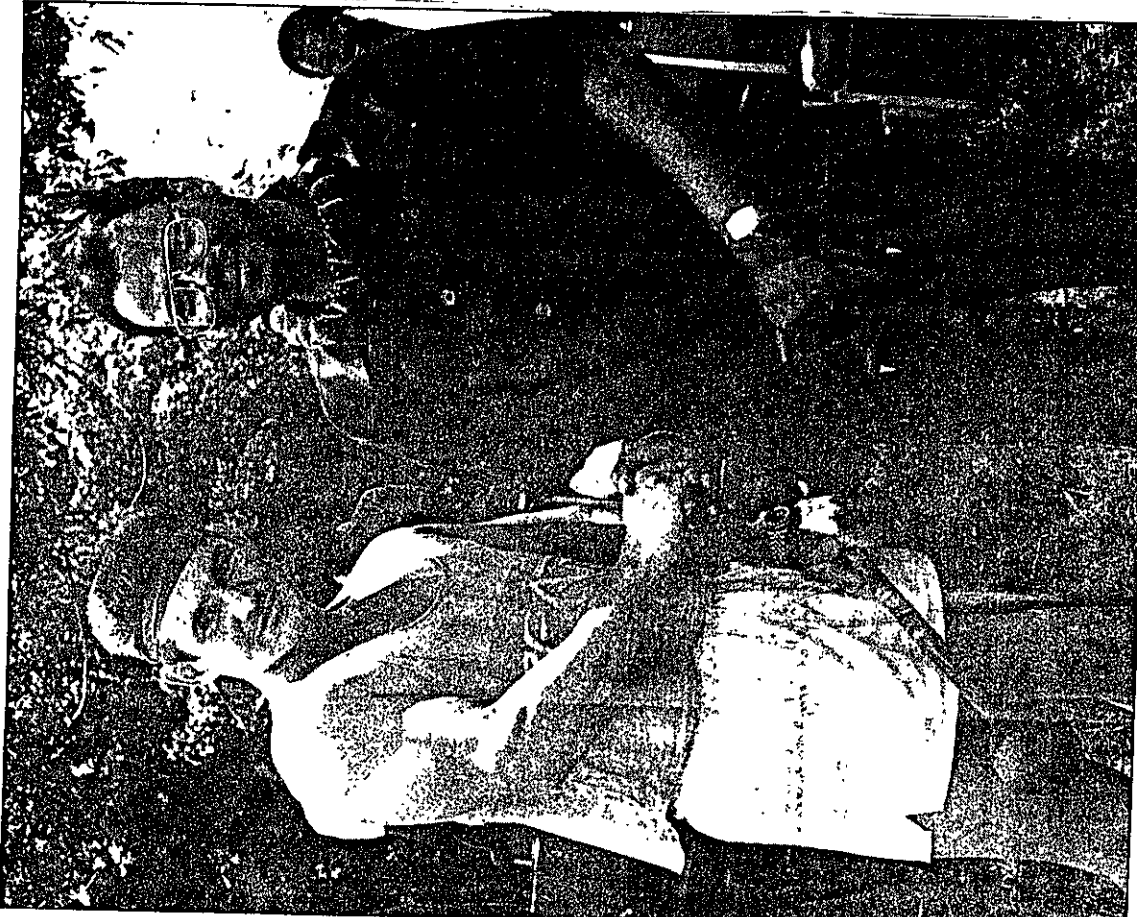
Daniels said he worked closely with Veterans for Victory, a MI project which sought to destroy the End Conscription Campaign through dirty tricks.

In 1985 Daniels, a section leader, with three black agents under him, met Lindelani Inkatha strongman and KwaZulu MP Mandla Thomas Shabalala. He said Shabalala won him over.

Shabalala and the unit had then worked together attacking UDF supporters.

Daniels said his wife, who made him quit the DMI in 1989, left him last year.

Is Daniels still with MI? "Yes and no," he replied.



MI YOUR MAN, OR WHAT? ... Military Intelligence veteran Sean Daniels finally gets to pump the hand of his idol, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, during a recent Inkatha march. ■ Pic: DESENI MOODLIAR

plied was not correct." attingh said he would have fur- etings with representatives of es to discuss the issue.

Jonas Savimbi since the early 80s when he was di- rector-general of Namibia. He last spoke to Dr Sa-

play a decisiv role in the Ara "The amount some govern can devote to Angola will pr enough to mes golan parties sures and tim said.

Mr Cleary accused of Swapo during elections in N

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Anderson hits back at IFP

EXPELLED Inkatha official Bruce Anderson wrote an impassioned letter to party leaders denying gun-running allegations just weeks before he signed an affidavit saying he had supplied arms to the IFP.

Early in August Mr Anderson wrote from his mother's home in England: "I understand the press in South Africa have made certain speculations about my deportation, including that I am a British intelligence agent, I was supplying guns to the IFP, I was behind the violence, I was illegally in the country, etc.

"I must state unequivocally on my honour that I have never been guilty of any of the above and have never intentionally betrayed either you or our party."

Speaking from England yesterday, Mr Anderson said he wrote the letter at the request of the IFP.

"I was told to write that letter because certain members of the party were trying to facilitate my return to South Africa.

"Of course, they are going to deny it. It is the policy of the IFP to deny that it is in any way involved in violence. I stand by my affidavit and detract nothing from it."

Senior IFP officials have refuted Mr Anderson's allegations, saying all relevant documentation in their possession had been handed to the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Anderson, responding to allegations by Kwa-zulu leader Chief Buthelezi in last week's Sunday Times, said: "He says he didn't know me. We met on numerous occasions. He and I went with Sue Vos (senior IFP official) to a concert last year. I had lunch with him and Whoopi Goldberg. I was flown to

Ulundi for various meetings, and we met at rallies."

Mr Buthelezi also claimed Mr Anderson had "a long criminal record".

The Sunday Times knows of at least 20 criminal convictions dating back to 1962, with the most recent being 1982, which include fraud, theft, forgery, and cocaine possession.

Dirty

Mr Anderson said: "It is no secret that I had a drug problem when I was younger. The IFP investigated me thoroughly before I was elected to be on Codesa 1, and they were satisfied it was something from my past, from which I had been rehabilitated.

"If the party continues to make libellous allegations against me, this could get very dirty. I might have to make other things known about the shady goings-on."

On his expulsion from the Sandton branch of the IFP this week, Mr Anderson said his removal had "not been constitutional" and he did not consider himself ousted.

An Inkatha spokesman said: "We beseech Mr Anderson to testify to the Goldstone Commission unconditionally."

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

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IFP SA 'guarantee'

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday vowed to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and the Inkatha Freedom Party were the country's final guarantee of a democracy. Addressing about 15 000 Zulus and whites at Nsingweni near Gingindlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful South Africa.

Sapa
Gowtham 9/11/97

IFP vows to keep (UB) CT 9/11/92 'resisting' alliance

GINGINDHLOVU, KwaZulu. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has vowed to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and the Inkatha Freedom Party were South Africa's final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people near here on Saturday, Mr Chief Buthelezi condemned Mr Nelson Mandela's "failure" to respond to invitations to participate in a

peaceful South Africa.

● The IFP on Saturday alleged that Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Mac Maharaj and Major-General Bantu Holomisa were responsible for violence in the country.

IFP Youth Brigade officials told journalists they were going to "target" these "masterminds" by talking to them and publicly displaying "atrocities" resulting from their orders. — Sapa

Army chief Meiring hits out at 'ANC operations teams'

PIETERSBURG — Army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring lashed out on Friday at what he called ANC-sponsored "special operations teams" which, disguised as security force members, wreaked mayhem before putting the blame on security forces.

Addressing a medal parade at Far Northern Transvaal Command, Meiring said "special operations teams" were attempting to discredit the security forces and, specifically, the army.

He said according to an instruction issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda and SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasrils, it had been decided to make available arms and arms caches to MK self defence units and the special operations teams.

"Although some commanders have maps indicating some of the arms caches, detection is difficult because of criminal control over those caches," Meiring said.

He said while there were good indications of the extent of the arms caches, it could be expected, if the "underground" instructions were carried out, that incidents of violence involving MK and the special operations teams would increase.

Meanwhile, government rejected at the weekend a call by the ANC for the inclusion of MK in a joint security

venture to quell rising violence in Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said: "We firmly believe MK is part of the problem of violence in Natal."

The call by the ANC follows the deployment of 2 000 SADF soldiers to assist the SAP and KwaZulu Police in a massive joint operation aimed at preventing civil war in Natal.

ANC Natal Midlands executive member Blade Nzimande said last week: "Our demand is for a speedy move towards an interim government and joint control over the security forces."

"You have to have a neutral force which is accepted by all sectors of the community before there can be peace."

Kotze said: "We don't believe in any private army, including MK, usurping the functions of the police force or the military, and in fact it is illegal to do so."

But support for the concept of a joint peacekeeping force has come from national peace committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

He recommended that a joint peacekeeping force comprising the existing security forces and MK and other military wings of political organisations should be set up under international command. — Sapa-AFP.

Buthelezi 'will never give in'

GINGINDHLOVU — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed on Saturday to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and Inkatha were the country's final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people at Nsingweni near Gingindlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Nelson Mandela's failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful SA.

He said: "We will resist and we will go on resisting the ANC/SACP alliance until one day there is a democracy in SA."

"We in KwaZulu and in the IFP are the final guarantee there will be democracy."

□ In Johannesburg at the weekend, Inkatha Youth Brigade officials alleged that Siphwe Nyanda, Joe Modise, Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa were responsible for the violence in the country.

The officials said they were going to "target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership".

Holomisa denied on Saturday the Transkei Defence Force was training or assisting Umkhonto we Sizwe members. — Sapa.

Holomisa threatens to sue Inkatha

TRANSKEI military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he would take legal action against the Inkatha Freedom Party for defamation of character following accusations that he was responsible for the violence in Natal and KwaZulu.

Holomisa was reacting to allegations at the weekend that he, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyande, MK commander Joe Modise and senior SA Communist Party office bearers Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils were responsible for the violence in the region.

Inkatha Youth Brigade officials said they were going to "target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership".

"It clearly emerges that I am one of those already sentenced without any shred of evidence to prove the facts at issue, hence the IFP has resolved to let its bloodthirsty hounds and wolves hunt down and eliminate some black leaders and me," Holomisa said.

He said he had briefed his attorney to take appropriate legal action.

Holomisa also announced that Transkei security forces would embark on a joint project to bring stocktheft and cross-border activities under control.

He said that following a meeting of Transkei police, prisons and the intelligence personnel last week it had been decided to identify and patrol areas where stocktheft was rife.

"Today (Monday) the joint operations committee (of the police and army) is gearing itself to start deploying security personnel in all areas considered to be flashpoints," he said.

He also warned that the Transkei police counter-insurgency unit would deal with "provocative actions" by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB has said it will find and return stolen cattle to SA border farmers by raiding Transkei. — Sapa.

Beuthin enters not guilty plea

SUSAN RUSSELL

BODYBUILDER Gary Beuthin, who allegedly held Melrose socialite Jill Reeves captive for 12 days earlier this year, pleaded not guilty to charges of kid-

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APG 13/11/92
Scrap secret (11b)

talks with ANC says Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has demanded an immediate end to "secret bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC".

He called for a return to multi-party negotiations, saying South Africa faced a choice between democracy and anarchy.

Speaking in Maritzburg City Hall, he denied going to the city to "woo whites".

But he seemed to be speaking largely to the substantial proportion of whites in the audience when he appealed for support as a champion of democracy.

"I believe in you as my fellow South Africans," he said. "Even at the height of the apartheid system I believed in you."

He was loudly applauded when he called for a federal government in the new South Africa.

'Conflict' without IFP at talks

(118)

JOHANNESBURG. —

The government was seeking a bilateral accord with Inkatha before it was prepared to resume official negotiations with the ANC or embark on a new multi-party conference, a government source said yesterday.

A Constitutional Development Department spokesman said the government wanted to reach "an accord with Inkatha that will bind them into past and present agreements".

The spokesman said the government "could not afford" to proceed with multi-party negotiations unless Inkatha and the other major political players had committed themselves to the negotiation process.

Proceeding with negotiations without Inkatha's support could lead to a potential conflict situation, he said.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi firmly rejected September's Record of Understanding signed by the government and the ANC and called for the establishment of a multiparty conference of review.

As part of continuing discussions between Inkatha and the government, Inkatha chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose flew to Pretoria yesterday to meet Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

The government spokesman said "the main thing is firstly to get Inkatha

Buthelezi: 'Stop conniving'

DURBAN. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night demanded an end to "privileged dealings between the government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Addressing a meeting in the Maritzburg city hall, Chief Buthelezi demanded that negotiations be "taken out of the clutches of power-hungry cliques in conniving political parties".

He called for "open, very transparent, multi-party negotiations" and again laid the blame for the continuing violence squarely at the door of the ANC/SACP alliance.

"I am not being confrontational nor producing a set of non-negotiable principles which are party stoppers," he said.

"I am simply demanding a new beginning in negotiations with a process truly reflective of the widest possible cross-section of opinion in this country."

on the wagon and second not to alienate Chief Buthelezi any further".

Inkatha spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said the proposed conference would need to reassess the negotiations process since before Codesa I in order to correct "certain deficiencies".

These deficiencies included the limited scope of parties represented in the process as well as a lack of deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

Mr Felgate also said the signing of a bilateral agreement between Inkatha and government was unlikely.

Meanwhile, ANC negotiators have indicated their willingness to resume bilateral talks with the government.

A government source said the ANC was "aware and informed of" its talks with Inkatha.

IFP plans to combat violence

(118)
[Handwritten signature]

By Nicolette Tladi *Soweto 16/11/92*

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and its affiliates will meet this week to form strategies to combat violence on trains and in the PWV area as a whole.

This was announced by the IFP's Transvaal

■ Concern about killing of people in trains and damage to property.

organiser, Mr Themba Khoza, in a Press statement. The IFP expressed its concern about the killing of people on trains and damage to property.

The IFP, United Workers Union of South

Africa (Uwusa), Hostel Residents Association, and United Metal Industries and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Umiawusa) are going to "work out a package to deal with this critical issue".

BEFORE SHE TURNED ...

Bank rate down to 14%

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

THE bank rate will be cut today from 15% to 14%, which should result in a 1% cut in short-term lending rates, giving further help to hard-pressed consumers and bringing down business costs.

But there is unlikely to be any further drop in mortgage lending rates, as banks and building societies had already

brought their standard home loan rate down to 17.25% from September 1 in expectation of a 1% drop in the bank rate.

Announcing the cut last night Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals appealed to deposit-taking institutions not to cut their deposit rates too steeply, which would cause hardship to elderly investors.

Dr Stals said the cut should lend support to similar reduc-

tions in certain market interest rates, and in particular to the prime and other lending rates of deposit-taking institutions".

"Deposit-taking institutions are, at the same time, requested to exercise caution in their further reduction of the deposit rates, and to maintain a sound and competitive margin between their deposit and lending rates," Dr Stals said.

Yesterday's announcement

follows an appeal to the Reserve Bank from bankers, who said their corporate customers were getting deeper into the red.

Dr Stals said he had decided to cut the bank rate "against the background of the more stable financial situation in general and the expectation that the rate of inflation will decline further in the near future".

Battle for Stone

Irrespective of a bitter court day and his former child-morgan quietly yesterday at dawn in accordance with the law for total secrecy. Hoping for a financial settlement, the 47-year-old rocker, who wed her ex-wife last month before his 13th birthday, was kept in a private hospital by her mother. The divorcee, who first dated her mother, was kept in a private hospital from a wasting illness that had dropped to 30kg. The couple have spent only five nights together since they were first married.

UN hits at Buthelezi

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the General Assembly yesterday that he is losing patience with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a report to the Assembly, he said that the IFP's annual debate on apartheid, Dr Boutros-Ghali said he was "particularly concerned" by Chief Buthelezi's "rejection" of the September 26 agreement between President F W de Klerk and ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I have emphasised to all concerned the need ... to remove any remaining obstacles that might impede the resumption of negotiations."

Diplomatic sources said the secretary-general had written to Chief Buthelezi but had received no reply and had also not been able to raise him by telephone.

While Dr Boutros-Ghali was encouraged by the De Klerk-Mandela pact, he stressed that "great perils persist, not least in the volatility of the political atmosphere and the tendency to resort to political violence".

He indicated he had little interest in expanding the size or scope of the UN Observer Mission (UNOMS).

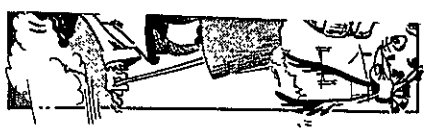
The 44 observers at the end of October had been "well received" by the National Peace Accord structures, with which they were working "effectively".

However, UNOMS's mandate could be contentious. A draft resolution prepared by the ANC and Frontline states wants the General Assembly to endorse the possibility of splitting the observers from the NPA, turning them into independent monitors.

This is unlikely to go through as the Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid opposes it.

If the government and the ANC believe their Record of Understanding is "good" for South Africa, they should put it to a multi-party conference of review. Chief Buthelezi reiterated in an address to Canada's official opposition Liberal Party caucus in Ottawa on Monday. — Sapa

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Meyer talks with Inkatha chairman

BIDAM 18/11/92

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose had held a series of meetings, sources said yesterday.

It is understood the meetings, which are an attempt to draw Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi back into negotiations, are on the same lines as those between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Meyer in the past few months.

It is hoped that at a meeting of the peace committee executive next week, a meeting of national peace accord signatories will be arranged at which Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela will have a chance to speak to each other.

A senior government negotiator indicated yesterday there was little hope that multiparty talks would get off the ground this year.

The creation of a national multiparty conference of review is emerging as a central demand for Inkatha's return to national negotiations.

Speaking in Canada this week, Buthelezi urged "the establishment of a national multiparty conference of review" to re-evaluate the entire peace process and the process of renewed negotiations.

The creation of such a conference could "effectively deal with the inherent shortfalls of Codesa", he said. He argued for formal statutory powers to be given to the conference to oversee the process and guarantee

ADRIAN HADLAND and BILLY PADDOCK

the continuation of negotiations.

Of particular interest to Buthelezi would be the conference's examination of government and the ANC's record of understanding.

"If President (F W) De Klerk and Nelson Mandela are genuinely convinced that their bilateral agreement is good for SA, they would have no hesitation in putting themselves, and their agreement, to review and debate," Buthelezi said.

While government and the ANC have been lukewarm at best regarding the proposal, Inkatha spokesmen insist it is critical to the resumption of national negotiations.

Sapa reports Buthelezi told Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall in Ottawa yesterday the West appeared more eager to end apartheid than to establish a multiparty democracy.

McDougall said earlier she would use the meeting to urge Buthelezi to return to constitutional talks.

Buthelezi also told a Canadian parliamentary foreign affairs committee he was prepared to talk to Mandela to try to stop violence. "But it seems he is not prepared to see me."

Meanwhile, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini told the BBC yesterday that Zulus would resist rather than be ruled by what he called the communist followers of Mandela.

UN leader criticises Buthelezi

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has told the General Assembly that he is losing patience with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a report to the assembly timed to coincide with the start of its annual debate on apartheid yesterday, Boutros-Ghali said he was "particularly concerned" by Buthelezi's "rejection" of the September 26 agreement between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

"I have emphasised to all concerned the need for a renewed and determined effort to put an end to the violence and to remove any remaining obstacles that might impede the resumption of negotiations."

Diplomatic sources said the secretary-general had had no success in efforts to contact Buthelezi.

(116) SIMON BARBER (226)

While Boutros-Ghali was encouraged by the De Klerk-Mandela pact, he stressed that "great perils persist, not least in the volatility of the political atmosphere and the tendency to resort to political violence and intimidation". *610A-18/1192*

He indicated he had little interest in expanding the size or scope of the UN observer mission, saying it had been working "effectively" and "expeditiously" with the national peace accord structures.

A draft resolution prepared by the ANC seeks to have the General Assembly endorse the possibility of disconnecting the observers from the peace accord and turning them into independent "monitors".

Canada ⁽¹⁸⁾ CT 19/11/92 tells IFP to stop bickering

OTTAWA. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was told firmly on Tuesday that the Canadian government wanted him to stop bickering with the ANC and get back to constitutional negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi, on a private visit to Canada, met Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney, External Affairs Minister Ms Barbara McDougall and the external affairs committee of Canada's House of Commons.

Ms McDougall said: "I stressed to (Chief Buthelezi), as I have to other leaders, that finger-pointing over the violence is not helpful.

"What is needed are actions that speak louder than words that get the discussions past political posturing."

In an angry exchange before the external affairs committee, Chief Buthelezi lashed out at his hosts.

"I really hate some of you Canadians," he said, "pontificating about the violence like this. You know, you are sitting pretty here." — Sapa-
AFP

Meyer sets up Inkatha channel

Political Staff

(118) 19/11/82
A CHANNEL — similar to that between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — has been set up between Mr Meyer and the Inkatha Freedom Party's national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The latest discussion in a series of bilateral meetings between Dr Mdlalose and Mr Meyer takes place tomorrow.

The channel has been created to maintain contact with the IFP, who pulled out of negotiations with the government after its bilateral agreement with the ANC.

ANC SUPPORT IS UNWARRANTED

Political Staff
THE ANC has given the full ...

gative scope, but Constitutional
Development ... MI to discredit the ANC

2 Cape Times, Thursday, November 19 1992

DP: Firm action needed over SADF

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

FIRM action by President F W de Klerk was needed to prevent the SADF bedevilling the negotiation process, the DP said yesterday.

The SADF's credibility was almost in tatters and it had received another blow with the latest Goldstone Commission report, DP de-

fence spokesman General Bob Rogers yesterday said in a statement.

He said in February 1990, Mr De Klerk said he had ordered an investigation into covert activities of various branches of the security forces.

"The purpose of this was to ensure not only financial, but also cabinet control, over such projects. He (Mr De Klerk) stated that the

truth about crimes and malpractices had to be established and made public," said General Rogers.

"In view of this, the Goldstone report raises certain questions.

"Was the cabinet aware of the facts exposed in the report? If not, what of the control measures instituted by the president?"

"Was the SADF told clearly and

firmly what they could and could not do?

"Have they abided by the instructions or have they acted independently?"

General Rogers said the task of Military Intelligence was to gather information about the enemy and, where necessary, to counter enemy action.

"It would appear the SADF considered its investigations of MK (the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe) to be included in this brief. This is not so."

He said when Mr De Klerk unbanned the ANC and its ally, the SACP, "he moved these organisations (including MK) into the political fold."

Canada (18)

ANC lawyers want apologies

(115) CT 2/11/92
JOHANNESBURG. —
Lawyers acting for five
ANC leaders have de-
manded public apolo-
gies from three IFP
Youth Brigade officials
who accused them of fo-
menting violence.

Letters of demand
have been sent to the
IFP Youth Brigade's Mr
Temba Ndlovu, Mr
Carter Ndlovu and Mr
Humphrey Ndlovu, and
the IFP Youth Brigade
has been asked to disso-
ciate itself from the ac-
cusations. — Sapa

Soweto 23/11/92

IFP killers win appeal

(119)

TEN death sentences imposed on two Inkatha Freedom Party supporters for murder have been substituted with imprisonment of 25 years on each count by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein. The appellants were Mbongeni Eric Lushozi, a special constable in the KwaZulu Police Force, and Ntaka Khanyile, of Trust Feed. Their 10 victims were attacked in a raid on a kraal in the Wartburg area on October 6 1990.



Inkatha 'misusing ethnicity'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the IFP were attempting to misuse ethnicity in an attempt to turn Zulus away from the ANC, leaders of the ANC charged at a weekend conference here.

"Their claiming of 'Zuluness' and equating it with the IFP, the monarchy, conflict, death and subservience to authority must be effectively combated, regionally and nationally," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told delegates.

He said the IFP, at a meeting of the National Peace Accord in October, had made it clear that violence "would not abate" if a new constitution was drawn up by the ANC's proposed elected body; the ANC did not accept a federal constitutional arrangement, and KwaZulu continues to be excluded from the negotiation process. CT 23/11/92

Mandela outlines terms for IFP meeting

CT 24/11/92
NB
Political Staff
DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he will meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss political violence — but only if the KwaZulu leader meets a set of ANC demands.

Last night Chief Buthelezi accused Mr Mandela of wasting time by "trotting out conditions while our people are dying on both sides".

Mr Mandela's conditions for meeting Chief Buthelezi are:

- That the ANC is allowed free political activity in KwaZulu;
- That Chief Buthelezi agrees to "disarm his men", and;
- That the IFP agrees to the securing of hostels and a ban on traditional weapons.

Speaking after meeting French deputy Foreign Minister Mr Georges Kiejman here, Mr Mandela said a meeting of the two leaders will not itself resolve violence.

Camps

Mr Mandela, who is also attending an ANC national executive committee meeting here, said the ANC wants a meeting with "political leaders across the spectrum" — including Chief Buthelezi — where they can apply "collective wisdom" to violence.

But Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela is commander of uMkhonto we Sizwe and charged that MK has killed IFP members.

He said he supports the right of hostel residents not to "live in ANC-proposed concentration camps".

Mr Kiejman will meet Chief Buthelezi today.

● Gwala attacks Slovo strategy — Page 5

ANC



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Tussle over who are the authentic Zulus

Sowetan 24/11/92

113

A TUSSELE is developing within the Zulu nation between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party over who can claim to be authentic Zulus.

This has emerged from speeches and resolutions at the ANC's Southern Natal regional conference at the weekend.

The ANC challenge to the IFP and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over who can speak for the Zulus is similar to the battle within the Afrikaans community over who can claim to be the real Afrikaners.

The inscription on leather briefcases handed out at the regional conference was: "The demon of tribalism must be buried" - the words of a past ANC leader Dr Pixley Ka Isiah Seme.

Mr Jeff Radebe, ANC chairman of the region, said in his address that Buthelezi had claimed "a distorted political status for himself personally and for the IFP generally in our region".

"He claims, for example, that his current position as Chief Minister in an apartheid creation is simply a continu-

■ ANC challenges the IFP and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi:

ation of his family history. This is a distortion of the past and he reacts emotionally whenever it is raised precisely because he knows that he is wrong."

Radebe said Buthelezi had tried to use ethnicity to turn people against the ANC in Natal.

"Particularly, he continues to abuse the position of the king, dragging him into party politics in a manner which does not befit his station as monarch," Radebe said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the conference had to find ways to expose the fallacy put forward by the IFP and Buthelezi in espousing a narrow Zulu chauvinism.

On violence he said: "While referred to as black-on-black violence, Zulu-Xhosa ethnic conflict, or a power struggle between the IFP and the ANC, the reality is that it is an orchestrated, deliberate policy of Pretoria, using the army, the police and surrogate forces."

Buthlezi ^(11B) CT 25/11/92 rejects terms by Mandela

ULUNDI — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the conditions laid down by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for a meeting.

Reacting to the demands made on Monday, Chief Buthelezi said: "I am quite appalled at the conditions that Dr. Mandela has imposed on a possible meeting between himself and myself." He said Mr Mandela should stop "politicising around the issue".

Among the conditions are that Chief Buthelezi allow free political activity in his KwaZulu homeland and that he accept certain terms of the Record of Understanding between the government and ANC.

● In Johannesburg, French Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Georges Kiejman yesterday said he was convinced there would soon be reconciliation between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Speaking at the end of a three-day visit, he also said the government had not taken the decisions necessary to uplift impoverished black communities. The immense poverty in these communities proved that apartheid was still much in evidence and had to be destroyed, he said.

Mr Kiejman said Mr Justice Richard Goldstone had told him he "has no reason to believe that anything will hinder the continuation of his investigation" into "real or alleged scandals that will cast an unfavourable light on the government". — Sapa

NEWS ANC sets free political activity as pre-condition for a meeting with IFP

Buthlezi turns down Mandela's conditions

Sowetan 25/11/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected preconditions by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for a meeting between them.

Buthlezi yesterday said: "I am quite appalled at the preconditions that Dr Mandela has imposed on a possible meeting between himself and myself."

"Dr Mandela must now stop politicking around the issue. We need urgently to act together against violence."

The Inkatha president's reaction co-

incided with a meeting of the National Peace Committee last night. The NPC was to discuss a report by chairman Mr John Hall after his meetings with the two leaders.

Speaking in Durban on Monday, Mandela said the meeting could take place if Buthelezi allowed free political activity in KwaZulu and accepted aspects of the ANC-Government Record of Understanding.

Mandela also said Buthelezi agree to the banning of weapons in public and the fencing of certain hostels.

Buthlezi said Mandela's demand for political freedom in KwaZulu was spurious.

"There is freedom for any legitimate law-abiding party or organisation in KwaZulu. It is sheer propaganda that Dr Mandela is involved in this demand. Our members are killed almost daily in their own homes in KwaZulu by members of Umkhonto, which he refuses to disband."

Buthlezi said he would stick to his own preconditions.

IFP leader says Mandela is politicking:



1/2



Inkatha and ANC agree to hold summit

B/DAY 26/11/92

1113

NEGOTIATIONS and the stalled peace process were given a major boost yesterday when the ANC and Inkatha agreed to bilateral talks which would include leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The agreement was struck at a national peace committee executive meeting on Tuesday night and confirmed by its chairman John Hall at a media briefing yesterday. It still has to be approved by the parties' principals.

At a separate briefing yesterday, Mandela said the ANC's national executive committee had endorsed the decision for its representatives to meet Inkatha to prepare for the summit between the two leaders, who have been at loggerheads for the past few months.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday Buthelezi had accepted the decision and the issue would be discussed at the weekend central committee meeting.

A multiparty conference would be one of the main items on the agenda of the bilateral summit.

Hall said his understanding of the decision was that the stalemate between Inkatha and government had also been broken. He added that much of the groundwork for the summit had already been completed and final preparations should not take too long.

Mandela said the preparatory meeting, which may be held by next week, would address the conditions set by both sides. On Monday Mandela set four conditions for meeting Buthelezi, who rejected them and presented an agenda for discussion.

However, at yesterday's briefing it

BILLY PADDOCK

emerged that this agenda was not Buthelezi's but the one thrashed out by Hall with Mandela, President FW de Klerk and Buthelezi in shuttle diplomacy since July.

The agenda issues to be finalised are the role of the SAP and the armed forces, the KwaZulu Police and Umkhonto we Sizwe; freedom of political activity; negotiations and the peace process; the suspension of mass action; the record of understanding between Mandela and De Klerk; and an interim peace accord for Natal.

Mandela said no date had been set for the summit but it would be "as soon as possible".

The peace committee also decided to convene an urgent meeting of peace accord signatories to review the peace process and institute more effective mechanisms. Hall said he was confident this would take place this year. Such a meeting was not contingent on the Inkatha/ANC summit, he said.

Hall was pleased with the large turnout at Tuesday's peace committee meeting. He had used the opportunity to confront the executive with the "ghastly" statistics of violence and the stagnating economy.

"I said that none of us could envisage four years ago that we would have been living in a country that looks like this."

"On seeing the statistics and reviewing the situation we decided that it was not an SA that any of us wanted to live in and we had to do something drastic to change the course," he said.

The statistics showed that new invest-

□ To Page 2

Summit

B/DAY 26/11/92

1113

□ FROM PAGE

ment as a percentage of GDP had been below 5% since 1984 and was currently forecast at below 3%. Employment was running at half of the economically active population. He said police figures showed that 7 000-9 000 people were killed in politically related violence since January 1990.

The ANC's NEC said it was concerned that killings continued in spite of peace accord efforts and the exposure of the involvement of state agencies in violence.

Sapa reports that Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, wrapping up a two-day visit to SA, said yesterday he was "most encouraged" to hear of the

agreement on bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha, and he hoped all signatories to the peace accord would meet before Christmas, as a prelude to multiparty negotiations. He warned, however, that the momentum of constitutional talks appeared to be faltering.

□ Our political staff reports that NP peace committee member Chris Fisser, disclosed yesterday that an advertising campaign to promote peace would be launched on March 1. It would be "the biggest advertising campaign yet launched" in SA, with a budget understood to be about R60m.

Commonwealth chief departs on high note

STAR 26/11/92

(118)

By Brian Sokutu

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku yesterday welcomed an agreement on bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha, which could bring negotiations back on track.

Speaking to the press before flying out of Johannesburg last night, Anyaoku said he hoped the meetings would take place before Christmas — "a prelude to multiparty constitutional negotiations".

However, he warned of the dangers of a "faltering" negotiations process, stressing that "neither retreat nor stagnation" was an option.

His visit followed a meeting with President de Klerk in London earlier this month.

During his South African visit Anyaoku met with, among others, ANC president Nelson

Mandela, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys of the Peace Secretariat. He also spoke to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on the telephone.

Calling for "leadership and vision", Anyaoku urged all the signatories to the National Peace Accord to honour their commitments and move the process forward.

Anyaoku also used his visit to meet members of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, who are currently monitoring the violence alongside other international bodies.

Confirming that the Commonwealth's role in the country would be reviewed by January, he said it was committed to continuing to assist "in addressing the level of violence and in doing all it could to support the negotiations process".

ANC-IFP meeting hammers out 'way forward

Soar

Hopes for talks

By Esther Waugh
and Helen Grange

STAFF LIB
26/11/92
A flurry of bilateral meetings are set to move the country closer to a renewed round of multi-party negotiations.

A mood of optimism swept political circles yesterday after agreement in principle on the long-awaited face-to-face talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was unexpectedly secured at a National Peace Committee (NPC) meeting.

Power-sharing endorsed by NEC - Page 12

The breakthrough — Mandela and Buthelezi have not met for more than a year — has raised hopes that a "Codesa 3" multiparty gathering might now be possible sooner rather than later.

In addition, negotiators believe a planned meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA) and a Government-ANC "bos-beraad" scheduled for next month will give impetus to stalled negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally adopted an amended version of its "Strategic Perspective" policy document — endorsing power-sharing as an option during SA's transition, and even after the first democratic elections have been held.

Government sources have welcomed the ANC approach, raising hopes for significant progress in the "bos-beraad".

A joint Government-ANC announcement on the crucial bilateral meeting is expected this week. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet tomorrow.

At a media conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said delegates were aware of the urgent need to get multiparty talks under way.

A summit of NPA signatories to address the issue of violence — expected to take place before the year-end — would hopefully facilitate the climate for a multiparty conference, Hall said.

Although no date has been set for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, it is understood that both leaders have agreed to it in principle.

The breakthrough came at Tuesday night's NPC meeting in Johannesburg.

At the first recess, the ANC and IFP delegations spontaneously stayed behind and spoke for 30 minutes.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose then announced that they had agreed on a way forward.

Mbeki said: "We — the ANC and IFP — will have a bilateral meeting as soon as possible, attended by leaders of both organisations."

The preparatory meeting would be attended by delegations of the two organisations and the summit would be preceded by in-depth preparations, he said.

Mbeki added that the issue of a multiparty conference will be one of the items on the agenda.

Mdlalose said: "We are in agreement with the position as outlined by the ANC and would add that discussions ... were thorough, practical and without rancour."

ANC, IFP agree to preparatory meeting

Political Staff

A tough preparatory meeting between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party — aimed at thrashing out the organisations' preconditions for a summit between their leaders — is due to take place soon.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Gaborone, Botswana, yesterday that a meeting with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would serve no purpose "unless it was certain to pro-

duce results in addressing the question of violence".

He said Chief Buthelezi had posed certain conditions for the meeting and "I have also put conditions".

Mandela's conditions were the creation of a climate for free political activity in Kwa-Zulu, that the ANC should be allowed to operate there, that IFP followers should be disarmed and Buthelezi should agree to the banning of weapons in public, and that hostels

should be fenced off and regular searches conducted "because hit squads operate from there".

Buthelezi has stated his precondition only as being that the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

An IFP spokesman said yesterday clarity of such items could only surface during the preparatory discussions.

The decision to hold a preparatory meeting resulted from a breakthrough between the two parties at a National Peace Committee meeting on Monday.

115
27/11/97
5/11/97

ANC stands by its conditions for talks

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC yesterday reiterated its position that a meeting between its president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi hinged on the resolution of problems around conditions the two had set for their meeting. (118)

Sapa reports that Mandela — who is on a brief tour of Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia to brief the Frontline leaders on the state of negotiations — said in Gaborone such a meeting would serve no purpose unless it was certain to “produce results in addressing the question of violence”.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said the statement was “inopportune” when task groups had been formed to prepare for the meeting, but ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mandela’s statement was consistent with the organisation’s position.

Unless the task groups dealt with the conditions satisfactorily, there would be no point in the two leaders meeting, Marcus said. Vos said that as far as Inkatha was concerned, the meeting was still on.

Buthelezi had rejected Mandela’s conditions for a meeting, which included a climate for free political activity in KwaZulu and a ban on carrying traditional weapons. Instead he insisted that specific items, such as negotiations, the peace process and the suspension of mass action, be on the agenda. The ANC described Buthelezi’s response as “belligerent”. 27/11/92.

● Comment: Page 14

Negotiations process and drive for peace converge

STAR 27/11/92

EVERY time innocent people have been killed in political violence on the Reef or in Natal, renewed calls have been made for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet.

Until this week, these calls have amounted to nothing.

The reasons advanced by the IFP and ANC on why their leaders should or should not meet have been expanded or changed almost regularly after each massacre.

This has led a source to comment: "Nero is fiddling while Rome burns."

The planned Mandela-Buthelezi summit may or may not lead directly to a lessening of fighting between adherents, real or supposed, of the two major factions.

But increasingly such a meeting, or a multiparty meeting, is being seen by political commentators as the key to progress in the stop-start negotiations process.

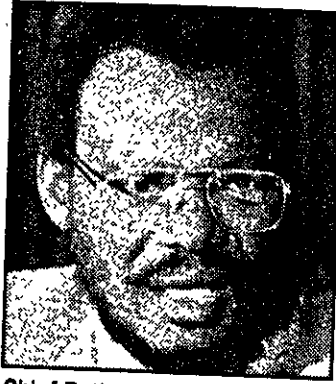
Commentators point out that the negotiations process is now undeniably being linked to the peace process.

Previously the Government and ANC argued that it was impossible to proceed with negotiations if the level of violence remained unacceptably high.

Some observers argue that the violence could not be resolved until an interim government has been installed. On the other hand, because of the violence, negotiations for a transitional government cannot proceed.

It took persistent efforts by National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall to break the logjam. On Tuesday night the breakthrough came

It has been a long, hard road to the forthcoming summit meeting between the ANC and IFP leaders. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the history of the real and purported obstacles.



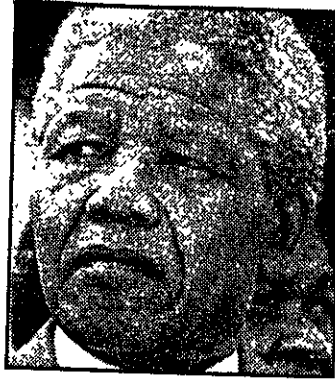
Chief Buthelezi . . . no Government "surrogate".

after ANC and IFP representatives to the NPC agreed that their leaders should meet.

Earlier this month NPC sources complained bitterly that the ANC, and in particular the IFP, were "shifting the goalposts" of their conditions for a meeting of all signatories. Until this week the meeting of all signatories could still not be nailed down, largely because Buthelezi insisted on meeting Mandela first.

An all-signatory meeting will bring Mandela and Buthelezi together with leaders of the main parties and organisations to find a joint strategy for solving the Natal violence.

Politicians are regarding such a meeting as the likely route to bring Buthelezi back into multiparty negotiations. He suspended talks with the Government after it reached a bilateral agreement with the ANC in the Record of Understanding



Mandela . . . meeting of two individuals can't end violence.

on September 26.

At the crux of the stalemate was Buthelezi's insistence to meet Mandela before a multiparty meeting, while Mandela did not want to meet Buthelezi before the signatories met.

The dispute about such a meeting began when Buthelezi formally objected to the NPC about Mandela's statement to the UN that the IFP was no more than a "surrogate" of the Government.

However, tensions began to simmer at the Codesa working group meetings where the IFP had problems accepting that sufficient consensus — the way agreements were reached at Codesa — meant in practice that the ANC and Government had to agree on a matter.

The tension between the IFP and some of the other negotiating parties finally bubbled to

the surface when the Government and ANC reached an agreement in the Record of Understanding.

This prompted Buthelezi to suspend talks with the Government and to form a lobby, the Conference of Concerned South Africans.

Reacting to the calls for a meeting of the two leaders, the ANC has repeatedly said such a meeting would have to succeed because two earlier meetings had produced no results.

At a Patriotic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth last month, Mandela said: "The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the PF, is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum, who should come together to address the matter."

"I should also point out that I have gone out of my way over the last two years to sort out the question of violence with Chief Buthelezi, and there has been no progress."

In the latest volley of "I'll meet you, but . . .", Mandela said this week he was prepared to meet Buthelezi if he fulfilled four conditions, but Buthelezi rejected these preconditions, adding that he had only one: the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

Unexpectedly, the deadlock was broken this week, but ANC sources have warned that preparations for the meeting would take some time.

The value of the meeting will be more than a symbolic get-together of two leaders — it could be one of the first steps to get multiparty negotiations back on track. □

Talks wagon creaks on to the road again

STAR 28/11/92



PETER FAIRICUS
and ESTHER WAUGH

THE cumbersome and long-dormant negotiation machine began to creak into action this week as plans were announced for the long-awaited Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and an intensive "bosberaad" between the Government and the ANC.

The negotiation barometer moved to "cautious optimism" as it emerged that a team of Cabinet ministers under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and top ANC officials under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would retreat into a secret bush venue from Wednesday to Friday to thrash out the remaining obstacles to resuming Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

The two sides moved closer together earlier this week when the ANC's national executive committee endorsed a strategy option of sharing power with the National Party even after interim government.

Programme for transition

Giving an overview of the week's positive development, one key player remarked that all parties had finally realised they could not destroy each other, and were at last resorting to real negotiations.

President de Klerk sounded an optimistic note and tried to seize the initiative from the ANC when he announced that Codesa could start in March, setting in train a negotiation process leading to the country's first democratic elections in March or April 1994 for a government of national unity.

The ANC officially spurned De Klerk's timetable as too long, but ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said that at least the Government had committed itself to a definite programme for transition.

The most troubling problem still outstanding is the position of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP, who still remain officially outside the negotiation process.

Although the planned Buthelezi/Mandela meeting is seen as an encouraging sign that the IFP leader is thawing, the Government is fearful that its bosberaad with the ANC may once again infuriate Buthelezi and drive him further away — as did the ANC/Government summit of September 26.

In an interview yesterday, Meyer was at pains to point out that the bosberaad would not be a summit, as De Klerk and Mandela would not attend.

He said that the Government was currently meeting all major players, including the IFP. It would meet the PAC on December 9, and Buthelezi and other estranged homeland leaders also next month.

He and Ramaphosa yesterday denounced a second phase of this week's bosberaad in January.

The meetings would deal with multilateral negotiations, the transition process, the problem of violence, transitional/interim government, a constitution-making body, a transitional executive council, a climate for free political activity and participation, and unilateral restructuring. Another topic is likely to be the ANC's power-sharing strategic perspective.

No date has been set for the Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and the agenda is still to be discussed.



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IFP launches student group

DURBAN. — The Inkatha-aligned South African Democratic Students Movement (Sadesmo) was launched nationally at a function here this weekend. (116)

The launch was held at a hotel following problems the organisation encountered in forming locally as a society at the University of Durban-Westville. (116)

A student body meeting earlier this year voted against Sadesmo being constituted as a society at UDW. — Sapa

Govt accuses Inkatha of stalling talks

(11B)

(BANK)

BIDAY 11/2/92

11/2/92

BILLY PADDOCK

CONSTITUTIONAL Minister Roelf Meyer rounded on Inkatha yesterday, saying while the party and its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanded an urgent multiparty conference, they were actually responsible for preventing it from taking place.

Inkatha last night denied this, saying it was the ANC, "the friend of the government", that had walked out of Codesa.

In a strongly worded statement, Meyer said he supported Inkatha's call for multiparty talks, but found it "very strange that Inkatha had avoided and refused, for weeks, attempts by government to restart negotiations with it".

Reacting to an Inkatha central committee weekend resolution that a new negotiating forum be set up before the end of January, Meyer said delays in the negotiations process had to be removed.

"Government would appreciate it if Inkatha would throw its weight behind these endeavours," Meyer said. Government had been talking to all possible negotiating parties to get a multiparty forum off the ground, but Inkatha had held back its participation, he said.

Meyer said Inkatha was responsible for unilaterally cancelling a two-day meeting with government on September 28 and 29. It had also cancelled another meeting on

November 18 and 19 between government and the Concerned South Africans Group, which Inkatha heads.

"In this way Buthelezi postponed a meeting he, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo were to have with President F W de Klerk," he said.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday blamed the NP and the ANC for holding up the negotiating process. Mdlalose said it was "strange that he (Meyer) should say that when it was us who were left in the corridors after the ANC walked out (of Codesa)".

It was not possible to keep the September meeting, after the ANC and NP had "bulldozed" through the record of understanding, as it was necessary for Inkatha to consult other South Africans.

The November meeting was postponed, not cancelled, as the Concerned South Africans Group had been waiting for a "clear indication" from government on what it thought of the analysis presented by the group on the form a multiparty congress of review should take.

Our political staff reports that planning

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

BIDAY 11/2/92

for a meeting between Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela got off to the shakiest of starts yesterday when Inkatha's preparatory committee arrived at a Durban hotel for talks, only to find the ANC delegation was not even in town.

Hurried consultations led to agreement that the meeting would go ahead on December 9.

Mdlalose said the meeting had been arranged after last week's meeting of the national peace committee executive. "The IFP delegates arrived to keep the meeting. For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment," he said.

The ANC's information and publicity department said only that "the task force of the ANC ... was unaware of the proposed meeting for today".

□ DP leader Zach de Beer has welcomed the three-day meeting between government and the ANC which starts tomorrow. He said although they played the leading

(11B)

□ From Page 1

roles in negotiations, they had to involve other parties in developing solutions.

De Beer called on the ANC and government to reconsider separating the functions of an interim legislature and that of writing a new constitution.

The DP wanted to issue a serious warning against the difficulties and dangers involved in trying to charge the same body with the dual functions of legislating and drafting a new constitution.

"An attempt to do this will invariably necessitate a comprehensive interim constitution providing all the necessary checks and balances, and we foresee that any attempt to provide this will delay the process for a long time," De Beer said.

He supported the idea of a multiparty government of national unity to run the country for a few years, even after the introduction of a new constitution.

● Comment: Page 8

IFP to launch federalism plan

Political Staff

DURBAN. — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is poised to launch an initiative for Natal/KwaZulu which Inkatha has predicted will have "vast implications for negotiations and future constitutional proposals".

An IFP statement yesterday said the initiative would be "of particular relevance to the debate on regional issues and territorial autonomy".

A weekend meeting of the IFP's central committee strongly emphasised that it believed federalism could only be established in South Africa "if existing regions with an historic identity and a will come together to ensure a regional structure for themselves".

It added that the central committee should compile a document spelling out the IFP's role in promoting federalism

and "moving to a KwaZulu/Natal negotiating forum".

Chief Buthelezi told the President's Club in Maritzburg yesterday the process of broadening the negotiation process could begin now "by allowing regions to negotiate their own constitutional futures".

He will unveil the initiative in Ulundi this afternoon before a special two-day session of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

CT 11/11/92
(11B)

Buthelezi statement to be 'extraordinarily important'

By Kaizer Nyatsamba
Political Reporter

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will today make an announcement which will have vast implications for negotiations and future constitutional proposals, IFP spokesman Suzzanne Vos said yesterday.

In a move which observers as well as ANC and Government

sources believe to be an attempt by the IFP leader to swing public attention away from the ANC's bush indaba with the Government, Buthelezi is expected to reiterate his party's demands for federalism.

Some observers believe that Buthelezi might announce the revival of the Natal-KwaZulu negotiations and in the process stall negotiations at national level.

Vos, whose statement said

Buthelezi would refer to a major initiative of national importance which was of particular relevance to the debate on regional issues and territorial autonomy, told The Star that today's briefing — based on a 40-page document which would become a fundamental, primary source for the negotiations process — was extraordinarily important.

"The document is of crucial

relevance to KwaZulu-Natal, but it also has vast national implications," Vos said.

Another source told The Star Buthelezi would unveil a plan for regional negotiations which would parallel negotiations at national level.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday called on the IFP leader to help make it possible for multiparty negotiations to resume soon.

Buthelezi warned — don't go it alone

~~SA~~ ARG 2/12/92 (11B)

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The government has bluntly told Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to take any unilateral steps following the release of his proposed new constitution for KwaZulu/Natal.

Dr Buthelezi has sparked a major debate on what his motives were for releasing the 113-clause constitution yesterday. This has overshadowed the contents of the draft constitution, which in itself is rather progressive and liberal.

At a Press conference in Ulundi yesterday, Dr Buthelezi emphasised that the constitution would not be implemented until it had been endorsed by the voters of Natal and Kwazulu. He envisaged, however, that with widespread approval it could be put in place before a national constitution was worked out at negotiations.

Dr Buthelezi insisted that the constitution would not take the place of the national negotiations, and that the state would be a sovereign member of the federal republic of South Africa.

The draft was the basis for debate, and it was nonsense to see it as a unilateral declaration of independence, Dr Buthelezi said.

Inkatha Freedom Party stalwart Dr Dennis Madike said the important aspect of the draft was that for the first time there was a complete federal constitution up for debate, so people could see what was involved. The IFP wanted other parties to table their draft federal/regional constitutions.

However, the timing of the release — on the eve of today's summit between the government and the African National Congress — has alarmed the political opponents of the IFP. Several have accused Dr Buthelezi of acting unilaterally.

In reaction last night, the government said constitutional issues should be part of multi-lateral negotiations involving all significant parties.

Any impression of unilateral action should be avoided, the government cautioned Dr Buthelezi.

IFP leaders should as an obvious first step discuss their proposals bilaterally with the central government at the earliest possible date, the government said.

The prospect of bilateral talks between the IFP and the government is likely to be taken further next week when Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo meet President de Klerk in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party expressed its disapproval of Dr Buthelezi's plans. Constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said: "While we support federalism, the fact remains that we cannot approve of the latest IFP action. This is no way to develop a new constitution for a country."

The ANC said Dr Buthelezi's action was a "drastic departure" from South Africa's constitutional process. His unilateral action came "as a bolt from the blue" to the ANC and other political players.

However, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht backed Dr Buthelezi's action, saying the constitutional suggestions were in line with the rejection of a South African unitary state.

Nats call for urgent meeting with Buthelezi

Alarm over IFP plan

STAR 2/12/92 (11B)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The National Party today called for an urgent meeting between Chief Buthelezi and President de Klerk in the wake of the Inkatha leader's go-it-alone statement.

The chief's announcement yesterday of plans for an autonomous KwaZulu-Natal state took his negotiating partners by surprise.

The plan — in the form of a new constitution for the region — would go ahead regardless of what happens in central negotiations, according to documents released in Umtali.

Transvaal NP spokesman Sheila Camerer said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose had held talks over the past few weeks to organise a meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi. This meeting, Camerer said, was now more urgent.

"We might see such a meeting within the next 10 days," she said.

Some commentators said Buthelezi's plan virtually amounted to a "unilateral declaration of autonomy" and forecast that it would hamper efforts to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa.

Buthelezi asked, and received approval from, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for a constitution for a strongly autonomous "state of KwaZulu-Natal" within a federal South Africa.

He also announced he would ask the Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) to agree to put the plan to a referendum of all citizens of KwaZulu and Natal.

If it were ratified, the IFP constitution would become "the supreme law of the land

...in spite of whatever course the negotiations at central level happen to take", the IFP said.

The IFP constitution would give KwaZulu-Natal strong powers over matters such as police, health and education, leaving more general affairs such as defence, foreign relations and the currency to the central State.

But the province would reserve strong autonomy even in these areas as, for instance, federal troops could not be deployed in Natal without the Natal government's say-so.

Buthelezi, who has long been a proponent of federalism, presented a special session of the assembly with a 44-page constitution for the KwaZulu-Natal region and called on members to help popularise the document.

The Chief Minister said President de Klerk and his Government had to know that KwaZulu had now "drawn a line through history, and that the Government is not in a position to dictate events either on its own or with the help of the ANC".

Buthelezi criticised the ANC and Government for allegedly trying to make a deal behind other parties' backs.

He added that the KwaZulu-Natal constitution approved yesterday was an initiative "amounting to a KwaZulu-Natal negotiating base which could formulate proposals for the kind of central government to which this region would be prepared to devolve some of the regional powers".

His new initiative, Buthelezi said, was merely picking up where the Buthelezi Commission and the Natal Indaba, which tried to negotiate

• To Page 3

Alarm over IFP plan for Natal

From Page 1

a regional settlement in the province, had left off.

"An expeditious adoption of this type of constitution will allow us to seize the initiative of the entire negotiations process in our country and, in tandem, immeasurably enhance and strengthen the position of the IFP and the KwaZulu government nationally and internationally," Buthelezi said.

The proposed referendum would have to be held 30 days after the JEA's adoption of the constitution, although the date could be postponed by a specially created referendum committee "to reflect political convenience and other factors".

IFP chairman Mdlalose told the assembly yesterday: "Given the urgency and the enormous pressure which is put on us by the dynamics of the negotiating process at central level, we simply do not have the time nor the opportunity to make amendments to this constitution, even if they are to improve any of its clauses."

Buthelezi, who said people in the region had to be mobilised around "democratic radicalism" to get the country to adopt the fundamentals of federalism and pluralism, said implementation of the constitution was the first step to ensure the region's political supremacy.

Next would come attempts to get the entire country — especially commerce and industry, professional people and religious leaders — to endorse the KwaZulu-Natal constitution "and even to sign approval of it personally".

Scepticism over IFP 'breakaway'

By Peter Fabricius SM
and Esther Waugh ^{2/12/92}

The Inkatha Freedom Party's surprise announcement of a draft go-it-alone constitution for the "KwaZulu-Natal state" was received yesterday mainly with scepticism and some dismay by the main political players in the negotiation process.

The central Government expressed reservations, without rejecting it out of hand, but the National Party-controlled Natal Provincial Administration mainly expressed approval.

The Democratic Party firmly rejected the initiative, but the Conservative Party warmly welcomed it as a rejection of a unitary South African state.

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said the constitutional debate could be taken further only by multiparty negotiations.

The Government was involved in bilateral discussions with all parties with a view to restructuring the multiparty negotiating forum, and wanted to have discussions with the IFP as soon as possible, Meyer said.

In its preliminary response, the ANC said the announcement of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi came "as a bolt from the blue" to the organisation and other political players.

"The step taken by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly,

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which is wholly dominated by the IFP, constitutes a very drastic departure from the constitutional process that the country has thus far been following," the ANC said.

"This unilateral action has implications beyond the borders of the KwaZulu bantustan."

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said he thought the IFP's proposal for a joint legislature in Natal would be a good interim step on the way to a new national constitution. But he said that President de Klerk had already made it clear that homelands like KwaZulu could not entrench themselves as sovereign states, regardless of the direction of negotiations.

However, Bartlett said he was very much in favour of testing the will of the Natal people through a referendum.

Natal Administrator Con Botha also came out strongly in favour of a referendum and said the rest of the Natal Executive Council would also back it.

DP constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said whatever the virtues of the IFP constitution, the party had been mistaken in the approach it had taken to getting it implemented.

"Their attitude is 'we will do this regardless of whatever anyone else says'. This is unacceptable and regrettable."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the CP had always supported the right of the Zulu nation to self-determination, and would like to continue negotiating with KwaZulu and other states on the establishment of a commonwealth of states.

ANC, IFP talks crash

Sowetan 2/12/92
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Breakdown in communication led to misunderstanding:

THE preparatory meeting for the summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela collapsed on Monday because of an apparent misunderstanding.

The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr Walter Felgate, Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Simon Gumede arrived at the Royal Hotel early on Monday for the

meeting with the ANC that was to be led by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma.

The IFP thought the meeting had been arranged last week at a National Peace Committee meeting, while the ANC delegation did not arrive.

Mdlalose issued a diplomatic statement saying: "For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment." He said that he had spoken

with Zuma over the telephone and that they had agreed that the meeting would take place on December 9.

The ANC said there was a breakdown in communication. "We were not aware of the meeting at all," spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said. "Nobody knew about it."

She insisted there was no sinister motive behind the ANC's action, and said "the last thing we would do" was fail to arrive at a meeting.

FW angry over ⁽¹¹³⁾ Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk: ~~3/12/92~~

It was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night. *Sowetan 3/12/92*

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP.

"It is a matter of concern that Mr. Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.

By Peter Fabricius
and Kaizer Nyatumba

Relations between the SA and KwaZulu governments plummeted last night as President de Klerk firmly rejected KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "lateral" plan for a KwaZulu-Natal state — and warned him he was heading for direct confrontation with the Government.

De Klerk said that the KwaZulu move could delay the start of multiparty talks and escalate violence.

He accused Buthelezi of

abandoning previous constitutional agreements and of frequently adopting a confrontational course with the Government — usually on "erroneous assumptions."

Buthelezi's speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week had given rise to serious concern, he said.

So far there had been no major differences in principle between the Government

De Klerk warns Buthelezi over proposal

STAR 3/12/92

and Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Government and the IFP had also agreed to the proposals of Codesa 2, including those for constitutional transition.

But the IFP now appeared to be moving away from the consensus at Codesa. De Klerk accused Buthelezi of delaying follow-up meetings.

De Klerk said he was par-

ticularly concerned about the impression of unilateral action created by Buthelezi's initiative.

The impression was that this action would be:

- Incompatible with multiparty negotiations.
- Could disrupt efforts to resume multiparty negotiations.
- Could escalate violence.

De Klerk urged Buthelezi

to meet him as soon as possible to resolve differences.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said

Buthelezi would not meet De Klerk until the Record of

Understanding between the State President and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been subjected to a multiparty conference of review.

Felgate also called on the Government to stop holding

bilateral meetings with the ANC and convene multiparty talks as a matter of urgency, preferably before the end of the year.

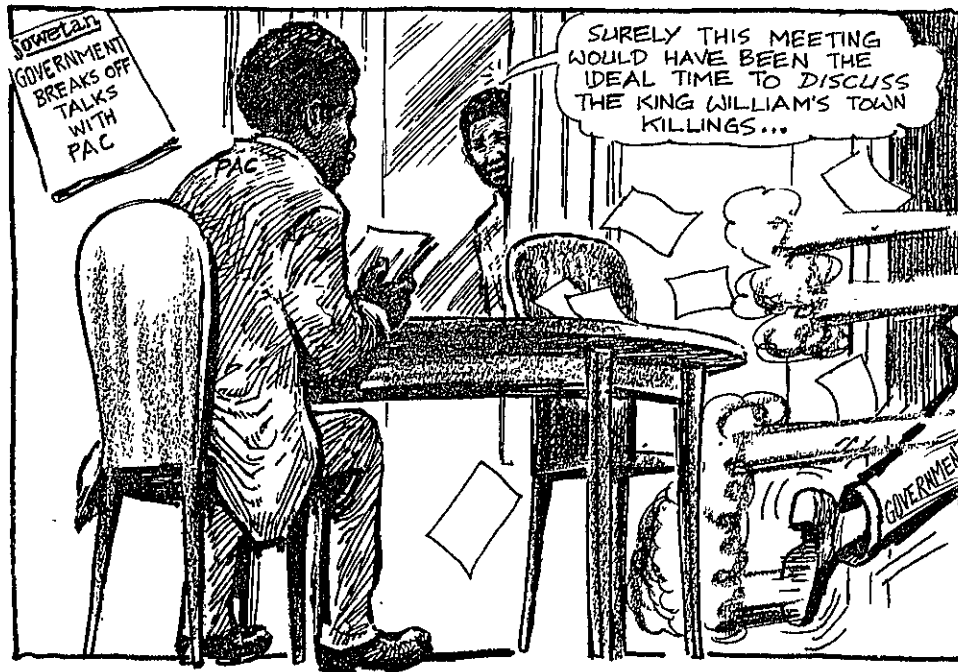
Meanwhile, National Party spokesman Johan Steenkamp warned Buthelezi against becoming another Bishop Muzorewa by pursuing a Rhodesia "UDF" option.

But he expressed approval for the idea of regional nego-

tiations in Natal to seek a solution for the province.

Felgate stoutly defended the new KwaZulu-Natal constitution, and said the people of Natal had a right to decide what kind of government they wanted.

United States Ambassador Princeton Lyman said in Umlazi, Durban, yesterday that the KwaZulu-Natal constitution could be a major contribution to the implementation of a federal-type structure in South Africa if it fitted into the negotiation process.



focus on Natal

THE BEST thing that can be said about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposal for a new KwaZulu-Natal state is that he has placed his cards on the table.

Beyond this, Buthelezi is courting conflict by playing on the sensitive issue of ethnicity.

Besides the fact that Buthelezi is pre-empting the outcome of multiparty negotiations and the adoption of a new constitution, the Chief Minister is also loading his decks in preparation for such talks.

At Codesa II the chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Minister without Portfolio in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Frank Mdlalose, explained that his party was a national movement and not confined to Natal.

Mdlalose explained that one of the reasons why Buthelezi had not attended Codesa's second plenary session was that he objected to KwaZulu's exclusion from multiparty negotiations.

After this week's declaration of envisaged regional autonomy in a federal state, Buthelezi could in future multiparty negotiations get his representation as the KwaZulu-Natal bloc and as the IFP.

In other words, Buthelezi is dealing himself a hand before the game has started...

On the downside, Buthelezi is not only presupposing that a future settlement will include a decentralised federal new South Africa, he is also playing on the ethnic separatist sentiments propagated by apartheid and that have ripped out former Yugoslavia's heart.

Federalism debate

Looking at the federalism debate, the envisaged regions are based largely on economic and geographic principles and less on ethnicity.

Because of the obvious ethnic base of KwaZulu, the Chief Minister, effectively, seeks to entrench ethnic separatism in a new constitution for South Africa.

Very few of the 19 political parties at Codesa, and even those outside at the time, were identity based.

The ANC aligned Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress were more explicitly identity based, while the Labour Party, because of its status in the tri-cameral Parliament, could be said to have been a "coloured" party.

Parties on the outside, such as the PAC, Azapo and the Conservative Party, were also to a large extent identity based, with only the latter objecting to non-racialism in a future South Africa.

The CP clearly made no room for black people in its vision of the new South Africa, while the PAC and Azapo made room for non-blacks.

Sowetan 3/12/92
 Chief Buthelezi is courting conflict by his proposal of a KwaZulu state based on ethnicity while the federal state envisaged in the debate on a new South Africa is based on economic issues. **Ismail Lagardien**, Political Correspondent, reports:



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... his decks are loaded.

It is easy, therefore, to explain the prognosis that emerged at Codesa; that the next South Africa would move away from the concept of ethnic racial identity as a political mechanism into a non-ethnic and non-racial democracy.

Ethnic entities

But now, with a very distinct ethnic entities entering into multiparty negotiations, ethnicity could, at that level, become a bigger issue.

Worse still, Buthelezi's move could spark similar responses from Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and even Transkei or Lebowa and any of the other self-governing territories or homelands even before multiparty negotiations are resumed.

The overwhelming concern has to be what if, in his referendum to the people in his "new State", Buthelezi's proposals are rejected by people in the region loyal to the ANC, Democratic Party, National Party, NIC, PAC, and the

province's Joint Executive Authority?

How will this affect the already tenuous situation in the region?

In other words, if the people of Natal disapprove of Buthelezi's plan, how will this influence the violence that is sweeping through the rest of the country?

There are, it seems, more questions than answers.

Present period

Given the flimsy peace in the country during the present period, between the collapse of Codesa and the resumption of multiparty talks, it might have been better if Buthelezi had not dabbled in political experiments that threaten to entrench the conflict that prevails in the country in a constitution. Chances are that if negotiations at the central level do not take in Buthelezi's option, he could secede ...

NEWS 14 security force members are killed • MK protest at ANC headquarters

FW angry over Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk: ~~SP~~ ^{11/3}

It was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night. ^{Sowetan 3/12/92}

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP."

"It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.

Shell House sit-in

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures: ^{3/12/92}

By Abbey Makoe

LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite "the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers' problems".

Another soldier said they were concerned about "continued claims in the Vaal's ANC structures that the MK was answerable to the Youth League".

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met. MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC's media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention "at the highest level".



over morning

FW warns Buthelezi of possible confrontation over autonomy

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night warned Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that his attempt to push for regional autonomy in KwaZulu/Natal could lead to "direct confrontation" with government and other parties in SA and Natal.

He said it was imperative that this be avoided as it had the potential to increase violence.

He called on Buthelezi to meet him urgently to "discuss this latest initiative and to resolve whatever problems may exist regarding Inkatha's return to bilateral and multilateral negotiations".

The call for a meeting was rejected by Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate, who said Inkatha was not prepared to discuss any constitutional issues with government until the record of understanding between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela had been put before a multiparty conference of review.

A government source confirmed, however, that Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Cupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope were expected to meet De Klerk next Thursday, but said this was not enough to satisfy De Klerk.

It is understood that a meeting of the principals of the Concerned South Africans Group — Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers — will take place on Monday afternoon. That morning Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo will meet to draw up an agenda for Thursday's meeting with De Klerk.

De Klerk said it was unfortunate that Buthelezi had on a number of occasions "adopted a confrontational course" with

government, more often than not on erroneous assumptions".

He was most concerned about the impression of unilateral action by the KwaZulu government; the action was incompatible with the agreed goal that constitutional reform should be the result of multiparty negotiations. It also disrupted efforts to resume multiparty talks.

On constitutional matters there was little difference in principle between government and Inkatha and "it was our common approach that these agreements in principle should be pursued within the

framework of multiparty negotiations".

The common approach was also reflected in the broad agreements reached at Codesa II, including proposals for constitutional transition. It now appeared that Inkatha was moving away from this.

De Klerk also complained that after arranging the conference on federalism/regionalism with Inkatha, the party delayed efforts to convene follow-up talks.

Government was supportive of the importance of Natal/KwaZulu and of the development of power to it. This was apparent

□ To Page 2

BILLY PADDOCK

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□ From Page 1

for approval to put it to a referendum. Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose is joint chairman of the authority with NP member Tino Volker.

The NP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration expressed approval of the constitution and putting it to a referendum.

NP Natal leader George Bartlett said a joint legislature for Natal/KwaZulu would be a good interim step towards a national constitution and he was in favour of testing it by means of a referendum, as was Natal administrator Con Botha.

But the NP federal office, while agreeing with several points in the proposed KwaZulu/Natal constitution, said Inkatha could not hope to go it alone.

It said the suggestion that the joint executive authority could make a decision on the proposals was not valid.

● Comment: Page 8

Buthelezi 610M 3112192

from the fact that Buthelezi administered a budget of R4,769bn — bigger than that of many independent African states. He already exercised many of the powers he envisaged in his new constitution.

Government also supported the joint executive authority, and during the recent short session of Parliament had started to prepare to broaden the role of joint regional management.

Felgate said the federal plan was an attempt to get a multiparty conference off the ground this year. While Inkatha would present its plan at negotiations, the constitution could not be changed or scrapped if it had passed the test of a referendum.

The constitution would be submitted to the joint executive authority, made up of representatives of parties within the trilateral Parliament as well as the KwaZulu government and the Natal administrator,

Natal referendum would be illegitimate, says ANC

THE ANC warned yesterday that a referendum on Inkatha's draft constitutional proposals for Natal/KwaZulu would be illegitimate and could exacerbate tensions in the province.

"The very idea of a Natal/KwaZulu referendum to decide on an issue that impacts on the future of the whole country is itself totally illegitimate. Given the repression, formal and informal, that is pervasive in KwaZulu, it would be impossible to hold a free and fair referendum.

"Both the NP and Inkatha are an integral part of the unfolding multiparty negotiations. As a consequence of blind ambition, confusion or sheer desperation, Inkatha appears to have elected to define itself out of that process."

The proposals contained a thinly veiled threat that Inkatha's will could become law irrespective of decisions taken in national negotiations, relied on apartheid structures which enjoyed no legitimacy, and ignored the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha had initiated a process to test

the will of the people of the region on a fundamental issue important to them.

He said the failure of the negotiating process and its degeneration into bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC had made it imperative to consult "the people".

Buthelezi said the adoption of a constitution for Natal/KwaZulu would reflect an immediate and clear mandate from the people of the region.

Idasa programme director Paul Graham said the approval of the draft constitution would mean an enforcement of the federal option on the rest of the country or secession by the region, reports Sapa.

Our Political Correspondent reports from Cape town that government is likely to block any attempt to hold a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, a well-placed government source said yesterday.

And NP information chief Johan Steenkamp said NP MPs in Natal were fully behind President F W de Klerk's criticism of Buthelezi's constitutional initiative.

LLOYD COUTTS

On a collision course

STAN 4/22/97 11B

ALTHOUGH the incoming Clinton administration has yet to choose its South Africa specialists, some influential experts who were consulted on events in the country during the election campaign believe that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is heading for an early clash with the new US president if he persists with his go-it-alone constitution for KwaZulu and Natal.

They believe that unless there is full acceptance of the plan by all the parties, inside Natal and KwaZulu and elsewhere in the country, the new US administration would have little hesitation in siding with those South Africans who oppose it.

There is general agreement that any future US policy on South Africa would be dictated by all the parties.

There is a general expectation that Clinton will closely consult the new and larger congressional black caucus on any major policy decision involving South Africa. The caucus has discussed South Africa informally — the subject briefly arose last week on a general agenda, but the discussion was inconclusive — and has long-

standing and extensive links to the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi could be headed for an early clash with the new US administration, writes HUGH ROBERTSON.

A Washington consultant said this week: "The only way a unilateral solution would be accepted, as I see it, would be if it had the blessing of all the major parties in addition to a majority of the population of KwaZulu and Natal.

"In other words, Inkatha will not be able to pull this off alone if, for example, the National Party or the ANC decided that they could not support it. It is not simply an issue for a local region. It is a national decision."

What would happen if Inkatha went ahead regardless and attempted to conduct a referendum, possibly with the NP taking an ambivalent stand?

"Well, obviously, local state and city sanctions would stay in place for the whole country, including KwaZulu and Natal, and there could well be an ini-

tiative in Congress to get federal sanctions reimposed," he said.

The new administration probably would not oppose some form of strong regional structure within a federation, provided this had the support of all the major parties, but such a structure would have to emerge from consultations and negotiations involving everyone, and there would be little sympathy for unilateral action aimed at excising KwaZulu and Natal from the rest of the country. — Star Bureau, Washington. □



PEOPLE'S LIVES Mandela updates me on violence

Wanted: The Collective wisdom of all leaders

ANC president Nelson Mandela is a troubled man. Last week, after reading *Perspective*, he invited me to lunch to talk about the violence in the land and about a meeting between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He argues that they have been over this ground before and that is why he prefers a meeting of "the collective wisdom" of all political leaders in this country to tackle the issue of violence.

He draws my attention to an agreement, which I publish in full below, between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in January 1991.

That agreement, according to Mandela, should have gone a long way to stopping the violence. Truth is that innocent men, women and children are dying out there. On Wednesday it was in Empangeni.

The agreement should have helped stop the carnage. It was an excellent document that should have laid the foundations for the peace we need desperately.

That it failed was not a failure of ideas or of vision. It was rather a failure of will, a failure to implement.

This is not the time to point accusatory fingers at the ANC or the IFP and blame the one or the other or both for the failure.

It is time to ensure that whatever emerges from the meeting - a preparatory one is on December 9 - is turned into visible action.

That is the challenge facing the two organisations. We all know the constraints that limit the range of solutions but we expect them to be creative within those limitations.

Agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, January 29 1991.

1. Both parties call for an end to the present violence in Natal and the Transvaal. They will take steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction among their members or carried out by their members and they will act to deter other parties from instigating and carrying out acts of violence and destruction.

2. Both parties are committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity. The ANC and IFP have the right to exist as political organisations with their policies and programmes. The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment



(Handwritten initials) 11B *(Handwritten initials)*

Sowetan 4/12/92

Joe Thlooe's

Perspective

and vilification.

3. Both parties will act to ensure that all persons with authority over public facilities will allow their use by all people irrespective of their political affiliation. This applies to facilities such as venues and facilities specifically established for recreational and a variety of community activities.

In particular, both parties urge a return to school and normal learning and teaching and will take steps to ensure no pupil is excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

4. Both parties wish to state their firm belief that no matter what agreements may be reached between them, the attainment of peace also requires the existence of an effective peace-keeping role by the security forces and that the South African Government must accept its responsibilities in this regard.

Both parties agree to take steps to ensure that all security force members would:

Act without political bias;
Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force;

Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that exists.

Both parties believe that it is essential that a reconstruction and development programme is expedited to reduce the potential for violence. This is particularly the case in Natal and in the Transvaal hostels. This programme must be above partisan considerations and be designed to meet the needs of all people irrespective of any affiliation they may hold.

The programme must give priority to refugees and displaced persons arising from the violence and take all steps to peacefully and effectively reintegrate divided communities.

Implementation:

In order to implement the principles agreed upon today the high level contact between the IFP and the ANC will continue through existing joint mechanisms. The committees charged with this task will, after due and proper involvement of local leadership and the grassroots structures, report to the ANC national executive and the IFP central committee on obstacles encountered and progress made in terms of the following brief:

Principle 1:

To develop practical steps to bring about an end to violence between the organisations in these regions, to facilitate local level peace initiatives and to act as crisis contact points. The committees must consolidate and implement existing local agreements such as the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord.

Principle 2:

To ensure that all persons affected by Principle 1 are aware of this agreement and that they take active steps to implement it.

Principle 3:

The ANC and the IFP will cooperate in initiating and implementing non-partisan reconstruction programmes in areas devastated by violence.

All resources available to any one organisation for reconstruction work should, wherever feasible and desirable, be made available to a trust fund to be jointly administered.

Principle 4:

To develop a code or codes of conduct based on accepted principles and practices which do not impinge negatively on the rights of individuals and political groups and which are equally applicable to both organisations and all security forces.

The two organisations also resolved to organise a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of all affected areas.

POLITICS

Playing with fire

FM 4/12/92



Mangosuthu Buthelezi's announcement of plans for the adoption of regional constitution is the first tangible step in what he has been threatening for a long time — namely, to go it alone. In a hard-hitting address at an Ulundi press conference on Tuesday, Buthelezi (Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha Freedom Party leader) announced a special two-day sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to "pass urgent legislation."

He claimed that a regional constitution would lead either to acceptance in its entirety of the region's federal position, or expose the "the game of government and the ANC/Communist alliance."

Buthelezi said he believed he would be taking the initiative by creating a KwaZulu/Natal negotiating base, which could formulate proposals for the kind of central government to which the region would be prepared to devolve some of its regional powers — powers which are there, he says, by dint of historic precedent and political reality.

He also reiterated his outright rejection of President F W de Klerk's and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's "unilateral agreement" to create an elected constituent assembly as a constitution-making body. He stressed that he'd cut all negotiating ties with government and the ANC, in terms of constitutional negotiations, until the whole matter of government dealing bilaterally with the ANC had been resolved and a multiparty conference is convened to deal with the constitution. "It is only in a multiparty conference that we can possibly now find a way forward."

Detailing his constitutional plans, Buthelezi said he was proposing picking up where the Buthelezi Commission and the Natal Indaba left off. "The time has arrived for us to establish a Natal/KwaZulu-proposed constitution and spell out the national requirements as we see them in order to make that constitution a reality," he said.

The first step would be the adoption of the constitution by the IFP, KwaZulu Government and the Joint Executive Authority of Natal — a consensus-based statutory body that was established to develop permanent co-operation between the Natal provincial and KwaZulu administrations.

The next stage in the process would be a referendum, possibly within 30 days of adoption. Once adopted provincially, the constitution would be canvassed nationally. The result, said Buthelezi, would be a document undersigned by "millions of people" and the national negotiating process would be forced

to take account of this reality.

Early reaction to the proposal was less than starry-eyed. DP spokesman on local and regional government Jasper Walsh says the proposal smacks of Buthelezi attempting to go it alone, and this would be in contradiction to the national effort.

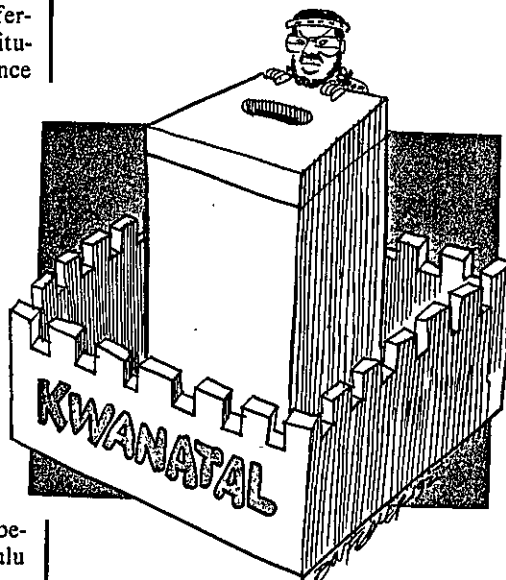
Says Walsh: "Our first priority must be to devise a national constitution. Thereafter regional negotiations will play an important part and the one need not wait for the other, but nor should it force the pace. We support local negotiations towards regional solutions. But clearly this must be within the framework of a nationally approved constitution."

"Clearly difficulties can arise where a strong regional proposal is in conflict with what is agreed upon at a national level. However, we would caution against attempting to reach a conclusion regionally at a time when we're about to re-open multiparty negotiations on a national constitution."

Walsh stressed his concern at what appeared to be an attempt to put pressure on national negotiations — but that is exactly what Buthelezi is trying to do and he's making no bones about it.

Walsh adds that it would be nice if he were just confirming that such a constitution was within a framework of anything agreed at a national level.

Wits University's Tom Lodge wonders why Buthelezi is being so confrontational



about the issue, when some form of regional government is already on the agenda of the (national) constitutional talks.

Buthelezi's plan to pick up from where the Natal Indaba left off assumes that nothing has changed, says Lodge. Would there be the same level of support that businessmen and

others gave the plan in the mid-Eighties? Lodge also points out that blacks in Natal are bitterly divided (between the ANC and Inkatha) and that reactions to the plan might well be quite different now. Relaunching the KwaNatal Indaba therefore seems absurd.

Buthelezi is clearly thinking in terms of consociational federalism, in which the centre has virtually no control over regions — a notion that simply will not fly. Where, in any event, is the tax base for such a plan in KwaZulu/Natal?

Buthelezi does not head a fiscally self-sufficient administration, and could simply be cut off by Pretoria, which pays for the KwaZulu Police.

Yet there may well be an element of bluff and threat in Buthelezi's announcement. Miffed at being left out, as he sees it, from the government/ANC understandings, this may simply be a warning to them to sit up and take notice of him. ■

DEVELOPMENT

Beyond the feuding

Development Bank of Southern Africa chairman-designate Wiseman Nkuhlu says an independent panel to co-ordinate the efforts of development agencies and determine priorities is essential if an interim government is to have any chance of tackling demands.

In an interview with the *FM* this week he outlined, for the first time, proposals he will make to major political players and development agencies for the establishment of what will in effect be a national commission for economic restructuring and development.

It will be more than an advisory body and could put members in a position to influence government spending, economic restructuring and development strategies.

FM 4/12/92

Energy and resources

Nkuhlu, who is also CEO-designate of the Independent Development Trust and on several corporate boards, including Barlows, Old Mutual, Genbel and Standard Bank, believes the interim government — the first phase of which is expected in the first half of next year — will not be able to devote the necessary energy and resources to development.

There's a danger that it will face massive demands and high expectations but have no development programme to implement, no way of determining priorities and will be unable to make significant progress on development issues while also wrestling with the creation of a new constitution.

Cont - P

NEWS Accused wanted to throw body in veld and sell victim's car as parts

Inkatha has 'chosen path' of conflict^(11/3)

KwaNatal plan poses a threat to peace, says ANC: *Sowetan 4/12/92.*

PROPOSALS by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his "state of KwaZulu/Natal" pose a threat to peace in the country and specifically in the region, the ANC has said.

In a formal and comprehensive response to the adoption this week by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of the new constitution, the ANC said yesterday Buthelezi's decision "rides roughshod over the negotiation process".

Multi-party negotiations

The ANC said in principle any political party had the right to put forward its constitutional proposals, but said the national multiparty negotiations forum was the venue for this.

"The proposal contains a thinly-veiled threat that what the Inkatha Freedom Party wills can become law, irrespective of decisions taken in national negotiations.

"The proposal ignores the wishes of the majority of South Africans, including the people of Natal, who are part of and have contributed to the struggle to build a common South African nationhood.

"Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's statement is a clear indication that the IFP has chosen the path of conflict and confrontation which can lead to intensified violence," the ANC said.

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's declared intention to call a referendum on the question of autonomy for the kwaZulu/Natal region has sent political temperatures soaring in the violence-hit region.

Just as bilateral discussions between the government and the African National Congress began in earnest, the disgruntled kwaZulu chief minister pulled his 44-page "bottom line" out of the bag — a draft constitution for a virtually autonomous kwaZulu/Natal region. The move has stoked speculation that Buthelezi is gearing up for secession.

Commented feisty ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala: "We are not going to take this lying down. We are going to organise the people against it, to denounce all these things which are calculated to further increase friction in the country.

"Buthelezi is not the person to decide a referendum. This can come from central government only. There will be trouble if this is allowed to go on." Asked whether the referendum would cause violence if it went ahead, Gwala said: "Of course — we'll use any method to reject it."

The ANC's three Natal regions are to meet today to discuss Buthelezi's proposals. The Inkatha leader's move could create headaches for the ANC, which has described his announcement as a "consequence of blind ambition, confusion or sheer desperation".

Yesterday the ANC warned that Inkatha's proposal could "exacerbate tensions in this trouble-torn province.

"Given the repression, formal and informal, that is pervasive in kwaZulu it would be impossible to hold a free and fair referendum." The ANC said the National Party and Inkatha were integral to multi-party negotiations.

After managing to sell their power-sharing option to more militant regional national executive committee members last week, the ANC will now have to contend with the potentially dangerous groundswell of opposition to the moves from those who, engaged in daily battle with Inkatha, are distant from the political milieu at national level.

Outraged at the chief minister's proposals, the ANC regions have not only threatened to disrupt any referendum which may take place, but are again talking of marching to Ulundi.

There is some concern that the ANC has been less than diligent about aspects of voter education, such as urging people to apply for identity documents, while Inkatha has been quietly gearing up for a referendum.

Buthelezi's move is clearly calculated to woo whites, particularly the

Buthelezi's UDI plan could fan Natal violence

W/Mail 4/12-10/12/92 118

A referendum on autonomy for kwaZulu/Natal will exacerbate tensions in the troubled province.

reports PHILIPPA GARSON

Conservative US experts helped draft constitution

Weekly Mail Reporter

CONSERVATIVE constitutional experts from the United States were instrumental in drawing up the proposed constitution for the kwaZulu/Natal region.

The two experts, Professor Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini, drafted the constitution. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants to put to the people of the region by means of a referendum.

Blaustein, who says he has advised 27 countries on their constitutions — including President Boris Yeltsin's Russia, Fiji and Rumania — has been Buthelezi's legal adviser since the early 1980s. He was booted out of the Inkatha delegation at Codesta earlier this year when other parties discovered he was not a South African citizen.

Blaustein works in the same law firm as Bruce Felt, another US constitutional expert, who is employed by Renamo and who is paid — on his own admission — a monthly salary of \$40 000 by the rebel Mozambican group.

Speaking from Ulundi, Oriani-Ambrosini said he and Blaustein, who operate as Human Rights Advocates International Inc, had

business community, into embracing the idea of an autonomous region.

Already influential businessmen in Natal have expressed support for the idea. While the South African Chamber of Business recently endorsed a federal option for the country, extreme anger at the move has emanated from some business quarters in the region. Sections of the Indian business community have also greeted the proposals with dismay.

The Inkatha leader has no doubt achieved the desired effect with his constitutional proposals.

been working on the constitutional draft for the past few months. He denied the release of the document was timed to disrupt the African National Congress government-bilateral talks. "The timing is purely coincidental. It is something that has taken months and months."

He described the document as "highly technical... Some of the best minds in the world co-operated on this, with a very long consultation with political leaders, social leaders and businessmen throughout the state."

Oriani-Ambrosini said the constitution was approved by "unanimous vote" in the kwaZulu legislative assembly. Giving assurances that members of the legislative body had seen the draft beforehand, he said the reason for the lack of publicity about the constitution prior to its approval was because "we're in Africa. Most processes are not in the public eye... What is important is not so much the constitution drafting process as the outcome of the process."

He added that the current negotiating process was "not, from our point of view, focused on the real issues".

Divisions within government over whether to dance with the ANC or Inkatha are becoming increasingly apparent. Several cabinet ministers, including Hennis Kriel, Kobie Coetsee, Pik Botha and Tertius Delport, are said to be more and more hesitant at the swift pace of agreement between the government and ANC over the establishment of a government of national unity. Some in the government are also unhappy at having ditched Inkatha as an alliance partner — if only for the moment.

In a clear indication of the confu-

sion in government, President FW de Klerk came down hard on Buthelezi, while his Natal representatives made positive noises about the leader's constitutional proposals — applauding his attempt to stamp federalism on the map by way of a referendum, if not his disregard for "the course (of) negotiations at central level".

Buthelezi implied that the Joint Executive Authority (JEA), which liaises and implements executive decisions on matters of mutual concern between the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) and kwaZulu government, would rubberstamp a referendum to ratify his constitution.

However, this seems to have caused some embarrassment among NPA representatives who, while wholeheartedly behind the federalist option, know full well that a referendum would have to be given the go-ahead by central government.

Commented JEA vice-chairman Tino Volker: "The JEA can express support for the content of the document but cannot give effect to it if the province (is not legally) empowered to do so. From a practical point of view I can't see that the JEA can give the final executive stamp on it — we don't have that power."

Volker was at pains to deny there was any substance to Buthelezi's "go it alone" threats. "It is an initiative of the chief minister to place the issue on the negotiating table, and possibly give it a power base by suggesting that a referendum be held so as to give 'people backing' to his proposals."

De Klerk's sharp warning to Buthelezi, however, that his moves could bring about an escalation of violence and direct confrontation with Pretoria, carried a far more threatening tone, one usually reserved for the ANC's mass action campaigns.

The state president hinted that the hand that feeds him can pull back at any time.

Still smarting over the ANC-government Record of Understanding, the Inkatha leader continues to snub De Klerk's requests to meet him before next week's scheduled meeting with the government, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo.

Meanwhile, Gqozo is also dancing to Buthelezi's tune. At the Ciskei-hosted summit on federalism, Gqozo suggested the establishment of a "Kei state" whose boundaries would be determined by the Kei, Gamtoos and Sundays rivers, but would exclude Transkei.

He also proposed that the state, tested by referendum, should have a right to secession, its own security forces and tax base.

Inflexible charter doomed

TONY LEON says Inkatha's proposed constitution for Kwazulu/Natal is too dangerous to ignore and too problematic to implement

S/Times 6/12/92

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BACK in 1973, when federalism barely registered on our political radar screens, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi saw it as an instrument for spanning the great divides of our society. He went further and began to mobilise black opinion in favour of a federal dispensation.

When the government opposed the granting of universal franchise in a context of regional and local autonomy, Buthelezi again pioneered consensus and consociational politics with his own commission in 1982 and the trail-blazing Kwazulu/Natal Indaba of 1986.

Thus Chief Buthelezi's pedigree as a federalist is impeccable.

Yet the "Constitution of the State of Kwazulu/Natal", published this week in Ulundi, has unleashed a firestorm of criticism. Timing is everything in politics. Perhaps it was no coincidence that the day of the bloody ANC march on Bisho in September was the same day President de Klerk summoned federalists to convene in Pretoria. Likewise, Chief Buthelezi's latest initiative coincided with the start of a government/ANC "bosberaad" attempting to

restart negotiations. There is also a delicious irony in the fact that Buthelezi's latest salvo was launched from a toothless legislative assembly in Ulundi — designed by the mad scientists of apartheid to subjugate and divide black aspirations.

But if timing is the one guiding force of politics, then context is the other. Whereas Buthelezi's previous initiatives were multilateral in design and consensual by nature, his latest charter is defiantly unilateral and vehemently final. The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr FT Mdlalose, sounded an ominous warning when he introduced the document:

"With final ratification (through referendum) the constitution will become the supreme law of the land and will stand as such regardless, and in spite of, whatever course the negotiations at central level will take."

Yet it was the IFP, less than a year ago, which objected to Codesa's declaration of intent on the basis that it pre-empted negotiations by prescribing a unitary state. But Buthelezi now visits the very sin of prescriptiveness on his brand of federalism. It

establishes a draft of rights and powers for the state of Kwazulu/Natal and forbids encroachment on them by the yet-to-be-created federal republic of South Africa. It admits of no negotiations or amendments or flexibility.

Although Alexander Hamilton is quoted with approval by the IFP on constitution-making, its drafters blithely ignore the great American's warning on the "evils of a central government too dependent on the states, too much governed by its humours ... till the union is dissolved and weakened".

In Buthelezi's new state, no tax or charge can be levied by the central government without local approval; no army or police force may enter the territory without the state governor's permission and no power may be exercised at the centre which is inconsistent with his constitution. Such rigidity and inflexibility seems doomed at the outset: It ignores the sage advice that constitutions which do not bend will ultimately break.

Back in 1788, faced with state demands of a similar kind, Madison warned the fledgling United States of

America that such a constitution "would make it impossible for any government to defend itself and to preserve the union". Had Madison prevailed, it would have been impossible for President Eisenhower in 1956 to have enforced the desegregation orders of the Supreme Court in the high school in Little Rock, Arkansas. Equally, President Roosevelt would never have financed the lend-lease lifeline which kept Britain alive in the dark, early days of World War 2.

All constitutions require balance. The American one, perhaps the most flexible and successful governmental structure in human history, displays the necessary compromise between the demand for state rights and the needs of the greater union. The Ulundi document fails this test by destroying this balance.

The squandered constitutional chances and missed opportunities of the past year have now reached a bizarre apotheosis in the Ulundi document. It is too dangerous to ignore — and too problematic to implement.

● Tony Leon is the Democratic Party MP for Houghton.

SACP warns on IFP plan

CT T/12/92
(115)

DURBAN. — The SACP has issued a stern warning to National Party supporters in Natal, "sugar barons and other white monied interests" who support the Inkatha Freedom Party constitutional proposals for an autonomous KwaZulu/Natal region.

Addressing the SACP's Southern Natal regional congress at the University of Durban-Westville at the weekend, SACP leader Mr Jeremy Cronin said: "Flirt with this sordid proposal, and you will regret that you ever heard the word federalism.

"If you bankroll a breakaway you will not have a moment's industrial peace. You have been warned."

Mr Cronin said he was issuing the warning because big businesses had started preaching political federalism because they want a future democratic state to be fragmented, weak, and regionalised.

"It's the old story of divide-and-rule, but in a new guise," he said.

Mr Cronin launched a stinging attack on the IFP which he described as "a political chameleon and a formation whose interventions are guided by the political equivalent of what psychologists call a multiple personality disorder.

"This is the organisation that clings to ethnic backwardness one week, and the next week it is dressing itself up in pin-stripe suits as a champion of the free market." — Own Correspondent, Sapa

'All to get say on KwaNatal'

Political Staff
ALL parties in KwaZulu/Natal are to be involved in shaping the regional constitutional model unveiled by the KwaZulu government, says Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The IFP national chairman said last night that the procedure envisaged seminars that involved "all the parties".

This would follow submissions to the KwaZulu/Natal Joint

Executive Authority, which also included other parties.

Dr Mdlalose was responding to questions from Dr Van Zyl Slabbert on his "Slabbert on Sunday" television programme.

Dr Mdlalose emphasised that the document was a draft and had not been legislated by the KwaZulu government.

The intention was "that the people of KwaZulu/Natal should have first choice on what their

local or regional government should be".

He said all parties — "including the National Party and ANC and SA Communist Party" — would be included in seminars on the document.

He said that once all parties had made their contributions, the document would represent the wishes of the people of the region. "It will then be put before the multi-party conference."

(115) CT 7/10/92

FW, Buthelezi to hold talks this week

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

For the first time in almost three months, President de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will come face-to-face this week when they meet in Pretoria to discuss a wide range of issues, including national negotiations, it was confirmed yesterday.

The meeting — the first between the two leaders since Buthelezi angrily suspended contact with the Government after De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26 — will also be attended by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Following the signing of the Record of Understanding, Buthelezi and the other two homeland leaders met in Mbabatho to discuss the ANC-Government agreement, and invited right-wing organisations and like-minded homelands to a meeting at the Indaba Hotel in Fourways, outside Johannesburg.

Buthelezi has since refused to meet De Klerk, whom he has often accused of giving in to the ANC-led tripartite alliance's demands and siding with it against the IFP and Zulus.

Although neither Government spokesman Dave Steward nor IFP central committee member Walter Felgate would say what would be on the agenda of this week's meeting, tentatively scheduled to take place on Wednesday, it is expected that De Klerk will use the opportunity to raise his concern about the "KwaZulu-Natal constitution" released by Buthelezi last week.

De Klerk, who warned last week that Buthelezi's moves would lead to a serious confrontation between KwaZulu and his Government, has repeatedly asked for a meeting with the IFP leader so that they could iron out their differences.

This week's meeting comes after a three-day Government-ANC hosberaad last week, where substantial progress was believed to have been made.

Steward said De Klerk and the three homeland leaders — all strong proponents of federalism — would discuss "matters of common interest".

The meeting's main purpose, Steward said, was "to get multi-party talks off the ground again".

● The IFP's draft constitutional document for the state of KwaZulu/Natal would be presented to a national multiparty negotiating forum, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night during a panel discussion on "Slabbert on Sunday" on the SABC's TSS network.

'Elections by the end of 1993'

MAPUTO — The South African Government has agreed that elections to end white rule should take place by the end of next year, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela held about six hours of talks with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano yesterday to brief him on last week's meeting between the ANC and the Government.

He told a news conference there was no dispute on the timing of elections, even though the ANC had earlier condemned President de Klerk for setting what it felt was a distant target date of April 1994.

"There has been consensus on this point," Mandela said. "In these bilateral talks there has been an agreement that the elections should take place before the end of 1993, so that matter has been resolved."

De Klerk said yesterday the Government would ensure that constitutional reform progressed if a multiparty forum failed to emerge.

He was speaking during a pre-recorded TV interview for "Slabbert on Sunday".

Referring to his timetable to bring about an interim government by the middle of 1994, he said: "The overall responsibility

continues to rest with Government to ensure that there will still be progress with regard to constitutional reform."

In the event of a delay, the Government would continue with negotiations, either bilaterally or within a smaller multiparty forum, De Klerk said.

However, he felt such a hitch was unlikely because he had detected a sense of widespread urgency. "I think all the responsible leaders realise that we are playing into the hands of radicals who don't want an accord to be reached, who want to destabilise SA." — Sapa-AP.

FW, IFP clash expected

Sowetan 8/12/92

(113) (114)

PRESIDENT de Klerk is set to clash with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi when they meet on Thursday.

■ Buthelezi on confrontation course after rejection of transitional arrangements:

This follows the organisation's firm rejection yesterday of the basic transitional arrangements agreed to at Codesa.

De Klerk warned Buthelezi this unilateral action was leading him into direct confrontation with the Government.

Relations between the two leaders are already at their lowest because of Buthelezi's announcement last week of a virtual go-it-alone plan for a KwaZulu/Natal federal state.

Yesterday Buthelezi and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) met in Pretoria and afterwards called for a new negotiating forum to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

They rejected the idea of a transitional government, transitional constitution and constituent assembly, calling instead for a new, non-exclusive multi-party forum to draft a new constitution.

This contrasts directly with the agreements reached at Codesa and frequently re-affirmed by the Government and the ANC since then.

news in I

Sowetan 8/12/92

Buthelezi to explain

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take the unusual step of addressing a meeting in Pretoria City Hall tomorrow evening to explain his party's stance on the "transition crisis".

Buthelezi said he would hold a series of public meetings because it was crucial all South Africans understood why the IFP had decided to refuse to negotiate with the Government until certain demands were met. (11 B)

He said: "Not enough questions are being asked about the ANC's private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. No one is talking about the massacres of IFP members."

Buthelezi, De Klerk set to clash

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are firmly on course for a direct collision when they meet on Thursday for the first time since the IFP broke off talks in September.

Last week De Klerk warned that Buthelezi was heading for direct confrontation with the Government over his announcement of a go-it-alone plan for a highly autonomous KwaZulu-Natal state.

Yesterday a defiant Buthelezi dismissed De Klerk's remarks as extremely arrogant and condescending, fully reaffirmed his plans to create a regional KwaZulu-Natal state, and firmly rejected Codesa and its agreements on transitional arrangements, especially a constituent assembly.

And at a meeting in Pretoria of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), other homeland leaders and the Conservative Party strengthened the separatist tendency by also committing themselves to a bottom-up negotiation process driven by autonomous states.

Speaking at the meeting, Buthelezi also slammed last week's bosberaad between the Government and the ANC where transitional arrangements were discussed.

He said other parties had now been relegated to the function of rubber-stamping ANC and Government agreements to provide legitimisation to their secretive dealings.

After yesterday's meeting, Cosag issued a statement rejecting Codesa and calling for a new negotiating forum to draft a new constitution for SA.

It also rejected the idea of a transitional government, transitional constitution and constituent assembly, calling instead for a new, non-exclusive multi-party forum to draft a new constitution.

This contrasts directly with the agreements reached at Codesa and frequently reaffirmed by the Government and the ANC since then.

Apart from the IFP, Cosag comprises the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

The 'black South African Zulu' and the Boerevolk (118)

Political Staff

ANC 9/12/92

A "BLACK South African of Zulu extraction" greeted "you the Boerevolk of South Africa" when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi took the City Hall stage in Pretoria, his first address in the capital.

There were only about 200 "boerevolk" in last night's gathering of about 400 and then again there was a strong smattering of English among the boerevolk.

But Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was there. Not officially, he told the Pretoria News and not as a representative of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

"We (Cosag) had a very good meeting (on Monday) but I'm just here because I'm curious."

IFP recruitment papers lay on tables in the foyer and when Chief Buthelezi entered, the Lady-smith Black Mmbazo tape stopped, the gathering rose and a small blond boy in khaki festooned with the IFP colours pinned a flower to his lapel.

Chief Buthelezi used the occasion to hammer the government-ANC Record of Understanding and to present Kwazulu-Natal constitutional proposals revealed in Ulundi last week.

He appealed too for reconciliation "between black and black and white and white".

"You as the Boerevolk of South Africa and I as a black South African of Zulu extraction are equal in our claim to South Africanism.

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer was quick to insinuate that I am the spoiler in negotiations. This is very far from the truth. There is very little the National Party can teach me about negotiations."

He accused the government of only dealing seriously with those who had private armies or used ultimatums and mass action.

"In a bilateral, totalitarian and behind-the-scenes fashion the agreement went to the core of constitutional negotiations and imposed a solution which is least likely to produce results respectful and protective of cultural and social pluralism."

Buthelezi addresses boerevolk in Pretoria

Political Staff (118)

A "black South African of Zulu extraction" greeted "the boerevolk of South Africa" when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke in the Pretoria City Hall last night — his first speech in the capital.

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"You as the boerevolk of South Africa and I as

a black South African of Zulu extraction, are equal in our claim to South Africanism."

He then proceeded to attack the exclusive bilateralism of the Government and the ANC-SACP alliance.

"Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer was quick to insinuate that I am the spoiler in negotiations. This is very far from the truth. There is very little the National Party can teach me about negotiations," he said.

Buthelezi reiterated his rejection of the Record of Understanding as the reason for breaking off talks with the Government.

Govt confident about early poll - Meyer

Political Staff

In spite of negative political developments in recent weeks, the Government is still confident about quick progress toward democratic elections, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night.

Meyer said in a statement after a Government strategy conference in Natal that there had been broad consensus at the meeting that President de Klerk's transitional timetable should be followed.

But, he added: "If other parties co-operate and the steps can be completed more quickly, an election can be held earlier - even before the end of next year."

Addressing the opposition of the "Concerned South Africans Group" to agreements reached between Government and the ANC, Meyer said Cosag - which includes KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and the Afrikaner Volk-sunie - "made no provision for the macro-situation in South Africa.

"The country's leaders must

agree on a national level, as quickly as possible, on how a regional dispensation, by means of a transitional constitution, can be brought into existence."

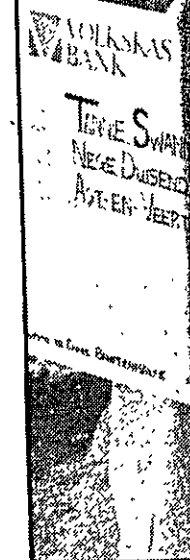
It was therefore essential that the Inkatha Freedom Party and other groups should return to the negotiation process.

●Sapa reports that the future of the much-awaited summit between Mandela and Buthelezi remained uncertain yesterday, with even a preparatory meeting scheduled for today running into problems.

Although ANC head office spokesman Carl Niehaus said preparations were going ahead for today's meeting with the IFP, ANC sources in Natal said they were still deciding whether this would be appropriate.

Their hesitation is reportedly due to the KwaZulu government's controversial constitutional proposals, which Buthelezi unveiled last week.

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said yesterday IFP delegates were ready for the scheduled meeting in Durban today to pave the way for a full meeting of the IFP central committee and ANC national executive committee.



Helping hand cheque for R9 Johanna Swannesburg. The p

Car c

An estate agent's car left the road, top of a garden smashed into the of a house was fined six months' jail ye

Mandela-Buthelezi meeting in doubt as preparatory talks begin

B/DAY 9/12/92

(113)
BILLY PABOOCK

THE prospects for a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi dimmed yesterday as both parties expressed doubts about the outcome of today's preparatory meeting in Durban.

They expected today's meeting to be "confrontational and extremely difficult" after developments of the past two weeks.

These include KwaZulu's acceptance of the "federal constitution", Inkatha's rejection of Codesa and the record of understanding between government and the ANC, and Mandela's four preconditions, the main one being that the record of un-

derstanding be accepted by Inkatha before a meeting between the leaders can take place.

An Inkatha source said it was "highly unlikely" the summit meeting would take place this year. "After Mandela's statements in Botswana about his preconditions being met and this week in Mozambique about Inkatha involvement with Renamo, I do not believe the ANC seriously wants the summit to go ahead," he said.

He said the ANC was not taking Inkatha seriously as a significant player.

An ANC source said he was not very optimistic about the preparatory meeting be-

cause Buthelezi's adoption of a federal constitution had "put a spanner in the works". There was also an indication from the ANC Midlands branch that a summit between the leaders at this stage was not appropriate.

Although the ANC delegation left for Durban yesterday afternoon for the preparatory meeting, spokesman Carl Niehaus said he was not entirely sure it would go ahead.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk will meet the three homeland leaders spear-

heading opposition to a restructured Codesa. The meeting tomorrow promises to be a clash of wills as De Klerk and Buthelezi confront each other over the latter's attempts to go it alone with his federal option.

Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo would tell De Klerk that "on no condition whatsoever will we return to Codesa or even be prepared to discuss a restructured Codesa", Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He said the group would be objecting also to the ANC/government bilateral

talks and the tendency to prescribe the process to other parties. "The whole timetable they have decided on must be scrapped — we are not prepared to accept it," he said.

The three leaders would be firm about their rejection of an elected constituent assembly becoming the constitution-making body and would insist that a multiparty conference of review, open to all parties, be convened to assess the bilateral agreements, including the record of understanding. "Another multiparty forum has to be set up. Codesa is dead and buried," Felgate said.

Mandela-Buthelezi meetings on cards

STAR 10/12/92

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A series of meetings between African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could take place from next month to try to secure peace between their followers and keep constitutional negotiations afloat.

This stems from yesterday's meeting of seven-a-side delegations of the ANC and IFP at a Durban beachfront hotel. The two sides will meet again on December 29.

After a two-hour meeting Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, read out a prepared statement.

He said yesterday's meeting was basically a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between the leaders of the two organisations and their head committees.

"The meeting was held in a positive and constructive atmosphere. It began the process of identifying the issues that could form the agenda of a proposed summit meeting."

The two sides will now report to their principals.

Mdlalose will arrange the venue for the Decem-

ber 29 meeting with Jacob Zuma, the ANC's deputy secretary-general, who led the ANC delegation in the talks.

Watching

Both sides insist that as yet no date has been set for the proposed summit between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Political sources at the meeting said both delegations were aware that the whole world was watching them. They wanted to do their best to ensure the two leaders met, probably in January, and afterwards met on a more regular basis.

Sources said all the preconditions set by both

sides for a summit had been overtaken by the need for the leaders to meet in the interests of peaceful co-existence and South Africa's political future.

The ANC delegation comprised Zuma, Thabo Mbeki, Sydney Mafumadi, Aziz Pahad, southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe, southern Natal regional executive committee member Eric Mtshali and Steward Ngwenya of the ANC's PWV regional executive committee.

The IFP delegation comprised IFP central committee members Mdlalose, Chief Simon Gumede, Dr Ben Ngubane, Walter Felgate, Dr Dennis Madide, Lionel Mtshali and Dr V T Zulu.

Savimbi and Buthelezi have a great deal in common, writes Hugh Robertson

Africa's defiant losers

It is fashionable in some quarters in Washington to liken Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi. Both, it is argued, have an essentially tribal power base, both are the darlings of the same far-right protagonists in the US and elsewhere, both have been the beneficiaries of past support from the South African security establishment, and both face political opponents with Marxist lineage.

Now another comparison between them is being drawn — that both are losers who are having inordinate trouble facing up to the fact.

Savimbi, who entered Angola's internationally monitored elections with an unquestioning belief in victory, was roundly defeated; Buthelezi, so the reasoning goes, has conceded defeat even before free elections have taken place in South Africa.

This conclusion is arrived at by asking the question: If he were convinced that Inkatha could win a significant share of national support in free and fair elections, why would he choose to virtually abandon all of South Africa out-

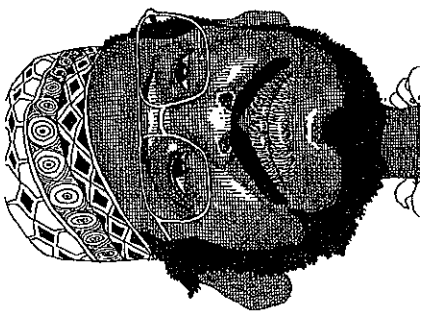
side the borders of KwaZulu and Natal and opt, instead, for a separatist regional solution?

What does the Buthelezi plan say to the supposed multitudes permanently settled in the country's industrial heartland who until now have been counted as Inkatha supporters?

For all practical purposes, Buthelezi has said that constitutional negotiations which will determine their fate are of no consequence to him or to Inkatha — or, at least, that is the widely accepted interpretation in America.

The responses of Savimbi and Buthelezi to national defeat are seen to stem from their apparently shared inability to grasp the political realities around them, the most important — and, for many Americans, the most disturbing — being their seeming inability to recognise the extent to which they are no longer masters of their own political destiny.

The power struggle in both countries has become internationalised to the point where none of the major players — not even the ANC and the National Party, or the MPLA government in Angola — could unilaterally impose a so-

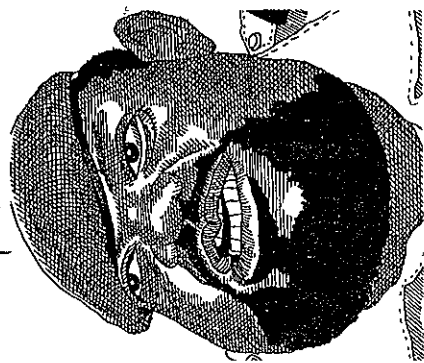


Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . opted for separation.

lution unacceptable to the international community.

A Unita government brought to power by force of arms almost certainly would not be recognised even by the outgoing US administration, which in the past gave Unita such bountiful support and whose political constituency has lionised Savimbi.

A regional solution in KwaZulu and Natal in defiance of what South Africans elsewhere might



Jonas Savimbi . . . defeated in elections.

want almost certainly would face the same worldwide opprobrium.

Since international acceptance is essential to the economic rehabilitation of both countries, the constitutional course upon which Buthelezi appears to have embarked, and the violent response of Savimbi's followers to political defeat, has thoroughly alarmed influential Americans who are well disposed to southern Africa.

They see Buthelezi's initiative

as a reckless plunge into isolationism and believe it is especially dangerous because he will find it hard to return to the national constitutional debate without losing face.

Whatever he does now, they reason, he will have been seen to write off South Africa outside his own geographic fiefdom, he will have given credence to the view that he is a regional potentate rather than a national leader.

If Inkatha's leadership doubts the extent to which the negotiating process in South Africa has been internationalised, they should look more closely at the sudden, and universal, ostracism of the PAC and Apla this week following Apla's "declaration of war" against whites.

Not only was the disparate membership of the OAU united and mobilised against Apla's declaration, and the PAC's disavowal of co-responsibility, but there was condemnation from all corners of the world. The PAC, and Apla, if they are wise, will quickly learn that the classical revolutionary strategies of the Cold War are not acceptable, and that for the first time in decades the international

community is beginning to flex its muscle in a united and constructive way.

It has observers in Angola, and South Africa, it is intervening in Somalia, there is multinational intervention in Liberia. Some might flippantly call this neocolonialism on the grounds that the "right" of contrary forces in Third World countries to be as contrary as they please is being usurped by outside pressure, or by military action.

But the process of uniting the world behind efforts to bring peace and democracy to countries in Africa is being voluntarily — and enthusiastically — embraced at the UN, and by no group of countries more zealously than the Africans and by no leader more firmly than Africa's own Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Inevitably, the role of the only remaining superpower is crucial to this process. But if the contrary forces in Africa find the Bush administration's strategy of using the UN to further democracy on the continent a trifle peevish then it is a safe bet to suggest that with the pending advent of the Clinton administration, they aint seen nothin' yet. □

STAR 10/12/92



Hope at ANC-Inkatha talks

DURBAN — The first official face-to-face meeting between the ANC and Inkatha in more than a year ended in smiles yesterday with what appeared to be considerable progress being made and the stage set for a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting started on an ominous note, with the ANC delegates arriving an hour before Inkatha's. But after the two-hour meeting, journalists were told the talks had taken place in a "positive and constructive atmosphere".

The meeting had been "a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between leaders of the two organisations and their head committees", said a joint statement read by Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It had begun the process of identifying items that should be on the agenda, the statement said. These would now be reported to the organisations' respective principals and the same delegations would meet again on December 29.

The ANC delegation was led by deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and included international affairs director Thabo

Political Staff

Mbeki and southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe. Among those with Mdlalose in the Inkatha group were central committee members Dennis Madide and Ben Ngubane. (A) (B)

Mdlalose later added that the delegations had been aware that "the whole world is watching us and we are doing our best to ensure that we reach the important point where our two leaders can meet".

The meeting appeared to have been held in good spirit, with outbreaks of laughter regularly being heard from behind the closed doors.

The two delegations then joined the four-hour-long special meeting of the Kwa-Zulu/Natal regional dispute resolution committee. Co-chairman MC Pretorius said last night the organisations had "announced the results of their meeting and indicated closer co-operation between the two parties".

The committee meeting, too, was "very positive in its approach" and while there were differences, these were aired without acrimony.

6/00AM 10/12/92

Buthelezi set for all party talks

(118) CT 11/12/92

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met for the first time in three months yesterday, emerging to announce agreement on the need to move as rapidly as possible to all-inclusive multi-party negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by fellow Concerned South Africans Group leaders President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

A joint statement issued by the four said "it was agreed that all parties involved should maintain open channels of communication on a bilateral and multi-lateral basis" — an indication that the government and IFP have re-opened bilateral talks.

A two-day meeting between the government and representatives of the IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — and possibly other parties — is to be held on January 8 and 9 next year.

Mr De Klerk said the meeting succeeded in "clearing up a lot of misunderstandings".

The joint statement said the delegations discussed negotiations and the issues of federalism, regionalism and confederalism.

High-level delegations will attend the January meeting and address dif-

ferences on negotiations and the "Record of Understanding" signed by the government and the ANC on November 26 — and which led to the IFP calling off negotiations with the government.

Mr De Klerk said after the meeting: "One of the most crucial aspects which in the coming weeks and hopefully before the end of January must be resolved is to bring about a broad consensus as to how that multi-party conference must exactly be called and constituted".

Chief Buthelezi said there was no alternative to multi-party negotiations.

But he said earlier in a memorandum that Mr De Klerk's analysis of the South African situation was either "lacking in important understandings" or he was charting a wrong course in a race against time.

He strongly rejected deals between the ANC and the government and rejected Codesa as a negotiating forum. He also said all agreements reached in Codesa should be reviewed.

He proposed a negotiating process "from the ground up", which would include the adoption of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal. He said the government should assist "democracy-building" at regional level, including the holding of referenda.

NEWS Govt, IFP differences to be thrashed out in January • Court convicts guerilla

Tough talking at FW, Buthelezi indaba

Government plans 'bosberaad' with homeland leaders and rightwing:

Sowetan 11/12/92
Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Other parties - including the other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie - would be invited to attend the two-day *bosberaad* on 8 and 9 January.

The statement said at yesterday's meeting, the four parties discussed agreements and disagreements on constitutional negotiations and on federalism, regionalism and confederalism. De Klerk said no agreement had been reached but differences would be discussed in January.

AFTER a tough, straight-talking, six-hour meeting, the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "bosberaad" to try to thrash out major differences about the way negotiations and the future South Africa should be structured.

In a joint statement after yesterday's meeting - the first encounter between the SA Government and the homelands since the homelands broke off talks in September - they agreed on the need to move toward inclusive multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by De Klerk, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.



BUTHELEZI AND HIS BASE

A spoke in the wheel

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to play the KwaNatal constitutional card has clearly caught everyone in the political arena off balance. But he may have committed a long-term strategic gaffe by going for short-term tactical gains.

His unilaterally devised constitution, as set out in the steamy atmosphere of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1 (*Current Affairs* December 4), is a significant departure from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader's consistent stance on federalism in recent years. Suddenly he appears to have opted to lead a rightist, confederal charge.

Analysts say this is the implication of his policy document, which advocates strong regional authority and a virtually impotent central government — particularly with reference to the establishment of a State militia and taxation powers. Nevertheless, some feel Buthelezi's constitution, which is well prepared and thought out, stops short of calling for a unilateral declaration of independence.

Others, like Tony Minnaar of the Human Sciences Research Council, believe that in seeking such wide autonomy — with control of the purse strings, education and security forces — he is calling for independence. "There's no provision for negotiation on this constitution at all. That effectively means he's talking about a referendum and then declaring UDI."

But, though it may elicit a strong groundswell of support from many Natalians, including white businessmen, the IFP leader must realise there is little likelihood of his constitution ever being tested at the polls prior to a general election next year.

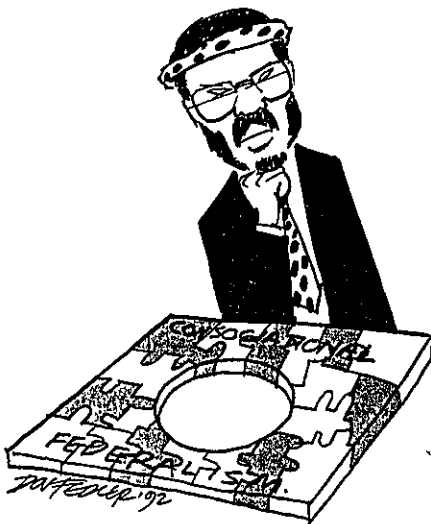
However, as Stellenbosch's Willie Breytenbach puts it, Buthelezi has alienated the Nats — formerly his natural allies — along with the DP. Instead, Breytenbach says, he's cosy up to the Conservatives — who are delighted with the latest tactical shift. However, this seems as much to be a protest against the ANC/Nat Record of Understanding, as seeking a binding alliance.

"He's been a lot quicker to opt for this fallback position than I expected," Breytenbach adds. "His first objective always seemed to be central troika power on a non-elected interim government basis lasting as long as possible. I thought he'd opt for securing regional autonomy only if that failed."

"Now early elections seem probable — possibly even before the end of next year. And perhaps he feels such an election, either for a constituent assembly or new parliament, might show him to be a significant power — but not one in the top three — and that would mean the end of the troika."

Breytenbach, however, doubts that Buthe-

lezi has suddenly become a confederalist. That would snap the golden thread running from the Buthelezi and other commissions, where he and the Democratic Party emerged as SA's original federalists. Breaking off to the Right doesn't match ideals and visions



carried throughout the Seventies, Eighties and Nineties.

"Therefore, I think his constitution is a bargaining chip. I still expect Buthelezi to play a political role, more or less in the middle of the political spectrum and not to the right of centre. Politically, he belongs in bed with De Klerk and possibly Mangope; they share many common principles, such as federalism and belief in free-market economies."

However, based on the reactions of his "natural partners" to the constitutional proposals, Breytenbach feels Buthelezi has blundered tactically. "First prize was Nat and DP support, representing bureaucracy and business. Instead, the only approval came from the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's Mangope."

It looks as though Buthelezi will be left on a limb for some time. Though the ANC and Nats may be natural opponents, they will probably be forced to co-operate after an election because of "sunset" clauses and interim government principles. Only after this will partnerships be reformed to decide who governs SA. According to Breytenbach, those partnerships will be much along Codeda divisions with the IFP in the Nat-led "system" camp, pitted against the ANC-led "struggle" group.

Minnaar is less convinced that Buthelezi has blundered. He believes it was a good tactical move for the constitution to be launched on the eve of the *bosberaad* which

brought together government and the ANC — it reasserted the need to consult Buthelezi at national level. "Ironically the PAC's Apla has to some extent thrown a spoke in the wheel because its actions have led to greater government/ANC consensus on political directions."

Unlike Breytenbach, he believes Buthelezi was shrewd to publish the constitution now. "He's showing other power players what he can do. He is saying 'this is what I'll do in my regional power base: I'll have total independence from SA if you don't take cognisance of me and as a national leader.'"

Minnaar adds that Buthelezi probably also feels that if he isn't given his regional autonomy he can make it difficult for a unitary central government to impose law and order. That will eventually lead to a handover of State control. Crucial to the success of the plan is the necessity for Buthelezi to show how much control he has over Natal — hence the heightened levels of violence in the region's "contested terrain."

Minnaar differs with Breytenbach over whether Buthelezi is genuine about confederalism. "Though Buthelezi may have fought homeland independence for KwaZulu from SA, his position had already shifted considerably by 1983, when he was looking at consociational politics and there has been a logical progression from the concept of equal states since then. That also explains the *toenadering* to the political Right..."

Whether he has blundered or not remains to be seen, but the IFP leader has certainly stirred the pot and shown that he's far from impotent.

PAC/APLA FM 11/12/92

In the firing line

Unless it splits or reins in its universally condemned armed wing Apla, the PAC risks working itself out of the negotiations process and being sidelined altogether.

This week's scheduled meeting between it and government was, predictably, called off. Following the Apla-claimed atrocities at King William's Town and Queenstown last weekend in which five people were killed and 34 injured, government demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation of the PAC's relationship with Apla as a condition for the meeting. This had not been received by Tuesday.

On the contrary, PAC information director Walters Toboti underlined the link with Apla. He said it was an "integral" part of the organisation, which would not be abandoned even if this meant scuttling Wednesday's

of assaulting a preferred method of investigation at Brixton. In fact, they don't seem to have many others."

ANC-IFP pow-wow

By CARMEL RICKARD ~~1118~~ (1118)
PRECONDITIONS set by both the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party may prove a daunting obstacle to talks between their leaders, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

From Inkatha's side, these include the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. The ANC wants all hostels fenced and a ban on traditional weapons. WMail 11/12-17/12/92

This week, senior officials of the ANC and Inkatha met in Durban, after months of official silence, to prepare for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Political observers and many members of the two sides say a summit of leaders is essential if peace is to be restored in Natal, though they stress that such a meeting on its own will not be enough to end the conflict.

At a brief news conference after this week's two-hour pow-wow, the negotiators said they had identified issues which could form the agenda of the proposed summit. They added that they would be meeting again in three weeks' time, on December 29.

AFRICA

ANC scorns plan for independent Natal

Guardian / Win / May
11/12 - 17/12/92

THE African National Congress launched a vociferous attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's plans to create a new state in Natal, but the Zulu leader insisted he was going ahead with a referendum on the issue, writes David Beresford in Johannesburg.

In a lengthy and heated statement on the KwaZulu-Natal draft constitution released by Chief Buthelezi, the ANC described it as a scheme devised by those "spawned by apartheid" to "perpetuate this crime against humanity under a new guise". It also bitterly attacked white "sugar barons" in the province for their part in the scheme.

Chief Buthelezi reacted to strong criticism from President F. W. de Klerk by issuing a statement that said people in his region would have the opportunity to "exercise their

sovereignty" through a "democratic referendum" on what he described as "the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal".

The ANC's statement described Chief Buthelezi's scheme as hare-brained and said that the pervasiveness of repression in KwaZulu made it impossible to hold a free and fair referendum. It added that the Inkatha Freedom Party administration's established practice of requiring declarations of loyalty to the party and its president as a condition of employment in KwaZulu belied Chief Buthelezi's commitment to freedom of expression.

The short-sightedness of the Natal sugar barons and some elements in the province's business community in lending support for such a scheme was further cause for alarm, it said.

By JAN TALJAARD

IF the public meeting held by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Pretoria this week was supposed to have been a testing of the murky waters of cross-over politics, Buthelezi could not have been too pleased with the results.

Apart from a rather meagre attendance (he pulled in about 500 people where President FW de Klerk, the Conservative Party's Andries Treurnicht and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche have all been able to fill the same venue to its 1 200 seat capacity on a good night), he also must have some doubts about the nature of his white constituents.

There was, for instance, the decidedly eccentric Adele van der Spuy, who grabbed the opportunity during question time to tell those assembled that she had been the victim of eight assassination attempts, that she hails from a prestigious family, that she knows who the "third force" is, and that she supports Buthelezi.

Also present in support of the Inkatha Freedom Party was rightwinger Hendrik Claassen, the man who played a prominent part in the break-up of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela's meeting at the University of Pretoria.

Treurnicht and CP secretary Lem Theron listened while Buthelezi talked about the "oppressive apartheid rule" and envisaged a future federal system as opposed to the confederal system favoured by the CP.

Then there were the smattering of "colonials" — the women in skirts, jackets and white-rinsed hairdos and some of the men sporting the old regimental badge on their blazers.

In all fairness it should be added that the attendance probably would have been greater but for the virtual lack of pre-publicity given to the meeting. And, apart from those from the cranky right, one had the impression that the majority of whites attending were there in the rather desperate belief that the IFP constitutes the last remaining bulwark against the "communist ANC".

Inkatha tests Pretoria - and catches a chill

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Pretoria rally attracts a scattering of rightwingers and cranks

PA system instead of the Teutonic martial music usually associated with political meetings at the Pretoria City Hall, some people looked uneasy as they arrived.

Buthelezi's rapid-fire and monotonous delivery of an 18-page written text did not exactly ignite the imagination of people

used to an altogether more *kragdadige* and fiery oratorical style in their politics.

Not providing the crowd with any such cues as booming exclamations, rolling, guttural alliterations, or seriously pregnant silences, Buthelezi elicited only the occasional smattering of

hands being politely put together. Not once was a single "Hoor-Hoor!" to be heard.

All this does not bode well for the continued well-being of the Concerned South African Group the uneasy alliance of the IFP, Afrikaner-Volksunie, CP Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Willie Eksteen, a traffic officer, said he came to listen to Buthelezi because he (Eksteen) "believes in the Zulu. I don't want to see the ANC and the anti-Christ dominating us," he added. "I will vote for the Zulus."

Sarone Venter said she attended as she is interested in the politics of the IFP, but that she will not just vote for them "at this stage".

Two students from the University of Pretoria, who did not want their names mentioned, believed Buthelezi to be a realistic thinker. While they would prefer voting for one of the more traditional "white" parties in a general election, both said they will vote IFP if that proves to be the only way to keep the ANC out.

With Buthelezi's address only getting a lukewarm response from the crowd, it seems that Zulu-Afrikaner cross-over politics in South Africa still has some way to go. And a lot of it may have to do with style rather than substance.

With the Black Mambazo's tones oozing from the



Romancing the right ... Buthelezi and a well-wisher

ANC-Govt deal angers IFP

STAN-12/12/92
Tryst could lead to

elections next year

PETER FABRICIUS (115)
Political Correspondent

Constitutional differences

De Klerk calmly dismissed the personal attack on himself and focused on constitutional differences, prompting some concern in the NP's anti-IFP faction that the president might be wavering. But the general consensus was that De Klerk and the Cabinet had decided that the only way to pull off a negotiations deal to save the economy and rescue the country from violence was to join forces with the ANC — dumping the IFP if necessary. It is understood that at the ANC-Government boss De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha for his over-enthusiastic response to Buthelezi's go-it-alone plan. One of the important "fault lines" in the party was between those who saw the NP's salvation in a conservative alliance with the likes of the IFP. The pro-ANC faction seems to have seized the initiative. And the issue that might have tipped the balance was the Joe Slovo-inspired strategy of offering the NP a power-sharing deal with a life beyond that of an interim government.

THE Government and the African National Congress have moved closer to a negotiations deal which could lead to elections in less than a year. But the deal has enraged the Inkatha Freedom Party — and is driving a deep wedge into the National Party. It is becoming clearer now that in the torrid political love triangle between the Government, the ANC and IFP, the Government and the IFP is feeling jilted. This has important implications for the likely course of negotiations next year. It now seems that the Government and ANC will push through a negotiations package leading to elections for an interim government before the end of 1993. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after an attempted reconciliation between the Government and the IFP this week that it was like having an argument with his wife. "Once she has had her say and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system." But although he — and other disaffected homeland leaders — agreed to get together again in January with the Government, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the political marriage between the NP and the IFP is heading for the rocks. And the divorce papers will probably cite the NP's "dirty weekend" with the ANC at an Ellisras game reserve last week.

Romantic atmosphere

It was there — in the romantic atmosphere of the campfire and the bushveld moonlight — that the two sides seem to have secretly agreed to drive the negotiation process in tandem and to run the interim government and beyond in a power-sharing deal. Both sides have been extremely coy about exactly what was decided on. But ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the Government had agreed to elections before the end of next year — after President de Klerk forecast elections only in March/April 1994. Although the Government denied that any firm agreements had been reached, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at a news conference yesterday that elections could be held before the end of 1993 if all parties co-operated. Both sides agreed after the bossraad that they had to accept "joint responsibility" for negotiations — which sounded very like the ANC view that negotiations should essentially amount to an agreement between the Government and the ANC. The IFP flounced off in a huff and announced its go-it-alone option of launching an anti-Codesa negotiation at which regional powers — not national leaders — would get together to decide how the new South Africa should look. De Klerk warned Buthelezi that his "unilateral" initiative was jeopardising negotiations and leading to direct confrontation with the Government. His tough response alarmed the National Party's conservative wing, especially the Natal Nats, whose leader George Bartlett is a fervent IFP fan. It was Bartlett and other Natal Nats who brought Buthelezi and De Klerk together in Pretoria this week to discuss their differences. Although the meeting ended on an ostensibly optimistic note, with an agreement to meet again in a bossraad on January 8 and 9, sources inside the Government said no rapprochement was achieved. Buthelezi delivered a hostile speech to De Klerk, berating him for acting in an unpatriotic way by doing secret deals with the ANC.

Top cops meet over Buthelezi allegations

By MONWABISI
NOMADLO (113)

WITWATERSRAND deputy Attorney-General J Humans has revealed that A-G Klaus von Lieres held a meeting with senior police officers last month concerning investigations involving Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Contrary to police reports that the Buthelezi docket had been handed to the A-G for his decision whether to prosecute or not, Humans said he was not aware the docket had been handed to the office, adding his senior would have informed him.

However, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman told City Press

he was certain investigations had been completed and the docket handed to the A-G. *City Press*

The A-G could not be reached for comment as he is on leave until January. 13/12/92

In October Buthelezi defiantly led two marches in central Johannesburg and Durban protesting against the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and fencing off of Reef hostels.

SAP regional commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus had turned down a request by march organisers to carry weapons in public. Buthelezi defied the ban and led the 20 000-strong march.

Political comment and newbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Holomisa lashes out at Buthelezi

TRANSKEI military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday delivered a scathing attack on Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying his "insatiable lust for power has turned Natal into killing fields". (113)

Speaking at the ANC Midlands regional conference, Holomisa said Inkatha was following in the footsteps of Unita and Renamo. (113)

Holomisa said the rising death toll did not bother Inkatha "as long as violence guarantees the party an assured out-of-proportion space and say in negotiations". - Sapa 13/12/92

■ Reports by CP Reporters, Elnews, Sapa.

Inkatha move threatens to block general election

C/1/10/13/12/92
WITH South Africa's first free elections likely to take place around the end of next year, the constitutional debate has opened up on two new and unexpected fronts.

Both issues could scuttle the elections before they happen.

One was the announcement last week of chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposed constitution for KwaZulu/Natal. The other was the implied proposal that the new SA becomes a confederation of more-or-less independent, regional states bound together, only loosely, by a central government.

Buthelezi's bombshell, plus his proposal that his suggested federal constitution be put to a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, was a sidestepping of all negotiation forums established so far.

This week Buthelezi, speaking at the Pretoria City Hall, took his plan a step further when he formally rejected agreement reached at Codesa to leave drawing up of the new constitution for a unitary state to a popularly elected constituent assembly.

Arguing strongly for regional self-determination, Buthelezi went on to call on all South Africans to consider his regionalist proposal as a possible blueprint for the new SA.

Buthelezi also rejected the Record of Understanding concluded in late September between the government which paved the way for an ANC/government working alliance and a government of national unity which would play the major role in the transition phase.

Also this week Buthelezi and his allies in the Concerned South Africans group (CSAG) - white rightwingers along with homeland leaders including Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo - met in Pretoria.

While disagreeing on the theoretical relationship between regional and central government, they joined Buthelezi in his rejection of the new ANC/Government power sharing prospects and his dismissal of Codesa as a negotiating forum.

The new dispensation, they said, would have to be negotiated by multi-party talks, but they were adamant that these would not take place under the auspices of Codesa.

Apart from the dominance of the ANC and the government in Codesa, what particularly concerns the CSAG members, many of whom were Codesa participants, is the agreement, contained in Codesa's founding Declaration of Intent, that all participants commit themselves to seeking solutions within a unitary SA.

Bop refused to endorse this clause asserting that it wanted to see a "constellation of states".

Buthelezi's proposals revive initiatives launched during the later 1980s under KwaNatal Indaba where the idea was first explored of merging Natal and KwaZulu.

Such initiatives - which were rejected out of hand by the PW Botha government - represented a joint drive by the KwaZulu government and wealthy Natal businessmen towards the same kind of federal system Buthelezi proposes today.

That informal alliance still exists with much of Inkatha's funding still coming from many of the same businessmen.

The Indaba backers continue to play

key - and usually pro-Inkatha - roles in the National Peace Accord structures.

Similar alliances between white conservatives and black homeland leaders have been emerging in both Bop and Ciskei.

Even before Codesa emerged representatives of the Bop government and white farmers, the Conservative Party and later the Afrikaner Volksunie have been engaged in discussions aimed at creating a single regional political power.

Such a region would, in their view, function as a largely independent and self-determining member of a confederation of SA states. It is known that Bop has been working on its own constitutional proposals - which are likely also to reject the idea of a central election constituent assembly.

Though such moves have not yet been taken up in the Ciskei/Border region, it is believed that secret agents of the SADF, who until this month were basically running the show in Ciskei, have developed a similar regional and federal arrangement based on the government's allocated development regions. Gqozo and the AWB have also explored the possibility of forming an alliance.

The big picture then is the one in which a number of federal initiatives have been launched partly in order to challenge Codesa as the main negotiating forum, and to propose a strongly federal alternative to the unitary state which the ANC wants to create.

Ironically, it was the De Klerk government which first became the driving force behind the federal moves, moves which are now threatening De Klerk's new power sharing arrangement with the ANC.

On the same day that Gqozo's troops, under the command of De Klerk's soldiers, mowed down tens of ANC protesters at Bisho killing many, De Klerk was hosting a conference of political groupings committed to federal options and exploring the possibility of constituting them as a formal alliance.

Though the Record of Understanding, which De Klerk was pressured into signing in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre, resulted in rifts between his own party and his federal allies, the option is far from rejected.

Even before Bisho, and with Buthelezi still working closely with De Klerk, it was evident that Inkatha had altered its strategy and that it had ceased trying to project itself as a national power player.

Retreating to its power base in Natal (with the Transvaal violence dropping dramatically too), the party set about consolidating its regional influence in Natal. Part of this process has involved the handing over of SAP police stations in the major townships outside Natal cities to the KwaZulu cops, a process which is now reaching completion.

This has led to increased repression of ANC political activity and can be expected to impact significantly on any popular poll which may be held in the territory - despite Inkatha's relatively small support base even in Natal.

Which of the two - the federal or the power sharing options - the government will finally pursue, remains to be seen.

While for the Nats the idea of a power sharing alliance with the ANC remains more attractive, the ANC may well return to some version of the federal option!

Buthelezi (113)

sticks to plan

STimes 13/12/92
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that federalism was the only form of government strong enough to secure lasting democracy in South Africa. (30/54)

He said he was confident that the IFP's plan for a federal Kwazulu-Natal would be supported by all people in Natal and Kwazulu.



Buthelezi, Holomisa in war of words

ULUNDI. — Kazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has launched a sharp attack on Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, in reaction to accusations made at an ANC regional congress. *ANC 14/12/92*

Chief Buthelezi's office said in a statement that it was contradictory that the head of a military junta, which had no legitimacy, should pontificate to Kwazulu on democracy.

The acceptance of a draft constitution for Kwazulu was the outcome of a 20-year-long process, said the statement. It was not a "Zulu" constitution, but a document reflecting the region's needs.

General Holomisa was accused of promoting violence by, despite his denials, accommodating members of private armies in Transkei.

At the African National Congress meeting in Edendale, outside Maritzburg, General Holomisa accused Chief Buthelezi of, among other things, "turning Natal into a battlefield".

He said the chief minister and Inkatha leader did not have the right to dabble in affairs which were the prerogative of a constituent assembly.

He once again denied that the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was using Transkei as a base to launch attacks on South Africa, and warned South Africa not to carry out raids across the Transkei border.

A Sunday newspaper, meanwhile, reported it had found evidence of Apla training camps in Transkei which had been used as recently as Thursday this week. — Sapa.

Holomisa, Buthelezi clash

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The war of words between Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi erupted anew at the weekend.

Chief Buthelezi's office said Gen Holomisa had "the nerve"

to criticise the leader for dabbling in constitutional matters.

Gen Holomisa earlier told the ANC's Natal Midlands regional conference Chief Buthelezi had pre-empted a future constituent assembly by demanding federal autonomy for the Natal area.

Chief Buthelezi said: "The adoption by the KwaZulu legislative assembly of the constitu-

tion of the state of KwaZulu-Natal is the end product of a 20-year-long process.

"It is quite contradictory that the head of a military junta which has no legitimacy in any sense should pontificate to the people of KwaZulu, while sitting pretty in Umatata as the head of an independent state."

Holomisa lashes at Inkatha leader

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Sowetan 14/12/92

■ **Accused of insatiable lust for power and following in the footsteps of Unita and Renamo through the barbarism of bloodshed:**

TRANSKEI military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa has launched a scathing attack against Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying his "insatiable lust for power" has turned Natal into killing fields.

Speaking at the African National Congress Midlands region's regional conference on Saturday, Holomisa said the Inkatha Freedom Party was following in the footsteps of Unita and Renamo.

"Like Savimbi, Inkatha wants to ascend the political centre stage through the barbarism of violent bloodshed," he said.

"Natal has been turned into killing fields because one individual has an insatiable lust for power and ruthlessly imposes his will on an unwilling people," he told delegates to the conference.

But KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday countered, saying it was contradictory that the head of a military junta, which had no legitimacy, should pontificate to KwaZulu on democracy.

Like Savimbi, Inkatha wants to ascend the political centre stage through the barbarism of violent bloodshed

Holomisa had said the rising death toll did not bother Inkatha "as long as violence guarantees the party an assured out-of-proportion space and say in negotiations".

But the Transkei leader expressed hope that planned meetings between the ANC and Inkatha would dramatically reduce tensions and "wipe out the scourge of violence".

He warned the South African military not to cross Transkei's borders and invited Law and Order Minister Mr Hermanus Kriel, or anyone else, to the Transkei to investigate claims that the Azanian People's Liberation Army was launching attacks from the homeland. - Sapa.

FM 18/12/92

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distinction between political violence and other types is not always clear. The figures are probably better indicators of trends than of absolute levels of conflict.

As the Legal Resources Centre's Howard Varney says, the sad irony is that more people are dying now than in the dark days of the State of Emergency.

His pessimism at the outlook for next year should perhaps be counterbalanced by the renewed optimism on the negotiations front. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 18/12/92

New year wishes

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Despite complications tossed into the negotiations brew by the strong federal push of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his group of "concerned South Africans" (Cosag), as well as the PAC's ambivalence about violence, government is "convinced the time-scales and objectives it has proposed for 1993 are attainable." That's according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The timetable for elections is not hard and fast, though there is agreement, notably with the ANC, on the steps to be followed towards:

- A multilateral negotiating forum;
- The contents of the transitional constitu-

FM 18/12/92

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

- tion;
- The principles of a constitution; and
- Implementation of the transitional executive council.

This programme follows the outline given by President F W de Klerk last month, when he spoke of an election not later than March or April 1994. The date could be brought forward depending on how fast the process moves.

In his last media briefing for the year ("unless something dramatic happens over the next weeks, which we are not predicting"), Meyer told journalists that government had reached this optimistic conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all significant political groups in the country.

"In spite of differences regarding the process and the contents of constitutional development, notable common factors can be identified across the political spectrum."

While the process had been delayed, Meyer said, the interaction among parties and the influence on them of external factors such as the economy and violence "has led to a more pragmatic attitude in most parties."

He gave as examples the "necessity" for strong regional government, a growing economy, power-sharing and constitutional continuity.

He added that the "nature and style" of discussions had changed during the year. This applied especially to the depth of dis-

cussions and their seriousness and intensity.

In the new year, government intends doing everything in its power to get all parties together as soon as possible in one conference. Resumption of multilateral negotiations — in whatever form — had to be the next step. He appealed for the process not to be delayed by arguing over whether to change the name of Codesa. The matter is, however, somewhat more complex given Cosag's insistence on a new forum and Buthelezi's demand for a conference to review decisions reached in Codesa.

Pressed on the question, Meyer pointed to the agreement reached with the ANC that Codesa should be restructured — to bring in other parties — "but it might also be necessary to restructure it from other angles, especially as far as decision-making or at least the structure of its operation is concerned." He thought it was too large and needed to be streamlined.

It was significant that the Minister had "no certainty" about whether Inkatha would accept the Codesa agreements. This would be clarified at next month's meeting.

However, all parties are agreed, Meyer added, that change can be effected only through "a forum of a multiparty nature." A concerted effort to this end would be made over the next two months in bilateral and multilateral talks.

Meetings already arranged with govern-

contin-P

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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ment for next month include: Cosag; representatives of the self-governing states; the Afrikaner Volksunie; the ANC; and "maybe" others as well.

It was important to note that multilateral talks should not necessarily replace the one-on-one contact between parties and groups. This presumably includes the critical government-ANC talks, which so rile Buthelezi.

In the coming year, government would encourage talks at regional level on the subject of local authorities. It is here, presum-

ably, that greater clarity will emerge on the status of Buthelezi's regional constitution and its implications. ■



BUTHELEZI'S PROPOSALS

On the road to UDI?

FM 18/12/92

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~~SA~~

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that his controversial confederalist draft constitution will be tested at the polls one way or another — with or without government blessing.

Though he says he is confident that President F W de Klerk will accede to a request to hold a regional referendum on the proposals, he adds: "However, should government fail to fulfil this responsibility, the referendum will be organised by a committee established in terms of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly resolution which approved the constitution."

His assertion came from his office in response to an FM suggestion that there is speculation that the popularity of the constitution may never be tested because the referendum must be sanctioned by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Natal. Such blessing seems improbable since government has already voiced its displeasure at the constitution and the timing of its publication.

But even this is disputed by Buthelezi: "We are under the impression that the decision to organise and hold a referendum is an activity which requires no approval from any legislative or administrative entity."

In promulgating the proposals (on December 1), Buthelezi said the intention, following its ratification in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, would be to seek approval of a referendum through the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA), a consensus-based, regional power-sharing, administrative body.

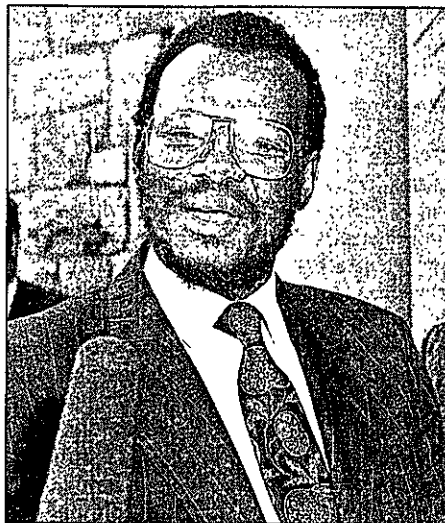
However, NPA executive member and JEA vice-chairman Val Volker claims that even if the poll is endorsed by the JEA, it must also be ratified by central government.

Meanwhile, the political hornet's nest stirred by the publication of the document continues buzzing.

The latest agitator is General Bantu Holomisa who launched a vitriolic attack on Buthelezi and Inkatha at the weekend, claiming that the IFP was trying to force its hand in the constitutional arrangements now being mooted. Buthelezi understandably claims that Holomisa, as the head of an unelected military government, is on shaky ground when it comes to pointing democratic fingers.

But the controversy over the timing of the constitution's publication and whether it has a chance of being tested at the polls all but eclipses the proposals.

The constitution outlines a three-tier governing structure comprising a state governor, a senate elected through proportional representation and a legislature elected from small constituencies which respects existing cultural divisions. It also envisages consider-



Buthelezi . . . determined to hold a regional referendum

able devolution of powers to the regional authorities within the State.

The most controversial aspects of the document centre on the clauses which create a virtually independent State and an impotent central government — and have led to it being labelled a confederal constitution — and on the proposal to establish KwaZulu/Natal state militia and tax systems.

Less controversial are the establishment of a bill of rights, pluralism, universal franchise, minority protection mechanisms, entrenched employment, housing rights, an independent judiciary and a free press. There are safeguards against a burgeoning public sector and sex discrimination.

The document also protects the role of traditional leaders in terms of law and communal property.

On the economic side, there is a commitment to private property ownership, free enterprise and the establishment of structures to promote economic growth. Safeguards against government abuses will be provided through a civil service commission, the appointment of an ombudsman and a constitutional court.

On the face of it, this is a liberal and broadminded document with a lot going for it — hence the apparently growing level of support for it among Natalians.

Wits University's professor Alf Stadler agrees that the constitution is "probably very expertly drafted" and that though theoretically federal systems are terrific and some even work, he has always taken an anti-federal line in the SA context because systems cannot be judged purely on merit.

"It must be considered in the SA context based on structures established by Verwoerd. Unless a way can be devised of estab-

lishing a federal system that does not coincide largely with homeland borders, the concept has an inescapable major weakness.

"However, I have never seen a plausible case, so we're probably stuck with homeland-type structures or a unitary state — and even then, as the ANC is discovering, compromises must be made with some of the leaders."

Natal University's law professor George Devenish points out that while the Buthelezi constitution carries similar clauses to other proposals in terms of civil liberties and checks and balances, his main concern centres on the *de facto* confederal connotations of the constitution. "SA needs a balanced regional system which will probably effectively be federal, though I prefer the term regionalism because it is less contentious.

"However, a strong central government is also needed. It must be capable of dealing with national crises as well as the process of national reconstruction."

Devenish maintains that strong regional and central governments are not incompatible, as demonstrated by the US. He points out that the ANC has increasingly indicated its willingness to accept entrenched regional power, though it initially strongly opposed the principles of federalism. Based on this, he believes the Buthelezi constitution may simply be an "opening" in the constitutional debate.

"Obviously there are good aspects to it," he says. "These proposals build on what the pioneering Natal/KwaZulu Indaba built; so the baby shouldn't be thrown out of the basket. However, so much of it revolves around Buthelezi's negative, arrogant and undiplomatic public image."

If the pragmatists can gain the upper hand, it should be possible for government, the ANC and the IFP to throw their proposals into a melting pot and cook up a workable regional government — balanced against a strong central structure. ■

APLA FM 18/12/92

Small but rabid

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The **Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)** and its "operationally independent" armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), have received more publicity following the attacks on white civilians in the eastern Cape recently, than at any time since the PAC was banned and forced into exile 30 years ago. Is this perhaps a measure of its effectiveness?

Until recently, the PAC was to most blacks a half-forgotten, rather colourful

~~Continued~~

Inkatha rallies around high food prices

W/Mail 18/12-22/12/92
By CARMEL RICKARD

INKATHA starts a national programme of "mass action" tomorrow, targeting food prices.

Official Ed Tillett said the new campaign would begin this Saturday with pickets in shopping centres in and around Durban.

Control boards' "fixing" of market prices will be a target of Inkatha's campaign, entitled "Food for the people". Due to escalate in the new year, it will focus on government intervention in the market, the fact that so few foods are exempt from VAT and the statutory powers given to so many agricultural control boards.

Inkatha has often criticised the African National Congress and its allies for programmes of mass action, saying they are intimidatory and are not the correct means to achieve the aims of the alliance, however praiseworthy these objectives may be.

However, in the last few months the Inkatha Freedom Party has launched catchy drives of its own including the "Disband MK" programme. This campaign, so far more notable for the picture opportunities it presents than for the numbers involved, has seen women dressed in black, accompanied by children, staging protests outside the homes of people alleged to have links to MK or to be in a position to influence the organisation.

There have also been large-scale marches in Johannesburg and Durban with themes such as the unenforceability of a ban on carrying "cultural weapons". Officially some of these have been labelled "marches of the Zulu nation", but this nice distinction appears to elude most people inside and outside Inkatha and to exist more in the minds of top organisers than anywhere else.

THERE is a new mystery force in Natal — the Bambata Battalion. It is believed to consist of Inkatha "self-defence units" that are receiving paramilitary training in Ulundi and other centres around the country.

The name — first cited in a call by an Inkatha Freedom Party leader for the organisation to defend itself — has appeared in graffiti left behind at scenes of violence.

In the volatile Esikhwini area in northern Natal, "Bambata" is scrawled on electricity boxes and roads. In April, a house in Eshowe was burned down. Next to it a notice was pinned, reading "Bambata's battalion has arrived. We are here to stay".

Bambata: Rebels linked to the Inkatha cause?

W/Mail 18/12-22/12/92 (118)
A shadowy 'battalion', named after a turn-of-the-century Zulu hero, has emerged in Natal.
By PHILIPPA GARSON and ENOCH MTHEMBU

An IFP youth official from Esikhwini, Raymond Dlamini, said Bambata members, whose task it is to protect communities, are receiving

training in several camps around the country, including one in Ulundi. According to Dlamini, both security force members and a private security company are training them.

IFP Northern Natal official Zazi Zabenda said: "It came from the idea that the IFP would not stand by to look at people being mowed down, people ignoring the Peace Accord clause that says people should not have armies. "If the government fails to get others to disband their private armies

then we as an organisation would be irresponsible if we left our people at their mercy like cannon fodder."

That was all he would say. He said kwaZulu Justice Minister the Reverend Jeffery Mletwe (who is also in charge of KwaZulu security), was the person to talk to. But Mletwe was unavailable.

For another northern Natal IFP official, Robert Mkhize, Bambata has nothing to do with the IFP, and in fact does not exist at all.

The concept of Bambata was suggested at a rally earlier this year, says Mkhize, when "the killing of IFP members was getting serious. When one of the leaders addressed the meeting he said in passing that if the ANC doesn't want to disband MK we will have to start a Bambata Battalion.

"Opposition parties are claiming that it exists but it doesn't really. What it refers to is a decision taken by the kwaZulu government — not the IFP — to start defence units to protect all the people of kwaZulu. Now people tend to believe that Bambata Battalion is the defence units."

Mkhize said the Bambata graffiti was nothing more than gangsters giving a name to themselves.

"Like the Black Cats (vigilante gang) in Ermelo. In the IFP no-one ever set up the Black Cats. This Bambata is not something approved by the IFP. It has never been discussed by the IFP."

Another version is that Bambata is comprised of Inkatha strongmen, kwaZulu police and gangsters and that it stretches into the Transvaal where it is headed by top IFP officials.

For African National Congress supporters, Bambata is just another name for kwaZulu Police (KZP) hit-squads.

"When we got to the stomach of this thing all we found was the KZP," said an ANC activist.

Others say Bambata is the new name given to the kwaZulu government's own self-protection units which are being recruited via the chiefs, who each select 10 fit youths from their area and send them to Ulundi for training. IFP central committee member Albert Mncwango recently confirmed that training for the self-protection units was taking place there.

The ANC activist elaborated: "They are special people who are dealing in killings. They are KZPs who are hit-squads doing a 'better' job to get more money. They use AK47s, they are given employment cards and uniforms."

He claimed the hit-squads are given combat training only and are therefore not bona fide policemen. "The more you show you can kill then the more training you get." Asked how he knew this, the man nodded his head sagely, saying, "When people get drunk in shebeens they start talking and boasting about their activities."

Ironically, Bambata the warrior was a rather reluctant rebel — a relatively minor chief once charged with stock theft and not the brutal, brave killer the myths around him suggest.

The Bambata Rebellion of 1903 — led by the chief who declined to obey orders to collect taxes from his people because they could not afford them — goes down in history as the last of the black uprisings against the British colonists.

Bambata took to the forests of Natal and led a fight against the British in which 3 000 Zulus, himself included, eventually died.

For the "Zulu nation", Bambata's defeat marked their final subjugation by the British.

A further irony is that ANC supporters regard him as a hero of black resistance against colonialism.



Secession within secession ... Tsonga separatists at last weekend's rally to promote the plan for an independent Natal

By PHILIPPA GARSON
CHIEF Mangosotho Buthelezi's attempts to push his federalist option for kwaZulu/Natal may well give impetus to two separatist movements in Maputaland, northern Natal, where deep-seated resentment simmers against the kwaZulu administration.

Addressing a rally in the drizzling rain in Kosi Bay at the weekend, as "the leader of Natal/kwaZulu", the chief minister kicked off his own election campaign — selling his draft constitution to the people of the region.

It was clearly a warning to those with other ideas. Two separatist organisations, the Tsonga Independence Party and Isididi, are pushing for secession from kwaZulu. The first, a small group of people wanting to establish their own Tsonga homeland as a British protectorate, has little support.

The Tsonga people, who settled in the area in the 1700s, are divided by the Mozambican border and have somewhat lost their identity, absorbing the culture and the language of the Zulu people who settled there over the years.

However, Isididi, meaning "grain basket", is a more serious initiative, lobbying for the reincorporation of the territory into South Africa — not Swaziland — which is the version kwaZulu propagandists bandy about to discredit the movement.

Appealing to the common Zulu heritage of the people, Buthelezi reminded them at the weekend rally

Maputaland separatists resist Buthelezi's plans

W/Mail 18/12-22/12/92 (115)
lu's nature conservation policies had on their lives — something Buthelezi has no intention of reminding them about.

Over the past 10 years, the kwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources has acquired 30 percent of Maputaland to establish game reserves in the area, plunging into jeopardy the subsistence economy of 50 000 people. Many people have lost their land rights and others have been forced to leave altogether. There is talk of further removals to follow.

Widespread dissatisfaction at inadequate compensation offered by the kwaZulu administration has been countered by harsh oppression in the area, crushing any attempts to oppose the moves. Such heavy-handedness has led to growing support for those who advocate re-incorporation into South Africa.

At the weekend rally, the only signs of disquiet were the blunt refusals to discuss anything at all. Clearly, it was Buthelezi's day. But away from the hubbub in the small town, inhabitants of villages nearby hesitantly put forward their views, looking over their shoulders as they did so.

They spoke of the severe oppression in the area, particularly of the

African National Congress, which is virtually a banned organisation. "We are under Inkatha here. We are forced to be. If you say you're ANC, they'll kill you," said a woman who wouldn't be named.

While the ANC has the support of youths in the area, a sizeable section of the elderly, more rural people, who have borne the brunt of the crude conservation policies, are supportive of the reincorporation lobbyists. "The people that were living in the (Tembe Elephant) game reserve are scattered all over. They would grow bananas in the area which is very fertile and sell them in Empanjeni. This paid for their schoolchildren's fees," she explained. "But how will they survive on the new land which is not fertile?"

Although they have been compensated for their land, "they are not satisfied. They oppose Buthelezi but at the end of the day, if you come out clear, you die".

Plans to hand over to key police stations in the Ingwavuma and Manguzi areas — currently under the South African Police — to the kwaZulu police have contributed to the fear and resentment of Maputoland's inhabitants.

For northern Natal Inkatha official Zazi Sibande the "ANC is trying to hitchhike on to the problem but they'll never get support there.

"The people who are trying to plant the spirit of the ANC are those who wanted the land to be incorporated into Swaziland. Because kwaZulu refused, they now hate kwaZulu."

Buthelezi's provocative Christmas message

118
■ Chief lambasts Natal's 'pseudo-liberals':

Sowetan 22/12/92
A DEFIANT Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday delivered a provocative Christmas message to his homeland officials that discounted any possible rapprochement between himself and the Government or ANC.

Buthelezi rejected a democratically elected constitution-making body, the disarming of civilians and fencing in of hostels and came close to insulting white people in Natal who opposed his constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal state.

Buthelezi compared KwaZulu to Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. He said the Zulu people were forged together by a single identity.

Referring to a sugar-cane farmer who reportedly rejected his constitution for KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi said: "We (black people in Natal) were dragged into the Union of South Africa as the Kingdom of KwaZulu, willy-nilly without any consultation."

RELATIONS between government and Inkatha were now worse than those between Inkatha and the ANC, government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said last Friday. Strong stuff, seeing as how supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are still killing each other.

The Constitutional Development Minister was speaking at one of the SA "breakfasts" hosted by the Aspen Institute's Pauline Baker in Washington. He probably would have said the same thing to US President-elect Bill Clinton's transitional advisers had they agreed to see him. They would not (although no slight was implied by this) so he did the next best thing: Baker is still in the running for a Clinton Africa policy slot.

Some in the audience thought he was being insincere and that government was only faking estrangement from Inkatha to show that Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not the "surrogate" ANC president Nelson Mandela claimed he was in his address to the UN Security Council in July. These critics believe Pretoria is in cahoots with Inkatha to derail negotiations and impose a settlement without the ANC.

Clearly, they were not listening very hard to what Meyer was saying. Either that, or they have a very low opinion of the political heft of the ANC and see the poor dears in its leadership being tricked at every turn. As so often, behind admiration lurks condescension. Truth is, the Minister could scarcely have been clearer.

He left no room for doubt that the dominant players in government and the ANC, the latter after a somewhat prolonged informal referendum, have reached broad agreement on the sequence of events and decisions that will lead to an elected non-racial government over the next 12-15 months. Others, principally Buthelezi and the PAC, were still free to come aboard, of course. Indeed, that would be preferable. However, their participation was not indispensable. Fixes could and would be found.

The sequence, as outlined by Meyer to his American listeners, looks like this. Government will hold a

Inkatha's absence will not derail govt's reform train

22/12/92.

SIMON BARBER in Washington

ment of national unity. We have to be nice to each other and compete at the same time — it is important for parties to read this correctly."

The Inkatha leader also needed to revise his notions of federalism. "We" did not use that word any more, said the Minister, but rather preferred to talk of regionalism and "maximum devolution", and to make the boundaries of future regions subject to negotiation at the national level. "Inkatha wants a bottom up approach. We say no, we have to work from the top down."

Meyer calmly observed that if Inkatha chose not "to be part of the solution", there would probably be "ongoing conflict" in Natal. It was to be hoped, therefore, that the ANC would help bring Buthelezi back to the table. If not, "we" would proceed "through other ways and means without the participation of all parties". SA's future, he suggested, would not be sacrificed on the altar of consensus. It was necessary only to achieve "the majority of support of all South Africans" — something the NP and ANC evidently feel is within their reach.

The Minister would undoubtedly be unhappy to hear this called tyranny. The only tyrant, as he repeatedly stressed, was time. At the simplest level, the clock runs out on the present constitution in September 1994, when President F W de Klerk would have to call another white election. That could not be allowed to happen.

Even more pressing, however, was the economy and the fact that there could be no growth without "stability" and "certainty". Thirdly, there was the question of international patience. It was about to run out, and when it did SA would be abandoned.

That being the case, it would, of course, be totally unfair to describe present developments as a compact between the mayor of Chicago and Al Capone to manage the city jointly and make realignments offers they cannot refuse. Obviously, what we have here are two groups of highly committed democrats exercising their prerogatives for the common good. The next US administration is hardly likely to get in their way — or complain if they have to get a bit rough with dissidents.

could be held by year's end, but not later than March 1994. Representation would be on a proportional basis.

As for how power sharing would be achieved at the executive level, Meyer suggested two options: separate direct election of a president who would then pick his cabinet to meet the power-sharing objective, or using the outcome of the general election to assign cabinet seats on the basis of votes cast for each party. As for how long the interim/transitional/constituent assembly would sit, Meyer guessed the NP would split its current difference with the ANC and settle for two years.

In the light of its unwillingness to disavow Apla's terrorism, the Minister did not sound particularly confident that the PAC would be at the table when multiparty talks resumed in the new year. The resignation of deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke was "a great pity — it will have a negative effect".

As for Buthelezi, he had to get a grip on reality and stop seeing a conspiracy between the two major players. To begin with, he must understand the dynamics of a situation in which parties had to work together to reach agreement on a constitutional playing field while at the same time contesting for support. "We are looking at power sharing where the ANC and NP co-operate in a govern-



□ MEYER

cally referred to in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly last week, as is the possibility of UN support for elections.

Depending on how swiftly the revised Codesa and the commission can get their work done, elections

second retreat with the ANC on January 20, lasting four to five days, to review progress on the seven basic steps to an election they have already agreed upon. The first of these is that a reformulated Codesa should meet by the end of February.

The new multiparty forum will then set about drawing up the rules for a transitional election commission to take charge of the security forces (including the integration of the SADF, MK and other elements), finance, local government, the SABC and preparatory work for a transitional government/constituent assembly. Agreement should also be reached on an interim constitution and bill of rights, principles for a final constitution and a court to ensure adherence to those principles when the document is being drafted in the assembly.

Authorised by Act of Parliament, the transitional election commission will effectively become the government, ideally by June, by which time independent homelands wishing to participate will have had the opportunity to rejoin the republic. Among other things, it is hoped that the commission will formally invite in the World Bank and call for the removal of remaining economic sanctions, including the de facto US ban on IMF lending (but not the UN arms embargo). The re-engagement of both the bank and IMF at this stage is specific-

Koelf Meyer too big for his boots, says Inkatha official

LLOYD COUTTS

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INKATHA chairman Frank Mdlalose accused Constitutional Development Minister and key government negotiator Roelf Meyer yesterday of "getting a little too big for his boots". Mdlalose was responding to recent statements by Meyer in the US that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be left out of negotiations if he did not agree to join multiparty talks soon. "I fear Meyer is getting a little too big for his boots. It is a bit rich for him to pontificate abroad about the need for multiparty talks when he himself has just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that unilaterally withdrew from Codesa to scupper the process." Fortunately, Inkatha did not have to take too much note of what Meyer said, since his own party did not take him all that seriously, Mdlalose said. Sapa reports from Ulundi that Buthelezi said Meyer's threat to leave Inkatha out of talks was "the clearest rejection of a federal formula by government" and smacked of baasskap.

"It is old baasskap for a mere Minister to threaten me with being left out merely because I do not fall in with his line of trotting behind the ANC/SACP alliance as he has been doing for quite some time." Addressing KwaZulu government officials at a Christmas dinner, Buthelezi said: "The decision, taken by government in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance to exclude the Zulu nation from Codesa ... remains the position and as long as that is the position, I consider myself to be already excluded." Referring to the proposed state of KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi said the constitution would have to be negotiated with political parties at central level. "No one should interpret this constitution as an act of secession. We are not suggesting that the state of KwaZulu/Natal should be independent or even self-sufficient," he said.

● See Page 4

Forum delayed by Cabinet shuffle

ADRIAN HADLAND

PLANS to launch a national forum on the future of local government by the end of this year had been delayed following recent changes in the Cabinet, a SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) spokesman said. Sanco publicity secretary Max Mabase said the appointment of Tertius Delpoort as Local Government Minister on December 1 had "disrupted the whole process". Manpower Minister Leon Wessels dropped the post in favour of a greater role in

national negotiations. Mabase suggested the portfolio change was a deliberate action by the Cabinet to delay the establishment of the national forum. Mabase said civic leaders were suspicious of Delpoort's role in the collapse of Codesa and were wary of his intentions regarding strengthening NP influence at local government level. A Local Government Department spokesman said

establishing a national negotiating structure was one of Delpoort's highest priorities and that he envisaged a far broader forum than negotiations between government and the civics. Mabase said a local government steering committee comprising representatives of Sanco, the four provincial administrations and local authorities, would be meeting in January to continue discussions about a new national forum for local government.

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Roelf Meyer says he didn't threaten IFP

PRETORIA. — Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer yesterday denied warning Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he had to re-enter negotiations or risk being excluded.

ET 23/12/92
Mr Meyer was referring to reports of his weekend lecture in Washington.

(113)
He told American opinion-makers that the IFP's constitution for the proposed state of KwaZulu/Natal would have to be placed before a multiparty negotiation forum. He pointed out that the IFP was not a puppet of the SA government.

IFP 'will try to end violence'

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu chief minister and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the new year will see renewed IFP efforts to put a stop to political and criminal violence.

In an end-of-the-year message issued yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP remained committed to eliminating violence from politics.

In his message, Transkei mili-

tary ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa deplored the breakdown of the Codesa II talks.

He said the urgency of an immediate resumption of negotiations had been accentuated by the "reality of the country's steady drifting into a spiritual and material wasteland".

And Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa presi-

dent Mr Patekili Holomisa said the ANC and the PAC must pursue a negotiated settlement through a resuscitated patriotic front.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said he hoped the freedom of the Boer nation would be restored.

President F W de Klerk will deliver his Christmas address tonight. — Sapa

END OF YEAR MESSAGE AND OPEN LETTER TO ALL SOUTH AFRICANS BY MANGO SUTHO BUTHIHLI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

118
A 26/12/92

My dear fellow South African Citizens:

During this festive season and as the year draws to an end, I wish to join with you and your families in a moment of reflection and hope for the future. 1992 has been a year of historical importance in the troubled process of transformation of our society. It opened with great hopes which were unfortunately unfulfilled. CODESA failed, violence was not curbed and the conflict has been escalating beyond control. The solution for the new constitutional dispensation which at the beginning of 1992 looked within immediate reach, still seems now to be more far removed than ever.

It really goes without saying that the next twelve months could well turn out to be the most momentous in the history of South Africa. It is clearly the year in which will be laid the foundations for our emerging democracy. The crisp issue to be decided is whether we will opt for a genuine liberal democracy, similar to successful democracies in the whole world, or be misled by the beguiling and empty promises of failed utopian socialist experiments.

The choice of the Inkatha Freedom Party is clear. We opt for liberal democracy as understood in the West, with African characteristics and wisdom as summed up in the African philosophy of Ubuntu-Botho. Over 30 years ago the fathers of African liberation and independence demanded the right of Africa to either "manage or mismanage" our own affairs. Others stated it quite plainly that we as Africans in Africa, seek the opportunity to rule ourselves even if this means "mis-

governing ourselves". That heroic call for independence and freedom to do as we please at any cost and regardless of consequences, has led to the present disastrous and humiliating situation in which the richest continent in natural resources has the poorest countries and peoples. We must do everything to avoid a repeat of these same experiences in South Africa.

As apartheid and oppression recede and freedom approaches, our people must insist not only on political freedom but also on economic justice through good government, efficient agriculture, industry and commerce and visible rewards for private enterprise and hard work. We need the peace and personal security that flows from discipline, law and order.

However, as 1993 approaches, we see new hope for peace, freedom and social justice for our society. We have made a commitment to try to capture and capitalise on these hopes and aspirations. 1992 closed with the adoption by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal.

As 1993 opens we will carry this new Constitution into a process of scrutiny and approval throughout the newly created State. We will also intensify our commitment to negotiate with all parties a fair and balanced constitutional dispensation for South Africa based on the fundamental principles of federalism, pluralism, privatisation, a free market economy, social justice, and entrenchment of constitutional guarantees.

ULUNDI, DECEMBER 21, 1992



Inserted by the Information Centre of the Inkatha Freedom Party, 125 Umgeni Road, Durban

Along with our constitutional commitment 1993 will see our renewed effort to put a stop to the current escalation of political and criminal violence. Our unwavering commitment to eliminate violence from the political process will be reinforced and strengthened through our constitutional initiatives, and through our continued rejection of any type of political provocation and call for violence and social unrest.

For 20 years I have committed myself to the politics of non-violence. I have no private army and I have never used any form of intimidation as a method of political action. I have always believed that reason and justice will eventually triumph, and I feel that 1993 will be the year of crowning of the expectations of all South Africans.

I do not wish to conceal the fact that, in my view, 1993 is going to be a troubled year. Our economy is not likely to improve until the process of transformation of our society is completed, and it is likely that through the negotiation process, tension and social unrest may be generated. We as an institutional force, are committed to resisting any form of mass action or call for social unrest. However, in order to succeed through this difficult period, we need the support and the direct involvement of all South Africans in defence of reason and justice. I believe that 1993 will be a year which will no longer allow any South African to remain detached from the process of transformation of our society.

There are those who have decided that they have already won the

forthcoming general elections, even before the electorate has had a chance to cast its votes. Those who fear the challenge of the IFP are already indulging in wishful thinking by assigning a diminished role of our party in the life of the country. For this reason I feel this message would be incomplete without me making our policy crystal clear once and for all.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will contest and put forward candidates for all and every election throughout South Africa at national, State/regional or local level. The policy we will put forward at all such elections will be for a Constitution which establishes a united democratic Federal Republic of South Africa. Our manifesto will outline economic policies based on the foreign investment in labour intensive sectors that guarantee jobs for all, equal opportunities for all citizens and provision of adequate housing, health and educational facilities. We believe in social justice and not in socialism.

Now is the time for all to come together in a spirit of national conciliation, mutual understanding and commitment to non-violence, social justice and freedom. We need to nourish the spirit of Christmas and build on our historical ties. Today at Christmas we are one nation consisting of many peoples under God. We shall remain one nation consisting of many peoples under God throughout 1993. May the Lord help you to achieve success in all your endeavours in 1993.

I wish you all the blessing of Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Hopes high for crucial summit between Mandela and Buthelezi

ANC and Inkatha delegations scheduled to meet tomorrow are hoping to set a date for the important summit between their leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources in both parties said they were "very confident" about how preparations were proceeding, with an ANC negotiator saying the summit "would definitely happen" and it was just a matter of time.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mlatlose was hopeful a date could be set tomorrow, but cautioned that the problems were not superficial. He said only two meetings were scheduled, but the delegations could decide to hold further talks to prepare the

ground. A summit between the two leaders could move multiparty negotiations ahead more quickly.

The ANC source said it was "vital that the summit of delegations headed by the respective leaders succeed".

"We have to ensure success. If we do not prepare a strong foundation for the summit, there will be problems and we do not believe the country wants to see it fail at this stage," he said.

He said the negotiations were extremely tough with both sides looking for a way through the two major problem areas — Mandela's demand that Buthelezi accept

118 8/10/97
28/12/92.

BILLY PADDOCK

the record of understanding between himself and President F. W. de Klerk concluded in September, and Inkatha's adoption of the "go-it-alone" federal option.

Mlatlose said the first meeting last month was "very encouraging" and progress was made with "a great deal of goodwill".

Neither the ANC nor Inkatha was prepared to divulge details of the talks.

Relations between the parties, especially in Natal, have been bad for most of the year with both leaders blaming each other for the escalating violence.

One of the events most damaging to an already tense relationship was Mandela's address to the UN where he labelled Inkatha a puppet of Pretoria.

Buthelezi insisted that the peace committee censure the ANC leader for provocation and intensifying the violence. He refused to attend crucial peace accord meetings until Mandela apologised.

Shuttle diplomacy by peace accord chairman John Hall, led to former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda being brought in to mediate. But the issue remained unresolved with Kaunda saying there were good arguments on both sides.

Mandela complained a few months ago that he had phoned Buthelezi on at least 12 occasions, but the latter had refused to take his calls and the "ball was now in his court".

Buthelezi has consistently objected to ANC/government "collusion" and bilateral decisions.

But the ANC source said if there was no hope for the summit coming off then he would not be involved in the preparatory negotiations.

"There would be no purpose of negotiating for something that is not going to take place," he said.

Educate the masses on need for tolerance, says Goldstone

Judge urges peace drive

STAR
28/12/12
Political Staff

Peace-loving South Africans need to embark on a mass education drive for tolerance, Mr Justice Goldstone said today in his third report.

The judge said political organisations had failed to do this successfully, and the trust could now well come from non-political bodies. "It would be difficult for the political leaders to ignore such an initiative. Public funding therefor should be sought and, so too, the support of the international community."

"The judge was highly critical of the IFP and the ANC. "It remains clear that a primary trigger of violence and intimidation remains the rivalry between, and the fight for territory and the control thereof by, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC)."

He said the situation in Natal/KwaZulu had "if anything, deteriorated". Contributory factors to violence continued to be socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces, and the availability of sophisticated weapons.

The commission believed the violence in Natal/KwaZulu could only be curbed if there was agreement by the parties concerned on:

- Free political activity in all areas.
- The role of tribal chiefs.
- The police investigation of political deaths and injuries.
- The withdrawal of G3 rifles given to tribal authorities in KwaZulu.
- The cessation of political attacks in breach of the National Peace Accord.
- The cessation of attacks on all existing authorities.
- Affiliation to a political party and public rights or privileges.

Unable

According to the report, complaints were made by the ANC and the IFP that there were "no-go" areas in which one party or the other was unable to carry on political activity.

"If elections or referenda are to be held in South Africa, or, as suggested by the IFP, in Natal/KwaZulu, it is obviously a precondition that the parties contesting such an election or participating in such a referendum must be free to carry on political activity," said the report.

Such activity must include the holding of meetings and peaceful demonstrations. A public commitment by the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu police (KZP), the

IFP and the ANC to allow such free political activity was therefore essential. The report said there should be an undertaking by all parties to give due recognition to the role of tribal chiefs (amakhosi) and to pay due respect to them. Their role should be defined.

Complaints were also received about the inability of or failure by the SAF and the KZP to arrest and successfully charge the perpetrators of serious political crimes. On the other hand, the SAF and the KZP complained about the lack of community co-operation when they sought to investigate such crimes.

"The commission believes that international police observers could be of substantial assistance to both the SAF and the KZP. Their presence and involvement, for example, in selected police stations, would go a long way towards lessening the fears of many that they would not receive fair and serious attention to complaints.

"Without the full co-operation of the communities in which they operate, the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully," said the report.

"In this area, too, an adequate, well-known and trusted witness protection programme would encourage witnesses to report information to the police."

Concern was also expressed at the frequency and ease with which bail was granted to persons arrested on charges relating to serious cases of public violence and intimidation. "This phenomenon heightens fears of further violence and

From Page 1

And, while the present negotiations for a future constitution proceeded, it called on all political parties to desist from making inflammatory political attacks on the present authorities.

"For the same reason, there should be a suspension of any further transfers of land or

STAR 28/12/12

Judge urges peace drive

lice stations to the KwaZulu government."

The judge said the commission was impressed by a plea from Priscilla McKay, of Pietermaritzburg, for the education of the youth on political tolerance.

"National organisations such as Child Welfare must consider

embarking upon a mass education drive for tolerance and actively engage the political leaders of South Africa, at all levels, in such a programme," he said.

Since the commission's second interim report on April 29, at least 10 committee reports have been submitted.

The committee will also hear evidence in preliminary inquiries to be held at Port Shepstone, Empanjeni and the

Open letter to all South Africans

A message from the Inkatha Freedom Party

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LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

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ECONOMIC JUSTICE

As apartheid and oppression recede and freedom approaches, our people must insist not only on political freedom but also on economic justice through good government, efficient agriculture, industry and commerce and visible rewards for private enterprise and hard work.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE

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1992 closed with the adoption by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal.

AS 1993 opens we will carry this new Constitution into a process of scrutiny and approval throughout the newly-created State.

FEDERALISM

We will also intensify our commitment to negotiate with all parties a fair and balanced constitutional dispensation for South Africa based on the fundamental principles of federalism, pluralism, privatisation, a free market economy, social justice, and entrenchment of constitutional guarantees.

Along with our constitutional commitment 1993 will see our renewed effort to put a stop to the current escalation of political and criminal violence.

Our unwavering commitment to eliminate violence from the political process will be reinforced and strengthened through our constitutional initiatives, and through our continued rejection of any type of political provocation and call for violence and social unrest.

NON-VIOLENCE

For 20 years I have committed myself to the politics of non-violence. I have no private army and I have never used any form of intimidation as a method of political action.

I have always believed that reason and justice will eventually triumph, and I feel that 1993 will be the year of crowning of the expectations of all South Africans.

I do not wish to conceal the fact that, in my view, 1993 is going to be a troubled year. Our economy is not likely to improve until the process of transformation or our society is completed, and it is likely that through the negotiation process, tension and social unrest may be generated.

We as an institutional force, are committed to resisting any form of mass action or call for social unrest. However, in order to succeed through this difficult period, we need the support and the direct involvement of all South Africans in defence of reason and justice.

I believe that 1993 will be a year which will no longer allow any South African to remain detached from the process of transformation of our society.

There are those who have decided that they have already won the forthcoming general elections, even before the electorate has had a chance to cast its votes.

Those who fear the challenge of the IFP are already indulging in wishful thinking by assigning a diminished role to our party in the life of the country. For this reason I feel this message would be incomplete without me making our policy crystal clear once and for all.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will contest and put forward candidates for each and every election throughout South Africa at national, State/regional or local level.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

The policy we will put forward at all such elections will be for a Constitution which establishes a united democratic Federal Republic of South Africa.

MANIFESTO

Our manifesto will outline economic policies based on the foreign investment in labour intensive sectors that guarantee jobs for all, equal opportunities for all citizens and provision of adequate housing, health and educational facilities. We believe in social justice and not in socialism.

Now is the time for all to come together in a spirit of national conciliation, mutual understanding and commitment to non-violence, social justice and freedom. We need to nourish the spirit of Christmas and build on our historical ties.

Today at Christmas we are one nation consisting of many peoples under God. We shall remain one nation consisting of many peoples under God throughout 1993. May the Lord help you to achieve success in all your endeavours in 1993.

I wish you all the blessing of Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Mangosuthu Buthezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President, Inkatha Freedom Party.

THE violence was committed in a cycle of attack and counter-attack between two groups, the ANC, which dominates Bruntville township, and Inkatha, which dominates the hostel.

Although witnesses brought before the committee by these two parties denied that specific attacks on the other party had been committed by their supporters, and suggested that they might have been the work of criminal elements, no evidence was presented of any systematic involvement of outside groups. It follows that the key to the resolution of the violence lies, in the first instance, in the relationship between the two groups.

Having identified the immediate cause, it must also be emphasised that the conflict should be seen in a wider social, economic, spatial and political context.

In analysing the underlying socio-economic causes of the continuing violence, the committee was greatly assisted by the impartial and balanced evidence of Prof Doug Hindson, a social scientist attached to the University of Durban-Westville. He was also able to draw informed parallels with developments in other parts of Natal.

In his evidence Hindson emphasised the extent to which polarisation had taken place between the township dwellers and the hostel inhabitants. Whereas previously there had been a significant number of Inkatha supporters in the township and ANC supporters in the hostel, the two groups had become increasingly homogeneous and at the same time more hostile to one another.

This was underlined by evidence from Inkatha supporters that there were now refugees who had been driven out of the township and who were living in the hostel. Together with the destruction of some outlying buildings, this had made the hostel even more crowded than usual. Conversely, the evidence of ANC supporters and the committee's own observations were that a swathe of township houses near the hostel are deserted as their inhabitants have been driven out, allegedly by hostel dwellers.

To understand the polarisation of the two groups it is necessary to focus not only on their oppositional

ANC, Inkatha

conflict goes beyond mere politics

BDM 29/12/92

A Goldstone commission committee chaired by DIRK VAN ZYL SMIT yesterday issued its final report on the Mooi River violence. This is an edited extract.

tex, felt seriously threatened by the demands which had, from time to time, been made by the ANC for the hostel's closure.

They form a reasonably stable community, but one that has become systematically more isolated by its exclusion from the life of the surrounding township — their custom is not even accepted in township shops any more. Most of them have worked at Mooitex for many years and have homesteads not too far from Mooi River, but from which they could not commute. A call for the removal of the hostel without the provisions of an alternative is therefore seen as a threat to their livelihood, and this may well be an underlying cause of the violence.

Also important is the wider political context of the violence. The dispute between the inhabitants of the township and the hostel is mediated by the political organisations to which they belong, or to whom their loyalties are ascribed. This was recognised earlier by the commission, which expressed its disappointment at the absence of support from national and provincial leaders for the peace process at Mooi River.

Both Harry Gwala and David Ntombela, the regional leaders of the ANC and Inkatha, respectively, testified before the committee. Gwala adopted a belligerent attitude during his first appearance and at one stage refused to answer questions from the Inkatha representative, Mr Powell. It was also clear from his testimony that he harboured considerable personal animosity towards Ntombela.

However, at a subsequent appearance, on the final day of the hearing, he not only answered Powell's questions without demur but expressed himself firmly in favour of the peaceful resolution of disputes and made some positive suggestions.

In his testimony, Ntombela concentrated on measures that could be taken to restore peace at Mooi River.

In all, the impression was created that while the broader political conflict in Natal between the ANC and Inkatha did have an impact on Mooi River and could be described as an underlying cause of the violence, it was at least possible that regional leaders would allow local leaders enough room to manoeuvre, so as to develop forms of peaceful co-existence of their own.

ed in the workforce at Mooitex, the textile mill which is the major employer in the area, now being composed almost exclusively of hostel dwellers, with the result that township dwellers are almost totally excluded, and that this is a source of frustration to them.

The committee is not making a finding about whether this frustration is based on a legitimate grievance or about the labour dispute in which Mooitex and the two trade unions — the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union and the United Workers' Union of SA — are involved. No matter what its justification, the sense of frustration and grievance is an underlying cause of the violence in the eyes of the inhabitants, who may not be fully knowledgeable about details of the dispute.

The economic dimension of the violence cannot be ignored. There is widespread unemployment in the Mooi River/Bruntville area generally and in the township in particular. Mooitex cannot operate profitably in conditions of social instability. Its temporary closure in June 1992, which might well have become permanent, underlines the seriousness of this factor.

The links between the spatial and social causes of the violence also emerged from Hindson's evidence. In particular, he pointed out that the hostel inhabitants, who are predominantly single men working for Mooi-

of "proper" gender roles.

The differing approaches to authority are also relevant to the groups' differing relationships to the security forces. As Hindson and other witnesses noted, there are historical reasons for the ANC to be suspicious of the security forces and for Inkatha to support them. These suspicions may be reinforced by aspects of policing discussed later in the context of the current circumstances under which policing is conducted.

However, these attitudes also have sociological roots. Thus it became clear that, like the ANC, Inkatha also felt it was not always treated fairly by elements of the SADF and even that the police were not investigating its complaints adequately.

Nevertheless, the inherent respect which its members show for authority meant that it sought to address its complaints in a less confrontational way, while at the same time reacting with great hostility to challenges to the authority and dignity of its members. Although these factors may not be direct causes of the violence, they are part of the wider picture.

The polarisation between the groups is reinforced by a sense that they are competing for scarce economic resources. The committee accepted Hindson's evidence that a protracted labour dispute had result-

stance towards one another but also to record their different forms of social organisation and their different ways of interacting with figures of authority.

In the case of the hostel dwellers, the impression the committee formed was of a relatively tightly organised group with strong loyalty to Inkatha and its leaders. The group is characterised by a respect for authority and a willingness to cooperate with figures of authority.

The ANC in the township is organised much more loosely. Apart from the ANC branch there are also a women's league and a youth league. The latter is particularly powerful as, according to the local ANC leader, Mr Mthethwa, who testified before the committee, it dominates the street committees that exercise close control over their immediate localities.

The differences in structure of the two organisations explain aspects of their mutual hostility, which goes beyond mere rivalry for political dominance. Thus, for example, the relatively powerful role of youth on the ANC side leads, on occasion, to the taunting of older (and, it appears, often less educated) Inkatha members. The latter react with particular hostility because of the value that they place on respect for authority. Although this matter was not explored fully, there also appear to be further tensions that are brought about by differences in perceptions

STAFF 29/12/92
ANC, IFP
optimistic
about talks

The ANC and IFP were cautiously optimistic yesterday that today's meeting between the two parties would set a date and agenda for a summit between their respective leaders, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was aiming for tangible conclusions on a Mandela-Buthelezi summit to secure peace between the two parties.

The ANC did not want the talks to be purely "ceremonial". There would be no point in continuing a series of preparatory summit talks if they did not produce concrete results.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he expected the preparatory meeting to clear whatever obstacles remained in the way of the summit.

He cautioned, however, that the obstacles were not superficial.

Mdlalose is to lead the IFP delegation and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma the ANC team.

Neither the ANC nor the IFP would divulge the agenda for today's talks or the venue, but it is believed they will meet at a hotel in Durban. — Political Staff.

Plans for ANC-IFP summit

■ Teams meet to plan agenda for Mandela, Buthelezi indaba

ANC and IFP negotiating teams will meet today in a bid to thrash out the details of a possible summit between their respective leaders, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources close to the talks, however, remained cagey yesterday regarding details of the agenda.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the delegations would discuss "a possible agenda" and "a possible meeting" between Mandela and Buthelezi.

He said the ANC did not want the talks to be symbolic.

"The meeting must have a tangible result.

"The ANC has a strong commitment to try to

make such a meeting (between the two leaders) possible."

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose was earlier reported as warning against over-optimism.

Mdlalose expected the preparatory meeting to continue clearing whatever obstacles remained.

Today's meeting will be a follow-up to an earlier leader summit preparatory meeting between the two organisations.

The IFP has objected to the September 26 Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC who agreed to - among other points - fence off certain hostels and ban the carrying of traditional weapons. - Sapa.

Southern 29/12/92

1113

new cases of tuberculosis.

'Biased Goldstone report contains lapses'

DURBAN — Inkatha said yesterday the Goldstone commission's third interim report was partial and included several serious lapses. Although recognising the practical merits in some of the report's recommendations, Inkatha said the commission had not reported "as objectively as it should". There was merit in the suggestions that adequate notice be given to existing authorities of public meetings, breaches of the peace accord be penalised, the release of suspects on bail be reviewed, the role of tribal chiefs be defined and recognised and parities refrain from inflammatory attacks on present authorities, Inkatha said.

However, the commission did not refer to the "fullscale assault" on Inkatha's rural constituency as a major cause of violence, and also ignored Inkatha requests to investigate the "eight massacres of Inkatha members and supporters that have occurred since August".

In Maritzburg, Inkatha's Natal Midlands leadership said Inkatha objected to some of the commission's findings relating to the Mooiriver-Bruntville area. They said they had never agreed to be disarmed simply if the ANC agreed to abide by the national peace accord. Inkatha spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional leadership had also never agreed

to the fencing of the Bruntville Hostel. GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that national peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday a joint public meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi was needed to bring about peace.

Reacting to the commission's report, Hall said that at the end of the day, all roads led to political leaders. He said that leaders' involvement in driving the peace accord home to grassroots peace committees would eliminate violence and intimidation as political weapons. Goldstone's recommendations, which called for a drive to promote political tolerance, were also contained in the provisions of the national peace accord, Hall said. It was, however, the responsibility of leaders to discipline their members who did not obey the accord.

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday called on foreign benefactors of organisations implicated in political violence to discontinue funds until a culture of tolerance existed among their members. Reacting to the commission's report which said rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha was the main cause of violence in the Mooiriver area of Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are". — Sapa.

and 7-million had little or no sanitation.

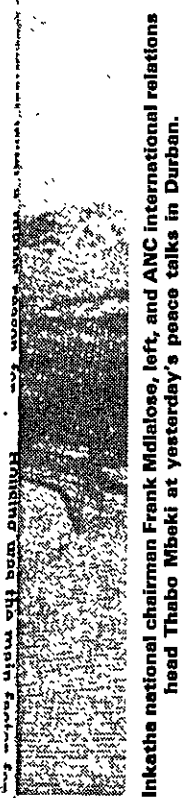
ANC, PAC slated on business ties

THE ANC and PAC have declined to utilise or encourage black business in SA, Centre for African Studies economist Eugene Nyati claims. Writing in the Portfolio of Black Business in SA 1993, Nyati said the relationship between the ANC, PAC, trade unions and black businessmen remained disjointed and fractured.

"Despite their declared commitment to black empowerment, black liberation movements still prefer to do business with white institutions even when they could get comparable service from black business," he said. The ANC had "never made any serious effort" to have many of its requirements catered for by black-owned businesses, Nyati said.

The management of pension and other black trade union funds had been handled mainly by white firms. "The millions of rands (from the funds) would appear to be logical resources to help actualise the much talked about empowerment of the oppressed," Nyati said. 30/12/92.

"If black political and business leaders cannot co-operate with each other before liberation, it is arguable whether things will be any different after a majority government takes power," he added.



Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, left, and ANC international relations head Thabo Mbeki at yesterday's peace talks in Durban.

UN officials probe rampage by returned exiles in Durban

UN OFFICIALS returned to Geneva this week after investigating an incident at the National Co-ordinating Committee for Returned Exiles of Durban earlier this month when staff were held hostage for several hours by angry returned exiles. UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Jonas Foli said the two officials left Johannesburg on Sunday, and would be delivering their findings to the UNHCR head office in Geneva.

Foli said the "little crisis" occurred when 25 exiles took staff hostage when they were told there was no money to pay their grants. The situation was defused after the ANC intervened. Reports said the refugees went on the rampage, assaulting staff and destroying pictures. Jewellery was also reportedly taken from a number of staff members. Sapa reports Durban police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo saying police were called to the offices, but were not investigating because no

charges had been laid. In response to questions on why the exiles had not received their grants, the committee's chairman Moss Chikane said: "We have just run out of cash." He said the committee had received a budget of R53m from the UNHCR for the year, but the budget had not covered the needs of the organisation. "Many people are still coming in on their own steam and hoping to get grants when they arrive, but there was a shortfall," he said. Chikane said his organisation hoped the discussions with the UN officials would result in increased funding.

Chikane added that the organisation was being scaled down as it believed government would assume greater responsibility for accommodating exiles in the new year. It was also cutting back on staff to leave more funds available for assisting returnees, he said.

SADF

IFP objects to findings

■ Goldstone Commission report relating to Mooi River:

Sowetan 30/1/92
THE Inkatha Freedom Party has objected to some of the findings of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry relating to the Mooi River/Bruntville area.

In a statement from Maritzburg, the leadership of the IFP in the Natal Midlands said they had never agreed to be disarmed simply if the African National Congress agreed to abide by the Na-

tional Peace Accord. Inkatha spokesman Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional IFP leadership had also never agreed to the fencing of the Bruntville hostel.

Ndlovu said this had been an arrangement between the ANC and the National Party which was contained in their September "Record of Understanding". - *Sapa.*

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1993

JANUARY — MARCH.

Spate of bilateral talks aimed at charting course to multiparty forum

POLITICAL negotiators will tackle their task with renewed vigour this week, in a bid to get a multiparty forum off the ground by the end of February.

In the next three weeks there will be a spate of bilateral talks between the various major parties struggling to break deadlocks and overcome obstacles to full talks on a new constitution.

Negotiators from the three major parties — government, the ANC and Inkatha — have said while there has been increased convergence on many crucial issues such as the economy, regionalism, human rights and

minority protections, talks are generally more difficult and the bargaining tougher.

This week a government team, led by President F.W. de Klerk, will meet a delegation from the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including leaders from KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei as well as members of the CP and Afrikaner Volk-

sunie. The meeting on Friday and Saturday is seen as very important by government and the NP following divisions over Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stance after his rejection of the government/ANC record

BILLY PADDOCK

of understanding in September. A government source said the main objective of this meeting would be to show that the record of understanding went no further than agreements reached in principle at Cosag; to listen to Cosag's objections and suggestions for restarting multiparty talks; and to bring the negotiation up to date on where government/ANC bilateral talks were moving.

A priority would be to allay fears that government and the ANC were clinching se-

cret deals that they would insist upon other parties. Government hoped this would help pull Buthelezi back into the main negotiation process.

ANC and Inkatha delegations have been hard at work over the past couple of weeks, discussing a proposed meeting between the two organisations' leaders.

Last week the parties appeared to make limited progress and after nine hours of talks decided to form working groups to solve contentious areas, including that of free political activity in KwaZulu. Another full round of talks will take place on January

15 in Durban where the parties hope to set a date for the summit.

Sources in the ANC and Inkatha said while progress seemed slow this was a clear indication that superficial agreements were being avoided and delegates were getting to grips with the issues. They were pleased with the discussions and insisted that proper preparation was vital to ensure the meeting of leaders was successful and would lead to a major reduction of violence in Natal.

ANC and government negotiators had not been idle over the holiday period, working in

□ To Page 2

Negotiations

6/10 AM 4/1/93
small groups to clear up minor contentious issues in order to prepare the way for the second stage of an extended bilateral meeting starting on January 20, one senior ANC negotiator said.

Government and ANC spokesmen have refused to divulge details of the discussions, merely saying they are in preparation for the talks later this month.

The two parties hope to reach finality on the stages of the process towards a non-racial election for a constitution-making body,



From Page 1

tentatively scheduled for the end of this year.

At the same time, other multiparty forums are making progress on a range of issues such as the economy, housing, health, education, local government and electricity.

Since the national economic forum was launched, a new realism has crept into these discussions and progress has apparently been made in setting priorities for the Budget in March.

Patrick Laurence reflects on the risk of a war of secession in South Africa

Cracks are beginning to show



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STAR 4/11/93

SOUTH Africa, beset by deep-rooted political conflict and weakened by an ailing economy, faces a new danger as it starts the new year: secession and dismemberment.

Long haunted by the spectre of Lebanon, South Africans can no longer look calmly at developments in Yugoslavia. Secession and a war for territory lurk on the horizon as South Africa continues its perilous odyssey from the old apartheid order to an uncertain future.

The threat of secession has been made tangible by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Appalled by the prospect of a unitary state controlled by an African National Congress-dominated central government, Buthelezi has proposed an alternative constitution: one providing for largely autonomous regions or states.

To that end, Buthelezi, a politician of immense energy and matching determination, has been the driving force behind the adoption by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal.

The assumption behind his

move is that his IFP, together with its allies, will win majority support in the Zulu-dominated area of KwaZulu and Natal.

The next item on his agenda is to persuade the authorities to put the constitution to the people of KwaZulu and Natal in a referendum.

Working on the axiom that politicians do not risk referendums unless they are sure they can win them, Buthelezi must be reasonably confident that the constitution will be accepted if it is put to the vote.

Buthelezi's constitution is nominally one which provides for the establishment of a "Federal Republic of South Africa," in which KwaZulu-Natal or KwaNatal will be a partially autonomous state.

But the constitution actually seems to be closer to providing for a confederation of largely independent states, in which the component polities retain all the powers which they do not specifically concede to the confederal government.

The balance of power between the central government and KwaNatal in the proposed "federation" would clearly lie with KwaNatal, which would be able to veto the deployment of federal

troops in its territory and the imposition of taxes by the federal government.

Thus the new constitution states: "The state of KwaZulu-Natal is a sovereign member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa. (It) recognises its obligations toward the Federal Republic of South Africa... in so far as they do not infringe on the rights, powers and liberties guaranteed to the citizens and state of KwaZulu-Natal."

A distinguishing feature of a confederation is that the member states can withdraw or secede if they are dissatisfied or feel that their autonomy is threatened.

It has a particular resonance in the context of Buthelezi's assertion that KwaZulu has the right to "negotiate out of whatever contractual relationship the rest of South Africa establishes with the ANC."

Buthelezi's bargaining position can be summarised succinctly: either agree to the proposed federal-cum-confederal constitution or face the threat of secession by KwaZulu and Natal.

His initiative must be seen as a response to the rapprochement between President de Klerk's administration and the ANC, as re-

flected in their September 26 record of understanding and in their three-day bush indaba last month.

But the accord — which aims at reviving multiparty negotiations, establishing a transitional government and leaving the task of drawing up a final constitution to a popularly elected constituent assembly — has aroused anxiety in the National Party that De Klerk has conceded too much to the ANC.

De Klerk's decision to suspend or dismiss 23 military officers for suspected involvement in irregular or unlawful activities will have increased the unease among rank-and-file NP members.

Buthelezi has appealed over De Klerk's head to the NP members in Natal, with some success. Having wooed Natal's whites at a meeting in Durban City Hall, he held a public meeting in Pretoria where he courted Afrikaners to join him in escaping the threat of being held in thrall by an ANC-dominated central government.

The Conservative Party (CP) and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AV) favour an autonomous Afrikaner state. Between them, they have the allegiance of at least as many Afrikaners as De Klerk, if not more.

They are. Buthelezi's natural allies in his quest for a confederation or a loose form of federation. Significantly, the CP and the AV have joined hands with Buthelezi to form the Concerned South Africans Group, a broad alliance united by opposition to, and fear of, the ANC, and advocacy of a dispensation which will guarantee the rights of regions against the central government.

With them in the emerging coalition are Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo, leaders of the nominally independent states of Botswana and Ciskei, both of which were established under the apartheid doctrine.

Like Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo favour an essentially confederal formula — albeit one presented as a federal prescription — which will leave the power of their polities largely untouched.

This trio of black leaders is vehemently opposed to the notion that a popularly elected constituent assembly should be empowered to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

They contend that South Africa's first popular election should come after the constitution, not before it; they argue consequentially that a new constitution

should be drafted by a representative multiparty conference or national convention of political leaders, not by the majority party after the elections.

Their stand has caused their political enemies to accuse them of seeking to impose a constitution on the country, of having contempt for "the people" and of subverting democracy.

Whatever epithets may be hurled at them, they represent a potentially powerful bloc, one which is poised to generate centrifugal forces of secession if its members do not get their own way.

The ANC, fully aware of these perils, has accused the IFP of opting for "enforced balkanisation on the model of the banustan past."

It requires no great perspicacity to predict that debate about the boundaries and powers of regions will be the major issue in constitutional talks this year, as it was last year.

Whether a compromise can be found, and a war or wars of secession averted, will be the supreme test for the politicians, particularly De Klerk, whose revived rapport with Nelson Mandela and past friendship with Buthelezi places him in the position of a potential intercessor. □

People are dying in SA and all the emphasis is on protocol, writes Cosmas Desmond

Time for our leaders to talk

Star 6/1/93

A meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthezi will certainly not solve all the problems; indeed it may not solve any.

It is, nevertheless, essential that it take place, if only to stop everybody else passing the buck to them. Whatever the outcome of the meeting, people will no longer be able to excuse their own inactivity on the grounds that nothing can be done without a meeting between the two.

Not that we can expect much activity from the people of Durban, the vast majority of whom were not even prepared to turn on their car headlights as a sign of their concern for peace.

Is it really necessary, however, for the proposed meeting to be surrounded by such hype? Even Reagan and Gorbachev, when leaders of the two superpowers, did not insist on such protocol. It

is like a meeting between two Bobby Fischers. But in his case people are not dying while demands are made about the shape of the table and the colour of the carpet.

Some preparations are doubtless necessary though it is difficult to see why it should take so long to draw up the agenda when it virtually writes itself.

A discussion between two adult, civilised, human beings is hardly a big deal; people do it all the time, the ability to communicate verbally being one of the defining characteristics of a human being.

To build up a mystique about the meeting emphasises the distance between the parties and can only have a negative effect on the outcome. It also exaggerates the importance of the individuals involved.

Further, if the leaders, who are not personally involved in physi-

cally fighting each other, find it so difficult just to agree to talk to each other, how can the actual combatants be expected to do so? And that is what has to happen.

Politicians, like clergymen, doctors, economists, and many others, love to mystify their role; it makes them seem important and stops the people "interfering". But why must we ape the games that Western politicians play?

Openness and true democracy would rule out personality cults and involve all the people; there might even be just a hint of "ubuntu". I realise that the "new South Africa" has yet to be born; conceived in secrecy, intrigue and elitism, umbilically tied to Western values, it could be aborted.

I remember the time, many years ago, when I could phone Chief Buthezi and ask whether I could drop in to see him; he would reply: "Certainly, come for lunch

tomorrow." (Mandela at the time was in no position to make such an invitation to anybody; nor was he too important to have me pay the rent on his matchbox house in Soweto.) Could not Mandela do the same? Or vice versa?

Even if one were simply to pitch up on the other's doorstep, surely the traditional rules of African hospitality would prevent him from being turned away. Why not behave in a normal human, particularly African, fashion instead of becoming entwined with all the bureaucratic, status-ridden, point-scoring, egocentric trappings of so-called "statesmanship"?

ET survived falling off his horse; they might benefit from voluntarily getting off their high ones. Instead, they tend to fit Clement Attlee's description of Churchill: "Nails his trousers to the mast. Can't climb down."

It augurs ill for the future of South Africa if politicians are to be so conscious of their status and the people are to be expected to pander to their delusions of grandeur.

It is bad enough that they already claim the right to all the material rewards of the ruling class, without their being accorded the status of demi-gods. They are ordinary people doing one of the very few well-paid jobs which require no qualifications.

Politicians are supposed to be servants of the people who elect them and pay their salaries, not their lords and masters. We do not need a De Gaulle or a Churchill, and certainly not a Thatcher or a Reagan. Attlee would be a better model. He was the most modest, self-effacing Prime Minister that Britain ever had; he never stood on ceremony, he was "Clem" to even the most junior member of

the party; he travelled by public transport; he never did become a "personality".

Yet he not only introduced the most wide-ranging social reforms that Britain had ever seen but also, almost single-handedly, facilitated the independence of India. He was, as even his political opponent Harold MacMillan acknowledged, "a good man and a good politician".

Too many of our politicians seem prepared to forsake the former in the mistaken belief that it will help them become the latter.

I would like to suggest that the first, and perhaps the only, item on the agenda for the Mandela-Buthezi meeting should be the recognition of what they have in common: their humanness, their history of oppression, their concern for people, not "their people", who are suffering and dying. □

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Star 7/11/93

Walkout by IFP disrupts meeting

By Julienné du Toit

A meeting in Bekkersdal to resolve a dispute between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Organisation ended indecisively last night. 7/11/93.

According to the chairman of the Bekkersdal Monitoring Committee (BMC), Vuyisile Ndabeni, IFP members walked out after being outnumbered by Azapo and ANC supporters in the Paul Nel Hall.

The meeting was called after violence in the township on Sunday, when two people were killed and four injured.

Ndabeni admitted the BMC had not enforced the quota of each organisation strictly enough.

The IFP contingent also claimed, on its return, that the hall was not a neutral venue.

A working group, comprising two representatives each from Azapo, IFP, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC, would meet today to discuss logistics for a meeting tomorrow.

● In the township yesterday, three gunmen opened fire at a taxi rank, wounding one man in the leg. Police said the the gunmen were chased away, apparently by members of Azapo.

Peace talks collapse in tense Bekkersdal

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bekkersdal remained tense after a man was killed and two were injured as peace talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Organisation collapsed.

West Rand police spokeswoman Major Henrietta Bester said gunmen killed Mr Lucas Molikale after they could not find his son at 1.30 am yesterday.

Two others, including IFP delegate Mr Michael Mfekayi, had gunshot wounds hours before the meeting.

After the meeting, police arrested nine people in connection with commercial explosives and the discovery of an arms cache.

Major Bester said two men in possession of commercial explosives were arrested and nine who claimed to be members of the African National Congress were arrested in connection with the discovery of an arms cache.

A homemade handgrenade, four petrol bombs, three home-

made shotguns, a 9mm pistol and several rounds of ammunition were confiscated.

The incidents followed a walkout by IFP delegates at a peace meeting at Paul Nel Hall on Wednesday night in the West Rand township which was marred by rowdiness and poor discipline.

The meeting, attended by observers from the Organisation of African Unity, European Community and the United Nations, was later postponed pending a decision by a working group that was to meet yesterday.

Trouble started when a group of youths entered the hall, which is located in what is said to be an Azapo stronghold. They took seats a few metres from IFP delegates.

An irate IFP delegate, Mr Charles Loliwe, refused to take part in the talks, in spite of pleas from Azapo, the Bekkersdal Monitoring Committee and his co-delegates.

The youths began toying outside after they were asked to leave by officials.

ARG 8/1/93

WHEN negotiators sit down for the next round of multiparty talks, they will do so with guns at their heads. It may be their last chance to find a formula for interim government and the constitutional process before the country sinks into irreversible chaos.

As parties push frantically ahead with bilateral talks, hopes are high that a multiparty forum will be in place by early March at the latest.

This time the African National Congress and the government will not have the luxury of scoring constant election points against each other. Increasingly, the two are moving closer as the "moderates" on whose compatibility the country's future depends. The recent activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army have given renewed purpose to militants at both ends of the spectrum.

The ANC and government will enter a friendlier tournament, but with different handicaps.

Last year the government, on a high from its sweeping referendum victory, could afford to play hard to get. But corruption scandals, divisions in the cabinet over whether to party with the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party, the sinking economy and encroaching anarchy have thwarted any hopes of hanging on to power by dragging out moves towards power-sharing.

The presence of foreign monitors, forging a stronger link between the international arena and what happens here on the ground, puts new pressure on the government to honour its democratic professions. And with Bill Clinton in the White House, delaying tactics will find less favour in the United States than under the Republicans.

The ANC is better off than it was last year, having seized the moral high ground over the calamity-struck government. It has also managed to sell the concept of power-sharing to the bulk of its constituency — a coup for a movement whose militants were given a healthy fillip by the months-long mass action campaign.

As the government and ANC prepare for another round of extended bilateral negotiations at the end of the month, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is lobbying against their September Record of Understanding — a clear sign that co-ordinating agreements at various bilateral talks will not be easy. As Van Zyl Slabbert said recently: "Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy."

"Codesa 3" will be shorn of the cumbersome working groups and committees that made last year's negotiations so laborious.

The trigger fingers are twitching — will we make their day?

W/m cut
8/1-14/1/93

The options are clearcut: either the negotiators reach a speedy truce, or they give sway to militants and irreversible chaos.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**



Van Zyl Slabbert



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Says National Party constitutional expert advocate Chris Fisser: "From a managerial point of view, having five different committees dealing with overlapping issues and having different people dealing with the same issues in different meetings made it difficult to co-ordinate the process."

The reconvened forum will have smaller delegations. By all accounts, the forum will do little more than rubber-stamp existing bilateral deals.

Says ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa: "When we get to Codesa, the various

parties will have processed things already at bilaterals. Hopefully, in one or two sessions we can work it out."

He predicts that multiparty agreements could be ratified in a matter of weeks and that transitional executive councils, managing the first phase of interim government leading up to elections, could be in place early next year.

Moosa holds the view, accepted by most parties, "that if multilateral discussions are to succeed, they have to be concluded in a reasonable time and not go on aimlessly as Codesa did. We cannot disappoint the nation with another series of deadlocks."

Many obstacles still stand in the way: three important parties (Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party) are still out of talks and political violence continues, as does squabbling over guarantees for regional powers.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recalcitrance and rejection of pre-existing Codesa agreements continues. As the cabinet fights over how to deal with Inkatha, with Natal NP leaders vehemently against dropping the alliance with the IFP, Buthelezi is showing signs of discomfort with his new home of predominantly confederalist allies in Cosag.

The two-day meeting between Cosag and the government starting today may bring a lukewarm commitment from the latter on guaranteed regional powers and boundaries before an elected constituent assembly sits.

Inkatha, the major player in the group, is likely to distance itself more from its current allies — Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the CP — and move closer to the NP.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha this month, paving the way for a meeting between their respective leaders, may go some way towards bringing the three major players into a more amicable triangle and containing the ANC/IFP violence.

Still hotly contended is the question of reincorporation of the homelands and — for the ANC — the lack of free political activity, particularly in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Commenting on the thwarting of negotiations by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: "President de Klerk should be cutting off their water. He has the power to do so."

He, like many other politicians, expresses cautious optimism about the success of the next Codesa meeting, noting a sincerity among most players for the speedy establishment of a government of national unity.

US nudges Buthelezi to join negotiations

w/mad. 8/1-14/1993

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By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London
EXERCISING quiet diplomacy, the United States has joined Britain and other European Community states in pressing Mangosuthu Buthelezi to lead Inkatha back into the multiparty process of negotiating a new constitution.

Diplomats of the countries concerned report that the action is at the centre of a concerted attempt to back up the broad understanding reached by the government and the African National Congress at last month's *bos-beraad*.

In essence, the understanding was based on a recognition of two realities:

■ That the two sides have what they called a "shared responsibility" for leading South Africa towards an election of a government of national unity in which all willing parties will participate.

■ That a breakdown of the negotiating process almost certainly would have the effect of hastening the collapse of the country's already crippled economy.

The informants said they were unable to indicate whether Buthelezi's response to the pressures being exercised on him behind the diplomatic scenes has been positive, negative or non-committal.

One US State Department source observed: "Buthelezi seems to be playing the situation by his political instincts, keeping open his options by allowing subordinates to engage in exchanges both with the government and the ANC.

"But he has been left in little doubt that, with a new administration soon to take over in Washington, he won't be able to count on the sort of sympathetic hearing he has relied upon in the

past."

The British, who relinquished the presidency of the EC a week ago, have been in contact with all the main parties in South Africa, pushing the need to get a possibly restructured Codesa negotiating process going again.

"We expect multilateral talks to be resumed within about a month," a Foreign Office official said. "Our understanding is that President de Klerk will be making a major statement on the issues on January 29.

"And, of course, our immediate concern has been to ensure that Buthelezi will take good care not to find himself isolated."

British diplomats in South Africa, working in concert with other EC governments, were promoting the case for all-party talks throughout December.

In a related development, US authorities in public, and European diplomats privately, hailed De Klerk's action in cleansing the higher echelons of the South African Defence Force who have been among those elements known, or suspected, as opponents of his reform programme.

The shared view of most Western governments was voiced by Richard Boucher, spokesman for the US State Department: "We welcome the steps taken by De Klerk to discipline members of the military implicated in illegal activities.

"President-elect Bill Clinton's administration is expected to be less patient with the political mavericks of southern Africa than that of his predecessor."

'Spiritual soldier' fights to keep his children at home



HOME CLASSROOM: Andre and Bokkie Meintjies help their children Roy, Charmaine and Johan with their homework. ● Picture: COLIN DAVIS

FORMER SADF Sergeant-Major Andre Meintjies is waging war against the authorities to keep his children out of school. Undeterred by threats of jail, the self-appointed spiritual soldier says he answers to no one but God.

He and his wife Bokkie could face three years in jail if they don't register their children at a legitimate school — but Meintjies has no intention of following orders.

"It's a question of who is going to win the hearts and minds of our kids," he says.

His duties as a believer demand that he prepare his children for salvation and the second coming of Christ — concerns, he says, which are brushed aside by the Transvaal Education Department.

The intricacies of algebra offer scant protection against the onslaught of Armageddon, according to Meintjies, who has chosen to pioneer a path for like-minded parents who wish to protect their children from the perils of the current education system.

"Today's schools are a mess. Few consider the emotional, spiritual and physical needs of children. Instead, pupils are

indoctrinated with irrelevant academia and grow up ill-equipped to deal with adulthood.

"The most important thing a child needs to learn is obedience. Salvation is founded on obedience. The entire divine concept rests on obedience," he says.

He, after all, has obeyed God's instructions to the letter: for the past six years he has sat at home cracking cosmic codes while his father supports the clan.

Spirituality

Bokkie recently took a job with an estate agency to boost the family finances. Prophecy, admits Meintjies, is not always profitable, but the Lord provides. And, of course, his parents...

"Andre knows what he is doing. The Lord has called him," says his mother Joey. It was God, after all, who persuaded Meintjies to resign from the SADF in 1986 and move from Bethlehem into his parents' home in Vanderbijlpark.

As Meintjies understands it, God instructed him to remove his children from school and teach them the funda-

mentals of honesty, integrity and spirituality — subjects he sees as sadly lacking in the TED syllabus.

For two years he has taught Johan (14), Charmaine (14) and Roy (11) at home. He chooses their library books, selects what he believes they need to know from educational guides and monitors their progress.

"Putting my children into school where peer pressure could overwhelm them would be like throwing them to the wolves. They would be forced to conform to the mould of the masses.

"It's a parent's responsibility to protect offspring from harmful external influences. With children at school up to 10 hours a day, how are parents supposed to keep control over them?"

The atmosphere in the Meintjies' home is welcoming. The smell of freshly baked bread wafts tantalisingly from the kitchen where the children assist their *ouma* with lunch preparations.

They seem well-adjusted and delighted not have to endure the agonies of school. But unless they are registered in a school by January 19, they could find themselves orphans of our legal system.

(115) Azapo
IFP make
peace in
Bekkersdal
Star 9/1/93
PETER DAVIES

LEADERS of the feuding Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) last night agreed to halt hostilities and end the violence that has racked the West Rand township of Bekkersdal.

The meeting, held at the Carlton Centre offices of United Nations observer mission yesterday afternoon, was also attended by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. It saw the parties reaffirm their commitment to a 1991 Bekkersdal peace pact.

Azapo and the IFP will also meet within five days to resolve differences. Should either party renege on this meeting, the aggrieved party will have recourse to the Bekkersdal monitoring committee.

Tensions

Last Sunday two township residents were hacked to death at the local taxi rank.

ANC officials said the victims were residents of Mandela Park, an ANC stronghold, who had been indiscriminately attacked by men wearing IFP T-shirts. Four others were hurt.

A local IFP official said Inkatha supporters had launched the attack to draw attention to their problems with Azapo members.

Azapo and ANC supporters this week blamed IFP supporters for the violence. The IFP blamed "thugs" from Azapo.

ANC lauds talks decision

THE ANC yesterday welcomed the Concerned South Africans Group's decision to enter negotiations, saying Codesa talks were back on track.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group reached an agreement on Saturday to start convening a multiparty preparatory meeting to set up multilateral constitutional negotiations.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said his organisation welcomed the group's decision, but pointed out that some of its member parties had held back, saying they would have to refer the agreement back to their principals.

"Overall, the indications are that parties are prepared to enter negotiations and that is a good sign," he said.

BILLY PADDOCK

A senior government source said it was an extremely positive meeting. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said on Saturday "negotiations are back on track" and he hoped the preparatory meeting would take place next month.

With Inkatha eager to rejoin the process, the three major negotiating partners seem on track to getting the process moving; and Codesa-type negotiations could resume by March — the date set by government and endorsed by the ANC.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group agreed that all Codesa parties would meet to discuss the resumption

□ To Page 2

Talks

of multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said there was an urgent need to hold elections as soon as possible.

Inkatha also announced it would be holding bilateral discussions with government soon. While no meetings had been scheduled, these talks would deal with Inkatha's specific problems and centre on the issue of federalism and regionalism.

CP spokesman Tom Langley said the Concerned South Africans Group's decision would be referred back to his principals.

Although government and the ANC have rejected a multiparty conference to review all Codesa agreements — a key Inkatha demand — both acknowledged a new Codesa could not be convened as some multilateral discussions had to take place to formulate the agenda.

It is understood that at the multiparty preparatory meeting, Codesa agreements will be placed on the table so parties can assess common ground.

Although Mdlalose said Inkatha was not bound by Codesa agreements, government sources believed Inkatha would find it difficult to maintain this position at multiparty talks.

"Deals get struck all the time in negotiations. That is what negotiations are all about. Inkatha made deals during Codesa II and they will probably make deals again in another multiparty forum," one government source said.

Valli Moosa said the ANC wanted to see multiparty negotiations resumed soon. The ANC did not want too many intermediary steps delaying the process. He said the bilateral discussions were aimed in part at working out the form and content of multiparty negotiations, and the ANC would be opposed to lengthy multilateral talks about the same issues.

He stressed that the parties entering the process for the first time would have to accept that negotiations could not start again from scratch.

□ From Page 1

Academics to contest deportation

DIRK HARTFORD

THREE University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) academics — deported from the homeland on Friday for their alleged "radical" activities — will challenge their deportation orders in the Supreme Court in Mmabatho on Thursday.

None of the three — Roy Williams, Charl Williams and Jaya Ruthman — will be able to attend the court hearing because of their deportation orders.

Roy Williams — Unibo's communications department head until his deportation — said they would have to apply for visas and were unlikely to obtain these in time.

He said the Bophuthatswana government had alleged they were involved in a sustained plot to disrupt education in the region and that staff, students, parents and the university's management wanted them out.

However, he believed he was deported because of his membership of the ANC.

He believed he and his colleagues had "a lot of support" at the university and their deportation would cause further disruption on the troubled campus.

He had a "very positive" testimonial from a senior person in university management which he believed reflected the opinion of staff on the campus.

The deportation was a case of victimisation for political reasons, said Williams.

SA on alert as cholera rages through region

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Department of Health has stepped up measures to prevent a local outbreak of the cholera epidemic which has already claimed hundreds of lives in neighbouring countries.

The department said it was concerned that the epidemic could spread to SA, but there was no cause for alarm at present.

A department spokesman said there were presently only 11 "imported" cases of cholera. The infected people were either mine workers from neighbouring countries or people who had visited Mozambique shortly before falling ill, he said, adding that the cases had all responded well to treatment.

But, to be prepared, the department had alerted health authorities to the possibility of an outbreak and had launched cholera awareness campaigns at a local level, informing people of preventative measures such as boiling or chlorinating water.

It had also increased surveillance of sewage effluent with regular tests, and by increased monitoring of rivers and dams.

Although cholera could be spread through contaminated food, most epidemics occurred from contaminated drinking water. The people most at risk were those who did not have access to chlorinated and filtered tap water, the spokesman said.

He added that cholera germs had recently been detected in the sewerage system in

western Transvaal mine hostels, but no cholera cases had been reported in the area.

This was not surprising as most people who were infected did not become ill even though they were excreting cholera germs, he said.

As the water supply and sanitation of these hostels was reticulated, major problems were not expected.

The germs had been found at these mine hostels during previous epidemics in the country without outbreaks in the hostels, he said.

Sapa reports that the Zambian government has postponed the opening of all schools in Lusaka for the first term because of the epidemic which had claimed 200 lives since November.

Zimbabwe had requested Z\$7m from the international donor community to deal with its cholera outbreak which had claimed 105 lives so far, Ziana national news agency reported yesterday.

Acting World Health Organisation representative to Zimbabwe Dr Nicholas Chimba said the WHO supported Zimbabwe's request and had agreed to provide the country with "emergency materials worth Z\$150 000."

Inkatha and Azapo end feud

WILSON ZWANE

PEACE prospects in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal were improved yesterday when feuding organisations Inkatha and Azapo resolved to bury their differences.

The organisations told journalists in Johannesburg they had identified reasons for their feud, which had claimed at least five lives this year. These included:

- A lack of political tolerance among members;
- Declaration, by members, of certain areas as strongholds; and
- The involvement of a third party in the conflict.

The organisations said they had agreed on steps to restore peace in the township. These included ensuring that everyone had free access to public facilities, encouraging interaction where the two organisations co-existed and creating a forum at which political debates would be held.

The organisations also resolved to "expose" the involvement of a third party in their feud. Inkatha Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza and Azapo deputy national organiser

Monwabisi Duna would not say who the suspected "third party" was.

A peace rally would be held at the weekend.

Last week Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC and the ANC formed a joint committee to monitor the return of pupils to schools.

□ Sapa reports that the Goldstone commission in Port Shepstone heard yesterday that there had been a dramatic decrease in political violence in the area since a peace initiative was facilitated by a Commonwealth observer last month.

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Ready to resume talks — IFP

The Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is ready to resume talks with the government after it says it secured three key promises at last weekend's "bush summit".

The IFP threw the negotiation process into disarray in September when it pulled out of talks in protest against the Record of Understanding between the government and ANC.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that the government had agreed:

- Not to hold bilateral meetings which impacted on other parties;
- To support a multi-party conference; and
- To support the participation of the Kwa-zulu government and those of self-governing territories in negotiations.

Speaking from Ulundi, Dr Mdlalose said the government had met these long-standing demands at the weekend meeting with members of the Concerned South Africans Group.

IFP 'ready to resume negotiations'

The IFP is ready to resume talks with the Government because, the party says, it secured three key promises at last weekend's "bosberaad".

The IFP threw the negotiations process into disarray in September when it pulled out of talks with the Government.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday the Government had agreed:

- Not to hold bilateral meetings that affected other parties.
- To support a multiparty conference of review.
- To support the participation of the KwaZulu government and the governments of other self-governing territories in the negotiations process. — Political Reporter.

ANC and Inkatha set up meeting

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) are to meet this week to assess progress made in preparations for a summit between the two organisations, ANC national executive committee member and deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad has confirmed.

The meeting is scheduled to take place in Durban on Friday.

Pahad said both parties insisted on thorough preparations before the summit — which may include leaders Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela — took place, and neither side was insisting on setting a date yet.

... trade prohibition designed to conserve the African elephant was not only ineffective but was accelerating poaching.

... plans to strengthen the provision of primary health care facilities were making good progress, said Venter. Of the 151 clinics and 64 creches planned since 1990, 73 clinics had been completed and a further 50

... he said the five hospitals attached to Wits University — which included Baragwanath and Johannesburg Hospital, whose main commitment was to the indigent — had a very limited capacity to generate funds.

Shift in Inkatha strategy on Codesa

BIDM 14/1/93
BILLY PADDOCK

THERE are firm indications that Inkatha will accept Codesa agreements at the multiparty planning conference, expected to be held next month, despite their public rejection by senior leaders over the past few months.

The shift in strategy is a result of the party believing it won major concessions in the Concerned South Africans Group's two-day discussions with government.

The move heralds a breakthrough for the planning conference as Inkatha is one of the three key players and government intends to persuade all Codesa participants and new parties joining the process to accept the Codesa agreements as the basis for the new forum.

However, the issue of federalism is likely to be an obstacle at the conference. Inkatha said this week the conference had to decide on the issue.

Last weekend government failed to get an Inkatha commitment to honour the Codesa agreements to which

it was party. Instead it concluded a compromise agreement to convene a planning conference where the "state of negotiations could be assessed and the way forward negotiated".

A government spokesman said yesterday the crux of the planning conference would be whether parties accepted the Codesa agreements as the basis for new negotiations. If Inkatha accepted them other parties opposed to the agreements could be pulled in.

A senior Inkatha source yesterday acknowledged there had been a shift and said the party's strategy was to insist that the agreements "are not just imposed on the new forum and new parties joining the process".

"The aim is that these parties can assess the agreements and either say they would have accepted them if they were at Codesa or negotiate amendments, as Inkatha did to the declaration of intent," he said.

The government source said there would be disputes at the planning conference because neither it nor the ANC was prepared to accept the renegotiation of the Codesa agreements. But some parties, like the Concerned South Africans Group and the PAC, wanted substantial renegotiation.

Another problem area was that Inkatha and KwaZulu wanted a decision on whether the future SA should be a unitary or federal state. They also wanted regions to have veto rights during negotiations.

The ANC has stated that this is the preserve of an elected constituent assembly and it would not enter into agreements that entrenched any system.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said the planning conference should determine how the multiparty talks would resume.

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Leaders 'must shoulder blame for camp abuses'

BIDM 14/1/93

RAY HARTLEY

SENIOR ANC and SACP officials, including Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo, had to accept responsibility for atrocities committed in ANC camps, even though they were not directly involved in the abuses, advocate Bob Douglas said yesterday.

Speaking at the release of an International Freedom Foundation-commissioned report on the ANC abuses, Douglas said the "Nuremberg principle", which dictated that those in command had to take responsibility for the actions of subordinates, applied in the ANC's case.

His 64-page report said the SACP, helped by the KGB, had established the ANC security department known as Mbokodo and had continued to control it during the ANC's years in exile.

Douglas said an ANC internal commission and an Amnesty International inquiry into the abuses "did a good job" within the confines of its terms of reference, but both had failed to say who was to blame for the atrocities.

He had interviewed 40 returned exiles about their experiences in ANC camps and had found their accounts corroborated each other and were credible.

The ANC dismissed the report as an "attempt to undermine and sow division within the ranks of the ANC and its allies, and to create a totally misleading perception of the ANC in exile.

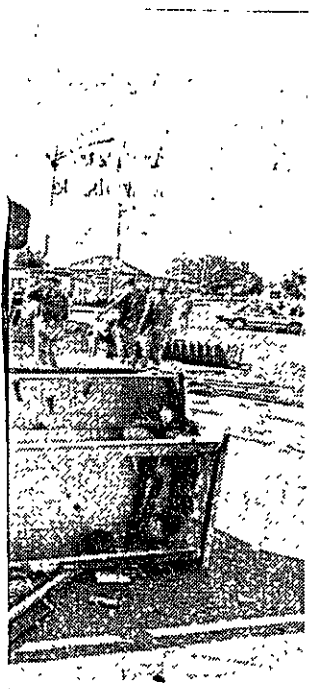
"Besides its heavy propaganda slant, reflected in the anti-communist slander, vitriolic attacks on selected ANC leaders and blatant fabrications, the report does not add anything new to what the ANC's own commission... established," the ANC said in a statement.

IFF executive director and NP member Russel Crystal said his organisation stood by Douglas's claim to impartiality.

He said Douglas had chaired an inquiry into the Natal violence at the request of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders.

Commenting on his personal political views, Douglas said he was anti-communist and opposed "non-liberal sources of ideology", but this had not made him biased against the SACP.

"I'm not a missionary. I simply did a job which was something different from (my normal work of) litigation," he added.



Chiefs and security forces come under fire

BIDM 14/1/93

EMPANGENI — The ANC's northern Natal region alleged yesterday that tribal chiefs in the area had received instructions from Ulundi not to tolerate ANC activity within their areas.

In a preliminary submission to a Goldstone commission subcommittee inquiring into violence other than ANC-IFP political rivalry around Empangeni, the ANC's Northern Natal deputy secretary Khulekane Mhlongo said ANC supporters in rural areas were frequently the target of attacks, often led by tribal chiefs.

Mhlongo said the order to drive ANC supporters from tribal areas had come from the KwaZulu government and Inkatha.

He asked the committee to investigate the role of the KwaZulu and SA police in violence.

The abuse of power by KwaZulu and SA government officials in the region also required investigation.

In his preliminary submission Cosatu regional executive member Michael Mabuyakhulu asked the committee, led by Durban

advocate Malcolm Wallis, to inquire into the lack of police protection for Cosatu members in the region.

He alleged security forces were involved in violence, including victimisation of Cosatu members.

Unrest monitor and anthropologist Mary de Haas asked the committee to look urgently into the behaviour of the security forces, particularly the KwaZulu police and SAP, in contributing to violence.

Representatives of the SAP and SADF told the committee they would present submissions when it reconvened in Empangeni on January 27.

The IFP apologised for missing yesterday's hearing of the committee.

Michael Friedman, for the KwaZulu government, said he would respond to the allegations made against traditional leaders at the next sitting.

The Goldstone commission into violence and intimidation will inquire into the importation of illegal weapons into SA and has asked for submissions from interested parties.

rying to peace pact

WILSON ZWANE

ers. organisations, which had been ries of meetings in an attempt ud, said they would hold a joint on Sunday. Inkatha had agreed to a condi- by Azapo — that "traditional" did not...

ANC accused of trying to wreck Bekkersdal peace pact

INKATHA and Azapo accused the ANC yesterday of attempting to shatter a peace pact between them in Bekkersdal.

Inkatha Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza told a news conference in Johannesburg that members of the ANC Bekkersdal branch had sent a memorandum to a multiparty committee, monitoring the situation in the West Rand township, in which it complained about the peace pact between Inkatha and Azapo.

Azapo deputy national organiser Monwabisi Duna said ANC supporters in the township had threatened to "come down heavily on us" should Azapo and Inkatha reach an agreement on ceasing hostilities.

However, a peace pact, signed by the ANC and Azapo in November 1991 after heavy fighting between supporters, precluded him from telling the media who the ANC members in question were, he said.

Khoza said it was known the ANC was behind the Inkatha-Azapo feud, which had claimed five lives this year.

Khoza and Duna said the allegations of the ANC's involvement in the feud would be discussed with the Bekkersdal monitoring committee, of which the ANC and PAC

WILSON ZWANE

were members.

The two organisations, which had been holding a series of meetings in an attempt to end the feud, said they would hold a joint peace rally on Sunday.

Duna said Inkatha had agreed to a condition — set by Azapo — that "traditional" weapons should not be carried at the rally, which was held to "ensure lasting peace in Bekkersdal".

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe dismissed the allegations as false. He said the ANC was the first to call for a peace meeting between the organisations.

It was unfortunate that some organisations wished to use the peace process in Bekkersdal, which was the outcome of multilateral deliberations involving the ANC, the PAC, Inkatha and Azapo "for narrow party political interests".

Sapa reports that the ANC also rejected a claim during bilateral talks earlier yesterday that ANC Youth League members had said they would "come down heavily" on Azapo if it held talks with Inkatha.

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Local gov forum set up

WILSON ZWANE

PROGRESS towards non-racial local government structures was made yesterday when government and township civic organisations agreed to set up a local government forum.

Agreements reached at this forum, in which government and civic organisations would be represented, would be binding on all parties.

After their meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont and the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) said a working group had been established to formulate the forum's terms of reference.

A Sanco spokesman said recently an interim agreement between his organisation and government was necessary as a host of issues, including the resolution of rent and services boycotts, hinged on it.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso also said recently the time was not ripe for his organisation to advise its members to suspend the boycotts.

One condition he set for boycotts to be lifted was "sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government" at local and national levels.

Nine people killed in Natal violence

DURBAN — At least nine people were killed and two injured in violence in Natal on Tuesday, KwaZulu and SA police reported yesterday.

Six of the victims were killed in a faction fight between Pondo and Zulu tribes in Inanda, near Durban.

Meanwhile, a wave of violent attacks on the SAP is continuing, with eight policemen slain since the beginning of the year.

In the latest killings, an off-duty policeman was stabbed in the head near Germiston and a constable was gunned down by

three men in police uniform while guarding a suspect in an East Rand hospital.

Soweto policemen fired birdshot and teargas after allegedly being attacked by a crowd at Inhlazane station on Tuesday.

Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said 226 policemen were killed during 1992. Many were killed off duty, when they were most vulnerable.

Despite the killings there was no shortage of recruits, and 2 300 new policemen would be trained by July. — Sapa-Reuter.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



(113)

ANC and IFP to meet to set summit date

Sowetan 15/11/93
SENIOR ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party members meet in Durban today in an attempt to finalise a date for a summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting follows two previous rounds of talks by leaders of the organisations in an attempt to facilitate a widely called for summit between their leaders. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday it was "speculation" at this stage to assume a date would be set at today's meeting.

"It would be wrong to assume that tomorrow's meeting is going to set a date," he said, adding: "We must not pre-empt such a thing".

ANC region urges end to IFP talks (118)

MARITZBURG. — The ANC's Northern Natal and Midlands regions have called on ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela to suspend all bilateral talks with the IFP, including a proposed summit with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, until violence and policing problems in their areas have been addressed. CT 18/11/93

This was announced at a Maritzburg march by several hundred ANC supporters protesting against a police clamp-down in Mooi River and Estcourt, and a month-long "state of emergency" in Richmond.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Mr. Blade Nzimande told the crowd the call did not apply to today's top-level ANC-IFP meeting in Durban.

The IFP yesterday levelled a similar charge against the police, claiming the Minister of Law and Order had violated the Peace Accord by his unilateral actions.

— Sapa

NEGOTIATIONS FM 15/1/93

11A
11B

Not many chances left

Negotiations kicked quickly into gear after the Christmas break, with last Saturday's encouraging meeting between government and the so-called Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag). This is an unorthodox alliance of confederal homeland parties and the white Right, dominated by the KwaZulu leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who now appears to be on the brink of rejoining the train.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer declared after the indaba that "negotiations are back on track." Agreement was reached to set up a multiparty "preparatory" meeting next month as a prelude to resuming full-scale constitutional negotiations, which are expected to start by the end of February or, more likely, in March.

However, an area of contention at the preparatory meeting, which could present a new delay, may lie in whether Cosag and Inkatha in particular will honour the various agreements reached at Codesa 2 before it was derailed last May. Government and the ANC are strongly in favour, not least because time is critical. Inkatha are at best ambivalent, if not opposed to the idea of abiding by earlier agreements.

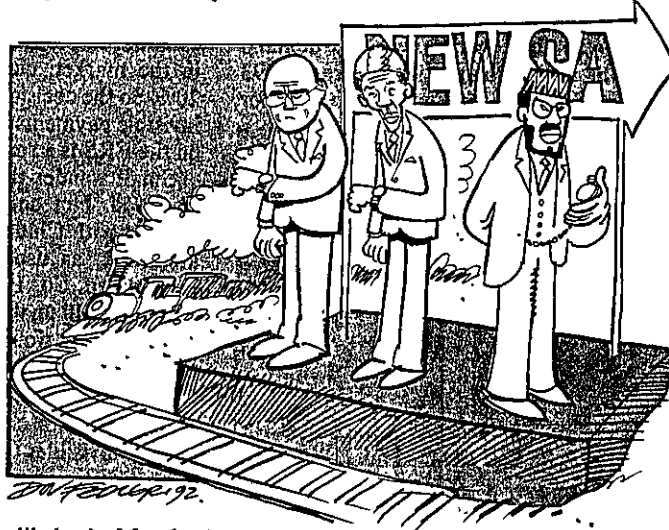
Greater clarity on this score, as well as on the issue of regional powers, could emerge after this week's scheduled meeting between Inkatha and government, to be followed by one between government and the ANC on January 20.

Word in political circles is that the main actors — government and the ANC — view 1993 as the year of "do or die." Both have sunk all their political and moral capital into the quest for a negotiated settlement and realise, says UCT's David Welsh, that if a solution is not found soon, our steady descent into irrevocable violence and economic malaise will continue. Certainly the ANC believe that "speedy progress is absolutely essential, especially to address economic problems," says spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Another compelling reason to get on with it is growing dissent and division in the ranks of the main parties, with elements in the ANC suspecting a "sell-out" (a charge voiced recently by Winnie Mandela) and growing unease in the National Party caucus about the direction the country is headed in. Their common cause, however, is that there is no alternative to a negotiated solution. It is

thought that their *bosberaad* towards the end of last year served as something of clearing-house for just about all past differences.

Parties will move with "astonishing speed" once they are back at the negotiating



table, according to Welsh, an adviser to the DP on constitutional matters. He expects that by May we will see the first phase of interim government in place in the shape of a Transitional Executive Council. Further, that a draft interim constitution drawn up by Codesa 3 (or whatever the new forum is called) will be ready by July or August.

There is no inherent reason why elections for a constitution-making body, which will double as legislature, should not be held towards the end of this year or early 1994, says Welsh. As well as being crucial now to test party support, which could improve the chances of stability, the country could not afford more of the dangerous and destructive political limbo it was in for most of last year.

Buthelezi remains perhaps the biggest potential spoiler. Yet his implied threats of going it alone in KwaZulu/Natal have been downscaled and are seen more as a strategy to maximise the chances of a strong federal arrangement being built into a new constitution. The ANC, however, says, publicly at least, that this matter will have to be resolved in the constituent assembly.

Welsh notes that the whole question of regional or federal powers has now entered what he calls "the zone of bargainability" in which a compromise can be reached. It is perfectly conceivable, he argues, to have a unitary state with regional government. A solution is called for which is flexible enough to accommodate a push from the regions for greater powers. This regional mobilisation for more power was a phenomenon seen elsewhere — for example, Spain, Belgium,

Canada and, increasingly, in Italy. The mechanism would be to have powers exercised "concurrently" by the central and regional governments.

Buthelezi's Cosag associate, the Conservative Party (CP), flexed its attenuated muscles this week by issuing its own demands and saying it would not participate in a Codesa 3. But CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg did not shut the door on joining multilateral talks when he issued the CP's preconditions. These include: self-determination for "nations"; rejection of a constituent assembly that would also serve as parliament; rejection of Codesa agreements which, in principle, favour a unitary state; and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, MK.

Significantly, Hartzenberg said that these conditions did not necessarily have to be met in full before the CP joined in — a marked departure in tone and substance.

That other potential newcomer to multilateral talks, the PAC, has restated its demand for a completely new negotiating forum, divorced from Codesa and chaired by a neutral international figure. But the PAC's main problem is to decide whether talking or bombing civilians is its preferred approach. ■

RUGBY POLITICS

Amateur spirit

Administrators and businessmen out to exploit rugby might just meet fierce resistance from SA's new rugby boss Ebrahim Patel. "As executive chairman of the SA Rugby Football Union (Sarf), I hold myself and the executive responsible as servants of every rugby player in the country... rather than their bosses," Patel told the *FM* in his first interview after the death and funeral of rugby supremo Danie Craven (*see People*).

Patel says he is aware that there are rugby officials who criticise the newly formed Sarfu for not being in touch with the grass roots in the various unions (*Current Affairs* January 8). "Those people who are now complaining were never part of the painful unification process of the former SA Rugby Board and the SA Rugby Union. Where were they when Doc Craven was rebuked by FW de Klerk and I was questioned by the security police on our return from talks with the ANC in Harare?"

Patel says this criticism looks opportunistic. "It took a Craven and his delegation and Saru to unify rugby."

The new rugby chief is also not worried that he now enters the "sacred white territories of rugby." As a former president of Transvaal rugby in the Saru era, he was

NEGOTIATIONS FM 15/1/93

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ANC warns against optimism over summit with Inkatha

STAR 15/1/93.

113

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party will meet in Durban today to assess progress made in preparations for a summit involving the two organisations' leaders.

The meeting follows two previous rounds of talks by the "contact group" appointed to liaise between the organisations.

It is expected to be held at a beachfront hotel this morning.

The delegations will be led by ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, neither of whom could be reached for comment yesterday.

Mdlalose was said to be at-

tending a meeting in Ulundi and Zuma was reported to be in Cape Town to attend his organisation's meeting with the Government.

However, ANC national executive committee member and deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad this week cautioned against optimism.

Today's meeting, he said, was scheduled to assess progress made in preparations for a summit between the two organisations, and not to set a date for the summit.

Pahad said four joint subcommittees elected at the last meeting between the two organisations were charged with the responsibility to prepare the groundwork for a summit between the ANC and the IFP.

The last such meeting, held in Durban on January 29 last year, did not yield any concrete results.

According to Pahad, both organisations wanted thorough preparations to be made before the summit took place, and neither side was insisting on setting a date for such a meeting at this stage.

The four subcommittees whose work will be assessed at today's meeting were asked to look at:

- The creation of a climate for free political activity.
- The strengthening of National Peace Accord structures.
- The militarisation of politics in the country.
- The reconstruction and development of violence-affected areas.

Govt in talks on planning

DURBAN. — The IFP and the government are to meet on Monday to discuss a multi-party planning conference, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said here yesterday.

He was speaking here after talks with the ANC to prepare for a summit between the leaders of the two groups.

Dr Mdlalose said he would lead the IFP in the first round of bilateral discussions with the government since talks broke down last year. — Sapa-Reuter

(116)



DEFIANCE ... Inkatha supporters, some bussed in from Ulundi, defied a ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public in October after a call by KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Decision on Buthelezi soon

City Press 17/11/93 (11B)

By **MONWABISI NOMADLO**

THE whereabouts of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's docket - whose fate is much awaited by the public - caused confusion this week at the Attorney-General's office.

A decision is being awaited on whether or not to charge the Inkatha leader for defiantly leading a heavily armed protest march in Johannesburg despite a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons.

When City Press phoned the office on Tuesday to inquire about any decision on the docket, A-G Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau said the docket had been handed to his office and we

Officials duck and dive over arms docket

should "check with the senior prosecutor" (of Johannesburg).

Then on Wednesday morning a staff member from the same office, Kevin Attwell, phoned this newspaper to confirm that the docket had indeed been handed to the office by police.

Attwell said Von Lieres could not have known about the docket as the

"computers were down" and it was handed in "just before Christmas when the A-G was on leave".

He said a final decision whether to prosecute Buthelezi had not been taken, adding this was "not very far". Attwell said this was to be an important decision. "A lot is involved in this docket. It is not just an ordinary docket."

Police spokesman Capt

Eugene Opperman could not explain why the docket reached the A-G's office before Christmas when the incident took place in October. "I can't explain the time delay," Opperman said, adding the docket had to go via the district and regional commissioners' offices.

In October Buthelezi defiantly led two marches in Johannesburg and Durban, protesting against the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and the fencing off of Reef hostels.

SAP regional commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus had turned down a request by march organisers to carry weapons in public. Buthelezi defied the ban and led the marches.

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Keeping tabs on the news

SA Press 17/1/93

ANC/Inkatha meeting on track

A MEETING between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi has almost been finalised with a summit date expected to be announced next month, according to the organisations in Durban this week.

This emerged after the third round of talks between a joint ANC-Inkatha committee.

According to a joint statement read by Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, the committee had not completed its work but had made progress and would probably announce the date for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit at their next meeting in February.

Earlier on Friday a threatened hitch to the summit was smoothed over by ANC deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma who, in response to a call by two Natal ANC regions for the suspension of talks with Inkatha, said: "We are going ahead with preparations."

NP, Inkatha closing gap

CT18
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu-Natal state constitution was the focal point of a meeting between Inkatha and the National Party here at weekend.

The constitution, with federalism as its main aim, was recently adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

According to a joint statement by Inkatha and the NP in Natal, the meeting found points of agreement that would have to be taken into the wider constitutional debate.

The meeting agreed to appoint a technical sub-committee to evaluate both points of agreement and divergence, and to explore the possibilities of increasing common ground, the joint statement said.

The leader of the NP delegation, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, said after the meeting that the government was "close" to Inkatha on the devolution of power to regions.

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi proposed at the end of last year a confederal constitution for Natal and KwaZulu that would be decided upon by a regional referendum.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that the discussions had been "open, honest and constructive".

Saturday's talks were the first direct contact between the two parties since Chief Buthelezi pulled out of constitutional negotiations in September when President FW de Klerk signed a record of understanding with the ANC.

Negotiations get a kick-start

■ Govt to hold separate talks with ANC, IFP:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week when the Government holds two separate meetings with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The meetings will, it is hoped, mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with the Government today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations could be resumed soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday said the party would meet its Concerned

South Africans Group allies in Pretoria today before beginning its talks with the Government.

The IFP suspended contact with Pretoria after President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted with allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag - now including rightwing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie - was born.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and IFP last week, will hold a week-long "bosberaad" with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

Major boost on cards for multiparty talks

Star 18/1/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

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September 26 last year.

The resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week following two separate meetings the Government will hold with its main negotiating partners, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The meetings, which are believed to mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume, will see President de Klerk's Government locked in talks for more than a week.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with Pretoria today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations, which broke down in May, could resume soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos told The Star yesterday that her party would meet its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies this morning.

A one-time ally of the Government, the IFP angrily suspended contact with Pretoria after De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on

September 26 last year. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag — now including right-wing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie — was born.

Although the IFP has since met the Government as part of a Cosag delegation, this is believed to be the first time since the signing of the Record of Understanding that the party will hold direct bilateral talks with the Government.

After its meeting with the Government in Pretoria two weeks ago, Cosag expressed satisfaction with the talks, and came out in favour of an early resumption of inclusive multiparty negotiations.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and the IFP in Cape Town and Durban respectively late last week, will start a week-long bosberaad with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

The bosberaad, which will begin on Wednesday, is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, according to well-placed ANC sources.

Debate on Natal plan will widen

CT 19/1/93

Political Staff

A DECISION to submit the controversial Natal/KwaZulu "federal" constitution for "wider constitutional debate" has been seen within government circles as a significant step in getting Inkatha back to the negotiating table.

The constitution will form a substantial part of the government/Inkatha bilateral meeting which started in Pretoria yesterday and which continues today.

This follows an agreement between Natal's National Party and Inkatha at a regular working group meeting at the weekend where it was decided to take the constitution to the "wider constitutional debate".

Deputy Constitutional Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett were at the meeting. The Inkatha delegation was led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

There was concern within the government when the KwaZulu constitution was published last year.

The NP's Natal branch strongly supported the move while President F W de Klerk voiced his displeasure.

It is also known that the government was insisting that the debate on the constitution be pulled into the multiparty constitutional talks to prevent a possible secession by Inkatha.

Since then the instruction to the Natal NP had been that it continue discussions on the constitution to persuade Inkatha to take it into bilateral and multilateral discussions before going ahead with its plans, a government source said.

This appeared to have been achieved at the weekend with a joint statement by Mr Bartlett and Dr Mdlalose stating that there were "points of agreement and points of difference" but that these be discussed within the wider constitutional debate.

Bitter blow to IFP, govt talks

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

FRESH optimism over a speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations was dealt a blow yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party's two-day meeting with the government ended in acrimony.

Sources from both organisations last night flatly refused to discuss the meeting, but it is reliably understood that it was characterised by tough talking and that no agreements were reached.

Central to the dispute is understood to have been IFP allegations that the government has been "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in bilateral discussions.

A terse joint statement after the meeting simply reflected that talks had been held and delegations would meet again here next Wednesday.

Failure to reach agreement at that meeting could seriously set back hopes for a projected resumption of multi-party talks by early March.

The breakdown comes on the eve of the government's critical six-day "bosberaad" with the ANC at which it was hoped consensus could be reached on details of the transitional stage.

However, they will now have to broach such issues as the composition and powers of the proposed transitional executive council without knowing if the IFP will participate.

The government delegation to the meeting in Pretoria was led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, while national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose led the IFP group.

A host of issues central to recent differences between the government

To page 2

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at
AP

IFP-govt tension

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Among these were the IFP's insistence that agreements already reached at Codesa should be subject to review and possible revision, and the IFP's proposed conference of review and its proposed federal constitutional model for Natal.

In a separate development yesterday President F W de Klerk met a delegation from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Follow-up meetings will be held to discuss issues such as the future role of traditional leaders, according to a government statement.

It is understood that the government may be reviving its attempts to open a way into multi-party negotiations for the Zulu king by having a Contralesa delegation attend.

The Contralesa group, led by its president Mr Nkosi S P Holomisa, said self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa soon.

The government responded that there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

● The Qwa Qwa chairman of Contralesa, Chief Motebeng Mopeli, 40, died on Friday. — Sapa

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Govt, IFP talks to go on

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

11B

STAR 20/1/93

A deep gulf still separates the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party after two tough days of talks in Pretoria this week.

The lack of progress in the meeting — aimed at wooing the IFP back into negotiations and paving the way for fresh multiparty talks — places pressure on the extended Government-ANC talks which start today.

Instead of being able to focus on dates for the transition, as both sides hoped, they will first have to devote time to the IFP.

Both the Government and the IFP were tight-lipped yesterday after their bargaining session, and issued a statement saying only that the talks would continue next week.

The meeting, which began on Monday afternoon and ended yesterday, was the first between the two parties since IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi suspended talks with the Government after President de Klerk and

ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26.

Yesterday's statement said the delegates would report to their principals, but gave no details of how the meeting went.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said although the meeting — which he described as "very frank" — was scheduled to begin at 9.30 am yesterday, it was decided to start at noon to give the two parties a chance to discuss issues among themselves.

Nearer

Asked whether the resumption of full-scale negotiations was any nearer, Felgate replied: "The IFP is committed to the resumption of negotiations, and the Government has agreed to a multiparty planning conference.

"We believe the resumption of multiparty negotiations cannot resist the tide any longer."

Delegation leaders the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose

and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said further talks were set for next Wednesday in Cape Town.

The latest Government-ANC session, at a secret venue, begins today and is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday.

ANC sources said the *bos-beraad* has been divided into two parts. The first three days will deal with security and violence-related matters and the last three or four days with constitutional matters.

The sources said both the ANC and the Government would be bound by any agreements they reached at the meeting.

In the past week the Government has held talks with the IFP, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), traditional leaders of Lebowa and, from today, the ANC.

In his Government's meeting with Contralesa, State President de Klerk expressed the hope that multiparty talks would resume early in March.

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Nat, ANC bosberaad begins today

Inkatha talks with govt end in stalemate

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20/1/93

CAPE TOWN — Government negotiators begin a five-day bosberaad with the ANC alliance today, after emerging from an acrimonious meeting with Inkatha where no agreements of consequence were achieved.

The two-day meeting with Inkatha ended yesterday without substantive comment from either of the parties, but it is understood that the discussions deadlocked on government's alleged "connivance" with the ANC.

The failure of the meeting dims the hopes raised by the successful meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group last week, which had seemed set to invigorate negotiations.

The joint statement released by the parties to yesterday's talks was unusually terse, saying only that they had met and would do so again. Both parties would report back to their principals and meet again on January 27.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It is understood that the main items on the agenda — including Inkatha's proposed conference of review, the status of agreements made at Codesa and even the resumption of multiparty talks — were not substantively broached.

Government was known to have been prepared to submit Inkatha's federal constitutional plan to other parties for "wider constitutional debate", but this was insufficient to satisfy Inkatha negotiators.

The lack of any agreements places government negotiators in a difficult position

TIM COHEN

for the talks with the ANC.

Observers speculated that government negotiators had hoped to emerge from the meeting with a clear idea of Inkatha's demands for the resumption of negotiations, to discuss with the ANC.

Government was also hoping to discuss the transitional executive council with the ANC, but would now have to do so without knowing whether Inkatha would be prepared to participate in the new structure.

In stark contrast to the Inkatha meeting, President F W de Klerk met members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) where the government delegation agreed there should be a "dignified and meaningful role for traditional leaders" in the new constitutional dispensation.

Government again expressed itself in favour of a role in negotiations for traditional leaders, including, perhaps, the Zulu king who is not part of Contralesa.

The delegations agreed that some of the issues raised, including land ownership and rural development, would be discussed in greater detail in follow-up talks.

The government delegation said it hoped multilateral negotiations would be resumed early in March.

The Contralesa group expressed the view that self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into SA soon.

Government responded by saying there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

● Comment: Page 10

Optimism over latest bosberaad

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC have expressed guarded optimism that their six-day bosberaad, which began at a secret venue in the Transvaal yesterday, would be successful.

It is the second meeting between the two major players in about a month. Both parties hailed their first bosberaad in December as a success.

The latest bosberaad follows two days of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Although the IFP and the Conservative Party have expressed grave reservations about agreements to be reached in the ANC-Government meeting, ANC sources said they had agreed with Pretoria that whatever agreements they arrived at would be binding.

However, these agreements would still have to go through a multiparty negotiations forum.

Following the lack of progress in the Government's two-day meeting with the IFP, hopes for an early resumption of multilateral negotiations took a nosedive yesterday. Political observers said the onus was on the Government and the ANC to rescue the negotiations process.

Instead of being able to focus on dates for the transition, they would first have to devote time to the IFP.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday said the Government was still viewed with "a lot of suspicion" by the IFP.

IFP sources in Durban said there were differences over the degree of political autonomy to be enjoyed by a future KwaZulu-Natal state.

Inkatha 'committed to multiparty talks'

CAPE TOWN

Inkatha was fully committed to multiparty talks and wanted them to resume as soon as possible, national chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday. *BLDM 2/11/93*

He was responding to fears that the inconclusive result of this week's talks between Inkatha and government could delay the prospects for a return to full negotiations.

The ANC and government have indicated that they hope a multiparty negotiating forum will be in place by late February or early March. Crucial to the resumption of talks will be an Inkatha central committee meeting this weekend, where the party will formulate its position for next Wednesday's bilateral talks with government.

"The resumption of multiparty talks is what we have been battling for over the years," said Mdlalose. "We are committed to multiparty talks... we want them to start yesterday."

Reacting to reports that government and Inkatha were deadlocked on various issues, he said: "I don't know that it is a deadlock; I think that is a bit strong. But I am not talking starry-eyed expectation."

He added that a number of issues had been discussed with the government delegation at the two-day meeting in Pretoria this week. "Now everything will be referred to our principals," he said.

Mdlalose declined to give details on what issues had led to disagreement, but dismissed newspaper reports as speculative. Sources have indicated that the Pretoria talks were marked by tough talking, in particular over the Inkatha charge that government was "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in secret.

IFP pledges to support talks

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is fully committed to multi-party talks and wants them to resume as soon as possible, the party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said yesterday.

He was responding to fears that the inconclusive result of this week's talks between the IFP and the government could delay the prospects for a return to full negotiations. (VB)

The ANC and the government have indicated they hope a multi-party negotiating forum will be in place by late February. (2/11/93)

"The resumption of multi-party talks is what we have been battling for," Dr Mdlalose said.

IFP gets 'rocket' over claims

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

THE government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Argus reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides — the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the government last year — ended with a terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

It emerges that a memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a counter-memorandum was presented describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday the IFP, led by National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation the two parties adjourned until 12.30 pm Tuesday. The meeting finished 45 minutes later, after the government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger that exists on both sides. In its no-punches-pulled memorandum the government accuses IFP leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untrue and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The government said because of its special responsibilities to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation.

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw."

It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

Too many lies, Govt tells Inkatha

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 22/1/93

CAPE TOWN — The Government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Star reveal.

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● To Page 3

Govt and Inkatha clash

● From Page 1

Government said. It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The Government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

In the original memorandum, which sparked the furious response, the IFP said there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since Codesa 2 collapsed in May.

It accused the Government of a strategy which aimed at creating a long and open-ended process of transition in which the Government and the ANC would share power.

The IFP added: "One

could speculate how on earth the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings which were aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was.

"The Official Secrets Act was obviously transgressed by someone in Intelligence, and yet there are no Goldstone inquiries into the leaks."

Absent

Hitting back, the Government delegation said: "... when IFP delegates were absent from important Codesa meetings, or when IFP delegates had to operate without a mandate because they could not get one from their principals, or when IFP delegates entered into agreements that were afterwards not well received at home and then blamed others for their predicament, or when strange foreigners appeared as IFP delegates," it had actively promoted IFP interests.

The IFP should blame itself, and not other parties, for its perceived misfortunes at Codesa, the Government said.

The Government proposed that the two parties discuss their com-

mon ground and said: "The real leaders should talk to each other and play a decisive role throughout."

The next Government-IFP meeting is scheduled for Wednesday.

● The Government-ANC bosberaad enters its third day today with no news of how the deliberations are going at a secret venue.

The Star understands that today is the last day of discussions on violence-related matters, including the implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

The next two or three days of the bush indaba have been devoted to constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of TBVC states and matters pertaining to elections.

A draft electoral law and the setting up of an election commission, including the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act of 1992, will also be discussed, according to reliable sources.

Government negotiators, led by Meyer, will proceed to Cape Town after the bosberaad — the second between the Government and the ANC since last month — for the official opening of Parliament on Friday.

STAR 22/1/93

STAR 22/1/93

Government hits back over 'carve up' claim in IFP memo

Blow to negotiations

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

RELATIONS between the government and Inkatha have deteriorated into an insulting slanging match — and the IFP's participation in multi-party negotiations is in grave jeopardy.

Observers believe that the government now suspects that advisers to the IFP — some with foreign connections — have their own hidden agenda and are bedevilling bilateral relations.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday angrily condemned these suggestions as a "racist insult" to him. "I feel very depressed at the suggestion that a politician like myself who has been in politics for more than three decades depends upon advisers," he said in Cape Town.

He was referring to an angry meeting between government and IFP delegations this week when hostile memoranda were exchanged.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Geof Meyer and IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose.

The IFP delegation repeated its accusation that the government and the ANC were conspiring behind the scenes to carve up the country to the exclusion of the IFP and others.

The government retorted with its most aggressive attack so far on the IFP, saying the IFP memorandum was "the last straw, too many lies and distortions repeated once too often."

But what really annoyed Chief Buthelezi was the government's suggestion that the "baral nonsense" in the memorandum represented the views of advisers with alien loyalties and not those of the IFP leadership.

"It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document," the government memorandum said.

"There are forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us."

Observers believe this implies that senior IFP members have expressed their displeasure with the IFP memorandum and that there is tension between them and certain advisers close to Chief Buthelezi.

At a press conference in Cape town yesterday, Chief Buthelezi rejected this suggestion and said the IFP memorandum represented the views of the IFP leadership "absolutely".

He said that the breakdown would be discussed by the IFP central committee tomorrow. The government and IFP delegations are scheduled to meet again on Wednesday.

Mr Meyer told Weekend Argus yesterday that he hoped the IFP delegation would remove the unacceptable aspects of the IFP memorandum presented this week.

Asked what impact the souring of relations would have on negotiations, he said the government was still positive.

He referred to the part of the government memorandum which said that it was a pity that the hostile IFP memorandum had been allowed to sour trust between the two parties.

The government and the IFP shared important common constitutional and economic ideals.

The "real leaders" should now talk to each other to take stock of what they had in common, Mr Meyer said.

"Advisers should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us which is so vital for a sound and productive relationship."

Mr Meyer said the fact that senior members of the IFP had not drafted the memorandum gave him hope that the problem could be resolved.

This seemed to refer to the possibility that these senior IFP members could exert influence and tone down the hostile approach contained in the memorandum.



Picture LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus. □ JOLLY MOOD: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu in a jolly mood at UWC.

Buthelezi chats with churchmen

LENORE OLIVER, Weekend Argus Reporter

THERE is no simple answer to South Africa's problems, says Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey and the Anglican Consultative Council for understanding.

The church and political leaders met at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

"There is a great need for an All Church Conference of Re-view, designed to stop to see where we are, to see how we are hindering and to see how to move forward," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said one of the missing factors in National Party politics was a real sense of grief regarding the sins of apartheid.

"Knowledge of the error of apartheid is not awareness of the sin of apartheid. Confessions that apartheid politics were wrong are not confessions that those who were responsible for them have sinned in their wrongness," he said.

Chief Buthelezi called on all members of the council to "understand that we are now fail-

ing with failed negotiations because if we had not failed as Christians, negotiations would have succeeded."

He said that he had detected a sense of righteousness in which some church leaders claimed the victory of the suffering masses who struggled against apartheid as victories for their (the church leaders) political thinking.

UDI: Buthelezi gains a major ally

804 TH 23/1-27/1/93

(11B)

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) kingpin Mangosuthu Buthelezi raised political hackles last year

by releasing a constitutional blueprint for Natal and KwaZulu which amounted to a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI).

But Natal business and others have weighed in with strong backing for federalism, if not explicitly for the Buthelezi proposal.

The blueprint has been described by experts as "fatally flawed" because of its non-negotiable nature.

It is seen by many political commentators as a response by Buthelezi to being sidelined by renewed contact between the ANC and the NP.

To view the release of the document by Buthelezi in a vacuum would be a grave mistake. The doc-

Proponents of federalism, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have gained a major ally in big business, argues AIA newsagency:

ument was released in the wake of the late 1992 conference on federalism convened by State President FW de Klerk, and his meetings with the Concerned South African Group (Cosag), a forum of right-wing parties which support the federal option in a future South Africa.

Although individual NP leaders have criticised Buthelezi's actions and his blueprint, the very same National Party has developed strong arguments in favour of federalism in the recent past.

This month South African Finance Minister Derek Keys held a meeting with Buthelezi and his KwaZulu cabinet.

The significance of this meeting is

increased by Keys' historical links with big business.

Keys' links seem to run parallel to those between Buthelezi's IFP and the Natal business community organisation.

At its annual convention in Durban in October 1992, the Durban Regional Chamber of Business (DRCB) — the largest of the 105 chambers which are affiliated to the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) — unanimously supported a federal system of government in a future South Africa.

While Sacob's media manager Mr Eric van Dyk has refused to comment on Buthelezi's proposals, he said Sacob, with its 40 000 under-



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

takings countrywide, "reflects the view of organised business" in its support of a federal system.

Equally important is the fact that the motion came from what amounts to the Natal region of Sacob, where there are strong links between big business, the IFP and

its labour wing, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

At the Sacob convention, DRCB president Mr MC Pretorius argued that a federal system was the only option that should be considered, and motivated for regional financial independence via federal and regional taxation. The argument was supported by the Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Tertius Delpoit and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who addressed the convention.

Mr John Bryce, executive member of the Durban chamber, said about the Buthelezi blueprint: "Federalism is the system that business sees as the most appropriate for the new South Africa."

"Federalism can cater for individual identities, more so as it brings government closer to the people. The government is, in this way, more accountable to the people and we believe this leads to more responsible government." — AIA

Buthelezi slams govt for racism

(118) ET. 23/1/93

AN angry Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has lashed out at the government, describing it as "racist" and "insulting" for the blunt rebuke it gave the IFP during acrimonious talks this week.

Chief Buthelezi's sharp dismissal of a "counter memorandum" — presented by the government at its meeting with the IFP — will widen the rift between the two organisations, threatening to delay the resumption of multi-party talks.

The IFP president's comments in Cape Town yesterday came as government sources indicated that they were close to losing patience with the IFP — and one of Chief Buthelezi's key advisers in particular.

IFP sources have dismissed speculation in political circles about tensions within the IFP over its negotiating strategy.

The memorandum presented by the government to the IFP on Tuesday said advisers "should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us".

This angered Chief Buthelezi, who said: "I regard this as an insult. It is racist".

However, he said the IFP would meet the government on Wednesday next week as scheduled.

He was speaking after a lunch meeting with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, which he described as a "great privilege".

Hostel millions lie idle, says Buthelezi

CT 23/1/93

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MILLIONS of rands earmarked for upgrading migrant hostels remained unused because of a lack of political agreement on hostel renovations, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged yesterday.

Speaking during a meeting with the visiting Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, he said these hostels housed about 250 000 black labourers living in single quarters.

He also told the Archbishop that the structures of the National Peace Accord had been rendered moribund because they did not address issues of social reconstruction and socio-economic development.

The KwaZulu leader said there was deep consternation among people who felt threatened by "yesterday's revolutionaries working in civil garb to become tomorrow's dictators".

He said historical examples abounded in which revolutionaries came to power in countries with devastated economies.

"A broken economy in a society in which social pathology impairs human problem-solving mechanisms has



LEADERS TALK ... The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey (right), with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Picture: BENNY GOOL

been the deathbed of many democratic dreams," Chief Buthelezi said.

High expectations created conditions in which new governments were unable to govern effectively after the overthrow of racist oppression, he said. — Sapa

'Insulted' Buthelezi takes swipe at Nats

Star 23/1/93

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

RELATIONS between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have deteriorated into an insulting slanging match and the IFP's participation in upcoming multiparty negotiations is in grave jeopardy. Observers believe the Government now suspects that advisers to the IFP — some with foreign connections — have their own hidden agenda and are bedeviling relations between the Government and IFP.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday angrily condemned these suggestions as "racist insults" to him. "I feel very depressed at the suggestion that a politician like myself who has been in politics for more than three decades depends upon advisers," he said in Cape Town.

He was referring to an angry meeting between Government and IFP delegations this week when hostile memoranda were exchanged. The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Koel Meyer and IFP chairman Dr

Frank Mdlalose. The IFP delegation repeated its accusation that the Government and the ANC were conniving behind the scenes to carve up the country to the exclusion of the IFP and others.

The Government retorted with its most aggressive attack so far on the IFP, saying the IFP memorandum was "the last straw, too many lies and distortions repeated once too often. But what really annoyed

Buthelezi was the Government's suggestion that the "banal nonsense" in the memorandum represented the views of advisers "with ulterior motives" and not those of the IFP leadership. "It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document," the Government memorandum said. "There are forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us."

Observers believe this intensifies tension between them and certain advisers close to Buthelezi. The chief yesterday rejected this suggestion and said the IFP memorandum represented the views of the IFP leadership "absolutely".

He said the breakdown would be discussed by the IFP central committee tomorrow. The Government and IFP delegations are scheduled to meet again on Wednesday.

Meyer told The Star yesterday that he hoped the IFP delegation would remove the unacceptable aspects of the IFP memorandum presented this week. Asked how the souring of relations would impact on negotiations, he said the Government was still positive.

The Government and the IFP shared important common constitutional and economic ideals. The "real leaders" should now talk to each other to take stock of what they had in common.

Advisers should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us, which is so vital for a sound and productive relationship. Meyer said the fact that senior members of the IFP had not drafted the memorandum gave him hope that the problem could be resolved.



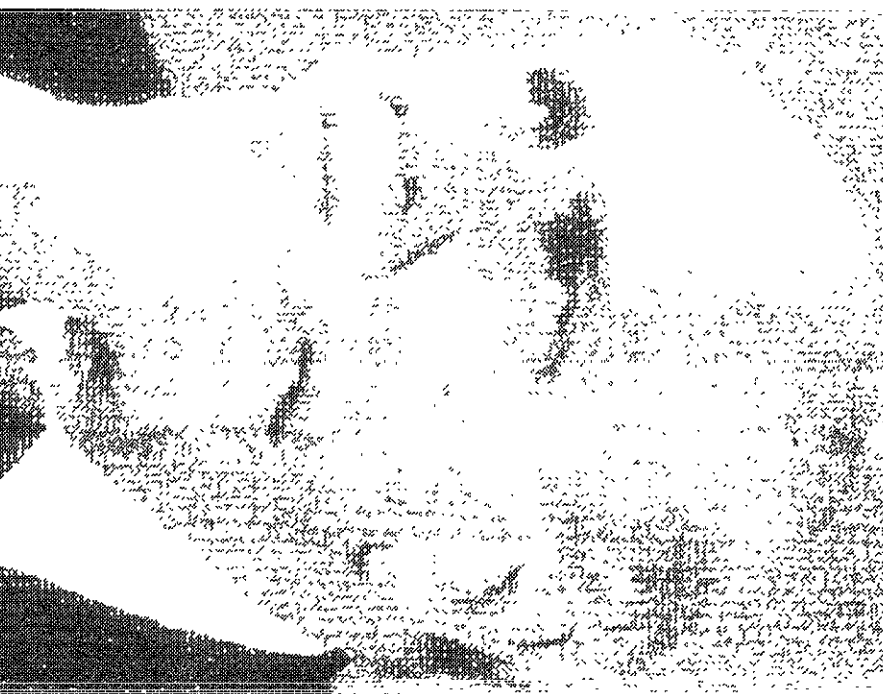
MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI ... 'Are they saying that because I am a kaffir, I can't think for myself?'

INKATHA SAID:

The Government has actually benefited from the distortions of Dr Buthelezi's position and Inkatha's position. One can say, to the extent that Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha have suffered from the distortions, 'where is African integrity and National Party honour? Is there is a selling of Afrikaner souls?'

THE GOVERNMENT HIT BACK:

Reading the document (and listening to its being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation. The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document.



FW DE KLERK ... not keen to have a political solution without the Inkatha Freedom Party

Investive boils over as important bilateral talks end in bitter acrimony

Reports by CHARLENE SMITH

THE government has accused "strange foreigners" and advisers "with questionable ulterior motives" of fomenting unprecedented acrimony between it and Inkatha.

At the centre of the row are five-laden memorandums, presented by both sides this week during the first bilateral talks between the two parties in nine months.

While the government suggested foreign advisers were trying to create acrimony between it and its former ally, Inkatha hit back with accusations of baasskap.

Insulted

Kwazulu chief minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not at the meeting, but was briefed on Thursday by members of the delegation led by chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mr Buthelezi said there had not been such acrimony between his organisation and the government

since former President PW Botha was in power.

"I felt insulted by the government's suggestion that I could be misled," he said.

"Are they saying that because I am a kaffir, I can't think for myself? This sounds like baasskap, and suggests the government is prepared to go ahead without us."

Senior government sources privately say they believe Mr Buthelezi is being misled by:

- Founder IFP member Walter Felgate;

- Former military intelligence chief of staff Major-General Tienie Groenewald; and

- US constitutional advisers Professor Albert P Blaustein and Dr Mario Ambrosini.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, who headed the government negotiating team, defended the

strong language of the government's memorandum.

"If you look at their memo, it is clear that we had every right, particularly when you take note of the lies in their document," he said.

The government described the IFP memorandum — drafted by Mr Felgate and approved by Mr Buthelezi — as "banal nonsense" unworthy of "the proud Zulu nation".

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified and with questionable ulterior motives," said a spokesman.

Mr Felgate, who, with Dr Ambrosini, was injured in a head-on collision early on Friday, said from his hospital bed in Richards Bay: "I believe the document will be endorsed by an extraordinary meeting of the full central committee today.

Nat baasskap

versus IFP

belligerence

Stines

24/11/93

11/3

"The document we presented represents the way the IFP feels. The government document is a Roelf Meyer document; he is spoiling for Dr Buthelezi."

The furrow has set back chances for multiparty negotiations in the near future and has caused strains in the National Party.

Important sections of the party are keen to press ahead without the IFP to ensure that legislation for elections and transitional executive councils go through this year.

However, Natal Nationalists are extremely unhappy about the present impasse and would block any moves to isolate the IFP.

The Sunday Times has transcripts of the meeting showing that State President FW de Klerk is also not keen to have a political solution without the IFP.

Mr de Klerk was not at the meeting on Monday and Tuesday, but Reiner Schoeman, a Natal Nationalist and Deputy Minister of Foreign

Affairs, is quoted in the transcripts as saying the State President had refused to meet "an important overseas delegation" last week because "they were not going to see the IFP".

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said that two days before the talks, he and other Natal Nats had met the IFP for "an excellent meeting".

"What Inkatha wants and what my party wants for Natal are the same thing," he said. "There's no difference constitutionally — except for technical points around a militia and judiciary — between us and them in Natal/Kwazulu."

"We felt the document (presented this week) was drafted by advisers. In the document read by Dr Mdlalose, the IFP suggested the government was using the ANC to perpetuate its stay in power at the expense of Inkatha and other groups.

"Where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour? Is there a selling of Afrikaner souls?" asked the

document.

It questioned how "the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was".

The government response came first in the form of a five-page memorandum, and then in individual documents.

The transcripts of the meeting show the individual responses varied between hurt and anger.

But the government memorandum pulled no punches, saying the IFP document was "the last straw" — too many lies and distortions repeated once too often ... in a document with muddled and confused political and technical arguments and illogical conclusions.

Deals

"It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

The government claimed there were "forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us".

The memorandum said: "If the IFP is being marginalised, it is marginalising itself. It is a lie that the government has negotiated, or is negotiating, private deals with the ANC."

Senior IFP sources claimed the government had been in possession of their memorandum before the meeting. Many senior members of the IFP believe their fax communications are being bugged.

This was strongly denied by the government.

Bilateral talks between the two will resume at a two-hour meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday.

INKATHA'S GHOST WRITERS



Ex-ANC man, US lawyers named

C/Pers 24/1/93

By S'BU MNCADI

116 (115) (107) (107)

FINGERS are pointing at two US lawyers and a former senior ANC activist as authors of a contentious document which rocked this week's two-day talks between high-powered delegations of Inkatha and the SA government.

Senior Inkatha officials yesterday said the document could have been drafted only by conservative US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambosini, and recently returned former ANC exile Joe Matthews.

Sources said the three drafted the document in consultation with Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior colleague Dr Bernard Ngubane, but that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the final say.

The memorandum, which the government delegation later described as "the last straw", has driven a further wedge between the two parties.

The talks were the first since Inkatha suspended contact with the government last year in protest against the record of understanding signed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

According to a Johannesburg daily, when talks started in Cape Town on Monday, Mdlalose tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about the government/ANC co-involvement in negotiations.

In an equally blistering counter-memorandum, the government replied: "The document leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It won't appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document.

'I was the Webster fall guy,' alleges Barnard

By DESMOND BLOW

CONVICTED murderer Ferdi Barnard said this week he was the "perfect fall guy" to take the rap for the murder of Dr David Webster for the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

He also lashed out at State President FW de Klerk for shunting the Indemnity Act through the President's Council.

"He has done that to save people in high places, including Foreign Affairs. I have seen documents," he told City Press after Judge Michael Stegmann found that the seven-week inquest into the death of Webster failed to establish who was responsible for his murder.



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By S'BU MNGADI

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FINGERS are pointing at two US lawyers and a former senior ANC activist as authors of a contentious document which rocked this week's two-day talks between high-powered delegations of Inkatha and the SA government.

Senior Inkatha officials yesterday said the document could have been drafted only by conservative US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambosini, and recently returned former ANC exile Joe Matthews.

Sources said the three drafted the document in consultation with Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior colleague Dr Bernard Ngubane, but that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the final say.

The memorandum, which the government delegation later described as "the last straw", has driven a further wedge between the two parties.

The talks were the first since Inkatha suspended contact with the government last year in protest against the record of understanding signed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

According to a Johannesburg daily, when talks started in Cape Town on Monday, Mdlalose tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about the government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

In an equally blistering counter-memorandum, the government replied: "The document leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation.

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

Blaustein, Ariano-Ambrosini and Matthews were instrumental in drawing up the UDI-style constitution for the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

That the three drew up this week's memorandum was partly confirmed by Mdlalose's and Ngubane's secretaries, who said the two Inkatha chief negotiators had referred all media enquiries about the document to Matthews.

Matthews, the son of the late ANC general-secretary, ZK Matthews, and Inkatha's legal advisor, denied helping draw up the document.

Buthelezi said the memorandum "absolutely" represented the views of Inkatha, and that he had never before encountered questions over who had written a memorandum.

The government's attacks on Inkatha will be discussed by the organisation's central committee in Ulundi today.

Some political observers think the contentious document was a ploy by Inkatha's pro-autonomy faction to scuttle national negotiations and speed up KwaZulu/Natal's unilateral declaration of independence just before an interim government takes over the country.

Rape rap shocks locals

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE arrest last week of Mamelodi businessman and socialite Chad "Mabeshane" Shabangu on charges of allegedly raping three women employees has shocked the Pretoria township.

He was released on warning and is to appear in court on March 3.

Shabangu said this week that scores of people from all areas had phoned to offer him their support.

Police said they were investigating several other charges against Shabangu, including indecent assault, assault and pointing a firearm at his victims.

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Inkatha hopeful on talks

STAR 25/1/93
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted today to throw cold water on the row between his party and the Government, saying he was optimistic they would "find one another" at Wednesday's meeting.

Speaking from Ulundi, national chairman Mdlalose said it was "unfortunate" that "someone clever" had leaked the memoranda which have made public the degree of difference between the IFP and the Government.

He conceded that this had "bedevilled" the talks.

The two sides have agreed to meet in Cape Town on Wednesday for another bilateral meeting following last week's encounter which produced little by way of a positive resolution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer characterised last week's meeting as having broken down on the issue of mistrust which dated back to the IFP's suspicions about a Government-ANC deal following the signing of the Record of Understanding between those parties on September 26.

The public mud-slinging between the IFP and the Government since the leaking of the memoranda last week and the singling out of personalities like IFP's Walter Felgate and the Government's Meyer as among major obstacles to a resolution has done little to mend the rift.

But Mdlalose said today he was still hopeful that common ground could be found.

He denied speculation that there were rifts within the IFP itself and that he was among those unhappy with the contents

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of the IFP memorandum which criticised the Government and questioned the integrity of the National Party.

The healing of the IFP-Government rift seems now one of the major obstacles to the resumption of multiparty talks, a goal to which the Government and ANC have now committed themselves with equal vigour.

Whether the Government would be prepared to go ahead with multilateral discussions in the absence of the IFP remains to be seen but the leaked Government memorandum certainly revealed a good deal of Government impatience with the intransigent position of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Meanwhile, the Government and ANC resume their extended bosberaad today at a nature reserve along the Cape south coast.

Negotiations heading for decisive week

STAR 25/1/93

Staff Reporter

The negotiation process enters a crucial stage this week, with the immediate future of multiparty talks depending on the Government's meetings with the ANC and Inkatha.

The future of multiparty discussions hangs on the outcome of three separate events — the ANC-Government bosberaad, the second round of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and President F W de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

The bosberaad, which started in Pretoria last week, is expected to end in Cape Town tomorrow. According to sources, the ANC and the Government were to discuss constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of the TBVC states and a draft electoral Bill.

The second round of IFP-Government talks is to resume on Wednesday after the collapse of discussions last week, when a flurry of acrimonious and accusatory memoranda changed hands.

De Klerk's speech will set the

tone for the forthcoming legislative session — probably the last under the present dispensation. The talks with the ANC will be critical in this regard, and the Government is confident the discussions will be concluded successfully.

If all goes well, legislation easing the way for transition will be passed. This includes the creation of transitional executive councils, legislation to facilitate a transition, and the passing of an interim constitution effectively ending the present dispensation.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday: "This is a fairly decisive week. The whole function of Parliament is to introduce legislation to facilitate the transition process. This legislation should be drawn up according to the agreements reached with other parties, and hinges on the talks with the ANC."

● Sapa reports that the IFP yesterday demanded "open disclosure" by the Government of transitional and constitutional discussions between itself and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance. It was reacting to the Government's angry response to an IFP document submitted to it last week.

IFP dampens talks progress

(11B) ~~SECRET~~ CF26/19B

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC had managed solid progress at their five-day bosbe-raad, according to sources close to the talks.

However, the ongoing row between the government and Inkatha has hung like a cloud over the discussions and threatens to delay a swift return to multi-party negotiations.

Well-placed sources said four major points of contention had crystallised at the government-ANC talks which yesterday switched venues from Pretoria to a site near Arniston:

- The powers to be given to regions in a new dispensation.

- The future of the TBVC territories.

- The extent to which power-sharing will be entrenched in a new political order.

- The future of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).

Although differences remained about how much power central government should surrender to the regions, the two sides are said to have closed the gaps in their thinking.

Progress has also been made on the re-incorporation of the homelands, with Bophuthatswana presenting the major headache for the negotiators.

The ANC has agreed to some of the government's proposals for entrenched power-sharing for an interim government but is still

strongly opposed to government plans for a forced coalition in a final constitution.

Deliberations on the future are at a "very sensitive" stage.

The government is worried about the apparent inability of the ANC to control all of its MK cadres.

But commitment by negotiators on both sides to end political violence and agreements on the need to change security legislation has raised hopes for a breakthrough in the next few weeks on the MK issue.

The government wraps up its talks with the ANC today and moves to Cape Town tomorrow to begin what promises to be a bruising bilateral session with Inkatha.

Hopes for settling IFP row

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has not abandoned hope of settling its quarrel with the Inkatha Freedom Party tomorrow, despite the apparently tough line taken by the IFP central committee at the weekend.

The central committee decided it would once again present to the Government a highly critical memorandum which the Government has insisted it should withdraw.

The memorandum, presented

by the IFP at a meeting with the Government last week, accused Pretoria of doing secret deals with the ANC.

The Government retaliated with a stinging attack on the IFP, implicitly blaming white advisers for misleading IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and suggesting the document did not represent the views of the "proud Zulu nation".

But on Sunday the IFP central committee officially endorsed the memorandum, deciding that it should be presented again tomorrow and that the

white advisers would be retained.

IFP sources pointed out yesterday that there were positive signs of a conciliatory mood in the central committee statement. The committee resolved "to formally re-state the points in our memorandum to which the Government so vehemently objected".

Government sources said last night this raised hopes of reconciliation.

There was no flexibility in the central committee's full endorsement of the IFP's white advisers.

Buthelezi calls for Natal peace drive

(115) RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued an emotional appeal to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in addressing a series of meetings in strife-torn areas of Natal to spark "a massive movement for peace".

Buthelezi's appeal came as figures showed Natal was experiencing its bloodiest January since President F W de Klerk's February 1990 speech, with at least 80 people dying violently in the province so far this year. 01/07/94 26/1/93

The figure is significantly higher than the 54 deaths recorded for the same period last year and the 62 people who died in the first 25 days of 1991, according to Human Rights Commission statistics.

Buthelezi said he and Mandela could "do something great for SA" by addressing meetings that would start up a mass peace movement. He repeated he was prepared to meet Mandela "tomorrow".

Meanwhile police, ANC and Inkatha witnesses continued to disagree about the causes of violence in the province before a Goldstone committee hearing in Port Shepstone, Sapa reports.

Divergent claims that police, criminals and traditional leaders fuelled violence were laid before the chairman of the inquiry into causes of violence in Port Shepstone, other than political rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha.

Police told the commission much of the killing was criminally motivated, but ended up playing a political role, while the ANC blamed security forces for prompting violence in the area.

Yesterday Inkatha Natal regional organiser Senzo Mfayela singled out the anti-

To Page 2

Buthelezi ^{blom} _{26/1/93} (115) From Page 1

talks stance of the ANC's Natal Midlands region as a major factor in violence there.

"The open opposition of the ANC's Natal Midlands leadership to regional and national peace initiatives and talks between Inkatha and the ANC has had a negative impact on stability in the Midlands and resulted in continued attacks.

"Inkatha would like to see a similar peace initiative to that in the Natal south coast being set up in the Natal Midlands."

Massacres of Inkatha supporters by masked gunmen wearing security force

uniforms had ceased since security forces stepped up patrols along the province's border with Transkei, he added.

Inkatha claimed last year that the attacks were being carried out by ANC members operating from Transkei.

HRC national director Safoora Sadek said the latest figures confirmed a shift in violence from the PWV to Natal.

Police said at least 14 people lost their lives in Natal at the weekend, reports Sapa.

SAP arm IFP claim

Own Correspondent

26/1/93

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LONDON. — New evidence on the arming of Inkatha hostels by the SA Police was last night due to be broadcast in a two-part BBC television documentary by David Dimbleby entitled "The Bitter Enders".

The programme, compiled over several months in South Africa late last year, considers whether a lasting settlement is likely or whether progress towards peace will be disrupted by those who have a vested interest in continuing violence.

The documentary shows an unnamed ANC supporter in Natal saying: "It's self-defence to eliminate a dangerous person."

The programme features Mr Justice Richard Goldstone condemning the continuing involvement of the security forces in covert activity against the ANC.

The second part of the documentary — to be broadcast on the BBC early next month — features interviews with Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

Buthelezi calls Mandela to peace rallies

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

(1/3) (2/15)
Inkatha Freedom Party leader and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to address joint rallies with him in strife-torn areas.

In a speech in Stanger on Sunday evening, Buthelezi said the time was long overdue for the IFP and the ANC to show South Africa they were "joining

forces to eradicate violence".

Buthelezi said if Mandela went with him from one strife-torn area to another to talk peace together from the same platform, a movement for peace would arise from their actions and "shame violence out of existence". *SPAL 26/1/93*

"The time has come for doing away with the posturing, the skirmishing and the manoeuvring for peace. I say let there now be peace so that negotia-

tions for democracy can commence in time for us to meet the 1994 deadline for a final constitutional dispensation. We can still do it."

In his response, ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan said preparations for an ANC-IFP summit were proceeding and Buthelezi's suggestion that Mandela address joint rallies with him "could well find a place on the agenda of such a meeting".

ANC 'no' to Inkatha peace rallies proposal

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC yesterday rejected an appeal by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the two organisations short-circuit preparatory talks in favour of high-profile peace rallies in conflict areas of Natal.

The ANC said in a statement it had no objection in principle to ANC president Nelson Mandela jointly addressing rallies with Buthelezi, but added that "such events should be part of a comprehensive approach currently under discussion".

Buthelezi said earlier he and Mandela urgently needed to address meetings jointly, which would result in a "massive movement for peace", instead of engaging in "posturing, skirmishing and manoeuvring for peace".

The ANC said discussions were aimed at "resolving differences and laying the basis for a successful meeting between the lead-

ership of both organisations ...

"The ANC and the IFP have, over recent weeks, held a series of bilateral meetings with one objective: to address, in a comprehensive manner, all issues relating to ongoing violence and ensure the creation of a climate for free political activity and tolerance," the ANC said.

Delegations headed by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose had identified and discussed issues.

"The ANC looks forward to further discussions with the IFP so all measures possible can be taken to address the violence and improve relations between the two organisations, both at leadership and membership level," it said in a statement.

Three plead not guilty to 22 charges

SUSAN RUSSELL

THREE men claiming to be ANC members, who allegedly murdered two security guards and a traffic officer during two armed robberies in which they stole almost R1m, pleaded not guilty to 22 charges in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mnqanqeni Solomon Simphiwe, 33, Makhosi William Phuthumile, 28, both of Phola Park, Alberton, and Motaung Daniel Sihema, 35, of Katilehong pleaded not guilty to three counts of murder, six attempted murder charges, three counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances, house-breaking and nine counts of unlawful possession of a machine gun and ammunition.

The three were allegedly part of a gang which stole R571 280 from Standard Bank's

Southdale branch on May 29.

They were also allegedly part of the same gang which killed two security guards and attempted to murder four others during an armed robbery at Corobrik near Nigel on November 25 1991.

Security guards Daniel Johannes Jacobus Verster and Hermanus Stephanus Lombard were murdered by the gang after their Fidelity Guards van was ambushed. The gang escaped with R401 880.

It is alleged the three also shot dead traffic officer Jacobus van der Merwe after he stopped them for speeding on March 27 last year. The trial continues.

First crucial obstacle cleared

Talks: now for the next hurdle

Political Staff

The first hurdle has been cleared in one of the most crucial negotiating weeks since South Africa's reform process started, and the second will be faced today.

Yesterday, Government and ANC negotiators completed a successful — although not conclusive — five-day bosberaad, agreeing to consult their principals with a view to further talks soon on the transition.

Today, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party delegates gather in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town for a two-day meeting aimed at salvaging their tattered relationship.

Political observers describe the two high-level bilateral meetings as crucial in determining whether President de Klerk will be able to deliver a clear message of optimism in his opening address to Parliament on Friday.

Hope

It is understood he will hold back until the last minute before finalising his speech — and its tenor will depend largely on whether a rapprochement is achieved with the IFP.

Sources in both the Government and the ANC say privately they still hope De Klerk will be able to announce that this session of Parliament might see the tabling of legislation paving the way for transitional government. If this is achieved, they say, the broadly agreed timetable providing for elections within a year to 18 months will be realistic.

At a meeting last week, Government and IFP negotiators exchanged acrimonious memoranda. Both sides have since tempered their rhetoric, stressing their commitment to the resumption of multiparty talks — an essential precursor to transitional power-sharing.

The negotiations process is finely poised: the fact that no detailed breakthroughs were announced after the Government-ANC talks, coupled with uncertainty about how the IFP talks will go, suggest that De Klerk may have to adopt a cautious approach on Friday.

Sources close to the Government-ANC talks, which ended at a secret western Cape venue, said they would meet again for another plenary session early in February to try to resolve remaining differences.

Delegations led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for three days in Pretoria last week and then for two days in the



Trend-setter . . . Maud Molefe (31) of Orange Farm squatter camp speaks to a 158 squatters in the area have had telephones installed and 18 000 have been c

Talks: now for next hurdle

From Page 1

western Cape to discuss transitional arrangements.

They talked about power-sharing in the transitional period and beyond and about measures to level the political playing field before elections, including restructuring the SABC, new electoral laws and joint control of the security forces.

Sources said the two delegations had returned with some tentative agreements but had failed to agree on others.

They had perhaps been "a bit ambitious" in trying to resolve all differences, one negotiator said.

Among the thornier problems were power-sharing beyond the

phase of interim government and the powers of regional government. *STAL 27/1/93*

Some observers suggest that both sides may have underplayed the extent of agreement to avoid fuelling the suspicion that they were cutting far-reaching "deals" alone.

This would especially be so in the light of today's meeting between the Government and the IFP.

The Government has demanded that the IFP withdraw its highly critical memorandum presented last week, but IFP leaders have indicated they intend to stand firm.

Much will depend on the atmosphere in which the meeting is conducted, even if differences persist.

Divisive issues unresolved as parties agree to hold preparatory talks

GOVERNMENT and Inkatha held cordial discussions yesterday after last week's angry interchanges, and they and the ANC have agreed on the need for a planning conference — within weeks — for multi-party talks.

However, it has become increasingly clear that, even after the five days of talks between the ANC and government, few of the crucial issues which divided them at Codesa have been resolved, and government and Inkatha have barely discussed constitutional issues.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Rama-

phosa said in Johannesburg yesterday that the meeting had agreed a planning conference should take place "by the end of February, and preferably sooner so that it does not dislocate the rest of the transitional schedule".

And in a joint statement after their meeting, government and Inkatha said they had appointed a three-a-side committee in "an urgent joint effort aimed at the realisation of the envisaged multiparty planning conference as soon as possible".

The parties "were encouraged by the conciliatory and positive spirit" at yester-

day's meeting.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said time had not allowed anything more than an overview of constitutional questions, and it was government's view that it and Inkatha needed to make up ground.

Ramaphosa, referring to the government/ANC meeting, said: "There has been no breakthrough." There was, however, "a promise of settlement when we next meet the government".

He added: "There exists a lot of common ground on a number of issues but there are a number of areas where there are deep disagreements."

One of these is believed to be the powers of the transitional executive council which would operate during the first phase of an interim government. Government sees the council as subordinate to the Cabinet, while the ANC believes it should have executive powers. A subcommittee had been set up to deal with this question.

It is also understood there has been extensive discussion on the constitution-making

TALKS

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chamber of national and regional representatives, the proposal says.

However, given that these positions reflect past ANC views, it is unclear that they represent anything more than a basis for discussion where government is concerned. Government is believed still to be insisting that regional principles be agreed before the election of a constitution-making body.

There does appear to be increasing consensus between government and the ANC on regions' status, powers and functions.

From Page 1

There remains some uncertainty about how to deal with those TBVC states which reject reincorporation, which is Bophuthatswana's position. Government argued it was unable unilaterally to legislate for reincorporation, while the ANC said homelands' status was not recognised in international law so this could be done. The ANC is understood to have argued that, were the States to renounce all bilateral agreements, those territories would be free to reincorporate.

There does appear to be increasing consensus between government and the ANC on regions' status, powers and functions.

To Page 2

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The proposal is believed to suggest that there be no provision in the constitutional principles for permanent power-sharing. The powers, functions and duties of regions would also not be predetermined by the multiparty forum but be left to the elected constitution-making body.

There would also not be two chambers in the constitution-making body, but a single

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talks

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(11B) BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

(11A)

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Talks

IFP, NP make up



Sowetan 28/1/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT and the Inkatha Freedom Party renewed their old friendship yesterday after months of acrimony which culminated in verbal exchanges last week.

The two parties emerged from their meeting yesterday much closer to each other. They could, however, report no tangible progress towards the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

They established a sub-committee which will meet on February 8 to discuss plans for a preparatory conference for the resumption of multi-party talks by March this year.

A joint statement signed by both parties read:

"The parties recognised that harm had been done to the relationship and the trust that had existed between the Government and the IFP, but were encouraged by the conciliatory and positive spirit that characterised today's meeting."

It was also evident that both parties dif-

fered on agreements that had already been reached at Codesa.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said after the meeting that as far as his organisation was concerned, Codesa was dead and that multiparty talks had to start afresh.

The Government and the ANC, however, still feel that agreements reached at Codesa should remain and that the process would at least initially follow these agreements.

Leading to elections

During the five-day meeting between the Government and the ANC, which ended in the southern Cape on Tuesday, there was accord on the principle of regionalism and on the envisaged time-frame for the process leading to elections.

A likely date for elections for a constitution-making body or constituent assembly now seems feasible during the first quarter of next year.

The appointment of a transitional executive structure which will prepare the country for elections seems likely to be in place by June this year at the latest.

Light at ^{STAR} the end ^{28/1193} of talks ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ tunnel ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

CAPE TOWN — The flurry of bilateral meetings held between the Government and the ANC and Inkatha had raised hopes that multiparty talks might resume soon, negotiators said last night.

Major obstacles have still to be overcome, but following successful meetings over the past week there is optimism that negotiations involving all the major political players could be resuscitated soon.

After a five-day meeting with the Government on the Cape coast, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that although no breakthrough had been achieved, the talks had held out the promise of a settlement when the two sides met again next month.

Optimism was also boosted when Government and IFP delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, met in Cape Town yesterday and patched up the fierce quarrel which peaked with an exchange of insulting memoranda last week.

The delegations agreed to appoint a committee to arrange a multiparty planning conference to review all bilateral agreements. They meet again on February 8.

Announcing that Government-IFP relations were back on track, Mdlalose and Meyer said at a joint press conference that they shared many basic constitutional principles. They had not yet got down to discussing differences.

In Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC and the Government would meet next Thursday to discuss security and violence and then again from February 10 to 12 to resume discussions on constitutional matters. "The talks are currently holding out a promise which we hope will end up in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet," he said.

There is a growing sense of

● To Page 3 ●

New hope for talks ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

● From Page 1

urgency and a firmer commitment to stick to the timetable for transition which President de Klerk spelt out in November. It calls for the resumption of formal multiparty negotiations by April, a transitional council by June and elections for full interim government by March next year.

One source close to the negotiations said yesterday that South Africa had six months to reach an agreement on interim government, or else the international community would turn its back on the country.

But despite the urgency, it is clear that fundamental differences of principle still separate the main parties.

The ANC and the Government still have a long way to go in reaching agreement on the powers to be devolved to regions, on whether power-sharing in a final constitution should be informal or formally entrenched, and on the powers of a transitional executive council to supervise the run-up to elections for an interim government. ^{STAR 28/1193}

But it seems that at the ANC-Government meeting over the past week, the two positions began to converge on federalism as the ANC began to accept that regional powers should be devolved rather than simply delegated from the central government. — Political Staff and Sapa.

NP man defects

w/maul 29/1-4/2/93.
A NATIONAL PARTY MP resigned yesterday, saying he was joining Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Jurie Mentz, who represents Vryheid in Natal, said he would ask Buthelezi to let him represent Inkatha in the whites-only House of Assembly, becoming the party's first MP.

Mentz said he wanted to join Inkatha because it was a staunch opponent of communism and had never used African National Congress "tactics such as international isolation and economic destabilisation".

"We in Natal would prefer to be ruled by our own people and with Dr Buthelezi as our obvious leader," he said, referring to Inkatha's proposals for kwaZulu and Natal to be run as a single autonomous state in a democratic, federal South Africa.



SWITCH . . . Nationalist front-bencher Mr Jurie Mentz, who has defected to the IFP. Picture: AMNELANG

IFP dumps Mats for Inkatha

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party was rocked on its heels yesterday when Nationalist front-bencher Mr Jurie Mentz apparently ended his 40-year association with the ruling party by defecting to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

More defections are expected with at least one senior NP member likely to express his allegiance to Umtso before the end of next month.

The decision by Mr Mentz, MP for Vryheid, to give Inkatha its first toe-hold in Parliament was welcomed by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mtshali as "a bold step".

Mr Mentz, deputy-chairman of the NP caucus and ruling party MP for the past 19 years, shocked the NP with his resignation. He had apparently not formally signalled his intentions to either President F W de Klerk or Natal leader Mr George Bartlett.

But while the NP lost on the swings yesterday it more than gained on the roundabouts. As the annual musical chairs in the standing of parliamentary parties continued, some nine MPs in the House of Delegates linked up with the NP giving the party 14 of the 45 seats in the House and putting it within striking distance of total control.

After the defections the ruling Solidarity Party was left with 21 seats, while the NP had 14. The other seats are spread between the National Peoples' Party (4), Democratic Party (3) and Merit Peoples' Party (2). There is one independent.

MPs said yesterday that the all-out bid by the NP to gain control of all three Houses of Parliament reflected the determination of Mr De Klerk to ensure that any changes to the Constitution would have an easy passage.

Proclaiming himself to be a "white Zulu", Mr Mentz told the Cape Times yesterday that his major reason for joining Inkatha was his determination to keep the ANC from gaining power in Natal/KwaZulu.

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IFP 'won't go back to Codesa'

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(118)

ULUNDI. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is not prepared to accept a power-sharing agreement in South Africa without a vision that will ensure the survival of the country.

Speaking to members of the OAU observer mission in Ulundi yesterday, he warned that the IFP had no intention of going back to Codesa III.

It would decline an invitation to any multiparty forum of negotiation where it would be called upon merely to rubber-stamp agreements reached between the government and the ANC/SACP alliance.

It would not be able to go to any negotiating forum until the government and the ANC came to terms with the fact that the process they envisaged "cannot be im-

Not prepared to be a rubber-stamp for govt and ANC

posed on unwilling third parties".

However, he said the IFP was ready to get on with the Multiparty Planning Conference as soon as possible.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP had tabled for consideration a set of constitutional principles to be adopted as guidelines for the process of "ground-up" democracy building.

He also called on the OAU not to openly endorse any political party or any preconceived notion of how the transformation of society should take place.

In a memorandum presented to the OAU observer mission, Chief Buthelezi said it seemed the ANC and the government had reached an understanding on power-sharing during their bilateral talks.

It appeared the tricameral parliament would enact a transitional constitution that would empower a government of national unity and a constituent assembly to draft a constitution without any predetermined deadlines.

This lengthy process would give the ANC an

opportunity to seize power over government and civil society and would benefit the National Party, as it would ensure the NP's continued presence in the government after the first elections.

Chief Buthelezi added that there was no justification for delaying the drafting of the final constitution.

The IFP believed a final constitution should be drafted and adopted by September 1994, at which time elections should take place.

The PAC's national executive committee will hold an emergency strategy meeting this weekend following agreement by major parties that multiparty talks are to resume. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Nats stunned as MP defects to Inkatha

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — In a day of musical chairs, Inkatha gained its first representation in Parliament and nine House of Delegates MPs defected to the NP. *Blom*

The NP is now close to being the largest party in all three Houses, but the defection of Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz, an NP member for 40 years, shocked the party.

The NP, braced for more defections by senior Natal members to Inkatha, said nothing justified Mentz's "drastic step".

Mentz, describing himself as a "white Zulu", said he hoped it would be understood that he was acting in the interests of the people of Natal/KwaZulu as a whole.

He stressed that he believed President F W de Klerk was "one of the greatest leaders this country has produced", but he believed it would be "ideal for Dr (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and his IFP to become the major governing party in KwaZulu/Natal". He would be devoting his energies towards keeping the ANC and socialist policies from power in Natal. *29/1/92*

Inkatha said Buthelezi intended recommending that Mentz be included in the party's central committee. National chairman Frank Mdlalose said Inkatha appreciated the bold step Mentz had taken and was "aware that there are others in his party disenchanted with the policy being pursued by the top hierarchy of the NP".

The DP, which lost an MP to the NP but gained another House of Delegates member this week, said the defection was no surprise and predicted more would follow.

The DP's Mike Ellis said it would be interesting to see the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC in Parliament: "They will be sitting very near each other and we trust that they will conduct themselves along strict parliamentary lines."

The nine defections to the House of Delegates means the NP, with 14 seats, has ousted the National People's Party as the official opposition. It is now in a position to challenge Solidarity, which has 21 seats.

Solidarity member Farouk Cassim predicted that the NP would gain a total of 17 members, making it the largest party in the House although it would still be short of an absolute majority.

A NUMBER of the most senior members of Inkatha are deeply disgruntled with the way Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is handling negotiations.

One of them, national chairman and kwaZulu cabinet member Frank Mdalose, tried to resign within the last six months. He was prevented from doing so by Buthelezi.

With Mdalose are other kwaZulu cabinet and Inkatha central committee members, the Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane and Finance Minister Dennis Madike.

The division in Inkatha—which has been apparent to both the government and the ANC in their recent meetings with the organisation—lies behind the publication last week of the angry memorandum exchanged by the government and Inkatha during recent talks.

It is believed that Inkatha members unhappy with Buthelezi's approach encouraged government sources to leak the document to the media.

Battle for the soul of Inkatha

A rift is developing between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and senior Inkatha members over the negotiations process. They claim central committee member Walter Felgate has too much influence over the chief minister. By ANTON HARBBER

Wp/ma 29/11-4/2/93

committee member who, despite unpopularity in the organisation, has extraordinary personal influence over Buthelezi. These individuals are also unhappy with various rightwing constitutional experts from the US and Europe who are advising Buthelezi and encouraging his hardline attitude.

ANC sources tell of two incidents in recent meetings when the division in Inkatha became apparent. At one of them, a Peace Accord meeting, Mdalose was obliged to read out a vitriolic statement, purporting to come from Buthelezi but written by Felgate. Immediately after it was read out, one Inkatha leader said he had been a member of Inkatha for many years and

was a central committee and cabinet member, but the views expressed in the memorandum had never been discussed. "I do not associate myself with this," he said—and the rest of the Inkatha delegation agreed with him.

Sources close to the disaffected Inkatha leaders say they disagree with the organisation's continual attacks on the ANC and do not accept Buthelezi's criticism of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, nor the demand that it be immediately disbanded.

They are also uncomfortable with Buthelezi's loose alliance, through the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), with far-rightwing groups. They feel that Buthelezi sometimes

expresses views, drafted by Felgate, that have not been canvassed with other senior Inkatha members. They often find out about these views only when a memorandum is read out at a meeting.

Government sources confirm that it has become apparent to their negotiators in their recent meetings with Inkatha that some senior members disagree with Buthelezi's views.

The National Party is debating how to handle this division. The dominant view is the government and the ANC must push ahead with talks and try and weaken those in Inkatha who are being obstructive. However, the Natal section, led by Frank Bartlett, believes Inkatha is their primary ally and the party should

not endanger the relationship.

According to sources close to Inkatha, Mdalose went to Buthelezi a few months ago and said he had to resign because of the death of his son. Buthelezi said nothing, but walked across his office to a filing cabinet from which he removed a document. "Is this perhaps the reason you want to resign?" he said, and showed Mdalose a letter he had allegedly written to ANC leaders which included complaints about aspects of Inkatha policy.

Mdalose has since denied knowledge of this incident, but it has been confirmed by others close to Inkatha.

Felgate has been the source of controversy in Inkatha before. Under pressure from his colleagues, Buthelezi has on more than one occasion agreed to sever ties with Felgate. "But he always goes to see the chief minister and gets back into favour. He is not particularly competent and has no special qualification for the job," one source said.

The same source said Felgate writes all Buthelezi speeches and the chief minister sometimes reads them out in public without having read them before. "He is more than a conventional speech writer. Nobody can explain why he is so trusted by Buthelezi."

The controversy is tied in with Inkatha's military intelligence connections, revealed last year in *The Weekly Mail*. Some government sources believe elements of MI are encouraging Buthelezi's hardline attitude, as are his Cosag allies. They are eager to loosen Buthelezi's ties to MI and Cosag and encourage Inkatha leaders who want to take a less hardline attitude.

Another factor now is that the Goldstone Commission is due to release a report that is likely to be harshly critical of the kwaZulu Police and other aspects of Inkatha activity. The inquiry was the result of extensive support for Inkatha by military intelligence front companies, including the training and arming of 200 "hit men".

Inkatha leaders clash with de Klerk's team

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

A POLITICAL brawl with racial overtones, centring on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha organisation, is setting the scene for what is likely to prove a crucial week for South Africa's negotiating process.

Government politicians and factions in Inkatha were busily exchanging insults at the weekend in the wake of a row between negotiators over allegations by the de Klerk administration that a mysterious group of whites was manipulating Chief Buthelezi.

It began last week when talks between Inkatha and the government broke up after President F. W. de Klerk's team accused Chief Buthelezi's representatives of manufacturing lies and distortions.

They were responding to a memorandum read out by the Inkatha chairman, Frank Mdlalose, accusing the government of trying to cling to power by reaching secret deals with the African National Congress. "Where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour?" it demanded.

The minister of constitutional development, Roelf Meyer, was so incensed by the attack that he asked for an adjournment to write a stinging rebuke. In language unprecedented between the two

political groupings, the nationalists described the Inkatha document as "banal nonsense" written by "a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives."

The government negotiators also referred to "forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us".

Dr Meyer had latched on to the fact that the memorandum had been written by a shadowy adviser to Chief Buthelezi, Walter Felgate, an influential figure in Inkatha since the mid-1970s. The reference to destructive forces was seen as an attack on other white advisers, including a former chief-of-staff of South African military intelligence, Major General Tiene Groenewald, and two US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Mario Ambrosini — who are credited with devising constitutional proposals recently produced by Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi reacted with fury, denouncing the government attack as a racist insult. "Are they saying that because I am a kaffir I can't think for myself?" he demanded.

Nevertheless, the government broadside appears to have hit a sore spot in Inkatha.

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Mand
Guantanamo

NEWS Vryheid's Member of Parliament switches to Inkatha

National Party MP joins Inkatha

Sowetan 29/1/93
Sowetan Correspondent

MR Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid for 19 years, yesterday dropped a political bombshell by resigning from the party and announcing he would seek membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

And he was immediately accepted as a member of the IFP and promoted to its central committee. His appointment was confirmed by

Mentz says there will be no peace in the country if Kwazulu-Natal is governed by Pretoria:

the IFP within hours of his announcing his resignation from the NP. Mentz will now become the IFP's first voice in Parliament and share the cross-benches in the House of Assembly and the Chamber of Parliament with the six unofficial ANC representatives. IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Mentz "will make an

important contribution to the continuing political development of the IFP". One of the most respected Nationalist stalwarts, Mentz was until mid-morning yesterday chairman of the NP in Natal and vice-chairman of the party's parliamentary caucus. Mentz attended a Natal NP caucus yesterday morning, but gave his col-

leagues no indication of his intentions. Instead of moving on to a national caucus, however, he set about his summing switch. NP colleagues were thus unaware of his move as they huddled in their all-day caucus. He has not discussed this shock move with President FW de Klerk. Voters in Natal would have to choose between the IFP and the ANC, Mentz said in announcing his move.

Govt, IFP optimistic on interim govt date

The Government remains convinced that an interim government could be in place in South Africa by the first quarter of 1994.

This view last night had the qualified support of Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Dr Ben Ngubane.

On the SABC programme, *Agenda*, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said following the bilateral talks between the Government and the IFP and the Government and the ANC, it looked as if everybody could keep to the (transition) time-scales.

The ANC was not represented at the panel discussion. In an earlier statement the ANC said it objected to the way in which the SABC had approached the programme.

"The SABC only invited the ANC, Government

and Inkatha Freedom Party to participate in a live debate about negotiations. Negotiations is not only a matter of the ANC, Government and the IFP, but many organisations are part of the process," it said.

Ngubane noted that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa talks had failed because of the exclusion of certain parties, such as the Conservative Party, the Zulu King and the Zulu cabinet.

Meyer conceded Codesa had its flaws, but it had been a good exercise.

● Despite hopes for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council by April, "serious differences" between the ANC and the Government still remained, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned yesterday, reports Brian Soku-tu.

Nat MP Mentz joins IFP

209A (11B)
STM 29/1/93

CAPE TOWN — Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid for 19 years, dropped a political bombshell yesterday by resigning from his party and announcing he would seek membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Within hours he had been accepted as a member of the IFP with immediate promotion to its central committee.

Mentz will now become the IFP's first voice in Parliament and share the cross-benches in the House of Assembly and the chamber of Parliament with six unofficial ANC representatives.

The movement's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said Mentz and his constituency "will bring an important contribution to the political development of the IFP".

Mentz attended a Natal NP caucus yesterday, but gave his colleagues no indication of his intentions. Instead of moving on to a national caucus, however, he set about his stunning switch.

He has not discussed this move with President de Klerk nor, apparently, with Buthelezi.

Voters in Natal would have to choose between the IFP or ANC, Mentz said in announcing his move: "To me in Natal/KwaZulu the moderate people I know and trust are the supporters of Inkatha.

"We will never have peace in our country if Natal/KwaZulu is governed from Pretoria by the ANC/SACP or if Bantu Holomisa, Harry Gwala, or Chris Hani are in control of our region."

● The number of National Party members in the House of Delegates continues to grow. It now stands at 14, with the announcement yesterday by Ashwin Mohanlall (Clare Estate) and Ganie Mohamed (Rylands) that they had joined the NP.

Mohanlall defected from the National Peoples' Party and Mohamed from Solidarity.

Piet Swanepoel, chairman of the NP's caucus, said NP membership in all three Houses was now 156. This was the largest caucus in the history of the South African Parliament. The NP now had more than half of Parliament's 308 members. — Political Staff, Sapa.

Who's putting guns in killers' hands?

29/1-4/2/93

A GUN supplied by the government was used to kill Natal Midlands African National Congress leader, S'khumbuzo Ngwenya, according to a murder indictment before the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court.

The killing was allegedly arranged by the mayor of Imbali, Phikelela Ndlovu, and the deputy mayor, Abdul Awetha.

The gun used to kill Ngwenya was supplied by the Imbali Town Council, which falls under the Natal Provincial Administration.

These findings of a police investigation will be presented to the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court next week.

Bust-up as the bishop buries his wife

29/1-4/2/93
It was no ordinary funeral when a Thokoza bishop who leads a local gang buried his wife.

By **BAFANA KHUMALO**
and **KEVIN CARTER**
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IT was immediately apparent that this was no ordinary Saturday in the East Rand township of Thokoza. The roads were barricaded with rocks, bed frames, fallen trees and burnt-out cars. Hundreds of people were on the street, some displaying

The killing of a Natal ANC leader has initiated more evidence about murder weapons being supplied to Inkatha activists by the state.

By **FRED KOCKOTT**

poors and a hand grenade, killing three children who were being transported to school.

Awetha and Ndlovu allegedly chose Ngwenya as a target "or one of the targets" to avenge the killings, securing the services of persons to kill

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the ANC leader, among them the 16-year-old youth. Awetha allegedly gave them a pistol which had been issued to him by the Imbali Town Council.

The persons allegedly assigned to kill Ngwenya learned that he was dining at the Windsor Hotel in Pietermaritzburg on February 8 1992. They drove to the hotel in a white Corina and from time to time went into the hotel to reconnoitre.

Eventually the 16-year-old youth and "another person" took up position in or near the parking lot of the hotel, each of them armed with a pistol.

At about 10pm, Ngwenya left the restaurant and went to his bakkie. As

he drove off, the two gunmen opened fire from close range, and then fled to the Corina which was waiting for them some distance from the hotel. He died shortly afterwards from a wound in the neck.

After the killing, the pistol was returned, and to confound the ballistic evidence, Awetha allegedly damaged its barrel and firing-pin. Thereafter he and Ndlovu, who had also been issued with a similar pistol by the Imbali Town Council, allegedly exchanged the barrels and slides of their respective weapons.

They are then said to have asked the official at Imbali Town Council responsible for the issue of firearms to exchange the pistol on the grounds that it was no longer functioning properly.

This will not be the first time that evidence has emerged about guns, supplied by authorities to Inkatha activists, being used to murder people.

During a series of trials in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court over the past two years, it was learned that the Pietermaritzburg security police once purchased 24 guns from Kings Sports and distributed them to leading Inkatha members in Imbali.

By sheer chance, four of these guns were ballistically linked to the murders of 17 people in Imbali. In all but two of these murders, no convictions could be secured, as it was not possible to determine who was in possession of the guns at the time of the killings.

Evidence was led that the weapons were circulated from hand to hand among Inkatha activists.

Besides the four guns that were connected to the spate of murders, the remaining weapons are apparently still in the hands of those to whom they were issued — members and supporters of Inkatha in Imbali.



Death days ... A boy cycles past a hurrying barricade erected

Mentz could lead more Nats to IFP

11B
ANC 30/1/92

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Weekend Argus Political Staff

SPECULATION is rife in Parliament that more Nationalist MPs may break away to the Inkatha Freedom Party following the bombshell move this week by Nationalist luminary Mr Jurie Mentz.

There is reportedly a lot of tension within the NP over its relationship with the IFP.

Former political colleagues of Mr Mentz, MP for Vryheid, have accused him of narrowing his political focus to Natal rather than concentrating on the national picture.

Mr Mentz became the IFP's first MP and was immediately offered a seat on the IFP's central committee. Mr Mentz has come out strongly in favour of a federal system and for IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to lead Natal/KwaZulu.

He said voters in Natal and KwaZulu would have to choose between the IFP and the African National Congress. "As far as I am concerned, I will make every effort for the IFP to win that election," Mr Mentz said.

It was a traumatic move for Mr Mentz, who had been a leading light in the NP for the past 40 years.

In its response, the NP in Natal said it noted Mr Mentz's resignation with regret and concern. He had over many years played a positive and constructive role in the NP of

Natal. He could have continued with that role for many years.

Mr George Bartlett, leader of the NP in Natal, said Mr Mentz was a great friend of the Zulu people. Mr Mentz had served the NP well, and believed that by joining the IFP he could further help the negotiation process.

"As leader, I regret that he has left the party, but I understand how he feels," Mr Bartlett said.

"We regret the fact that Mr Mentz did not discuss his intentions with the State President."

He added: "Nothing contained in Mr Mentz's statement justified his taking the drastic step of resigning from the NP and joining the IFP."

A spokesman for the Natal NP said the NP government had to serve and reconcile both regional and national interests, and had to guide the constitutional process in such a way that the outcome would satisfy the needs and aspirations of most of South Africa's people.

"It would appear the Mr Mentz has narrowed his political focus and is not taking these important considerations into account," the spokesman said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said Mr Mentz's resignation was further proof of the tension and dissatisfaction of members of the NP over the NP's alliance with the ANC, and the estrangement of the IFP and the Group of Concerned South Africans.

Mr Mentz said voters in Natal and

KwaZulu would have to choose between just two parties: the IFP or the African National Congress. "As far as I am concerned I will make every effort for the IFP to win that election because it is in the interests of all the people of Natal for Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to become the leader."

Mr Mentz was chairman of the NP in Natal. He attended the Natal caucus of the NP early today.

However, instead of going on to the main Parliamentary caucus meeting, he announced his resignation. He was vice chairman of the Parliamentary caucus.

Dr Buthelezi said the IFP would have no objection to Mr Mentz continuing to serve as an MP.

Mr Mentz took his seat on the crossbenches with the breakaway ANC-aligned MPs and members of the Afrikaner Volks Unie.

Mr Mike Ellis, chairman of the Democratic Party's Natal Coastal Region, said: "The defection of Mr Mentz came as no real surprise to the DP. It has been clear to us for a long time that there have been serious divisions in the NP, particularly in Natal, with regard to the NP's relationship with the IFP. I believe that there is a real possibility of further defections to the IFP in the near future."

Mr Luwellyn Landers, national chairman of the Labour Party, said South Africa's politics were like shifting sands. "It is to be expected that you are going to get these movements."

Tight lips after tough bargaining

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party were tight-lipped after two days of tough bargaining in Pretoria.

The meeting was the first between the parties since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily suspended talks with the government following President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela's signing of the Record of Understanding on September 26.

Although the IFP and the government delegations issued a terse joint statement saying they would report to their principals, neither side was willing to give any details of how the meeting went.

Hopes of an early resumption of multi-party negotiations hinged on the outcome of the meeting, which is one of a series of important bilateral meetings the government has lined up with a host of organisations this week.

NATIONAL Party propaganda in black education may be on its way out, but, as critics put it - "Inkatha" is still being drummed into KwaZulu pupils.

The controversial subject, called Ubuntu-Botho, was set up to promote Inkhatha's political views in the '70s.

It is estimated about 90 percent of African schooling in Natal - involving about 1,6-million pupils - falls under KwaZulu's Department of Education and Culture (DEC).

Inkatha is abusing syllabus, says ANC

Ubuntu-Botho was cited last month as a "contributor to the violence and an obstacle to peace in Natal".

This submission was made to the Goldstone Commission's preliminary hearings in Durban this week by Dr Blade Nzimande, director of the

Natal University-based Education Projects Unit (EPU) and also Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman.

The subject dates back to 1978 when Inkatha's annual general conference resolved to introduce a subject known as Ubuntu-Botho.

The syllabus was drawn up by a committee consisting of senior Inkatha leaders, Inkatha-supporting academics at the University of Zululand and individual members of both the School Inspectors' Association of KwaZulu and the Natal African Teachers Union.

An introductory memorandum subsequently sent by the DEC to all school inspectors and principals captured the primary aim of the subject.

It said: "The syllabus is based on the aims and objectives of the National Cultural Liberation Movement Movement (Inkatha) ... In drawing up this syllabus the committee was influenced by the need to develop in our youth the whole person within the ambit of the Inkatha constitution ..."

"Many adults seem to hold divergent views and beliefs about Inkatha ... These are passed on to the young and cloud the youths' minds. It is thus hoped that this syllabus, together with its guide, will clear many doubts and thus create unified ideas to match with the goals of Inkatha."

A Durban academic who helped draft the syllabus this week said the initial syllabus was nothing else but an Inkatha policy document.

However, after more discussions, a new syllabus "mentioning" other political organisations, leaders and issues, was introduced.

"As Ubuntu-Botho stands now, it's a subject which any future government other than Inkatha would retain, although it might remove or change the section dealing with Inkatha," the academic said.

But Nzimande told the Goldstone Committee that his and other educationists' analysis of both the syllabus and its books, published by Shuter and Shooter in Maritzburg, showed that what was being taught in KwaZulu schools remained an Inkatha programme.

"The syllabus aims at bolstering the image of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha and denigrates other organisations, mainly the ANC, Cosatu and the defunct UDF," Nzimande said.

'FAIL THIS

SUBJECT!

By S'BU MNGADI

CP/200/31/1193

11/12

Hushed talks while the country waits in the dark

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOR most South Africans, bombarded daily by the stream of information coming out of the talks about talks, few seem to know where the country is going.

Even after reading most of this week's newspaper reports about the latest flurry of bilaterals which will hopefully lead to the much talked about multiparty forum, no one could be the wiser.

A day after the completion of the Inkatha/government bilaterals, which came a day after the end of the ANC/Pre-

toria talks, a classic example of the state of guesswork, speculation and confusion surrounding the talks came to the fore.

"All is set for multiparty talks" was the headline which thundered across the front page on one newspaper. Another opined that "Diverse issues still unresolved as parties agree to hold preparatory talks" while another said "TFP, NP make up".

If two others had declared "Deadlock in talks" or "No hope for resumption of talks", they too would have been spot on.

The different interpretations by newspapers indicate the fluidity of talks at the moment. It also demonstrates how difficult it is to determine what is really going on.

All three parties - Inkatha, the ANC and the government - are playing their cards close to the chest. No one is prepared to say more than necessary.

All the ANC and government in a statement was: "Security matters were discussed during the first two days. Various models exploring issues such as a government of nation unity and regional government were considered. Various matters that were canvassed at Codesa - such as procedures to appoint a new SABC Board, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Electoral Commission, and the reincorporation of the TBVC states - were also explored.

The two delegations will be reporting to their principals with a view to resolving matters and finalising the resumption of multiparty negotiations." It went on to explain how to mend bridges between the two parties while both parties retained their democratic right to state their positions "in an acceptable manner" and that the most pressing problem was the re-establishment of multiparty negotiations.

If CP leader Andries Treurnicht is to be believed, contrary to what the government and the ANC were willing to reveal, some breakthroughs on security matters were made. Treurnicht said there was agreement on the in-

tegration of armed forces including the SADF and the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.

Buthelezi has not yet abandoned the idea of a troika leadership comprising himself, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk - an idea strongly opposed by the ANC leadership.

Whether Buthelezi has been promised this to return to the talks remains to be seen.

While joint statements made by the various leaders have been terse, the ANC, in its post-bosher briefing to journalists, once more took a

hardline position on Codesa. It reiterated that future multiparty talks would take place within the context of this forum.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said as far as Inkatha was concerned, Codesa is as good as dead.

Drawing on the little snippets of information being revealed, if Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group ally insist that Codesa is dead and the ANC says this is the body to unlock the electoral process, then it is clear the talks are still headed for an impasse.

The ANC position on Codesa is full of contradictions. They say, and rightly so, that bilateral agreements between them and the government are not binding to those who are not party to them.

If this is the case, why should those who were not party to Codesa be forced to accept it as the forum to resolve the country's problems?

After several days of intense discussions and De Klerk's opening of parliament, the public is still not clear whether the multiparty talks are around the corner or not.

dark

Star 112193

IFP voter education drive

(113)
The Inkatha Freedom Party has embarked on a voter education programme to teach people voting procedures and various electoral systems, IFP Transvaal executive committee member Humphrey Ndlovu announced yesterday.

IFP okays planning forum ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

212/93

THE IFP said yesterday it was prepared to negotiate a multi-party planning conference, but it would not be going back to Codesa.

It was its understanding that it had already reached "preliminary consensus" with the government about the form, structure and other details of a multi-party conference for entirely new future deliberations to follow afterwards.

The IFP reacted yesterday to a statement at the weekend by a member of the ANC's national executive, Mr Thabo Mbeki, that it was his organisation's perception that Codesa would be reconvened with the CP and PAC.

● Sapa reports that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday strongly disagreed with the government's views on constitutional principles and the proposed multi-party conference as enunciated by President F W de Klerk when he opened Parliament.

1st parliamentary voice for Inkatha

Political Correspondent 118

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's voice was heard in Parliament for the first time yesterday.

Mr Jurie Mentz, the MP for Vryheid, was speaking yesterday after defecting from the National Party last week and told MPs he had been pleasantly surprised by the "spontaneous support" his action had drawn from people across the country.

He believed the IFP could amount to a bridging and moderating factor and charged that the ANC had sparked the fighting in Natal.

By fighting back and defending themselves, the IFP was often accused of being the aggressors, said Mr Mentz.

The IFP would like to work against the economic policies of the ANC/SACP alliance and was in favour of a federal solution in which Kwa-Zulu/Natal would be a region, he said.

Two IFP men in murder case

8-21-93
MARITZBURG. Two Inkatha Freedom Party members from Imbali appeared in the Supreme Court here yesterday charged with the murder of an ANC leader. (13)

Mr. Abdul Awetta, Mr. Phikelela Ndlovu and a 16-year-old youth are accused of murdering local ANC leader Mr. Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya in February last year.

They were not asked to plead and were released on bail. The case continues today. — Sapa

~~247~~
Second Natal MP
quits to join IFP

Political Star

IB Acc 2/19/93
MIKE TARR, Democratic Party MP for Maritzburg North, today resigned from the DP and has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He is the second Natal MP to join the IFP. Last week Mr Jurie Mentz (Vryheid) did so.

More MPs could follow, parliamentary sources said.

Mr Tarr now takes his place with Mr Mentz on the back benches.

Mr Tarr is to meet the DP's constituency council in Maritzburg North to explain his move.

He said he had been agonising over this move for a long time. He had no quarrel with the DP, and liked their policy, "but they are not the right vehicle in Natal".

5 — P14 RACING — P16 SP

Inkatha no to 'new' Codesa

INKATHA yesterday rejected out of hand any participation in a multiparty forum "which in any way resembles Codesa", casting doubt over an early resumption of constitutional talks.

In a separate development the PAC national executive called for a new negotiating forum "free from the flaws of Codesa" and rejected all bilateral negotiations.

It is known that government was "a bit shaken" yesterday when it heard Inkatha's position and discussed the statement in a high-level policy meeting. No direct comment could be solicited.

Government and the ANC have both agreed that the multiparty forum to negotiate the principles of a new constitution would be a restricted and streamlined Codesa.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said government and the ANC had a firm agreement on this in September's record of understanding.

Billy Paddock
2/2/93
BILLY PADDOCK

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday "there is no question whatsoever" of his party returning to such a forum.

He also reiterated that Inkatha as well as "other parties" would not be bound by agreements in Codesa working groups.

Buthelezi's statement also said that he felt a preliminary agreement had been reached with government that the planning conference would structure the form, substance and all other modalities of "entirely new future deliberations". He also insisted that Inkatha would not go ahead until the "issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe is satisfactorily disposed of in the early stages of the proceedings".

Meanwhile PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation had committed itself to a transfer of power through an elected constituent assembly "unfettered by

Tim Cohen
2/2/93
TIM COHEN

bilateral dealings". "The PAC is vehemently opposed to bilateral dealings," he said. But he then said he regretted that government had unilaterally terminated the bilateral talks between itself and the PAC following recent Apla attacks.

Alexander said the weekend meeting of the executive had decided that a new negotiating forum should consist only of political parties with a national character, have neutral, international involvement in convenorship, chairmanship, administration and security, be transparent so that the media and the public could follow the process, and not be a decision-making body, but a facilitating body to realise a constituent assembly.

He said the PAC would re-entertain talks with government "but we shall not bow down to pre-conditions to talks".

The PAC executive had decided to continue all forms of struggle, including armed struggle.

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01740

Land claims to be probed

Tim Cohen
2/2/93
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Instances where land claimed by displaced communities had been hastily transferred to white farmers would be reviewed, Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

He said in some cases state land had been transferred to white farmers to exclude it from the jurisdiction of the land allocation advisory committee.

A mechanism to negotiate the future of such land would have to be instituted, he said, conceding that this land had been inappropriately transferred.

Pienaar envisages 'a free SABC'

Tim Cohen
2/2/93
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday he envisaged the selection of the new SABC board by an independent group, freeing the broadcasting corporation from NP influence for the first time.

Pienaar said he was confident that the process could be completed by the time the new SABC board had to be selected in March.

He was still negotiating with a variety of interest groups, but in discussions held so far there was overwhelming support for an independent electoral college.

Pienaar said the Cabinet had agreed in principle to the establishment of an independent authority to consider applications for private and community broadcast licences.

Ministers had been instructed to draft necessary legislation for an SA telecommunications commission.

Apartment still lives — Zach

Tim Cohen
2/2/93
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The continued existence of the homelands was living, visible proof that apartheid was not dead, DP leader Zach de Beer said during the debate in Parliament yesterday on President F.W. de Klerk's opening address.

The own affairs system was being done away with because it was racist and expensive, but the system of hantustans was much more expensive, racist and corrupt.

"It must go, and before Nationalist speakers start talking constitutional divvies, let me say Pretoria's financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoria's sovereignty over so-called self-governing territories is not in question at all."

ANC-supporting MP for Sandton David Dalling said government would leave behind racial ghettos, a mass of uneducated black South Africans living in grinding poverty, and massive international debt. White South Africans should be thankful that the ANC was the dominant force in black politics because of its truly non-racial attitudes, Dalling said.

Tim Cohen
2/2/93
TIM COHEN

Codesa that an independent and neutral body should be established to regulate the telecommunications sector and that such a body should be created in terms of an Act of Parliament.

The whole process came to a standstill as a result of the collapse of Codesa. However, it had been decided that because of the large number of applications the process could no longer be postponed.

Our Political Staff reports that Pienaar said at the same briefing that his Environment Affairs Department would oppose the damne mining of Lake St Lucia's eastern shores if an environmental impact study to be released on March 18 found it would cause irreparable harm.

However, if damage could be repaired or eliminated "I can see no reason why the mining cannot proceed as planned".

Political Staff

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht said consensus would never be reached in SA if its variety of nations was not recognised.

"That is why Codesa failed," said the CP leader.

There was an unhealthy speed with which government and the ANC wanted to force a system on SA when clarity had not even been attained on federalism or regionalism. Government was now further away from consensus than it had been a year ago.

Jurie Mentz (Vryheid), the former NP MP who joined Inkatha last week and sits now as an independent, said people were sick and tired of violence and destabilisation.

Inkatha and the Zulu nation had proved through the years to be a disciplined people and had never conducted a campaign to eliminate policemen.

The party could play a bridging and moderating role in SA politics, he said.

DP's Tarr in shock defection to Inkatha

DURBAN — Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North, Mike Tarr, resigned from the DP yesterday morning to join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

His move took the DP by surprise, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Tarr said in Cape Town he had told the DP of his decision and he had made a formal announcement in Parliament earlier in the day.

Tarr said he intended joining the IFP as soon as possible. He had spoken to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had said he would

be welcome. (118)

"I think it's time white South Africans walked that extra yard and joined predominantly black organisations."

He added that he fully identified with Inkatha's principles, specifically on federalism, and that since Inkatha did not differ in any major respect from DP policy proposals, it made little sense having two parties propagating similar views.

De Beer said: "I cannot pretend to understand Tarr's action, and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability in our country." — Sapa

Star 3/21 93

(304A)

Heat is on all leaders — FW

LONDON — All political leaders in South Africa are now under pressure to reach agreement, according to President de Klerk.

He dismissed suggestions in a BBC television interview that he was the one under pressure to clinch a deal.

"Neither can the ANC or Inkatha afford further long delays because their supporters are getting restive too," he said.

"The whole mood in the country down at ground level is that people are getting disillusioned with political leaders because

of the lack of progress. All political leaders are feeling this pressure."

De Klerk said he was convinced progress in multiparty negotiations would lead to a reduction in violence.

The removal of violence was a condition for the holding of free and fair elections, he said.

He warned he would postpone elections if there were no let-up in the violence.

"I'm not prepared to hand the country over into chaos."

The BBC showed the interview with De Klerk as part of a second programme on South

Africa in its *Panorama* current affairs series. The first was shown last week.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were also interviewed.

Mandela said the ANC was confident of winning a general election.

"But the problem that faces us is to retain political power, to defend it," he said.

Mandela said he favoured a government of national unity in the early stages of the democracy process because "to assume political power is going to be a

protracted process because it means we have to gain control of the civil service, of the army, of the police force, and to get the co-operation of business.

"These three services (civil service, army and police) were built up in order to defend apartheid, white minority rule and gaining control of them cannot be done overnight."

Buthelezi said he could not be ignored in any agreement.

"If anyone thinks my constituency can be ignored, I mean clearly it is someone who doesn't want to see any peace," he said. — Sapa.

New round of talks begins tomorrow

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A new round of meetings aimed at restarting multiparty talks begins in Cape Town tomorrow.

The three sets of talks between the ANC and Government, and the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, are a continuation of meetings begun last month.

Tomorrow, the ANC and Government discuss security matters at "sub-committee level".

A fully fledged two-day ANC-Government meeting takes place in Cape Town next Wednes-

day and Thursday.

The Government and IFP meet in Cape Town on Monday. After a meeting last month the two parties said preparations for a multiparty planning conference were being discussed.

The Government and the ANC are considering draft proposals focusing on a government of national unity, control of the security forces, regionalism, and reincorporation of homelands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC remained opposed to entrenched power-sharing.

IFP gains a DP MP

118

■ Speculation that more MPs
could follow:

Sowetan

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

3/2/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday gained another Member of Parliament when Mr Mike Tarr of the Democratic Party joined the former National Party MP for Vryheid Mr Jurie Mentz in the cross-benches.

Mentz last week resigned from the NP after 40 years in that party and after 16 years as its MP for Vryheid to join Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

Speculation in and around Parliament is that more MPs could follow them. Mentz said after his startling announcement last week that there were DP members who were thinking of following him into the IFP.

Predecessor

Tarr joined the predecessor of the DP in 1959 as a schoolboy. He was elected as a Progressive Federal Party MP in 1981, but lost his seat in 1987. He was re-elected for the DP in 1989.

He said yesterday: "I believe that it is time white South Africans were prepared to walk the extra yard and join predominantly black political organisations. "It is unrealistic to expect black South Africans in large numbers to join what have been predominantly white political parties and part of the white-dominated power system."

Buthelezi is expected to nominate Tarr for membership to the IFP's central committee.

Reacting to Tarr's resignation, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it had come as a surprise. "I cannot pretend to understand Mr Tarr's action and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability in our country."

MP's defection to Inkatha jars DP



Political Staff

118

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha gained its second MP yesterday with the defection of Mike Tarr, DP MP for Maritzburg North.

The move took the DP by surprise, DP leader Zach de Beer said.

Tarr said: "This has been concerning me for some time. I have been thinking and agonising about it and I feel that if I have any political contribution to make in Natal, then the IFP is the best place."

He said it was time white South Africans walked "the extra yard" to join predominantly black political organisations.

Among the aims he set for his work within Inkatha were the promotion of peace and reconciliation and ensuring that a federal system came into being in SA.

Tarr told De Beer of his decision early yesterday. He had also told Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his intention, but had been given no indication of whether he would join the central committee.

De Beer said yesterday: "I cannot pretend to understand Tarr's action, and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability which exists in our country at present."

Wessel Nel (DP Mooi River) said Inkatha's proposals were not compatible with DP policy as they envisaged a sovereign state of Natal.

Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said Tarr could be in for a "nasty shock", Sapa reports. Speaking during debate on the President's opening address to Parliament, he said Tarr would learn that it was not what political parties stated on paper which was important, but how they behaved in public.

"If he believes in political democracy and tolerance, he is in for a nasty shock."

Inkatha gets second MP as DP man quits

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party got its second MP in Parliament yesterday when the MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Mike Tarr, shocked the Democratic Party by quitting suddenly.

There is now increasing speculation that more MPs are set to follow Mr Tarr and the former National Party MP for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz, who joined the IFP last Thursday.

A senior NP member in Natal is expected to join the IFP soon. Mr Tarr's move ended the DP's representation in Maritzburg — last year Mr Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South, joined the ANC.

Dr Zach de Beer discusses how the DP and IFP differ in their styles

Why did Tarr switch parties?

Star 4/12/93

(118)

MICHAEL Tarr MP, in the statement he issued on Tuesday, said he was joining the IFP. The first reason he gave for doing so was that IFP policy "does not differ in any major aspect from the DP policy proposals".

If one looks at the written policies of the two parties, Mr Tarr is largely correct. The question then arises: why switch parties in order to fight for the same aims?

I have said for years that there is no major difference in formal policy between the two parties. The difference is one of style.

Let's start with the Democratic Party. Its philosophy begins with the proposition that the individual human being is all important.

His or her dignity and freedom must be nurtured and protected by the political system. Dignity implies equal rights. Freedom implies the rule of law. Freedom must be ensured in social and political life and economic matters.

The philosophy of individualism abhors any undue stress on regional factors or group loyalties. It would be utterly foreign to the nature of the DP to cultivate special loyalty to any tradition, religious faith or ethnicity.

Similarly, it will not align itself in any permanent way with the cause of workers against the manager class, or vice versa. An author referred to us recently as being distinguished by "middle class decency", but there is no conscious aim to represent the middle class in any exclusive way.

Commonly, though not invariably, liberals support federal forms of government. The DP and its predecessors have always done so. However, this is not done with the primary aim that different ethnic groups or regions may be self-governing. It is done because federalism divides power and authority, thus protecting freedom and making totalitarianism and tyranny more difficult.

I must turn to the IFP which Mr Tarr has joined. I stress again that the two parties have much in common. We have worked together often and I sincerely hope we shall do so again.

The IFP has its origin in In-

katha, a traditional cultural movement among the Zulu people which was revived and, as it were, refurbished by Mangosuthu Buthe a number of years ago. Its membership is open to all, and indeed there are a number of white people in very influential positions within it, but it is overwhelmingly Zulu in character.

Its strength is in northern Natal and among Zulu workers on the Witwatersrand. It has become strongly federalist in its approach to politics, and all its rhetoric suggest this federalism is aimed at giving the KwaZulu/Natal area the maximum possible degree of autonomy and power within a federal South Africa.

Once again, the DP and IFP share a belief in federalism, but express it in different ways.

One noticeable difference between the DP and IFP concerns the issue of traditional weapons. The IFP has fought a running battle with the Government about what it calls the traditional right of Zulus to carry such weapons.

The DP finds the matter of weapons and violence distasteful. Our participation in Peace Accord activities is well known.

We take note of the IFP claim that participation by its members in violence is defensive, as we do of the similar claims made by the ANC. We are distressed by the strength of the mutual antipathy between these two organisations, but we refuse to take sides.

Finally, any observer of the DP and IFP will detect a marked difference in leadership style. This will no doubt be attributed by many people to the extraordinary strength of Dr Buthelezi's personality, but others will think it owes a good deal to the different characteristics of the organisations.

The DP is serious in its determination to participate nationwide in the forthcoming one-person-one-vote election with the aim of securing enough support to be effective in a future SA Parliament. So, I am sure, is the IFP.

It will be strange to be fighting against Mike Tarr. □

● Dr Zach de Beer is leader of the Democratic Party

8/10/93 4/2/93
More MPs set to join Inkatha - Mentz

CAPE TOWN More MPs are poised to join Inkatha, including at least one from the House of Delegates, says Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz.

The Inkatha-supporting MP's claim comes amid increasing turmoil in the House of Delegates, where a second Ministers' Council member yesterday defected to the NP from Solidarity. Three National People's Party members were understood to have signed up with the NP, giving it

Political Staff *MR*

a clear majority in the House.

Mentz said yesterday he had been approached by three House of Delegates members about joining Inkatha after he defected from the NP last week. He was subsequently joined by Mike Tarr (DP Maritzburg North).

A Natal Indian MP would join Inkatha this month, Mentz said. There was also a possibility that a House of Representatives MP would move.

8108/4/2/93

Error on Inkatha (118)

BUSINESS Day carried a report yesterday saying Inkatha wanted to withdraw from the multiparty planning conference. What the report should have said was that Inkatha wanted to draw out, or prolong, the conference. The editing error is regretted.

More MPs set to join IFP



Political Staff

MORE MPs are poised to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, with at least one coming from the House of Delegates, said IFP MP for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz.

His claim comes against increasing turmoil in the HoD, with a second Ministers' Council member yesterday defecting to the National Party from Solidarity. Last night, three National Peoples Party members are understood to have signed for the NP, giving it 22 votes. It is now almost certain to win tomorrow's censure debate and take power in the HoD.

Defections to IFP criticised

DURBAN. — The ANC's Midlands and Southern Natal regions have been critical of defections to the IFP. (1B)

Midlands spokesman Mr Mpume Sikhosana said Mr Tarr's switch of loyalties was a cause for concern. CT 5/2/93

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said defections from the NP resulted from that party's political indecision. Sapa

Inkatha to educate voters

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA has launched a Transvaal election education campaign in competition with the ANC PWV region's project.

Inkatha Transvaal official Humphrey Ndlovu said any organisation which did not embark on voter education ran the risk "of being consigned to oblivion".

The ANC PWV region unveiled its plans recently for attracting the estimated 5-million potential voters in the region. The campaign, which kicked off last week, would be characterised by house meetings, public debates and visits to voters by the organisation's leaders. *BIDA 5/2/93*

Inkatha's campaign began in Johannesburg at the weekend and, Ndlovu said, was aimed not only at Inkatha members and supporters but at all people who had never voted before. It also hoped to attract many new members.

In the coming weeks meetings would be convened in all parts of the province to provide details of voting procedures.

It could not be established this week whether Inkatha's other regions had embarked on a similar campaign. But Ndlovu said the campaign would be "low-key and national in nature".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha-

supporting MP Jurie Mentz said in Cape Town yesterday Inkatha and ANC supporters in Natal were evenly balanced in their political war for territory, but the Zulu King could order an Inkatha election victory. *(113)*

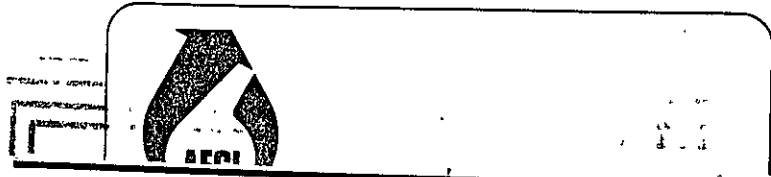
He said the ANC had more support nationally, but not in Natal.

Mentz said Inkatha and its supporters would destroy the country if they were not included in a constitutional settlement.

"If we cannot take the IEP people with us, I want to warn you that a serious situation can develop as serious as Mozambique," he said. "If they go underground, they will destroy the country."

MP Mike Tarr, who this week joined Inkatha, agreed that the party had the potential to win an election in Natal. He said it was clear that the political future of Natal lay between the ANC and Inkatha, as there was no longer much difference between the NP and DP.

"That mould of white politics needs to be smashed once and for all. It is not realistic for parties like the DP and NP to get most black support." Whites had to take the step of joining Inkatha or the ANC, Tarr said.



ICA

SPECULATION is rife in political circles that more senior leaders from the National Party and the Democratic Party are set to defect to Inkatha — or retire from politics — in the run-up to South Africa's first all-race elections.

The focal point in the poaching game is Natal, as members of the two parties apparently believe that the key contestants in an election in this province would be the African National Congress and Inkatha — and they should either join them or get out of politics. The ANC poached five MPs from the DP last year and it now appears to be Inkatha's turn.

Inkatha has already snatched the NP MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, and the DP MP for Maritzburg North, Mike Tarr.

Two Nats who may cross the floor to Inkatha soon are the MP for Point, Cliff Matthee, and the MP for Klip Rivier, Jaco Maree. Other NP men named as potential defectors are Peter Miller, co-chairman of the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) and Val Volker, the JEA's administrator.

Both have developed a close relationship with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and with other Inkatha leaders on the JEA. They apparently believe that the NP is committed to striking a deal with the ANC — at Inkatha's expense.

Sources say the men are deeply disappointed with the government — including President Fw de Klerk — for its firm rejection of Buthelezi's UDI-style constitutional proposals and with George Bartlett's leadership in Natal.

Significantly, commenting on the defection of

Poaching games in the rumour factory

Research Council (HSRC) survey on possible voter trends was tabled. "The survey showed that Inkatha won't even make it in Natal," he said.

Another source believed the DP would be hardest hit by the current flux in politics as it was much smaller than the NP, but that DP MPs were more likely to step out of politics than join Inkatha.

Tarr's decision to defect came as a major blow. Apart from being the MP for Maritzburg North, he was also the DP's Midlands chairman. His resignation leaves the DP with only one MP in the region: Wessel Nel in Mooi River.

Midlands South chairman Rob Haswell — who defected to the ANC last year — said Tarr had considered joining the ANC with him. "He spoke to me. He put out feelers, wanting to know how he would be received in the ANC," Haswell said.

Haswell predicted that there would be a "regional list and a national list" in elections. If Natal politicians wanted to carve out careers for themselves, they had to choose between Inkatha and the ANC.

"I think white politicians are beginning to realise that in regional elections the ANC and

Inkatha would be the main contenders. This explains the defections," Haswell commented.

He added that the floor crossings were "ironic" as the NP was pushing for regionalism and the DP for federalism. "It is now proving to be their undoing (in Natal)."

In the DP, the spotlight has fallen on the MP for Berea, Denis Worrall, as a possibility for defection or retirement from party politics. Worrall has changed his political colours on many occasions in the past. In sharp contrast to DP leader Zach de Beer, who was scathing in his criticism of Tarr, Worrall said he understood Tarr's decision and wished him well.

"Everybody in a changing South Africa must decide where they want to make their contribution," Worrall said. He then denied that he intended to quit. "I'll certainly continue in the DP," he added.

Sources said that the DP chief whip and MP for Pinetown, Roger Burrows, may leave politics entirely in the long run. The die-hard DP member is studying law and qualifies for a pension.

But Burrows laughed at this speculation, saying: "At the moment, parliament is a rumour factory. I'm certainly not going anywhere." He confidently predicted that his party would do remarkably well in an election.

The DP MP for Durban North and its Natal Coastal chairman, Mike Ellis, may switch over to Inkatha at some stage, sources said. Describing him as a "centrist", the sources added that he is unlikely to quit politics as he does not qualify for a pension.

Ellis vehemently denied the speculation, saying: "I'm not selling my soul to anybody."

11B

Mail 5/2-11/2/93
 Who will cross the floor, who is quitting and who will stay put? The betting's heating up in parliament's rumour factory, reports FAROUK CHOTHIA

Mentz and Tarr, Miller said: "There are more people whose sympathies lie with a federal Natal than has been estimated."

One parliamentary source said he would be surprised if a wave of Nat MPs defected, explaining that they spoke one language when in Natal — "with the sugar barons and the Ulundi politicians", and another in Cape Town, where it had become clearer that Inkatha was a small player in the national context.

The source cited the case of a prominent Nat rightwing MP from Natal, Johann Steenkamp, who is apparently distancing himself from Inkatha: "He is a deep thinker and yet he has been totally mesmerised by Roelf Meyer (the minister of constitutional affairs, who has taken a tough line with Inkatha)."

The same source added that the NP recently held a "secret meeting" where a Human Sciences



Buthelezi plays hard to get

SOUTH 6/2-10/2/93
By Quentin Wilson

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP leader and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, made it clear this week that the IFP has "absolutely no intention" of participating in Codesa-type negotiations.

While the multi-lateral talks so far envisaged by the ANC and the NP to take place in March, do broadly resemble the Codesa model, their work will be cut out to entice Buthelezi to the table.

The IFP's main gripe involves the status of last year's Codesa agreements.

Buthelezi said: "The IFP has made it very clear ... we will not be bound by agreements, in part or in whole, which were constructed in isolation in various Codesa working groups."

"The ANC/SACP alliance smashed Codesa when they walked out and resorted to mass action. Codesa is now dead and its tombstone was erected by the ANC/SACP alliance. It is history."

Tempers fray as murder trial begins

By FRED KHUMALO

BOTH in and outside court, the trial of two Maritzburg Inkatha leaders and a youth accused of the murder of a prominent ANC activist, was a cauldron of drama, sensation, gore ... and dark humour.

Former Imbali mayor and Inkatha member Phikelela Ndlovu, 54, Inkatha leader and councillor Abdul Awetha, 56, and a youth, appeared in the Maritzburg Supreme Court charged with the murder of ANC leader S'khumbuzo Ngwenya.

The state alleged that Ndlovu, Awetha and the youth murdered Ngwenya on February 8, 1992. The indictment said the attack on Ngwenya was in retaliation for an attack on Awetha on February 3. Three neighbourhood children were killed in the earlier attack

which was launched on Awetha's car. The Inkatha leader had been taking the children to school.

Awetha and Ndlovu are alleged to have then planned the revenge attack, choosing Ngwenya as the target. They selected the minor and others to carry out the attack. It is alleged Awetha lent his Imbali town council-issued pistol to the killers.

Ngwenya was gunned down in the parking lot of a Victoria Road restaurant after having a dinner meeting with local church leaders.

It emerged during the trial that attempts had been made to conceal possible ballistic evidence by damaging the barrel and firing pin of

the pistol.

Awetha and Ndlovu, who had similar pistols, are alleged to have then exchanged the barrels and slides of their pistols.

The state alleged that they tried to persuade an official in Imbali responsible for issuing firearms to exchange Awetha's pistol, on the grounds that he was experiencing difficulty with the slide mechanism.

On the lighter side, a young man who testified on Friday had to wear a crash helmet whenever he left the witness box to avoid being identified by members of the public.

Once outside the court, the young man - whose identity has

been protected by the court - was whisked away in a car.

When he came back, he was still wearing the helmet despite the searing heat.

The three accused are out on R2 000 bail.

The trial began on a dramatic note on Monday, when Ngwenya's mother sobbed hysterically after seeing a video of the murder scene which revealed her son's limp body lying in a pool of blood.

Justice J Combrink briefly adjourned the proceedings so that state counsel could ask Ngwenya's mother and his wife, Faith Mbatha, if they wished to continue watching the gory scene.

The women were adamant that they would remain.

After the day's adjournment, frenzied Inkatha supporters went on a spree of violence, assaulting pedestrians in Church and Longmarket streets near the court.

One Inkatha supporter drew a gun and pointed it in the direction of the ANC supporters. There was a great stampede as ANC supporters and ordinary passersby ran for cover.

Meanwhile, three youths cornered a schoolboy in full uniform and slapped him several times in the face.

Police intervention averted near bloodshed.

However, a brawl between two women from opposing sides ended up with the arrest of an ANC-supporting woman.

Inkatha supporters surrounded the police van demanding the police release the woman so they could deal with her.

For the duration of the trial, scores of ANC and Inkatha supporters stood outside the court taunting each other while the ANC launched verbal attacks on the three accused as they faced the public during adjournments.

Photographer Mike Matthewsman was rescued by the police from Imbali councillor Michael Gaseia and Inkatha crowds who were kicking the newsmen.

The trial continues.

MIKE TARR

THROUGHOUT his political career, Mike Tarr has been one of those rare individuals who is regarded, even by opponents, as a "good guy". This week, he announced he was leaving the stands to join the serum.

The MP for Maritzburg North left his party of 33 years for Inkatha. He now sits in the back corner of Parliament next to his former NP opponent and now fellow Inkatha member, Jurie Mentz, with a mish-mash of ANC and Afrikaner Volksunie members. He did not take the decision lightly. In fact, he thought about it for a year.

On Wednesday last week, he made up his mind and phoned Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to tell him about his decision. At the weekend, he kept his head down, and on Tuesday morning, he wandered around Cape Town trying to pluck up courage to hand his resignation to the media. After that, he informed DP leader Zach de Beer.

Mr Tarr sees little significant difference between the policies and constitutional proposals of the IFP and the DP. Mr de Beer's retort to this sentiment is that Mr Tarr could simply have stayed put.

But, for Mr Tarr, fighting a democratic election with the DP in Maritzburg spells political obscurity when the real struggle for power is between the ANC and the IFP.

He considers the question of political opportunism very seriously, but he believes there is no room for both the IFP and the DP in Natal — and he would prefer not to be in the wings.

Mr Tarr, who was brought up on a diet of generally politics in the DP and its progressive predecessors, knows he will have to adapt to a different ethos in the IFP.

"The DP has always stood on the opposition sidelines, so they never got their hands dirty in corruption and violence," he says.

"An unfortunate situation has developed in Natal, where there is an absolute battle for turf. It's a situation of eat or be eaten, the survival of the fittest. It's an unfortunate ethos."

With an abhorrence for violence, Mr Tarr hopes his presence in Parliament will help to establish a different ethos in the IFP.

"I believe the ANC is a better place because Rob Haswell is there. I hope our presence in Parliament

NORTHERN VS SOUTHERN

will be a pre-runner to better understanding between the IFP and the ANC."

He refuses to apologise for the IFP's alleged past abuses; he wants to start afresh from "today".

Mr Tarr said he understood from Mr Buthelezi that he would be appointed to the Inkatha central committee.

In this forum, says Mr Tarr, he will make his views known. And there are several views that are unlikely to be approved of by his new leader.

"There's no way I am going to attend a caucus meeting and not have my say. If that's not tolerated, I'll walk out," he says.

The white electorate of Maritzburg elected two Democratic Party MPs to represent them in Parliament. Both have defected — Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) to the ANC and Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) to its bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party. They speak to EDYTH BULBRING about the parting of their ways

S/Times
7/2/93.

ROB HASWELL

ROB HASWELL finds it hard to accept Mike Tarr's decision to leave the DP and join the IFP.

"It is clear the election battle in Natal is between the IFP and the ANC. In the process, the NP and the DP are mosquitoes," he says.

He can therefore understand Mr Tarr's desire to play a relevant political role in Natal, as his decision to leave the DP was also based on this consideration.

But on a personal level, Mr Haswell says he cannot understand Mr Tarr's deci-

sion to choose a party which has brought so much death and destruction to the people of Maritzburg.

Mr Haswell has known Mr Tarr for more than 20 years. They belonged to the same rugby club, and he believes relations between them in Parliament will remain cordial.

The sense of personal outrage Mr Haswell expresses at Mr Tarr's decision to join the IFP is similar to that of his own white constituency when he left the DP to join the ANC in April last year. There were calls for him to resign from parliament.

Mr Haswell used to be an independent city councillor before he joined the DP in 1989. He then won the election for Maritzburg South, a seat held by Mr Tarr for six years.

His disillusionment with the DP grew after the party failed to implement its programme of action aimed at forming pacts with like-minded organisations such as the ANC.

"Despite a number of meetings with the ANC, it became clear that the DP intended to stay exactly where it was — smack in the centre with a holier-than-thou attitude," he says.

His views brought him into increasing conflict with the DP, and he left with four others to join the ANC. His decision to go the

ANC route was influenced by his experiences of the violence in Maritzburg.

"Shortly after being elected to Parliament, I came into increasing contact with people from the township, mostly ANC members," he says.

"The real turning point came when the IFP invaded Edendale during what became known as the seven-day war. More than 20 000 people were made homeless and over 100 killed in what can only be described as an Inkatha rampage, aided and abetted by those entrusted with keeping law and order."

He became frustrated with the lack of sympathy for the ANC in Natal in his caucus, and admired what he described as the ANC's sincere and creative attempts to find solutions to the country's problems.

Mr Haswell is uncompromising in his view that the people of Natal have a right to defend themselves from the violence.

"We are still involved in a bloody war. The ANC is still effectively banned in Natal. ANC people are harassed and arrested, while armed IFP people are treated with respect.

"What are we supposed to do? Just allow ourselves to be assassinated?"

Despite his ANC membership, he says he strives in Parliament to serve Maritzburg as a whole.



OPPOSITE SIDES ... DP defectors Rob Haswell and Mike Tarr

Picture: TERRY SHEAN.

Star 8/2/43

Saudi royal inaugurates Muslim office

Staff Reporter

157 116

A prominent visiting Muslim leader opened the Muslim World League's new office in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

MWL secretary-general Abdullah Bin Umar Nasseef officially opened the Ikhaya Lethu Building on Saturday in the presence of Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was guest of honour.

The MWL, which is the official religious department of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, has offices all over the world. The South African office was based in Lenasia before moving to Fordsburg.

In most Fordsburg residents, the historic meeting between Nasseef and Buthelezi went unnoticed. There was neither a red carpet nor a brass band to signify a royal presence — only luxury cars.

Buthelezi handed the Saudi Arabian royal a tapestry made by Zulu women.

Nasseef said the main function of the MWL was to encourage bonds of unity among Muslims, spread the Islamic religion and assist Muslim communities.

"We also encourage Muslims to build good relationships with other communities," he said.

IFP cautious over ~~NP~~ rights charter ¹¹³

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has cautiously welcomed the National Party's draft Charter of Fundamental Rights, but added that while it was a step in the right direction, it did not meet the long-suppressed needs, wants, and aspirations of all the people of South Africa.

A statement issued by the IFP on Saturday added that the government proposal further did not protect social rights, the collective exercise of individual rights and the rights of social and cultural formations. — Sapa

CT 81293

IFP will talk if MK disbanded

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — New obstacles to the resumption of formal negotiations have begun to emerge following yesterday's meeting between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Government.

Most of the eight-hour meeting was devoted to the arrest last week of three members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for allegedly smuggling arms into Natal from Mozambique.

This has hardened the IFP's insistence that MK should be disbanded. It is understood that the IFP now demands that this should happen before it will attend a proposed planning con-

ference to prepare for formal multiparty negotiations.

After yesterday's meeting Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said they wanted this conference to take place before the end of the month.

This looks unlikely if the IFP sticks to its precondition that MK must be shut down first — a condition the ANC is certain to reject. (11B)

Another serious obstacle, which bedevilled Codesa discussions last year, has resurfaced.

The IFP is again insisting that the KwaZulu government — in a delegation which could include the Zulu king — should be represented separately from the IFP in formal negotiations.



Frank Mdlalose . . . IFP wants ANC's MK to shut down.

It is believed the Government is backing the IFP on this issue.

The Government and the IFP announced they would be holding their first "bosberaad" from February 17 to 19.

Breakthrough for govt, IFP

Political Correspondent

THE government and the Inkatha Freedom Party will hold a three-day "bosberaad" in Natal next week, amid signs that an all-out effort is under way to hold the multi-party planning conference before the end of this month.

This follows nearly eight hours of talks between the parties in Cape Town yesterday.

But the issue of violence and "aquisition and distribution of arms and armaments" remains a major stumbling block.

More than half of yesterday's meeting was spent on this issue, and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose made it clear

'Bosberaad' planned for next week

afterwards that the IFP regarded it as of crucial importance.

The fact that the two parties are now to hold extended talks, however, would seem to indicate that progress is being made.

In a brief statement afterwards, the two parties stated that "priority attention had been given to political violence by armed bands sowing death and

destruction among the public".

The "destabilising effect" this had on the constitutional negotiations and the question of private armies in an election process, were also discussed.

The statement said the rest of the time had been devoted to the multi-party planning conference and exploring common ground.

"It is our comon objective the conference should take place before the end of February."

The focus now swings back to the ANC, which is scheduled to hold three days of talks with the government, starting tomorrow.

The ANC's reaction to the seizure of an arms cache last Monday and the arrest of three uMkhonto weSizwe members should be one of the key issues.

CF 9/2/93

Government, IFP finding each other

2044

118

Sowetan
9/2/93

■ EDGING CLOSER Parties agree on the re- sumption of constitutional negotiations:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA EDGED CLOSER TO THE resumption of multi-party negotiations when Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party met in Cape Town yesterday.

Although full details of the content of yesterday's meeting were unavailable last night, the two parties agreed that a preparatory meeting for the resumption of multi-party negotiations should be held before the end of this month.

The meeting concentrated on the violence in the country and apparently on the incident last

week in which two members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe were arrested in possession of an arms.

Destabilising effect

A joint statement released in Cape Town last night said: "The destabilising effect these have on the constitutional negotiating process as well as the question of private armies in an election process also received attention."

The Government delegation was led by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, while the IFP was led by its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The two parties would meet again in Natal between February 17 and 19, the statement said.

IFP lashes ANC Midlands leader

Sowetan 10/2/93

11B
~~11A~~
~~11C~~

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday lashed out at ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala's "justification for arms smuggling by Umkhonto we Sizwe", saying this threatened the peace in war-torn Natal.

Gwala was on Monday quoted as saying ANC members were probably smuggling arms into the country to defend themselves in township warfare "not for purposes of carrying war into Natal but for purposes of self-defence".

"I don't think we should pretend that we don't try to obtain arms ourselves, or else how can we defend our people?" he was quoted as saying.

His statements follow the arrests of three alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres last week who were linked to the discovery of a large arms cache on the Swazi border. The weapons were apparently headed for Natal.

In a statement issued on Tuesday the IFP described Gwala's remarks as ludicrous.

By saying arms were being smuggled into the country for defence, Gwala was attempting to condone the illegal flow of weapons into Natal, the statement said.

This was evidence of Gwala's "unrepentant

■ Inkatha says the ANC is stockpiling weapons in preparation for the elections:

and militant influence" in the Natal Midlands.

"This is the same influence which is at the heart of political instability in the Midlands," the IFP charged.

Inkatha has continually alleged that Gwala's radical and militant stance is behind the political upheaval in the Midlands.

The ANC, on the other hand, has alleged that IFP warlords, backed by the KwaZulu government, are involved in continuing efforts to erode ANC support in the region.

The IFP further reiterated its charge yesterday that Umkhonto we Sizwe was stockpiling arms in Natal in preparation for elections.

"The ANC cannot win through the ballot and has decided that through the use of intimidation and violence they might stand a chance... The electorate must take note of the ANC's double agenda." — *Sapa*.

Mentz: No solution without the Zulus

ARC 10/2/93 (11B)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ANY attempt to govern South Africa without Inkatha will force the party to go underground, and the resulting conflict will make the Mozambique war look like "child's play", National Party defector Mr Jurie Mentz has warned.

At Inkatha's second major public meeting in the Western Cape, a forceful and, at times, almost pugilistic Mr Mentz told an audience of about 250 at the Claremont Civic Centre last night that the combination of "Boer and Zulu" was formidable.

Expanding on the reference to his defection, he added: "They are two difficult peoples. History has proved that. I am not hammering on ethnicity, but history ... and anybody who tackles the Boers and the Zulus will have something on their hands!"

He said it was clear the ANC did not want to share power, but take it.

"But we are not going to allow that. My leader will not allow that. I know these people.

"If the ANC and the National Party go on one side and negotiate an agreement between themselves, these people in the IFP will make sure nobody will be able to govern the country.

"If these people go underground, what happened in Mo-



DP defector
Mr Mike Tarr



Nat defector
Mr Jurie Mentz

zambique will be child's play by comparison."

He noted that neither the Boers nor the British had been able "to break the spirit of freedom and self-determination" of the Zulus.

To rousing applause — and some heckling — Mr Mentz declared: "I can assure you, in spite of intimidation and murder, the ANC will not succeed in ruling this country alone."

The head of the IFP's international department, Mr Musa Myeni — who urged the audience to join the "reasonable majority" of the IFP and enable it to dominate the Western Cape in a new dispensation — strengthened speculation that the issue of the disbanding of private armies such as the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was developing into a major stumbling block in negotiations.

"There seems to be a deadlock

on that issue. It may become a major stumbling block in future multiparty talks," he said.

Bursts of heckling throughout the meeting barely made an impact and, while some interjectors were firmly silenced by IFP supporters in the audience, most gave in to assurances that they could raise any issue at question time.

There were frequent rounds of applause, and even some levity.

Mr Mentz admitted he was not in the habit of speaking anything but Afrikaans and Zulu, in which he is fluent. Then he added: "But I can tell you that my English has improved a lot in the past week!"

The Claremont branch of the ANC held a poster picket outside at the start of the meeting, reinforcing an earlier Press statement which said: "In the spirit of free and fair election campaigning, we in the ANC Claremont branch recognise the democratic right of the Inkatha Freedom Party to hold a public meeting in our constituency (and) demand reciprocal rights of free political activity in Kwazulu for our members".

Earlier, Democratic Party defector Mr Mike Tarr said the movement of whites to predominantly black parties would break the ethnic mould of the past.

He did not believe the DP would attract a sufficient level of black support "to make them a significant force at the polls".

Star 10/2/93

IFP will stop ANC takeover — Mentz

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Any attempt to govern South Africa without Inkatha would force the party to go underground and the resulting conflict would make the Mozambique war look like "child's play", National Party defector Jurie Mentz warned last night.

At Inkatha's second major public meeting in the western Cape, a forceful Mentz told an audience of about 250 at the Claremont Civic Centre that the combination of "Boer and Zulu" was formidable.

"They are two difficult peoples. History has proved that. I am not hammering on ethnicity, but history... and anybody who tackles the Boers and the Zulus will have something on their hands."

Mentz, who defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party recently, said it was clear the ANC did not want to share power,

but take it.

"But we are not going to allow that. My leader will not allow that. I know these people."

"If the ANC and the National Party go on one side and negotiate an agreement between themselves, these people in the IFP will make sure nobody will be able to govern the country."

"If these people go underground, what happened in Mozambique will be child's play in comparison."

He noted that neither the Boers nor the British had been able "to break the spirit of freedom and self-determination" of the Zulus.

To rousing applause — and some heckling — Mentz declared: "I can assure you, in spite of intimidation and murder, the ANC will not succeed in ruling this country alone."

Mentz admitted that he was not in the habit of speaking anything but Afrikaans and Zulu, in which he is fluent. Then he added: "But I can tell you, my English has improved a lot in the past week."

After delivering his opening remarks in Zulu, he stuck to English for the remainder of his speech.

The head of the IFP's international department, Musa Myeni, who urged the audience to join the "reasonable majority" of the IFP and enable it to dominate the western Cape in a new dispensation, strengthened speculation that the issue of the disbanding of private armies such as the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was developing into a major stumbling block in negotiations.

"There seems to be a deadlock on that issue," he said. "It may become a major stumbling block in future multiparty talks."

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He did not believe the DP would attract a sufficient level of black support "to make them a significant force at the polls".

ANC meets IFR ~~IFP~~ (11/2)

Soweto 11/2/93

TOP African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders meet in Durban today for a third and possibly final round of talks aimed at facilitating a summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. At their last meeting in Durban last month, a joint ANC-IFP committee established to pave the way for the proposed summit, said a date for the meeting could be announced at their next discussions.



Polls lie - IFP

■ Buthelezi says he loathes
secret deals: (118)

Sowetan 11/2/93

By Joe Mdhlela

SECRET deals between two or three parties were a recipe for confrontation, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a British TV commentator last night.

Buthelezi, who was interviewed by Sir David Frost on CCV's *Newsline* programme, said he backed the views expressed by the Pan Africanist Congress that the Government's collusion with two or three organisations would result in a confrontation.

Told by Frost that most polls gave the IFP a five to 15 per cent following, Buthelezi replied: "I don't pretend to be a prophet, but I know what polls can do."

He reminded Frost that British experts, including the media, had predicted that Mr Joshua Nkomo would win Zimbabwe's elections.

"That did not happen. Mr Robert Mugabe won the elections.

"So from that point of view I am not concerned about polls," he said.

Buthlezi 'survives' Sir David's 'interrogation'

NB

ARC 11/2/93

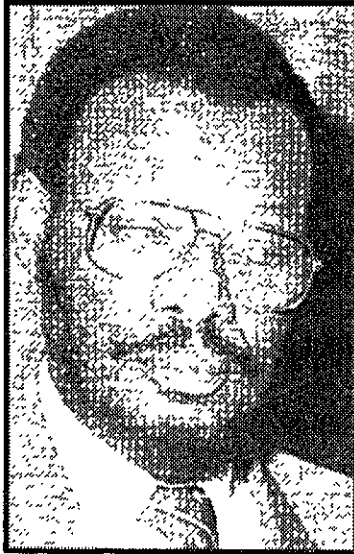
Political Staff

EXTRACTION of information is the key, and visiting celebrity Sir David Frost is a master at it. If Britain were at war, one imagines, he would excel as the colonel in charge of enemy interrogation in Her Majesty's intelligence services.

Caution to aspirant lawyers, however: Sir David is a silky, accomplished examiner, but avoid his style of leading questions at all costs. Place words in mouths like he does, and your opponent will be yelling "objection" and the Beak will be ruling you out of court almost before you get your toga on.

And, speaking of lawyers, Mr Bruce Anderson may want to engage one when he hears Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's scathing references to him last night. Words like "liar ... drugs ... dregs of humanity" and other hastily chosen adjectives were aired nationwide.

Still on the subject of lawyers, Mr Justice Goldstone may also want a word with the IFP president who reacted sharply to Sir David's prod on the commission's recording of a widely held view that the Kwazulu Police was a private army, and that the IFP



Chief Buthelezi

was a matter of great concern in relation to curbing violence.

"I think the judge actually swallowed hook, line and sinker the propaganda of our political enemies ... for a judge to speak glibly like that — as a matter of fact, I don't think he does credit to his very high office for which I respect him," he thundered.

Now if that remotely resem-

bles respect, who wants the Chief Minister's disrespect?

Apart from those harsh swipes, Chief Buthelezi seemed composed, travelled, articulating impressively in the Ulundi outdoors, the picture of reasonableness. This was not the author of those ominous warnings and tough political statements from the Kwazulu capital.

The warnings, he explained, were misunderstood as threats, war-mongering and sabre-rattling.

Sir David seemed to believe this in an interview performance markedly less aggressive than with PAC president Clarence Makwetu the previous night.

Among the main points of news from the interview were Dr Buthelezi saying he had never considered Natal/Kwazulu secession an option; that he estimated the first one-man one-vote election by September next year; and that an ANC-government deal was "asking for trouble".

Such a deal was playing with fire: "There is no way that any two or three parties can impose their will on the rest of us."

Clearly that's why he foresees a longer negotiations haul ahead than his adversaries.

Civil war or miracle Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — South Africa had an equal chance of descending into full-scale civil war or becoming a racial miracle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a television interview last night with veteran broadcaster Sir David Frost.

In a 30-minute interview filmed at Ulundi, Buthelezi said he had never considered secession as an option for KwaZulu.

He told Frost that Mr Justice Goldstone had been glib in de-

scribing the KwaZulu Police as a private army, and in his comment that the IFP had been partly responsible for violence.

Buthelezi said it still had to be determined whether the Government and the ANC were plotting an agenda. He agreed with the PAC that any ANC-Government deal would amount to playing with fire.

The last word had not yet been spoken on the September 1992 Record of Understanding between the Government and

ANC, the chief told Frost.

He was, however, heartened that a planning conference for multiparty talks would be taking place, adding that he would attend a multiparty conference.

The IFP had withdrawn from talks because the Zulus had been excluded while other tribal governments, such as Transkei and Ciskei, had been represented. He was however committed to negotiations.

The IFP was a multiracial party, he added. — Sapa.

Buthelezi asks for Mandela meeting

Star 12/2/93

(113) (113)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wrote an emotion-charged letter to Nelson Mandela at the beginning of this month, urging the ANC president to join him in a series of joint public meetings aimed at stopping the killing in Natal.

The Star is in possession of a copy of the letter from the Inkatha Freedom Party leader as well as Mandela's reply two days later. In his reply Mandela said joint rallies could take place only if thorough preparations were completed by representatives of both organisations.

In Durban, ANC and IFP delegations yesterday again agreed in principle that the two leaders should meet, but set no date for the meeting.

Buthelezi's letter, sent from Mahlabathini on February 1, contained this appeal: "I am now writing to you directly and openly, Madiba (Mandela's clan

name), because it behoves us as leaders to demonstrate and exercise political tolerance ourselves, to lead by example, and earnestly to endeavour to save lives which are tragically being lost day after day."

Buthelezi said the two leaders "simply could not wait" for their representatives to finalise a formal meeting between the two organisations, as it was "long overdue that you and I are held accountable for what we are doing, every day, to personally promote non-violence".

In his response on February 3 — addressed to "Shenge" — Mandela said: "I genuinely believe that any initiative we take jointly, including a mere meeting, would have disastrous counter-productive effects if it failed actually to reduce the level of violence about which we are both concerned.

"It would, for instance, be completely unacceptable if, after our departure from a strife-torn area, having addressed a public meeting, violence were to break out despite

our joint call for peace."

Mandela said the preparations had to be thorough.

Buthelezi proposed that areas for rallies should be identified under the auspices of the regional dispute resolution committees.

Buthelezi said the leaders of the IFP and ANC were specifically vulnerable "after the Goldstone Commission has told the world that the political violence there is in the country is between our members".

Mandela said he had no objections in principle to such joint rallies but a meeting between himself and the IFP leader should be thoroughly prepared to ensure its success.

However, preparations for a summit should not delay the summit itself or the proposed joint rallies.

"Similarly, we should approach this initiative as one of a number of measures that should be part of a comprehensive strategy against violence that would come out of our meeting," Mandela said.

Star 12/2/93

Mandela, Buthelezi (118) may meet in March

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to take place by mid-March.

The joint announcement, after a successful ANC-IFP meeting yesterday, has injected fresh hope into negotiations which were threatening to bog down over accusations of cross-border gun-running by both parties.

The row completely dominated Tuesday's high-level bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town. But after failing to resolve it, the two negotiating teams decided to press on with discussions aimed at getting multiparty negotiations started and reaching consensus on the structuring of the transition.

These discussions continued late last night.

However Government sources said they were aiming at holding a multiparty planning conference towards the end of February to prepare for the resumption of formal negotiations.

Sources said today the Government-ANC talks would end at midday, indicating that progress had been made.

They stressed that extremely difficult constitutional issues were now being tackled, including the questions of power-sharing and regional autonomy during the transition and in the final constitution.

ANC sources said they believed the gun-running row had blown over and had been somewhat neutralised by the ANC's counter-claims of IFP arms smuggling from Mozambique into Natal.

However, Government sources gave a different interpretation, saying that although the arms issues had been removed from the agenda of the present Government-ANC talks, it had by no means been settled.

It is understood the Government is demanding that the ANC should effectively appoint the equivalent of the Steyn Commission — a probe into allegations of misconduct by members of the security forces — to investigate the allegations of arms smuggling by members of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday hotly denied ANC accusations that the Government and the SAP had been partial to the IFP in its treatment of the two cases of arms smuggling.

He said the Government had not revealed the arrest of IFP members at the weekend because it had expected another consignment of arms to cross the border. He also said the two cases differed.

● Buthelezi asks for meeting. — Page 3

Politics claim in train case (116)

Star 12/21/93
An Inkatha supporter accused of murdering a train commuter told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he had been falsely implicated because of his political allegiance.

Xolane Mnguni (27) of Soweto has pleaded not guilty to murdering Matsosale William Aphane by forcing him under a moving train on November 29 1991.

Mnguni said he had seen Aphane being chased by another man. Aphane ran through the coach and jumped off the train.

He said State witness Trevor Jabulani Ndlovu, who had earlier said Mnguni and another man had stabbed and beaten Aphane before pushing him under the train, had falsely identified him.

Judgment was expected today. — Court Reporter.

Govt to probe alleged Inkatha gun-running

CS 12/2/93
(118)

Political Correspondent

THE government — in the face of ANC pressure at their talks yesterday — has agreed in effect to deal with alleged incidents of Inkatha gun-running on the same basis as the ANC.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel yesterday said that the government viewed alleged Inkatha gun-running into South Africa in a "very serious light" and would raise the matter when the two sides met next week.

The minister acknowledged that the police had known about, but not made public, the fact that Inkatha members

had been arrested by the police in connection with arms smuggling into South Africa at the weekend — days before the government outcry about gun-running by ANC members.

Mr Kriel said the police had not blown the whistle on the Inkatha arms smuggling case at the time because another consignment of weapons was expected to cross the border and publicity would have tipped off the alleged smugglers.

Government and ANC negotiators said they would not allow the arms smuggling cases to derail talks.

Govt promises harder line against Inkatha

STAM 12/2/93.
GOVERNMENT, stung by ANC criticism of its "double standards" regarding arms smuggling by Inkatha, has promised to take a hard line with Inkatha next week.

The latest indications were that while the row over smuggling involving MK cadres had not been "completely and satisfactorily resolved" as far as government was concerned, constitutional negotiations were more urgent.

The two-day bilateral meeting was provisionally extended by a further day to deal with constitutional issues of power-sharing, regionalism, an interim constitution and a transitional executive council. In a statement yesterday, Law and

(11B) BILLY PADDOCK (11B)

Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the same issues discussed with the ANC during bilateral talks this week would be put to Inkatha. "Government views the Inkatha incident in a very serious light," Kriel said.

But he nonetheless argued that the two smuggling cases were different.

Kriel's statement, and an ANC response, are expected to redress the balance in negotiations. Recent sensitive talks between government, the ANC and Inkatha are aimed at keeping progress towards multiparty negotiations on track.

On the smuggling case allegedly involv-

ing Inkatha's Emanguzi branch chairman Isaac Ntsele and five others, Kriel said the arrests happened at the weekend. Two of the six suspects were Mozambicans, while another two suspects were also Inkatha members.

The SAP had not made facts about the arrests public at the time because another consignment of weapons was expected to cross the border. The untimely publicity meant this would not happen now.

Kriel said that when evaluating government and police response to the Inkatha and ANC incidents, the following should be borne in mind:

□ To Page 2

Inkatha (11B) 12/2/93. (11B) From Page 1

□ MK had a recognised and extensive underground structure which, according to information, was involved in the recent weapons smuggling incident;

□ Arms smuggling by MK members placed MK in direct contravention of the law and of agreements between government and the ANC;

□ In the case of the Inkatha members, no information had yet been received indicating the weapons were destined for any structure with which Inkatha, as a political organisation, was involved; and

□ The weapons seized from MK included powerful RPG rockets and launchers

which could destroy armoured vehicles.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday it was Inkatha's policy that members contravening the law be left to fend for themselves.

Meanwhile, another arms cache was discovered in Natal yesterday and three more people were arrested, one a suspected ANC member. The ANC planned to investigate.

The men were arrested after a police raid on a home in KwaMashu, north of Durban, netted army uniforms and weaponry. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze could not say whether the find was linked to the cache discovered at the Swaziland border last week.

Plea to Mandela and Buthelezi

Sowetan 12/2/93

~~11A~~ 11B

A HIGH-POWERED joint African National Congress-Inkatha committee is to recommend to Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that they meet for bilateral talks aimed at ending the violence.

But no date has been set for the proposed summit, announced after a fourth round of talks in Durban yesterday between top ANC and Inkatha officials.

A joint statement afterwards said revelations of weapons smuggling emphasised the urgency for both parties to do everything in their power

■ **IFP-ANC committee urge them to meet in bid to end violence:**

to end the conflict between their supporters.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who is leading his delegation, and his ANC counterpart, Mr Jacob Zuma, remained tight-lipped during a lunch-break about whether a summit between Mandela and Buthelezi would be finalised at yesterday's talks.

This is the joint ANC-IFP committee's fourth round of talks geared to removing obstacles to a meeting of their leaders.

At their gathering in January they undertook to make "firm recommendations" at this meeting.

Mandela has met Buthelezi once in bilateral talks since his release from prison

Although their much publicised January 1991 meeting did not have the desired effect of bringing some calm to Natal's war-torn townships, there has been great pressure on the leaders to meet again. — *Sapa*.

BILLY PADDOCK

THE way has been cleared for ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet.

A joint ANC/Inkatha committee has recommended that the two leaders meet soon.

Delegations from the two parties, led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, took the decision yesterday after a fourth round of talks.

No date was announced, but Mdlalose and Zuma said preparations should be finalised by March 5, when the leaders would have to sanction a date.

It is hoped that the meeting — the first in more than a year and only the third since Mandela's release from jail — will help

Mandela, Buthelezi meeting to go ahead

reduce violence in Natal. The parties said the discovery of arms smuggling had increased the urgency for ending the conflict between their supporters.

The parties did not say how obstacles in the way of the meeting had been cleared. These included Mandela's insistence that Buthelezi accept the record of understanding reached between government and the ANC last September. This made provision for a ban on the public display of traditional weapons, fencing hostels and the acceptance of Codesa agreements.

Another obstacle was KwaZulu's adoption of a "federal constitution".

12/2/93

~~11B~~ (11B)
continue to claim to represent a constituency when he is no longer travelling on the party ticket that got him to parliament? But then Westminster electoral principle provides that, ultimately, the individual is the representative, not the party.

Durban businessmen were reluctant to support the moves openly for fear of being seen to take political sides. Yet the change seems to have been welcomed in general.

One top Natal businessman rejected the "expert" opinion which talks of political musical chairs and irrelevant convulsions in the last days of SA's white parliament. He believes the defections indicate a significant realignment of white political sentiment in Natal/KwaZulu.

He says: "The jungle drums suggest there are a lot of white politicians, Nat and DP, not only at the top of the national heap, but influential people in the regional and local political arena, who will switch to Inkatha. They will do this because they believe some form of regional dispensation must come through. If it doesn't, the country is lost because there is enough opposition in Natal/KwaZulu to destabilise the SA economy for years."

Based on this, he believes that the IFP, with strong white support (which cannot be discounted), will become the most important regional force, followed by the ANC and the NP. "I doubt the DP will make the cut."

He adds that if white politicians are seen to be moving to Inkatha, the white electorate might see this as a standard behind which they can regroup to repel the ANC threat.

Though this might be as romantic as the perception of Natal being the last outpost of the British Empire, it has a jingoistic ring to it which could catch on — especially when Natal's historical antipathy towards the National Party is taken into account. Many English-speaking Natalians learnt Zulu before they learnt Afrikaans.

NATAL

Ahead of the game?

FM 12/2/93

(11B)

Viva la difference, viva Natal! That seems to be how white Natalians have responded to the defection of Nat and DP members of parliament to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Businessmen and others have welcomed the moves as a sign that the MPs are putting the province before themselves.

"There's a realisation that nobody is interested in the plight of Natal and Natalians must take a grip of the situation and look after things themselves," says one Durban businessman.

Maritzburg is most affected by the changes. It is where two DP MPs have gone off in different directions: Rob Haswell joined the ANC last year and Mike Tarr



Buthelezi ... regional push pulling in white support

recently became a member of Inkatha. Maritzburg Chamber of Industry director Roly Waller welcomes the defections: "From a business viewpoint, it's great that these chaps have nailed their flags to the mast. At least we now know who we're dealing with. Furthermore, white involvement in the predominantly black parties has to be a good thing for all and perhaps they can make a meaningful contribution to the peace process in the troubled Natal Midlands." Waller's one concern is: how can an MP

IFP men held for arms smuggling

W/Mail 12/2-18/2/93
Weekly Mail Reporter

POLICE had not publicised the arrest of two Inkatha Freedom Party members suspected of arms smuggling because they were waiting for another arms consignment to cross the Swazi border, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said yesterday. (11B)

"Due to untimely publicity, it is now obvious this will not happen," Kriel said.

The African National Congress, reacting to the police disclosure of weapons smuggling into Natal by Umkhonto weSizwe, pointed out to the government yesterday that two of six suspected arms smugglers arrested at the weekend were IFP members. The six suspects, including IFP Emanguzi branch chairman Isaac Ntsele, appeared in court on Monday.

Kriel said the government viewed the Inkatha incident "in a very serious light" and would raise it at bilateral talks later this month. But he suggested that the MK and IFP cases were not comparable because MK arms smuggling contravened ANC-government agreements.

He added that no information had been received to indicate that the Inkatha arms were destined for any structure in which the IFP, as a political organisation, was involved.

Mandela dashes hopes of indaba with Buthelezi

Star 13/2/93

(11B)

STAFF REPORTERS

HOPES raised early yesterday by reports that a meeting between African national Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was close seem to have been dashed by the ANC leader in last night's television interview with British interviewer Sir David Frost.

Asked if the meeting reported in yesterday's papers would go ahead as suggested on March 5, Mandela said that he hoped so, but then splashed cold water on the proposal by adding a series of riders to the planned meeting.

"I don't agree with him that we can just go to the unrest areas and talk to our followers."

He listed three conditions that should first be

met: that there should be a free political climate in KwaZulu, where the ANC could not presently operate; that dangerous weapons should be banned and that the question of fencing and guarding hostels should be resolved.

The pair had to have a tangible message that these issues had been resolved before they could together go and speak to their supporters, he said.

"We are still far from that," he concluded.

Asked about his personal relationship with Buthelezi, he said they were friends, but that it pained him that they could not co-operate on political issues.

Animosity

However, during a long discourse on the history of aborted meetings and agreements between the two, a degree of animosity could not help but be detected.

"What else can I do to bring Chief Buthelezi into these multiparty discussions?" he pleaded.

Other points touched on during the interview included the fact that the issue of violence, so long a stumbling-block to successful negotiations, would not be allowed to stand in the way of elections.

To abandon or postpone elections because of violence would only play into the hands of those fostering the violence, he said.

He added that he felt United Nations forces would not need to be deployed in South Africa to ensure free and fair elections, saying that the security forces in the country were strong enough to address the violence.

He said that even if the ANC gained a majority in South Africa's first democratic election, he did not expect his party to be able to govern alone.

"The problems of our country are such that no single party will be able to govern alone. A majority party will be better able to govern if it relies on the support of other political parties," he said.

Mandela gave viewers a surprising insight into how he sees the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions working out at the polls. "We will fight the elections as the ANC, but of course we have an alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions," he told Frost. "Our national list of candidates will include members of the SACP and Cosatu, but we propose to make clear in the list who these people are."

He added, however, that the numbers of SACP members in particular would be small, as research had indicated that support for the party was "tiny".

Star 13/12/98

Inkatha train killer to hang

(116)



SUSAN SMUTS

THE Rand Supreme Court yesterday sentenced an Inkatha supporter to death for the "callous and cruel" murder of a fellow commuter.

Xolane Mnguni (27) was convicted of murdering Matsosale William Aphane by forcing him under the wheels of the Naledi-Cleveland train on November 29 1991. It is believed he is the first person to be convicted of murder since train violence escalated in 1990.

Although Mnguni was a first offender — first offenders are not usually given the death penalty.

Mr Justice J H Coetzee found it was the only appropriate sentence in this case.

The judge commended

eyewitness Trevor Jabulani Ndlovu for his courage in testifying at the trial.

"Ndlovu showed a great level of courage, integrity and civic duty.

If more (witnesses) conquered their fear of reprisals the killing would stop, because the killers would know they would be brought to justice.

The fear of death instilled in witnesses almost gives the killers a licence to kill."

Defenceless commuters were senselessly killed almost every day, and only because they belonged to organisations different to those of the killers, the judge said.



LISTEN UP: Former NP MP Jurie Mentz (right) listens to a member of the audience at Tuesday's meeting

'We are brothers in arms'

By Quentin Wilson

SOUTH
13/2-17/2/93

(118) (2000)

SPEAKING on an IFP platform for the first time since leaving the NP last week, Mr Jurie Mentz predicted on Tuesday that anyone who challenged "the Zulus and the boers" would cause a civil war that would make Mozambique seem like child's play.

Addressing the IFP's first public meeting in the Western Cape since their launch six months ago, Mentz urged up to 300 whites in Claremont to "stand up and help the IFP to stop the ANC from ruling the country".

Said Mentz: "I don't want to hammer on ethnicity ... but any

party who takes on the Zulus and the boers doesn't stand a chance." political homes from the NP to the IFP."

Amid heckling from a section of the audience, Mentz issued his veiled threat:

"Nobody will be able to govern this country if the IFP has to go underground. You see what is happening in Mozambique — it will seem like child's play compared to what could happen in South Africa."

While Mentz spoke of an alliance between Zulus and boers, Mr Musa Myeni, an IFP central committee member, emphasised the party's need to shift support away from the NP to the IFP.

"We need a massive change of

According to Myeni, the government was making too many concessions to the ANC and he rejected their "secret negotiations held in unpublicised venues".

During question time, an audience member who preferred to remain anonymous asked: "Tell me about Inkatha's pangas and assegais in Natal? De Klerk and the ANC might be in the bush, but don't tell me your pangas aren't there too."

Myeni, after failing in his request to get the speaker's name, answered that all over Africa, people carry pangas "because they do not have access to Eastern bloc weapons".

Leaders repudiate claims of agreement

Star 15/12/93

Political Staff



(115)

Star 15/12/93

No deal - Mandela, FW

President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela have strongly denied the Government and the ANC have concluded a five-year power-sharing pact, after a storm of protest from lesser political parties at the weekend and a threat from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a secret pact would plunge the country into war.

Anxious to deflect criticism over the outcome of last week's Cape Town meeting between top negotiators of the two parties, De Klerk and Mandela stressed at the weekend that a final decision on a government of national unity could be taken only at a new multiparty negotiating forum.

They emphasised agreements made between the Government and the ANC first had to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive, and then had to be accepted by other political groups in multiparty talks.

The ANC's national executive committee convenes for a three-day meeting from tomorrow, and the Cabinet meets on Wednesday.

ANC and Government negotiators yesterday said the agreement was likely to be ratified by their principals although discussions could take place on the details.

But oversimplified statements after the bilateral meeting in Cape Town may spark strong opposition from hardliners within the two parties leadership.

Speaking on SABC television in an interview with British journalist Sir David Frost, De Klerk stressed last night: "We are not making deals in our bilateral discussions at the moment. The interpretation that we have entered into fixed agreements is wrong."

Leaders deny claims on power-sharing

ANC would go ahead with the five-year plan. And on the political right, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said a power-sharing deal between the Government and the ANC would be unacceptable.

The issue will also come up today when the Government meets the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in Cape Town to discuss violence.

If the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive ratify their negotiators' agreement, the agreement will take the form of a joint proposal at a multiparty negotiating forum, where the Government and ANC would be pushing other parties for its acceptance.

Observers yesterday noted that the agreements - of which the details are not yet finalised - meant that the ANC and Government have begun to address the two fundamental differences between them: power-sharing with veto rights versus a government of national unity, and secondly, regionalism.

After the Cape Town bilateral meeting, the following steps towards power-sharing emerged: A multiparty negotiating forum is expected to convene at the end of this month, after which Codesa-style talks will take place to work out mechanisms for a transition.

A general election is expected between April and September next year. The ANC, once in power, will form a new government according to multiparty cabinet guidelines agreed upon. During the following five years the constituent assembly (Parliament) will draw up a new constitution.

"We believe that final agreement must be reached at a multiparty conference representative of all the parties in the country. We share that with the ANC. The focus is now on getting the multiparty meeting and negotiations going again."

He said great progress had been made "towards an emerging broad consensus" on the framework of a new constitution and the devolution of power to strong regional government.

De Klerk emphasised the IFP had to be fully part of the negotiation process or South Africa could "go the way of Yugoslavia".

He added: "Inkatha must be part of a new dispensation or we are looking for trouble."

Mandela, in a speech in Sandton on Saturday night, categorically denied the ANC had agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999.

He told a banquet organised by the ANC's Luthuli/Lenasa branches: "Let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts with the Government. These rumours are devoid of any truth and are mischievous in the extreme."

He said the Government had proposed a form of power-sharing, while the ANC had proposed an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that had won a proportion of the seats in a constituent assembly.

"This proposal, the ANC leader added, was not a simple power-sharing formula and was designed to create national unity. The assurances by De Klerk and Mandela followed a statement made by Government and ANC negotiators on Friday - which culminated in weekend reports to the effect that the parties had struck a power-sharing five-year deal. After the three-day

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bilateral meeting, deputy Constitutional Development Minister Frans Schreiner stated categorically that the parties had agreed a government of national unity would rule for at least five years after the first democratic elections and that there would be no second election immediately after a new constitution had been approved.

Schreiner and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed the timetable for transition was firmly back on track.

News of the agreement on a power-sharing government caused an immediate outcry. Buthelezi said on Saturday the combined might of the SA Defence Force and the ANC would have to be used to achieve KwaZulu's compliance with the power-sharing pact.

The Government/ANC agreement will be one of the constitutional issues to feature at a three-day meeting between the IFP and Government in northern Natal, which starts today.

And yesterday, Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makweu warned the ANC risked being kicked out of the Patriotic Front if it struck a power-sharing deal with the Government. Makweu said the ANC would lose its status as a liberation movement if it entered into a power-sharing arrangement with the Government. He said blacks could not wait another five years for liberation. "We want liberation now. Power-sharing is a luxury we can't afford." Makweu said he did not believe the Government and the

IFP plans 'election education'

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party is to embark on a full-blown "election education" campaign in the Natal region.

This was revealed by IFP central committee member Velaphi Ndlovu while addressing hundreds of supporters at Trust Feed near Wartburg yesterday.

Ndlovu said yester-

day's meeting was the first leg of the IFP regional campaign to educate people on how to vote in the forthcoming first nonracial elections for a new South African government. Such elections would be held within the next eight to 10 months, he said.

Also attending the meeting was former Democratic Party MP

and now IFP central committee member, Mike Tarr, who promised to bring more white members into the party and make it the "biggest nonracial organisation in the country". Tarr predicted a massive political realignment within the white communities in the next six months. — Own Correspondent.

Tough talking ahead for govt

BIOMY 16/2/93

118

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT is likely to face strong criticism when it meets Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group this week to try and get a multiparty planning conference off the ground before the end of the month.

A flurry of important meetings involving all the major political players this week will try to settle objections, decide on shifts of emphasis in the approach to talks and set the stage for a possible two-day planning conference to get multiparty negotiations going next month.

The controversial preliminary agreement between the ANC and government, that a government of national unity rule the country for five years following elections for a constitution-making body will dominate the talks, a government negotiator said yesterday.

Security issues, particularly the discussions between the ANC and government over the joint control of all armed formations, will also be high on the agenda.

Government meets the Concerned SA Group today to discuss security and violence-related issues. It will be

dominated by the Umkhonto we Sizwe issue, the alleged smuggling of arms into Natal and Inkatha's demand that MK be disbanded.

The group is demanding a full disclosure of government's discussions with the ANC on this matter and any agreements reached by the two on armed formations falling under joint control.

It is understood that the government team headed by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and including Justice Minister Kobié Coetsee, Defence Minister Gene Louw and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will be pushing the homeland representatives and Inkatha to accept joint control of their police and armies.

Government meets Inkatha in KwaZulu for three days starting tomorrow, primarily to discuss constitutional issues. However, sources said Kriel would raise the issue of an Inkatha branch chairman and five others involved in arms smuggling. Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate

said his delegation would be taking a hard line towards government for "renewing" on its position and modifying its policies to move closer to the ANC.

Inkatha will also insist on support for allowing Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to lead KwaZulu's team at the planning meeting.

Also to be discussed is the regionalism issue.

Government will also have to try to convince Inkatha that it did not enter into binding agreements with the ANC pre-empting negotiations.

Government and the ANC have stated that their agreement was preliminary and still had to be discussed by their principals.

The ANC's national executive committee meets today for three days to discuss the agreement and the Cabinet meets tomorrow with a similar agenda.

It is expected that the plan of having a government of national unity for four to five years will be accepted by the NEC as this falls comfortably within the terms sought by the NEC.

● Comment: Page 14

each

Star 17/2/93

Solidarity MP defects to IFP

A third MP has defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party — this time from Solidarity in the House of Delegates.

Nominated MP Farouk Cassim said yesterday that the Government-ANC "deal" last week had influenced him. (WB)

"I do not trust for one minute the Government's proposal to let matters of regional autonomy and boundaries be settled at a suitable date in a constituent assembly," he said in his letter of resignation.

Earlier, Nationalist MP Jurie Mentz and Democratic MP Mike Tarr crossed to the IFP.
— Political Correspondent.

Star 17/12/93

Sunday Star reporters deny link with NIS

Staff Reporters

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night claimed two Sunday Star reporters colluded with the National Intelligence Service (NIS) to discredit the IFP.

His claims were immediately rejected by the Sunday Star and the two reporters.

Buthelezi insinuated in a statement that reporter Peta Thornycroft was an NIS agent and said her former colleague Jacques Pauw — now working on The Star — worked with the NIS last year to try and prove the IFP smuggled weapons into South Africa from Mozambique.

Pauw and Thornycroft wrote a story last year in which former IFP senior official Bruce

Anderson said in an affidavit that he had frequently smuggled weapons into South Africa for the movement.

Sunday Star editor Dave Hazelhurst said last night he was "amazed" that four months after the story was published, Buthelezi "has suddenly come up with these scurrilous allegations". He would deal fully with the allegations in the Sunday Star this week and would be discussing the matter with lawyers.

He and Pauw immediately said the point was that the allegations of IFP weapons smuggling had not come from any NIS source, but from Anderson, who was part of the IFP delegation at Codesa last year.

Anderson was deported by the Government shortly after the story appeared.

In his statement, Buthelezi claimed Mozambique Intelligence "individuals" had told him that "two individuals understood by them to be operatives of South Africa's National Intelligence Service" had visited Maputo in October last year. The South Africans were trying to get the Mozambicans' support for a campaign to discredit the IFP internationally by alleging the IFP had links with Renamo.

Buthelezi said Thornycroft flew to Maputo "accompanied by an intelligence agent from Natal with close links to NIS".

He claimed the unnamed agent was directly controlled by a Major Hentie Botha who had close links with the NIS.

He said Thornycroft's visa to Maputo was organised by the

unnamed agent via a Mozambican intelligence agent called Rousario.

Pauw stayed in "constant contact" with the NIS agent to plan the trip, Buthelezi claimed.

Pauw said there had been nothing clandestine about the story. They had merely done their job of following up allegations made by a very senior IFP official.

Thornycroft, who is currently in Zimbabwe, burst out laughing when she was told of the allegations.

She could produce a receipt for the R85 she had to pay for her visa, she added.

Buthelezi demanded that the Government sack Botha.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said he could not comment.

National unity govt is the only practical way to

Star 17/2/93 (16)

A GREAT deal of semantic confusion has blown up over the agreement reached between Government and ANC negotiating teams last week.

The trouble is that "power sharing" is an explosive phrase which means different things to different players in this delicate game. So is the concept of a "deal", with its connotations of some kind of sinister backroom transaction.

Add to that journalism's tendency to oversimplify and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's tendency to over-dramatise, and you have the ingredients for the sort of confusion that can derail a negotiation process.

The facts are as follows:
There is no agreement by the NP and the ANC to share power for five years.

What there is, is an agreement, still to be ratified, that the NP and the ANC favour a "government of national unity" consisting of all parties that win more than 5 or 10 percent of the vote in South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election. Which is a very different thing.

The idea is that this all-party government of national unity should run the country for a five-year transition period before there is normal majority rule.

Fact number two is that this is not an agreement binding on anyone else. Indeed at this stage it is no more than a proposal by the two negotiating teams to their own leaders — President de Klerk and his Cabinet, and Nelson Mandela and his national executive committee. They have still to debate it, maybe modify it, and then ratify it.

Even then it will not be binding on anyone else. It will simply be an agreement between these two political organisations that overcomes their previous differences, and which they will try to persuade others to accept at the multiparty conference which the Government is trying to set up for next month. It will be equally open to other parties to bring different proposals to that conference.

Since it was the differences between the NP and the ANC that caused Codessa 2 to break down



Allister Sparks

last May, one would have thought everyone would have applauded the fact that they have now overcome them. Everyone still interested in a settlement, that is.

But the real point is that the proposal is eminently sensible and fair to everyone. It is a proposal for everyone with a meaningful constituency to share in the government of national unity for five years to ease the transition, allay (mostly white) fears of sudden change and hopefully build a sense of national unity in this tragically divided land before taking the final step to full, normal democracy.

The idea is that each party's representation in the government of national unity should be proportionate to the number of votes it receives in the election. The majority party will have the most

Cabinet members and will name a president who will operate with limited powers. Other parties will be represented according to their strength. All will have a say in Cabinet decisions.

It can become a power-sharing deal between the NP and the ANC only if every other party fails to get at least 5 or 10 percent of the total vote — the actual cut-off minimum having been left open for later decision.

There is no logical reason for Chief Buthelezi's outrage. If his party can make the cut of 5 or 10 percent of the total vote in the election, he will be part of the government of national unity. If it can't, he will not deserve to be.

The one group whose protests are more logical in a political sense are the PAC and other radicals. They are trying to portray themselves as the revolutionary purists who reject compromise. Their political future depends on being able to capitalise on disillusionment in the black community, on the inevitable crisis of expectations that will follow a settlement and the inability of any post-

apartheid government to deliver instant prosperity to the underclass.

Their strategy is to portray the negotiators as sellouts and betrayers of the liberation struggle. That is going to be the political battlefield of the future, and the lines are being drawn now.

The NP faces a similar challenge from its hardliners, who accuse it of betraying its commitment to Afrikaner survival. Generations of Afrikaners have been brought up to believe that majority rule would be tantamount to national suicide. Now majority rule is in prospect.

This is what makes the phrase "power sharing" so loaded. For President de Klerk it has been the vindicating cover for his actions. He has been telling his people he will not accept majority rule but only a system of "power sharing", or permanent coalition rule, in which they and other minorities will continue to have control over their own destinies.

For Nelson Mandela the phrase means the opposite — that he has abandoned the quest for majority

rule, the leitmotif of the black liberation struggle, and settled for something less in which the white minority will be able to block real change and preserve the inequalities of apartheid. Now we have the compromise of a government of national unity for five years. Whether that amounts to power sharing or not, has less to do with the literal meaning of the words than with the political connotation they have been given on both sides. Hence the flurry of denials and counter-denials, with the NP claiming the ANC has accepted power sharing and the ANC vehemently denying this. Call it what you like, the plan itself is clear enough — a temporary arrangement that seeks to save honour for both. It also happens to be the only practical way forward. The only alternative is to return to an endless struggle to inherit the ruins of a destroyed land. Only those with agendas too narrow to see the national interest — the sectarian, the paranoid, the opportunistic and the revolutionary junks — can possibly want that. □

Inkatha wins over third MP

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN Inkatha gained its third supporting MP yesterday in as many weeks when nominated Solidarity member Farouk Cassim crossed the floor to become the first Inkatha-supporting, independent Indian MP. *BIOM*

Inkatha has now gained members from three different parties in recent weeks. MPs who declared their support for Inkatha before Cassim were Mike Tarr of the DP and Jurie Mentz of the NP. *17/2 193*

Cassim said Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi was "delighted" when they discussed his joining the party, although his membership of Inkatha's central committee was not discussed.

Cassim listed his reasons for joining Inkatha as: long concern about the Indian community's slide towards the NP; the party's position on federalism; and Inkatha's commitment to free market principles.

Surprise defection gives Inkatha first Indian MP

(NB) 17/1/93 Political Staff

INKATHA yesterday got its first Indian MP when Solidarity's Mr Farouk Cassim surprised his party by defecting — and last night he said up to six former colleagues could follow him.

The nominated MP from Stanger said he had spoken to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before announcing his move. "He was delighted," said Mr Cassim.

However, he had been given no indication as to whether he would serve on the IFP's central committee.

Mr Cassim will join Vryheid MP Mr Jurie Mentz and Maritzburg North's Mr Mike Tarr — who defected from the National and Democratic parties — in the IFP benches in Parliament.

He said yesterday that "four to six" more members of Solidarity could also be joining the IFP. "Things are in the melting pot."

Journalists reject Buthelezi's 'ludicrous' allegations

The Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has claimed that two Sunday Star reporters colluded with the National Intelligence Service to discredit the IFP.

Chief Buthelezi insinuated in a statement that reporter Peta Thornycroft was an NIS agent and her colleague Jacques Pauw worked with the NIS to try to prove that the IFP smuggled weapons from Mozambique.

Pauw and Thornycroft wrote a report last year in which former IFP senior official Bruce Anderson said in an affidavit that he had frequently smuggled weapons for the movement.

Sunday Star editor Dave Hazelhurst said last night he was "amazed" that four months after the story was published, Chief Buthelezi had suddenly come up with these scurrilous allegations.

Hazelhurst said he would deal fully with the "ludicrous" allegations in the Sunday Star this week and would be discussing the matter with lawyers today.

He said the allegations of IFP weapons smuggling had not come from a NIS source, but from Mr Anderson, who was part of the IFP delegation at Codesa last year.

Last night, Pauw rejected the IFP allegations as "ridiculous". There had been nothing clandestine about the report.

Indian MP joins Inkatha's ranks

Sowetan 17/2/93

■ Solidarity's Cassim pushed by the Government/ANC pact on regionalism:

Sowetan Correspondent

A THIRD member of Parliament has defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party, this time from Solidarity in the House of Delegates.

Nominated MP Mr Farouk Cassim said yesterday his decision to join the IFP had been precipitated by the Government/ANC deal on regionalism last week.

"I do not trust for one minute the Government's proposal to let matters of regional autonomy and boundaries be settled at a suited date in a constituent assembly," he told Solidarity leader Mr JN Reddy in his letter of resignation.

Federation would only be achieved in South Africa through the "resoluteness" of the IFP.

He is the first MP to join the IFP from the House of Delegates but fore-

(11/3) (235)
casts today that four to five more will follow him.

Earlier National Party Vryheid MP Mr Jurie Mentz and Democratic Party MP for Maritzburg North Mr Mike Tarr crossed to the IFP.

Cassim said yesterday he had informed IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his decision and had been welcomed.

He had been offered no special position in the party and did not want one, he said.

Mentz and Tarr were both placed on the IFP central committee immediately after joining.

In an interview, Cassim conceded that Indian support in Natal for the IFP was "small and undisclosed".

But he believed that because security was the greatest concern of the Indian community, it would throw its weight behind the IFP.

Minister rejects IFP allegations

Political Staff **(18)**

JUSTICE MINISTER: Mr Kobie Coetsee has flatly rejected allegations by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the National Intelligence Service is involved in a smear campaign designed to discredit Inkatha by linking the organisation to Renamo and gun-running.

In a statement yesterday the minister, whose portfolio includes NIS, said the organisation "is not involved in stratagems and activities of the nature described".

However, he added that investigations would be immediately launched.

27/1/93

Dispute on king holding up talks

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A dispute between major political players over the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is delaying the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

To keep the process on track, Inkatha, the government, the ANC and most other parties are anxious to get a multi-party planning conference going before the month end.

The tentative reconciliation between the government and Inkatha is also likely to be overshadowed by a sharp attack by Ulundi on Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Clearly angered by remarks made by Mr Meyer in Parliament, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office issued a statement saying the minister's comments had bedevilled talks even before they started.

This follows another talks setback — the arrest by police of three uMkhonto we Sizwe members after the discovery of an arms cache in a car at a Swaziland border post.

Government sources fear police may have uncovered an arms smuggling network between Mozambique and Natal, and if the ANC has condoned this, it could seriously delay the negotiation process.

Senior ANC officials are expected in Natal today to begin their investigation. The government has insisted that the ANC give its answers on its involvement in the smuggling by the time they meet for scheduled constitutional talks on Wednesday.

A National Party-supporting Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that the government was also insisting that the ANC clarify the role of its Natal Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala, in violence.

However, the ANC and government made a "great deal of progress" in their committee meetings on Friday and Saturday in preparation for a two-day bilateral meeting from Wednesday which will try to get multi-party negotiations going in March.

The government source and an ANC negotiator emphasised that the two sides had moved much closer on core issues, but no decisions had been taken by their principals to accept their common proposals.

'Very, very promising' all smiles as IFP talks start

Political Staff

TALKS between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are off to a "very, very promising start", according to sources at the talks.

The two delegations are meeting in Richards Bay, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, the and Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP. There are 15 people in each delegation.

They started last night with a two hour session, followed by supper, and began again today at 8 am. Both sides are doing their best to maintain a news blackout. A joint statement is expected tomorrow afternoon.

The most pressing issue is for the IFP to agree to attend next weekend's multiparty

planning conference in Johannesburg. **ARC 18/2/93**

The IFP went into the bilateral talks wanting to find out if the government had backed down on its commitment to federalism, and with a lot of its concern about the role of the African National Congress's military wing.

But some IFP members have themselves been arrested for gun smuggling from Mozambique recently, and the government will bring this up in discussions.

In spite of the tough agenda, a source said last night that the talks got off to "a very, very promising start".

"Things started off in a very good spirit. The atmosphere is very friendly."

Sources said the agenda is similar to that for the ANC-

government recent bilateral meeting — violence, the planning conference and constitutional matters.

The other ministers present are Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower; Dr Tertius Delport, Minister of Local Government; Mr George Bartlett, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and leader of the National Party in Natal; Mr Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development; and Mr Renier Schöeman, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile the ANC's national executive committee will today disclose the outcome of its deliberations on the government-ANC understanding on a power sharing five-year government of national unity.

Editor slates Buthelezi claim

Sowetan 18/2/93



Lawyers called in over plot to discredit Inkatha:

THE *Sunday Star* yesterday met its lawyers over claims by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that two of its senior reporters had colluded with the National Intelligence Service to discredit his party.

Scurrilous allegations

Editor Mr Dave Hazelhurst immediately described the allegations as scurrilous.

Buthelezi charged on Tuesday night that reporters Peta Thornycroft and Jacques Pauw had worked with the NIS last year to try to prove that Inkatha had smuggled weapons into South Africa from Mozambique and that Inkatha had links with the rebel Renamo movement.

Pauw, now working for *The Star*

daily, and Thornycroft wrote a report last year which quoted ex-Inkatha senior official Mr Bruce Anderson as saying in an affidavit that he had frequently smuggled weapons into South Africa for the movement.

Hazelhurst and Pauw noted that the report on the alleged Inkatha weapons-smuggling had not come from any NIS source but from Anderson who was part of the Inkatha delegation at Codesa last year.

Anderson was deported shortly after the report was published.

Buthelezi claimed Mozambican intelligence individuals had told him that two South African NIS operatives had visited Maputo last year.

Their aim was to solicit support for a campaign to discredit Inkatha, said Buthelezi. - *Sapa*.

Now joint STAR 2012/93 talks are

set for March

DURBAN — The multiparty planning conference has been postponed until March 5, according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Meyer said in a statement yesterday, after bilateral talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, that this decision had been taken after the IFP had requested time to consult its central committee.

Agreed

He said the African National Congress had also agreed to the postponement.

The conference had initially been planned for February 25 and 26.

In the brief statement, Meyer said progress had been made in the three-day talks with the IFP at Richards Bay, but he did not elaborate. — Sapa.

IFP 'evidence' on NIS smears

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — IFP central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela said there was "enough evidence" indicating that the National Intelligence Service (NIS) was involved in a smear campaign against the organisation, despite strong denials from Justice Minister

Mr Kobie Coetsee.

But Mr Mfayela told a media conference here yesterday he could not divulge the "concrete evidence" which allegedly implicated the state in the "smear campaign". He said he approached a man believed to be an NIS agent who "was ashen-faced when we informed him that

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been told by Mozambican intelligence that people understood by them to be NIS operatives had been in Maputo to get them to confirm that Renamo was involved in Natal violence". Mr Mfayela said that the agent "confirmed that his handler was Major Hentie Botha".

The IFP has formally asked the government to protect the agent and his family, who had received death threats after speaking to the IFP.

Last night the IFP said it had revealed the agent's name to the NIS. **CF 19/2/93 (115)** The agent's name was not revealed to the press.

Govt human rights campaign

CAPE TOWN — Government would spend millions publicising a variety of proposed Bills of rights to foster a human rights culture, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In the face of criticism that government intended using public funds to propagate its own proposals exclusively, Coetsee said additional funds would be provided for the propagation of other proposals.

He also called for proposals for allocation of the funds, saying government regarded the development of a human rights culture as extremely important, in line with the recommendations of the SA Law Commission.

Additional funds outside the estimated R1,5m allocated would be provided, Coetsee said. Suggestions

should reach the department within two weeks, he said.

It was important that government foster the debate on the topic and if spending R10,5m on Codesa was justified, then spending public money on fostering a human rights culture was also acceptable.

Asked at a media briefing whether government would suspend the propagation of its own proposal pending the inclusion of other suggestions, Coetsee said momentum would be lost if it did.

In any event, he said, other parties had been propagating their points of view on the subject for some time, so government would simply be "level-

ling the playing field".

In reply to questions about whether government intended to outlaw racism, Coetsee said legislation already did so and government's proposed Bill would prevent a future parliament enacting racist legislation.

Government's proposed Bill did not criminalise racial discrimination, but the equality clause would enable courts to invalidate racist practices.

Coetsee said the argument that, by not criminalising racial discrimination government was fostering it, was defective.

He said there was a surprising convergence of opinion between the law commission, government, ANC and Inkatha proposals and an analysis of the similarities would be released soon.

TIM COHEN

Brummel wins bungalow battle

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT has backed down on threats to strip the Beau Valley nudist resort of the 60 wooden bungalows that belong to nudists at the camp.

Nudist Ben Brummel said government inspectors had intended condemning the bungalows, claiming they did not meet official building standards. But an assurance was later given that this would not be done.

The latest move comes in the wake of attempts by Brummel to open his resort to nudists of all races and sexual persuasions. Brummel said government inspectors had been called in by a faction of heterosexual nudists to condemn the restaurant on the property, but their plan backfired and their own bungalows were condemned.

Brummel said "fully clothed" officials had told him they would condemn the bungalows, but had subsequently backed down.

He shrugged off suggestions that his resort would have had to wrap up its affairs. "I've fought the Vroue Federasie, I've fought the dominees, and I'm going to fight this one."

Inkatha starts wooing voters

INKATHA has launched a massive campaign intended to woo at least 70% of the voters in Natal.

Inkatha Natal organiser Senzo Mfayela said in an interview yesterday his organisation had formulated a programme through which it was hoping to get Natalians to vote for it in the coming elections.

The programme included teaching people "who never voted before" how to vote, setting up election committees in areas where Inkatha had no branches, helping people obtain identity documents and canvassing support from the Indian community.

As part of the programme, Mfayela said, Inkatha would go all

out to secure the co-operation of people who owned vehicles such as trucks and buses. These vehicles would be used to transport people to the polling stations.

Mfayela said funds which his organisation were channelling in the campaign came from sympathetic businessmen and members. To date, more than R100 000 had been obtained for the drive.

Mfayela said he was not aware of plans to invite foreign experts to help Inkatha during its election campaign.

MP Mike Tarr said recently Inkatha had the potential to win an election in Natal.

WILSON ZWANE

Shot men's dependents sue Minister

THE dependants of two Soweto men allegedly unlawfully shot dead by police at the Avalon Cemetery, Soweto, in October 1990, are suing the Minister of Law and Order for a total of R190 000 in damages in the Rand Supreme Court.

Dorah Moloi and Marjorie Shezi are suing the Minister on behalf of their two young children. The women claim Mbuso Zulu, 23, and Zwelakhe Mzinyane, 20, were unlawfully shot dead, thereby depriving their children of their fathers' support.

Moloi is claiming R100 000 in re-

spect of her son while Shezi is suing the Minister for R80 000 on behalf of her daughter, who was not yet born when her father was killed. Zulu's father Augustus Zulu, and Mzinyane's mother Antonia Mzinyane, are claiming R5 000 each from the Minister for the cost of their sons' funerals.

The Minister is defending the claim.

Police claim the two men attempted to escape after being apprehended in connection with the unlawful possession of ammunition.

SUSAN RUSSELL

**Special
defended**

Sowetan 19/2/93

THE police officer presently leading the investigation into the murder of African National Congress Natal Midlands member Mr Reggie Hadebe had to be given an opportunity to solve the case before being replaced, the Government said yesterday.

ANC-aligned MP Mr Rob Haswell had asked Mr Hemus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, to put the "credible investigator" Major Frank Dutton on to the case. Hadebe was killed last October.

NUM comes under fire

Sowetan 19/2/93

THE United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) yesterday lashed out at the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) for saying it would field candidates in a general election on an ANC ticket.

Uwusa said it was "extremely dangerous" for the NUM to assist the ANC during the elections. - *Sowetan Reporters.*

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MIKE TARR

FM 19/2/93.

Next time in Zulu ¹¹³

The Inkatha Freedom Party's latest parliamentary recruit, Mike Tarr, doesn't regard himself as a white Zulu.

In fact, if he believed the IFP was a Zulu party he wouldn't have joined. "The IFP is keen to get rid of its image as a Zulu party. Part of my job will be to expand membership among whites to do just that."

Tarr (50) shocked the Democratic Party last month by quitting to join the IFP. He has been MP for Maritzburg North since 1989 and was considered a staunch DP man.

Tarr was first elected to parliament for the Progressive Federal Party as MP for Maritzburg South in 1981, but lost to a Nationalist in the 1987 "total onslaught" election.

Before that he taught agricultural economics at the University of Natal for 10 years. He is a partner in a Maritzburg agricultural economics consultancy and specialises in rural development issues.

In a possible interim Cabinet published by the *FM* this month, based on predictions by political observers, Tarr was placed as Minister of Agriculture (*Leaders* February 5). He believes his expertise can be of value to the IFP.

Tarr says he defected to the IFP because he found very few differences in policy with the DP. "The views of the two parties are similar on various issues — boycotts, sanctions, stayaways. I support a federal option for SA and I believe that no-one but the IFP can make it happen in Natal."

He also argues that it's time whites started joining predominantly black parties that they believe in, rather than vice versa. "I tried for a long time to recruit blacks for the DP, but it just wasn't working."

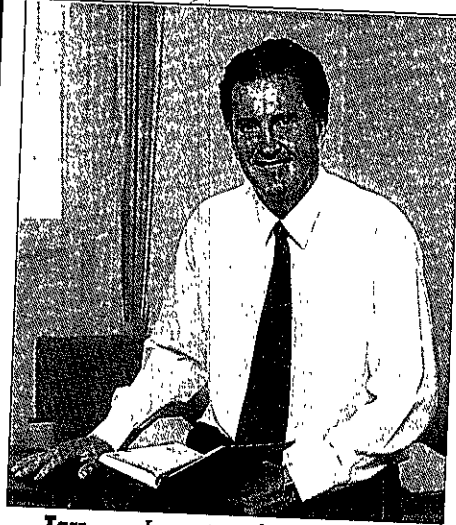
Tarr says he had no problems with DP ideology but the party was simply going nowhere, particularly in Natal. "I would like to stay in active politics and if I do, I want to be in a party that can make a difference."

However, he acknowledges that as a white member of the IFP he is in a small minority and can't expect special treatment. His future will be largely determined by party decisions.

Tarr speaks some Zulu but not enough — so he's working on it. "I spoke at a rally at Trust Feeds at the weekend and told the audience that next time I addressed them it would be in Zulu."

His break with the DP was amicable and he still speaks to his former colleagues. "People in the DP are pretty civilised in that respect."

He disagrees that he's let down his voters. "Judging by the telephone calls I've received since my move I have no doubt that most whites in Maritzburg would support the IFP rather than the ANC."



Tarr ... I want to be in a party that can make a difference

His recreational interests include road running and backpacking. He is married and has two daughters.

THE African National Congress has endorsed the multi-party conference scheduled later this month — despite a groundswell of grassroots resistance to its still unratified deal with the government.

At a press conference in Soweto yesterday, after the movement's crucial three-day national executive committee meeting, ANC leader Pollo Jordan announced that the NEC had approved the conference, set for February 25, "with a view to the speedy resumption of Codesa".

The *Weekly Mail* understands that there was stiff resistance from some regions, particularly in Natal, to the conference and calls for a national meeting of the ANC to discuss its agreement with the government. Behind the scenes, negotiators were saying that meeting the February 25 and 26 deadline agreed by the ANC and the government would be "a complete miracle".

The ANC negotiators and the government were keenly aware of the signals a failure to meet their deadline would send to the world.

At the press conference, Jordan also said the NEC had affirmed that a government of national unity was "not a deal struck between political parties, but the outcome of the preferences of the South African electorate as expressed in the first democratic elections".

He declared the ANC's commitment to a government composed of all parties elected to a constituent assembly subject to a minimum threshold of five percent.

Last week, ANC negotiators agreed to a five-year "government of national unity" (in effect, a cabinet) consisting of all parties winning more than five or 10 percent of the vote in the country's first non-racial national election. Those in the ANC opposed to the deal interpret this as an effective power-sharing deal for the five years after the drawing up of a new constitution.

In return, the government dropped its insistence that the powers and functions of the regions be decided before a constituent assembly is elected.

It is understood that at the NEC meeting, ANC leaders in favour of the five-year plan pleaded that a government of national unity would encourage investment and stability. They also stressed that, as one ANC "moderate" put it, "there is no possibility of a better arrangement because the government will refuse to compromise further, and Inkatha would dig its heels in even deeper".

But what the negotiators term the "emotional" arguments of their more hard-line comrades struck an answering chord with a large percentage of NEC members, and an even greater proportion of members at the grassroots.

The view put forward by the three ANC Natal regions and the ANC Youth League, and reportedly backed by the elements in the ANC's western Cape, PWV and Border regions, was that a national ANC conference should be called to discuss the agreement.

The ANC has not excluded the possibility that a national conference be called to facilitate consultation on the proposal while the multi-party conference be allowed to go ahead.

Opponents to the plan are not objecting to the idea of a transitional government of national unity, but reject the notion of guaranteeing the government — or any other party — seats in the new cabinet before they have proved what support they have in a national election.

"A transitional government of national unity should be the prerogative of the leader of the majority party, not the result of constitutionalised power-sharing," said one opponent.

From the government side, the moderates appear to have won the day over the hard-liners, at least for now. With Magnus Malan's resignation coming into effect on March 1, and several other cabinet conservatives such as Louis Pienaar and perhaps Adriaan Vlok, likely to follow him, those in favour of playing softball with the ANC seem to be in control.

The anti-deal rhetoric of the ANC hardliners is being echoed, from different perspectives, by two

ANC moderates win the day

WMail 19/2-25/2/93

ANC leaders overcame the deep misgivings of the rank-and-file over multi-party talks at the organisation's key executive meeting this week.

By **GAVIN EVANS**
PAUL STOBER

other parties. Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress have derided what they term the "power-sharing deal", which has been portrayed as a pact to exclude all others from the reins of government.

While the reality might be quite different — it was in fact an unratified proposal, not binding on other parties to negotiations, for those with suffi-

cient electoral support to get cabinet representation for a limited period — it is being used as a powerful mobilising tactic.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the proposed transitional government as a "recipe for disaster", and insisted that the issue of boundaries and the power of regions should be disposed of before a constituent assembly is formed.

"It would be absolutely wrong for the independent states and self-governing territories to buckle under ANC and RSA pressure and agree that the future of the region should be determined by a constituent assembly. That would be putting the cart before the horse."

Buthelezi added that the current violence in the country meant elections could not be democratic. He has also stressed that he is not prepared to join a multi-party forum until the Umkhonto weSizwe

issue is resolved.

Buthelezi's knee-jerk rejection of the proposals may be tempered by the realisation that the deal presents his best chance yet of getting into a transitional government. Despite opinion polls to the contrary, many observers are convinced the IFP will be able to swing the minimum percentage needed to guarantee a place in the transitional government.

At present, the government and the IFP are engaged in three days of talks which are to end tomorrow. Government and IFP sources are reported to be optimistic that delegates will reach enough agreement for the preparatory conference to go ahead.

Government sources have said all the outstanding issues are not connected with the preparatory conference.

The IFP is said to be holding out until the government gives it assurances about the disbanding of MK, power-sharing and the protection of regional governments.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander also derided the accord. "We wish to inform the regime and the ANC that they are not fooling anybody and we are convinced that the regime and the ANC are going to get married and give birth to a baby named 'neocolonialism'."

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THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE

Land is ours, say Namaqualanders

WILLEM STEENKAMP
and JOHN YELD
Weekend Argus Reporters

ARC 20/2/93

THE announcement by Eskom that it has identified two possible sites south of Kleinsee on the West Coast for new nuclear power stations has caused an uproar among residents of Komaggas, the small town near the area.

But, historical claims to the land which Eskom has earmarked will be fully investigated.

This assurance was given yesterday by Eskom spokesmen at a media briefing.

Mr Manneljies Diergaardt, chairman of the Komaggas management committee, said residents had objected strongly at a meeting held on Thursday by Eskom representatives in Komaggas to inform locals of their plans.

"People do not want a nuclear power station on their doorstep. They are concerned about their health and what effect the building of these stations will have on the environment," said Mr Diergaardt.

Komaggas, population about 4 000, is about 40km from the sites.

Mr Diergaardt said historically the land from Dreyerspan in the north to Hondeklip Bay in the south had belonged to the coloured communities of Namaqualand.

In 1910 the land was confiscated by the government and sold to individual farmers. De Beers later bought the farms for diamond mining.

"But we now want back the land that belonged to our ancestors. We will even go to see President De Klerk to get this land back if necessary. We do not want our land to be

used for nuclear power stations," said Mr Diergaardt.

But Eskom communications manager, Mr Andre van Heerden, said at a media briefing about the sites in Cape Town yesterday that the community had made a "very mild mention" of their claims to the site.

He had been unable to find any precedent for the claim which appeared to be based on connections with old mission stations in the area.

"But what became very obvious during (Thursday's public information) meeting (at Komaggas) is that the people definitely feel that they have a moral right to that land," he said.

Eskom would investigate the claim and, if necessary, would refer it to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation for arbitration.

"If they have a right, that will stand. We won't do anything counter to the moral rights to that land," Mr Van Heerden said.

A spokesman for the Namaqualand Regional Services Council in Springbok said the council had been informed of Eskom's plans but had not made any decision about the use of the land for a nuclear power station.

"If they intend going ahead with such a development Eskom will obviously have to apply to us for the rezoning of the land. We will then advertise the application for objections."

But, said the spokesman, at a meeting held by Eskom in Springbok earlier this week where the company had informed locals about their plans, local people had generally supported the development.

NIS denies IFP 'smear' claim

PRETORIA. — The National Intelligence Service (NIS) yesterday emphatically denied it had been involved in an alleged smear campaign against the Inkatha Freedom Party.

IFP leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi on Tuesday claimed he had received information that a NIS agent had colluded with two senior Johannesburg journalists last year to cast aspersions on the IFP.

According to Chief Buthelezi, the alleged agent had tried to gather support in the Mozambican intelligence community to link the IFP with arms

smuggling through the rebel Renamo movement.

Chief Buthelezi claimed the journalists colluded with the agent to write articles about the alleged gun-running.

The IFP leader also said the agent's handler was allegedly a Major Hentie Botha, whom he believed was a NIS member. He therefore concluded the service had been involved in a smear campaign against the IFP.

However, NIS, in a statement, denied any involvement in this "unpleasant incident" and said Major Botha was not in their service. — Sapa.

LP, IFP discuss govt for W. Cape

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

FOUR members of the Labour Party have met an Inkatha Freedom Party official to discuss new thinking that favours having a coloured majority government in the Western Cape.

A "coloured" government would be run by the Labour Party in terms of its commitment to federalism, said Dougie Josephs, leader of the LP group who talked to the IFP.

Although the LP, as a member of the Patriotic Front and a participant in negotiations, supported closer co-operation with the ANC, it had no plans to disband or to form a formal alliance with the ANC and so lose its identity as a separate party, said Mr Josephs.

Mr Josephs is MP for Riversdale and LP trustee.

The others who met Musa Myeni, Transvaal leader of the IFP and a member of its central committee, in Cape Town last week, are Izak Kruger (nominated MP), Jannie Douw (indirectly elected), and Chris Leander, MP for Daljosaphat (Paarl).

Mr Josephs said the talks were at the invitation of the IFP and had taken place with the consent of the LP leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse.

He said the idea of a Western Cape government had sprung mainly from his controversial suggestion — made at the LP's annual congress in December — that the Western Cape, with its predominantly coloured population, should be run by coloured people.

Neither Mr Hendrickse, nor his son, Peter Hendrickse, national public relations officer for the LP, could be reached for comment.

focus on Natal

CATHERINE Mshengu is a refugee in her own village, driven from her home in Imbali, Maritzburg, by gun-toting arsonists.

Her house a pile of rubble, her belongings destroyed by fire or looted, she now lives in a church hall with 26 other families — all victims of the violence sweeping South Africa.

"It is Inkatha's fault that I am here. They came to my house, pointed a gun at me and told me to get out," Mshengu said.

At least 7 700 people have been killed in township violence, most of it between supporters of the IFP and the African National Congress, since President FW de Klerk unbanned opposition groups and began dismantling apartheid in 1990.

But Imbali, home to 25 000 people and set amidst rolling green hills outside Pietermaritzburg, capital of Natal, began bleeding years earlier.

Natal is the power-base of Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. But many of Imbali's residents say they back the ANC.

Since the beginning of the war for control of Natal's townships in 1987, scores of Imbali residents have been killed and hundreds more have fled.

Empty and firebombed houses bear mute testimony to the internecine war fought with Kalashnikov rifles (AK-47s), handguns, grenades and sometimes spears.

"Over the past six years Imbali has consistently been one of the most violent places in Natal. In many ways this is where the Natal violence started," said John Aitcheson, head of a monitoring group set up by the University of Natal.

Statistics kept by Aitcheson show that from 1980 to 1986 only 16 people were killed in political violence in the area. But in the next three years at least 172 people died.

From 1990 the killings increased, Aitcheson added.

"There virtually hasn't been a month (since 1987) in which people have not been killed," Aitcheson said.

Emily Ntuli, who heads one of the ANC's Imbali branches, said residents were scared to go out at night. Some streets in an Inkatha-dominated Imbali district were no-go areas for ANC backers any time of the day or night.

Pointing to a house set high on a hill, the home of a prominent IFP official, Ntuli said: "They keep on shooting throughout the day. Nobody can go there except if you are Inkatha."

A nearby school was closed a week ago after gunmen began sniping at it, sending children scattering, Ntuli said.

Tension in the town increased after the pro-IFP mayor of Imbali, Mr Phikela Ndlovu, an

The brutal battle for political control of Natal townships by the IFP and the ANC has hardened intolerant attitudes, left thousands dead and made many people refugees in the land of their birth

Soweta 23/2/93

(113) (2/23)



IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Natal ANC leader Harry Gwala

Imbali councillor, Mr Abdul Awetha, and a 16-year-old boy went on trial in Pietermaritzburg's Supreme Court accused of murdering an ANC activist.

Since the trial began on February 3 the Imbali police station has been attacked twice, houses have been sprayed with gunfire and a man shot dead, Ntuli said.

She believed the conflict in Imbali would only end if soldiers were sent to the area. Since the last military unit departed three months ago, things have got steadily worse.

"Hundreds of people have become refugees. They simply ran away and left their houses," she said.

The IFP has accused the ANC of stockpiling arms in preparation for war before and during South Africa's first democratic elections, expected to be held before April next year.

Several members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are under arrest following the seizure of weapons, including rocket-launchers, which they were allegedly attempting to smuggle into Natal from Swaziland.

ANC leaders said they knew nothing about the arms-smuggling operation but militant Natal leader Harry Gwala said members of the organisation were probably smuggling weapons into South Africa to defend themselves in township warfare.

Gwala, a hardline Stalinist who heads the ANC's Natal Midlands region under which Imbali falls, accused the Government of arming the IFP.

He also said that in the run-up to the elections, ending nearly 300 years of white domination in South Africa, there would be "lots of trouble" in Natal. — Sapa-Reuter.

Natal IFP organiser 'decapitated'

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party warned yesterday that peace on the Natal South Coast had been seriously threatened by the murder of an IFP organiser in the Kwabandla ward of Ezingolweni, just outside Fort Shepstone.

The IFP alleged Mr Khandalesizwe Cele was preparing to launch an IFP branch in the area when he was "kidnapped and brutally murdered. The attackers decapitated him and then mutilated the body by cutting off his genitals." The IFP claimed the incident followed

an attempt on the life of Mr Aaron Cele, the chief "induna" in the area.

● Two off-duty policemen were killed at Kwamashu north of Durban. Kwazulu Police said Det-Sgt M A Thabehle was attacked and shot dead at his home on Monday night.

His neighbour, Sgt S A Mtshali, rushed to help him and was also fatally shot.

● A man burned to death after a mob wearing army uniforms attacked a house at Faulknyeni Reserve near Verulam north of Durban early Tuesday. Five

other people were injured in the attack

● At least 107 people died in political violence in Natal during January — 36 of them in the greater Durban area alone according to a report released by the Human Rights Commission.

● Three people were found murdered in Kalthong and another four were arrested for illegal possession of firearms on the East Rand in the past 24 hours.

● Eastern Transvaal police have arrested a man in Sabie after they found him with seven AK-47 rifles. — Saba

IFP member 'used alias'

Own Correspondent

FORMER Inkatha member Mr Bruce Anderson entered the country in 1988 under the alias of "Bruce Whyte" and extended his stay by using false names, fictitious addresses, work particulars and exceeding his residence permits.

This was disclosed by Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar in Parliament yesterday in response to a ques-

tion tabled by Labour Party MP Mr Luwellyn Landers. (113)

Mr Anderson was deported last year. No reasons were then given. He was later expelled from the IFP.

Mr Pienaar said this step had been taken because an application for his work permit, which had expired, had been refused. Reports of "alleged criminal activities abroad" had been received. CA 25/2/93

No deal to write off debts

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration has dismissed reports claiming that it has agreed to write off the R900 million debt owed by the Greater Soweto councils. *Sowetan 25/2/93*

TPA's MEC for Local Government Mr Burger Lategan said no such agreement had been reached between the parties in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

"Negotiations are currently concentrating on proposals for the ending of the boycott and the resumption of payments at satisfactory levels," he said.

Telkom suspends services

TELKOM yesterday suspended its services in Soweto and withdrew its workers after two of their vehicles were hijacked by striking pupils. *(11B)*

The decision to suspend telephone repairs and installations was taken after at least 12 Telkom vehicles were attacked since the trouble started two weeks ago. *Sowetan 25/2/93*

A Telkom spokesman said the suspension was indefinite and could last for as long as the pupils' strike continued. *(11B)*

"The last thing we can afford is to see our men's lives endangered," a spokesman said.

Meyer to address IFP

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer will explain the Government's view of the road ahead when he addresses the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee meeting on Sunday. *(11B)*

Dr Tertius Delport, Minister of Local Government, will also address the committee.

This follows a meeting between the Government and the IFP in Richards Bay last weekend.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said at the time there were "certain things they put to us which we did not understand, so they will put them before the central committee".

Eskom owed R600 million

BLACK councils owe Eskom more than R600 million while rent and service charges boycotts have led to debts totalling R2 billion. *(11B)*

Responding to a question in Parliament yesterday, Minister of Local Government Dr Tertius Delport said 57 black local authorities had "fully or partially resumed" services despite outstanding rental and service charges. *(11B)*

Nineteen of them, all in the Transvaal, still owed Eskom huge amounts of money, Delport said.

Sowetan 25/2/93

Sowetan 25/2/93



ALAN FINE is right in saying that the "appeal by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods for a new look at constitution-making deserves debate" (Business Day, February 15). However, he does not do full justice to Woods's and Inkatha's justification for rejecting an elected constituent assembly as the appropriate constitution-making body.

Certainly this process does require an electoral test of acceptability at the right time, but the elected constituent assembly route is much less likely to deliver it than an all-inclusive multiparty conference which sets the constitutional form and principles and leaves it to the experts to fill in the drafting detail. The reasons should be obvious.

First, the electoral law by which the constituent assembly would be elected would not have itself been the product of an electoral process commanding universal legislative legitimacy and assent. It would still be the product of politicians whose support is suspect, not the act of a

Inkatha wants to empower the people

610MDES 2/93

ALASDAIR MACAULAY

parliament whose legislators have been elected by all the people.

Second, the electoral law is inextricably bound up with the constitution-making process itself, and is so vital a part of it that its acceptability should be put to the people as an integrated package. Not the least fundamental about the electoral law would be the size and boundaries of electoral districts and any specific recognition accorded to regions.

Third, competition between parties would be substantially enhanced in a country already plagued by political violence because there is a "winner takes all" dimension to the election campaign — no less the determining of the future form and direction of the new state. The chances of such elections being even modestly free and fair are zero.

Fourth, granted that Inkatha insists upon an all-inclusive multi-

applied to bring forth a central government which commands legitimacy. If not approved, the multiparty conference would have to return to the drawing board to test the people's will again in a referendum.

Finally, it is too much to expect a triumphant majority to write a constitution which would not perpetuate its prospects of retaining power, at the expense of the minority.

If one of the principal points of constitution-making is to limit and control the power of government, then the way of an elected constituent assembly is inappropriate.

What Inkatha seeks to ensure, in the interests of all South Africans who hope for enduring personal liberty in the new SA, is a redistribution of power from the centre to regional/federal states. There can be no better way of bringing govern-

ment to the people and empowering them to participate meaningfully in local, state and federal structures of government.

And that is why Inkatha cannot agree with Fine that its "concern with the form of constitution-making — a constituent assembly — is unnecessary and irrelevant" and that "if it does not like the rules being devised it can simply withdraw from the game". Before Inkatha thinks of taking that step, it will have had to have gone all the way in getting its voice heard in multiparty negotiations for "the creation", in Fine's words, "of a cohesive but flexible legal basis for a stable society", in terms of a federal solution.

Inkatha does not take lightly its responsibility to the people of SA as a whole to secure a constitutional dispensation which limits the power of central government in order to safeguard a multiparty and free-market driven system.

□ Macaulay was an Inkatha delegate to Codessa.

REVIEW

KWANATAL

11B

11B

FM
26/2/93.

Seeking redress

"We wuz robbed, now give us the money you owe us." That's the essence of the cry from Natal and KwaZulu businessmen and politicians, following claims of gross underfunding of the region by the central Treasury.

Management consultant Deloitte & Touche, whose recent findings first raised the issue, is now, with Treasury consent, probing the region's tax burden in relation to the amount of money it receives from central government.

The Deloitte & Touche report was commissioned by the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority. The consultant was asked to show why KwaNatal had received less than a "proportional" share of public funding. It was also instructed to indicate any negative impact on the regional economy.

The results appear to back the thesis that the region is hard done by. Deloitte & Touche's Guy Harris concludes that in roads, health and education alone, Natal/KwaZulu is underfunded by R1,2bn a year, given the number of people it serves.

In another sense, it appears that KwaNatal can be accused of not working hard enough. Though the region accommodates 23% of SA's population, it generates only 14,7% of GDP. Per capita GDP is the second-lowest of the nine development regions — and it has the second-highest unemployment rate. KwaNatal can, says Harris, at best provide employment for only 35% of its potential labour force, compared with a national average of 49%. It also has a higher dependency ratio — that is, more economically inactive people depend on each worker in Natal than in most other places in SA.

The question is whether it is artificial to judge a region's funding in terms of a national average. The existence of an average at all indicates that there is disparity: is it possible or desirable to attempt to equalise spending as exactly as possible?

Another issue is the level of economic decentralisation that might be urged on a future government for purely political reasons. If Natal were to have more political autonomy, could it afford to look after its population with reduced funding from central government? ■

(113)

and acknowledged by Natal/KwaZulu peace workers.

If and when the meeting takes place — mid-March is a possible date — it will simply be the cherry on the cake. And if the meeting takes place but fails to produce all the results expected — some fear a severe case of unrealistic expectations being dashed — it will still have been worthwhile.

There's some validity in the perception that Inkatha strategists want the meeting because it would enhance their leader's image as a national player beyond KwaNatal. By the same token, ANC hardliners — particularly the ANC Natal Midlands Region, led by Harry Gwala, and northern Natal's Aaron Ndlovu, who are in the frontline of the violence — wanted it quashed for precisely that reason.

Ironically, this maverick stance probably ensured the success of the summit preparations, which were led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose. The ANC Natal group warned that an unsuccessful meeting would be more damaging than no meeting at all. It would, they stressed, first raise then dash the hopes of those in the firing line who wanted peace.

Moderates, particularly within the ANC, couldn't risk the harm to their credibility that would be inflicted by failure — hence the establishment last year of a high-level steering committee and agenda subcommittee to pave the way for a leaders' conference. The ANC's Sydney Mufamadi, who sits on the National Peace Committee, says the negotiators thrashed out a four-point agenda for the summit:

- Freedom of political activity;
- The demilitarisation of politics — sensitive issues such as the roles of Umkhonto we Sizwe and KwaZulu Police will be dealt with under this heading;
- Implementation and problems with peace accords, including the bilateral agreement reached on January 29 between the IFP and ANC, the National Peace Accord and the Umfolozi Accord; and
- Co-operation on socio-economic reconstruction between the IFP and ANC.

Mufamadi stresses that the subcommittee's objective is to ensure that agreement is attained on these issues before the leaders meet, so that their summit is a certain success. The fact that a March date has been mooted suggests that agreement is close, despite the aggravation of issues such as arms smuggling.

The effects of these preparatory bilateral talks have permeated beyond the negotiating table. Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman M C Pretorius says the effect is being felt through the entire peace process. "The hard work which has gone into the bilateral meeting will in itself strengthen the Peace Accord. It has laid a good foundation for better understanding, which could lead to a freer environment that will foster freedom of political association in Natal."

Pretorius adds that the preparatory meet-

ings are having a significant influence on the soul-searching process now under way within the regional peace committee. Workshops are being held to define why conflict has continued in spite of the signing of the Peace Accord, and how to make the regional and local peace committees more effective. Says Pretorius: "The foundation for that was laid when the IFP and ANC top leadership decided they would have bilateral talks about, among other things, the Peace Accord. The subsequent co-operation from them was then evident in the workshop." ■

MANDELA/BUTHELEZI SUMMIT

Fm 26/2/93
The peace spin-off (113)

Even if the elusive meeting between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the IFP's Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not take place, the preparatory political fencing has not been wasted. On the contrary, results of behind-the-scenes negotiations are already being felt

Finding common ground

FM 26/2/93



Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will lead government's delegation into next week's planning conference aimed at getting multiparty talks back on track

FM: What are the major differences between government, the ANC and IFP and how are you resolving them?

Meyer: Power sharing and regionalism. We wanted long-term participation of more than one party in the executive structure. The ANC wanted to prevent the entrenchment of this arrangement. There is movement towards acceptance of a relatively longer period of transitional government based on participation by all relevant parties who receive a certain percentage of votes.

In our view this will allow for the phasing in of the new dispensation and joint government for five years. Details of how the Executive will function still have to be worked out.

On regionalism we wanted the duties, functions, powers and boundaries of regions determined before the transitional phase. The ANC wanted these issues left to the elected constitution-making body (CMB). We are trying to bridge the two views by considering the possibility of a nonpartisan commission of experts to investigate and hear evidence on all aspects of regionalism. We've discussed this with the ANC and the IFP and significant progress has been made. **A recent ANC statement gave the impression that government had agreed to let the constitution-making body deal with details of regionalism. Is that not correct?**

The statement didn't reflect the complete picture. The proposed commission would bridge our differences. It would recommend regional boundaries before the election and make further recommendations on the functions of regions to the CMB, which would have the final say. We believe the various parties should structure their submissions to the commission so that they are mutually compatible, thereby ensuring recommendations to the CMB that will at least have the support of the major parties.

The ANC published detailed proposals for power sharing last week. Are they in line with what you have been negotiating?

They raised some new ideas and other aspects are not quite clear. We will seek clarity in talks this week. It is important to achieve absolute clarity on the composition and functions of the executive. For instance, the powers of the President and his relationship with the leaders of the other parties represented in the executive. Those leaders will obviously have to have positions other-

wise the whole idea of a government of national unity will be meaningless. Our discussions so far indicate that we can come to terms on these issues. Finding common ground on the principle of power sharing was a major achievement. I'm sure we can agree on the detail, though I don't think we will resolve the issue this week.

Was the IFP satisfied after your talks last week that you don't have a secret deal with the ANC?

They've said so openly, it was not a point of dispute.

What are the major points of difference between the IFP's views and those of government and the ANC?

I would say the IFP is more concerned about regionalism than power sharing. In fact the IFP's constitutional plan for Kwa-Zulu/Natal doesn't provide for power sharing, just straight majority rule. The concept is probably not that important to the IFP though I'm sure they would want to be part of a government of national unity. The focus of our talks was on regionalism, how it could be implemented and included in the final constitution.

This is also an issue of major concern to government. The set of constitutional principles to be agreed on by the multiparty forum will include a principle on regionalism, which will refer specifically to autonomous powers for the regions. In other words it won't simply be an open reference to regionalism or regional government. In that regard it is taken further than what we've been discussing up to now.

What is the purpose of the multiparty planning conference and do you expect it to be a difficult session?

Firstly, to assess progress of the negotiation process and secondly to plan for the resumption of the multiparty forum. I don't think we will clear up all outstanding points before the conference, but we have made progress on the major issues. It depends on what people expect from the conference. Government views it as a session to prepare for the resumption of multiparty talks and not the forum for negotiating constitutional matters.

In spite of the success of talks over the past two weeks government's proposed timetable remains tight. Can it be achieved?

We're working flat out and I think we are on track. I see no reason why the multiparty forum won't get off the ground by the end of March, which would mean getting on with issues like the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), constitutional principles, contents of the transitional constitution and the charter of fundamental rights.

All this must be discussed and agreed on by the end of May and that's a tight schedule. We've proposed that we first agree on a TEC so that it can get on with its work. We

can't afford to fall behind. I've no doubt that political progress through negotiations will help reduce political violence and improve the economy. Delays increase the chance of further mass action and instability.

The ANC has called for elections as soon as possible. If agreement is reached by the end of May can elections be held this year?

I doubt it. There is considerable preparatory work to be done. We haven't even touched the issue of the reincorporation of the TBVC states, which will take some time. Preparations for the election itself are complicated. We have to establish an independent Electoral Commission which we can only do once multiparty talks resume. From a practical point of view I don't see how it will be possible to have an election sooner than a year from the resumption of multiparty talks. This doesn't mean I won't work full out to have earlier elections if possible, but in reality I don't think it will happen.

Public posturing by various political leaders indicates considerable distrust and bitterness towards opponents. What is the relationship between government and ANC negotiators in particular?

I think the level of distrust is decreasing, but one can't expect negotiations to override all differences. After all, we have two roles. On the one hand we are negotiating partners with a common responsibility — together with other parties — to make progress and define the rules of the game. On the other hand, we will be fierce opponents in an election held in terms of those rules.

The conflict will exist until an election. How we manage the situation is important. We must guard against making it impossible to work together in a government of national unity after an election. Some form of understanding will have to be worked out for the election campaign.

Does government regard any issue as non-negotiable?

I prefer not to talk about non-negotiables or bottom lines. My approach is to aim for the maximum instead of defending the minimum. But issues important to us are the constitutional principles I spelled out in parliament last month (*Current Affairs*, February 5). They are all positive and achievable and in line with the NP's constitutional guidelines accepted in 1991.

What are the consequences of agreement not being reached between the main parties in the next few months?

If there's no progress government will go back to the drawing board and look at alternatives. President De Klerk indicated this in November. Whatever steps are taken will have to ensure the greatest possible degree of legitimacy and be in line with democratic principles. But we are working on the assumption that we will make progress, not that an alternative will be necessary.

NEGOTIATIONS

Scenarios differ as democracy's dawn beckons

THOSE taking part in next week's multiparty planning conference appear to have contradictory aims. This may signal hitches to come in the negotiations process, writes Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH.

STAN 27/2/93

ON FRIDAY the country will formally emerge from an eight-month hiatus in multiparty constitutional negotiations with the first step to reconstituting the negotiations forum.

That the two-day multiparty planning conference is the first move away from apartheid to a democratic government is the main point of agreement between the IFP, the ANC and the Government.

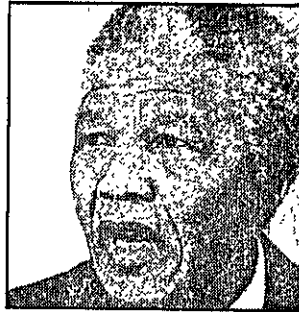
But they differ widely on the aim of the planning conference — convened on the IFP's insistence as a condition for re-entering negotiations after Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government in September.

His party wants the conference to determine the form of state and the negotiations process. The IFP also wants to review all Codesa agreements — none of which was ratified at Codesa 2.

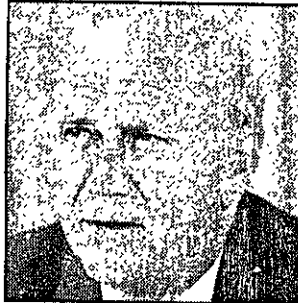
The ANC and the Government, on the other hand, see the event as assessing the current political situation and discussing logistics for the reconvening of a negotiating forum.

The differences over the direction of the long-awaited conference are attributable largely to different transition scenarios. The IFP says it is confident that the planning conference will decide on a federal state. Thereafter technocrats draft the constitution, a referendum is held to test its support after its adoption by the negotiating forum, and then general elections are held to find a new government. The party sees the transition as a continuous process to majority rule in September next year.

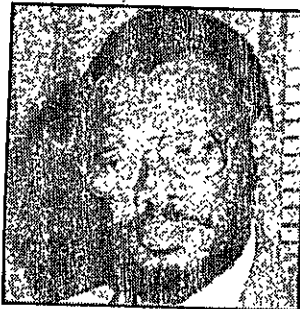
But the Government and the ANC want the planning conference to discuss resumption of Codesa, which would appoint a multiparty transitional executive authority. This would have the task of levelling the political playing field in the run-up to elections for an interim government of national unity. The Government and the ANC envisage these elections taking place at the end of the year or early next year.



NELSON MANDELA



F W DE KLERK



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

According to their scenarios the interim government would act as a constitution-making body. Another round of elections would be held for a majority government.

Although the Government and the ANC have agreed on a broad framework for the transition, fundamental differences still exist on regional government and power-sharing.

However, these differences are not necessarily obstacles in the negotiations process or merely issues of procedure. While negotiators concede that tough negotiations lie ahead, they stress that convergence can be found on the differences.

Ex-IFP official 'said no to cabinet post'

(11B)

Political Staff

CT 27B/PB

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk offered a cabinet post to one of Natal's most prominent black politicians, Dr Oscar Dhlomo — and was turned down, parliamentary sources have confirmed.

Dr Dhlomo confirmed yesterday he had seen President De Klerk recently "at his invitation" but said he would not return to politics "either now or in the future". He declined to comment further.

IFP greets its new MPs

STimes

28/2/93

118

Sunday Times Reporter

ZULU dancers and braais greeted black and white Inkatha Freedom Party supporters yesterday at the first IFP rally to be held at Vryheid's rugby stadium.

The rally was a festive occasion, with eight stewed oxen for more than 5 000 supporters — including 300 whites — who came to honour IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the guest of honour, Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz.

The veteran NP politician crossed the floor last

month to become the IFP's first parliamentary voice.

He was followed soon after by Mr Mike Tarr, who represented Maritzburg North for the DP, and Mr Farouk Cassim of Stanger, north of Durban.

Dancers

The rally was the first gathering of Afrikaans and Zulu-speaking party supporters in Vryheid, and the organisers spared no effort to make it a success.

Young Zulu dancers gy-

rated to the beat of cattle-skin drums, while town-folk sweated over smoky fires as they prepared meat in the traditional Afrikaner way.

One of the more noticeable whites was a local resident, Schalk du Plessis, who is known as the "white Zulu". He was dressed in traditional skins.

In his speech, Mr Buthelezi reaffirmed his party's support for federalism, saying the IFP wanted a society which fostered har-

mony and co-existence.

"The main choice we will need to make in the next two weeks is for federalism," he said, referring to the coming week's multiparty planning conference outside Johannesburg.

The aim of the conference is to kick-start stalled multiparty negotiations.

"The type of compromises we are going to make in the coming negotiations are most likely going to determine how the final constitution for South Africa is going to be structured," Mr Buthelezi said.

Mr Mentz told the rally that the IFP offered a secure political home, free of nationalisation and intimidation, to people who were disillusioned with the NP.

Praising Mr Buthelezi, Mr Mentz said the Inkatha leader had never "experimented in communism or socialism".

Reliable

His party was not involved in intimidation and would not expropriate people's possessions. Furthermore, Zulus were brave, proud, reliable and peaceful people with strong leadership.

It was a coming together of two nations which fought vicious battles against each other a century ago, but now live in apparent harmony in the agricultural and mining district of Vryheid.

To the applause of the ululating crowd, Mr Mentz and the "white Zulu" engaged in a traditional Zulu stick fight.

Speaking to the crowd later, the MP's fluency in Zulu earned him a thunderous cheer.

Archbishop held in AK-47 swoop

By MONWABISI NOMADLO

ARCHBISHOP Mbhekiseni Khumalo of the Light of God Church in Zion, also alleged to be the leader of the notorious Inkatha-linked Khumalo gang, has been arrested in connection with possession of two AK-47 assault rifles.

He is out on R2 000 bail following his court appearance this week in Alberton. He faces charges of illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweek confirmed the arrest.

Arrested with Khumalo on the same charges was his son, Mzwakhe, who was recently discharged from Hillbrow Hospital after he survived an ambush two weeks ago.

Khumalo's younger brother, Mphikeleli, an alleged warlord, was also arrested last week with another gang member, Peter Sibeko, in connection with arson.

Another of Khumalo's sons, Jabulane, has also been arrested.

Since last week, police have cracked down heavily on the notorious gang which has been accused of atrocities and terror in the strife-torn East Rand town-

ship of Thokoza.

For months now, the township has been a battleground between gang members and residents.

On Friday morning several weapons were allegedly seized from a house near the Khumalos. A youth is being sought by police.

Van Zweek said five alleged gang members were arrested last week in connection with the murder of five people and injuring of 10 others on January 22. The five were still in custody, she said.

However, the killers of five youths who were gunned down on New Year's day are still free.

This killing sparked anger among a 100-strong group of local women who marched to the police station to protest against the gang's reign of terror.

The arrests of the Khumalos has sparked another menace.

Several men wearing Inkatha T-shirts were allegedly seen in the township collecting R20 a house in an attempt to raise bail money for the suspects.

The killers of Khumalo's wife, gunned down about a month ago, have also not been arrested.

Multiparty planners meet tonight

Star 11/3/93

(S)

(A)

(118)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

Crucial talks to prepare for this week's multiparty planning conference to kick-start negotiations start today. The Star has learnt that a multiparty steering committee organising the planning conference will meet in Cape Town tonight.

The meeting comes ahead of a series of urgent bilateral talks this week to try to clear away remaining problems which could upset the all-important multiparty planning conference, scheduled for Friday and Saturday.

There is still concern that the Inkatha Freedom Party could cause a scene at the weekend conference, but The Star was told that tonight's meeting would go ahead regardless of whether the IFP attended.

The IFP did not want to have a core steering committee organising the planning conference and inviting others to the conference because it wanted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — who would not be invited to the talks — to "gatecrash" the World Trade Centre conference at the weekend with a delegation of his own.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a weekend rally at Vryheid that the IFP was not willing to negotiate constitutional principles unless they were based on a federal form of government, Sapa reports.

Addressing about 5 000 supporters, among them about

300 whites, at a rally in the northern Natal town, he said there had to be agreement on the form the state would have before negotiations on interim arrangements could take place.

The rally was held to welcome three Members of Parliament from the National, Democratic and Solidarity parties — Jurie Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farouk Cassim — who have joined the IFP.

Referring to this week's scheduled multiparty planning conference, Buthelezi said: "The main choice which we will need to make in the next two weeks is for federalism.

"The type of compromises we are going to make in the coming negotiations are most likely going to determine how the final constitution for South Africa is going to be structured."

However, he stressed that before negotiations were taken further, agreement had to be reached on the form of the state.

"We have taken the position that we are not willing to negotiate constitutional principles other than federal principles ... until and unless there is an agreement on the issue of the form of state."

The ANC, the Government and most other Codesa parties have a more limited view of the conference and believe it should merely review Codesa decisions and plan the proposed full-scale negotiating conference this month.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel leads a South African delegation to Gaborone, Botswana, today to meet the Pan Africanist Congress and its military wing, Apla.

late on Saturday. He is in a state

IFP could upset talks, parties fear

Political Staff

11B ARG 11/3/93

A SERIES of urgent bilateral talks are taking place this week to try to clear away remaining problems which could upset this week's all-important multiparty planning conference.

There is still concern in government and elsewhere that the Inkatha Freedom Party could cause a scene at the conference.

The IFP would like the conference to make a final decision on whether the future South Africa should be a federal or completely unitary state.

The IFP's decision to bring a separate Kwazulu government delegation along — perhaps headed by King Goodwill Zwelithini — could also cause an upset.

THE END

CIA linked to SA mercenaries

CI 12/93

IFP set to force talks clash

THIS week's multi-party planning conference appears destined for a showdown as Inkatha insists that the meeting should decide what form of state South Africa should have.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe leziz warned at the weekend that the IFP would not continue in negotiations on other issues 'until' an 'unless' there was agreement on the shape of a future government.

AFRIKANERS AND ZULUS JOIN HANDS
See PAGE 2

Yesterday the IFP's central committee endorsed its negotiations agreement with the government and the ANC that the conference should go ahead on Friday and Saturday.

It had been anticipated that the conference would review Codesa 1 and II and plan "the way ahead", skirting major constitutional issues.

And last night IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose emerged from the central committee meeting to confirm that the IFP would insist that federalism be debated at the conference.

"That has been our position all along," Dr Mdlalose said.

The meeting was addressed by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and the Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpont.

CEASEFIRE DELEGATES 'TRAPPED'
— Page 5

BY GUY OLIVER

A LONDON-BASED company, with the possible backing of America's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), has recruited South African soldiers to fight as Angolan government troops, a source claimed yesterday.

In an exclusive interview with the Daily Dispatch the source, a former SADF member who claimed to be involved with organising mercenaries for the company, yesterday divulged comprehensive details of an operation planned for the end of March.

About 100 white mercenaries would be commanded by a colonel to fight in MPLA uniform to liberate oil assets in the Unita-controlled town of Soyo, 60km south of Cabinda, he said.

Their mission was "to target and secure assets of a multi-national taken over by the enemy and to hand the target over to a brigade of the host country", the source said.

The group had left from Jan Smuts for a staging area in Windhoek and was to have been flown to Angola by a presidential jet, he said.

The mercenaries' handler was former 32 Battalion member and Director of Covert Intelligence operative Mr Eben Barlow, the source said.

The group was a "pretty mixed bunch" because Mr Barlow was "getting desperate", the source said.

However, "this is very professional done, a planned operation", he said.

Mr Barlow could not be contacted last night.

The CIA were believed to be involved as the mercenary force would have daily intelligence, including sophisticated "thermal image air photographs", the source said.

An informer was also in place in Soyo, he added.

It is believed the MPLA mercenary recruitment is being orchestrated by a former recee and 32 Battalion soldier, known only as Queros.

32 Battalion founder Colonel Jan Breytenbach told the Cape Times last night that Angolan-born Mr Queros left the defence force about four years ago for Luanda, and established an import export fishing company with former 32 Battalion soldier Mr Tony Vieira.

Yesterday the SADF confirmed they were aware of an MPLA government mercenary "recruitment drive" by two Angolans, both former members of the SADF, targeting elite troops including former and serving 32 "Buffalo" Battalion soldiers, paratroopers, special forces soldiers and former CCB operatives.

The SADF said they had heard two names to the sea-borne assault to be launched from a ship would be backed up by a helicopter to ferry casualties to an on-board hospital, the source said.

The majority of the force comprised former SADF members but there were some current members of the SADF involved who had taken long leave.

Spiesmen for the South African government could not be contacted last night.

Meanwhile, some relief organisations have cancelled long-term contracts with Africa Aerofoil Airways as a direct result of media claims that the carrier ferried arms to Zaïre for Armscor, the airway said yesterday.

The carrier's demand for a retraction and apology by the Weekly Mail newspaper was echoed by the Russian ambassador to South Africa at a news conference in Pretoria, where the legal action would be taken if a retraction were not forthcoming by today.

Africa Aerofoil is a joint venture between Africa Airways and Moscow Aerofoil.

DOG WALKING AT SEA POINT

Staff Reporter

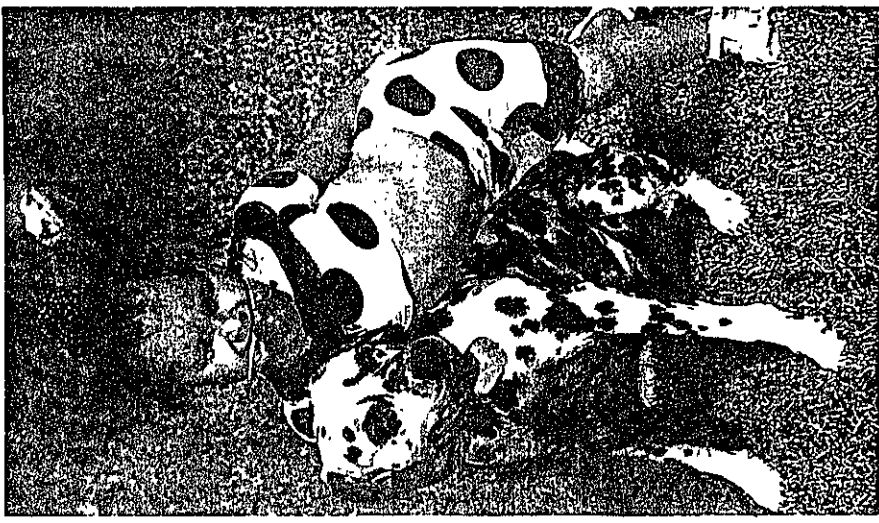
DALMATIAN owners raised R1 150 for Red Day when 115 of the spotted dogs were taken five-kilometre walk from the Point Health and Quiet Club to the Sea Point Pavilion yesterday.

"A total of 115 dalmatians turned up for the break the Western Cape record for the dalmatians together at one time," said Mr Cassar, M-Net regional co-ordinator for Red Day.

He said the turnout had surpassed the organisers' hopes of getting together 101 dalmatians to the Walt Disney film of the same name.

Mr Cassar said each entrant had to pay R101 in the walk. The money raised would go to Child Welfare for Red Nose Day on March 11.

The walk was filmed by M-Net and will be screened on Red Nose Day.

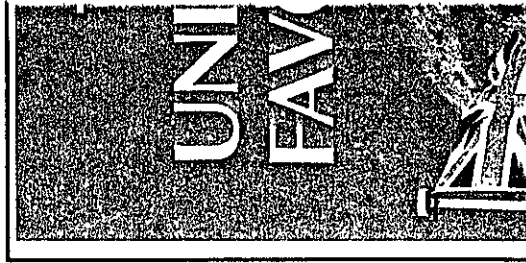


DOG HAS ITS DAY

Gabi Lippman, 3, of Hout Bay with her dalmatian "Spunke" prepared for yesterday's Ekurhuleni walk from the Point Health and Quiet Club to the Sea Point Pavilion to raise money for Red Nose Day.

The walk raised R1 150 and is to be screened on M-Net.

Picture: BENNY GOOK



Afrikaners and Zulus join hands

MARITZBURG. — Thousands of Zulus and Afrikaners joined hands and cheered side by side as IFP president Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi welcomed three MPs who have joined the IFP "as sons of South Africa" at the Vryheid Rugby stadium at the weekend.

Former National Party MP Mr Jurie Mentz, Mr Mike Tarr, formerly of the Democratic Party, and Mr Farouk Cassim, formerly of the Solidarity Party, were officially welcomed into the IFP fold as staunch Afrikaners and Zulu men and women dressed in traditional battle garb joined in the festivities.

For some, the scene might be difficult to imagine, with Vryheid just 30km away from Blood River, where Zulus and Afrikaners clashed in a bloody battle over a century ago.

Addressing the packed stadium, Mr Mentz said the IFP offered a secure political home which was free of nationalisation and intimidation.

"If the ANC seeks to rule South Africa it will have to subject itself to the largest ethnic group," he said, referring to the Zulu people.

— Sapa

Star 2/3/93
Natal Inkatha leader killed (118)

Inkatha leader Mbongeleni Zulu was killed and his Natal North Coast home torched on Sunday.

Right, Left and centre will all have their say

Star 3/3/93

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The full political mainstream will be represented in negotiations for the first time when more than 20 parties and administrations sit down together at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday to plan for the future.

All the main parties — including, for the first time, the Conservative Party on the Right and the Pan Africanist Congress on the Left — are due to attend the multiparty planning conference.

Its aim is to review agreements made to date and to plan the resumption of full-scale, multiparty, Codesa-style negotiations.

One top negotiator said the purpose of the conference was to form a bridge between past bilateral and future multilateral negotiations.

Bringing such a wide range of views together is bound to be a delicate operation and fireworks have not been ruled out.

Other participants were still not sure last night whether the Inkatha Freedom Party might not spring a surprise by demanding the conference make a binding decision

that the future South Africa become a federation.

However, IFP and other sources close to them said they did not think this would become a make-or-break issue at this stage.

They said this conference was mainly the brainchild of the IFP, which wanted it to review ANC-Government "deals". Thus the IFP would like it to succeed.

It appeared that other parties had accommodated the IFP's concerns to an extent by agreeing to include an agenda item on whether negotiations could take place regionally.



Panel

11B

Arguments were still continuing yesterday about who should serve on the multiparty panel to chair the conference.

There was provisional agreement that the Government, ANC, IFP, Democratic Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Qwa-Qwa government and Transkei government should be represented.

A panel drawn from these groups met in Cape Town yesterday to make final arrangements for the conference.

However the conservative Concerned South African Group (Cosag) was still arguing that Boputhutswana Government

minister Rowan Cronje should be appointed to the chairing panel to represent their interests.

This problem was not expected to cause a major upset nor was the expected arrival of KwaZulu government and PAC delegations at the conference — even though this had not been agreed to by all parties.

The ANC has not approved the KwaZulu government as such being there and the Government is still officially observing a ban on contact with the PAC until it distances itself from violent acts by its armed wing the Azanian Peoples Party.

"Both will probably just pitch up and no one will chase them away," a negotiation source said.

The source added that first prize at the conference would be agreement on a date for full multiparty talks.

But it would be enough if the process of arranging the conference was just kept on track.

Parties will be represented by five-person delegation headed by their chief negotiators rather than their leaders.

Apart from the PAC, CP and KwaZulu government, the other principal newcomer to negotiations will be the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) which split from the CP last year.

with a greater sense of urgency that South Africa's political leaders return to the World Trade Centre on Friday to plan the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

A little more than 10 months ago, at the same venue, negotiations towards a peaceful political settlement collapsed quite unceremoniously when the ANC and Government deadlocked on crucial matters dealing with the adoption of a new constitution for the country.

Since then the country and its people have endured much pain. Much of it has been written about and furiously and furtively debated — to repeat it would be trite.

During this time a new urgency for the two to resume talking has emerged.

Non-stop bilateral talks between the two took place and much ground that was lost after last year's World Trade Centre collapse was reclaimed.

These bilateral talks also stretched into areas that had at the time of the collapse been explored but not agreed.

Greater consensus exists between the two parties now than at the World Trade Centre on that fatal day — May 16 last year.

Not responsible

One factor which was not, in any significant way, responsible for the collapse last autumn, was the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the time of the collapse the IFP was still standing in a corner with its face to the wall in a furious tantrum because of the exclusion of the Zulu king and KwaZulu government from negotiations.

Now, just when everyone thought it was safe to return to negotiations, the IFP has thrown its traditional weapons out of its crib in a petulant rage and threatened to disrupt Friday's planning conference.

The IFP now wants the Zulu king at the negotiations. It wants the KwaZulu government at negotiations and it wants guarantees (even before negotiations begin) on key issues.

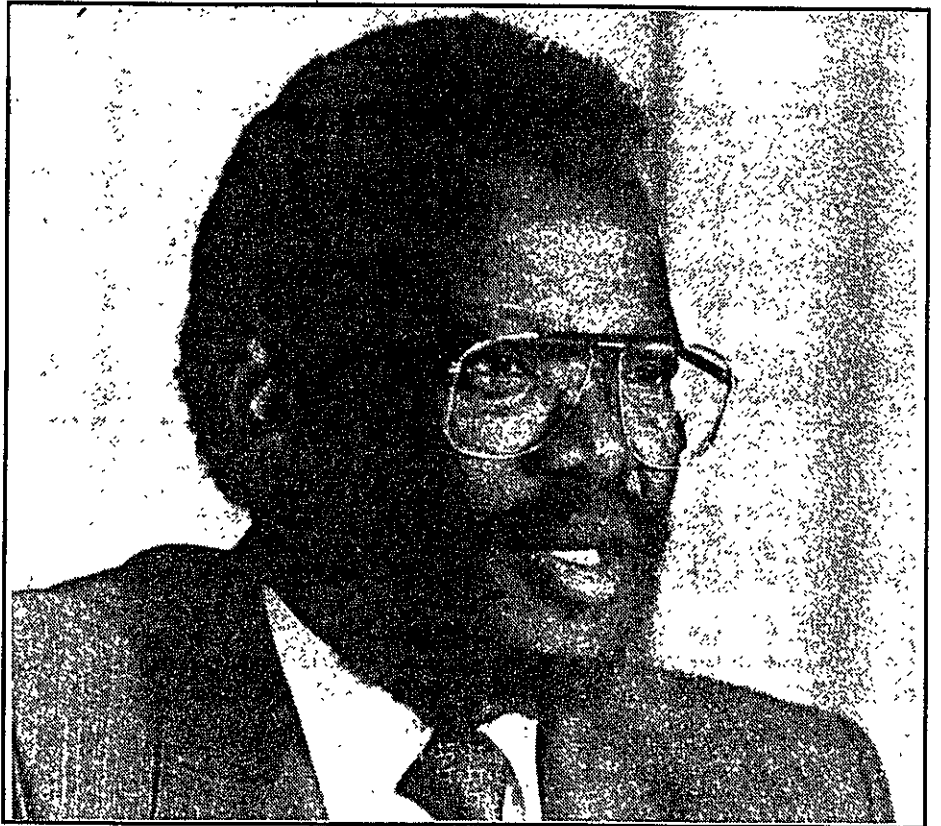
It is safe to assume that the IFP's allies and fellow travellers on the right — parties such as the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the administrations in the homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — could support Buthelezi's demands.

In terms of the number of parties, then, the IFP could, through its Cosag (Concerned South Africans Group) stonewall and hold the country to ransom before resuming negotiations.

The IFP Member of Parliament for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz, has warned that if that party did not get its way at negotiations and a settlement was reached without it, the country would be plunged into full-scale civil war that would make the conflict in former Yugoslavia look like

The Inkatha Freedom Party's role in talks between the Government and the ANC may not be apparent. But if Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not get his way, any hope of real talks may fail, **Ismail Lagardien**

writes: ~~111~~ 1115 ~~300~~ Sowetan 3/3/93.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... not responsible for the collapse of talks.

a Sunday school picnic.

Therefore, the progress that has been made in months of bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC could amount to nothing, if Buthelezi does not have his way on Friday.

The participation of the PAC and Azapo in the planning conference remains uncertain but there is hope yet. The PAC has said that it would attend but chances are that they could (like the IFP) make demands that are actually difficult to meet.

Azapo has been ambivalent as has the Conservative Party. The latter, as part of the initial group of 21 parties that were invited to the first planning meeting on November 29 1991, could arrive at Friday's meeting as part of Cosag.

How this will affect the participation of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana is uncertain.

What is certain is that the 19 parties that took part in Codesa will return (in small delegations) and the invitations turned down in 1991 still stand.

This means that Azapo, the CP and PAC will be reinvited and the only new invitation will go to the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The agenda for this weekend's meeting will be, firstly, to look at the gains of past negotiations at Codesa and how multi-party talks can be resumed.

Politicians and negotiators from most parties who were at Codesa feel, however, that the resumption is only possible if this weekend's planning conference can get past the IFP.

BRIEFING

Star 4/3/93

All eyes on the 'spoilers' at talks

PARTICIPANTS in the multiparty planning conference all realise the urgency for it to succeed and then lead to the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

But some will arrive tomorrow at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park with contradictory aims.

However it is clear that those planning on placing obstacles in the way of the conference leading to a new reconstituted negotiating forum will be regarded as spoilers — largely for placing party political views above national interests.

The eight-month hiatus in negotiations began at the end of June when the ANC formally suspended talks after the Boipatong massacre.

But it really began at the failed Codesa 2 when the key players — the ANC and Government — could not agree on who should write the new constitution. This led to the 19 Codesa participants dividing into pro-Government and pro-ANC camps.

Shortly after the Boipatong killings the ANC issued 14 demands focusing on violence and transitional arrangements, and said it would not even consider returning to the negotiating table until these have been met by the Government.

The ensuing weeks saw a "war of memoranda" between the two on these demands and counter proposals.

This period saw an unprecedented ANC-led mass action campaign and vigorous United Nations involvement in trying to resolve the crisis.

But ironically it was violence

South Africa tomorrow takes the first step in the resumption of multiparty constitutional negotiations when political groups return to the empty Codesa meeting rooms. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the road the negotiation process has travelled since it came to an abrupt end in June, and at the contradictory aims of the participants.

which resolved the negotiators "attitude problems".

More specifically, the Bishop massacre which proved to be the final turning point by getting the ANC and Government to meet.

This meeting led to the signing of the Record of Understanding in September, between the two groups, but the ink was hardly dry on the historic document and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off talks with the Government.

He said these two parties could not reach bilateral agreements which had an impact on others.

The IFP took the lead in forming the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) based on opposition to the Record of Understanding and not on a shared vision of the transition.

Since September the ANC and Government have embarked on a series of meetings to thrash out differences on their scenarios for the transition. A greater convergence between the two has emerged with them agreeing on the framework for the transition from apartheid to democracy.

However, fundamental differences still exist on power-sharing and regionalism but they are regarded as details — although not mere procedural

matters — to be discussed at the negotiating table.

Meetings between Cosag — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments — and the Government have only really got under way since the beginning of the year. A large backlog still exists between them on constitutional issues.

It is quite likely that different camps will emerge at the planning conference because of the contradictory aims of participants.

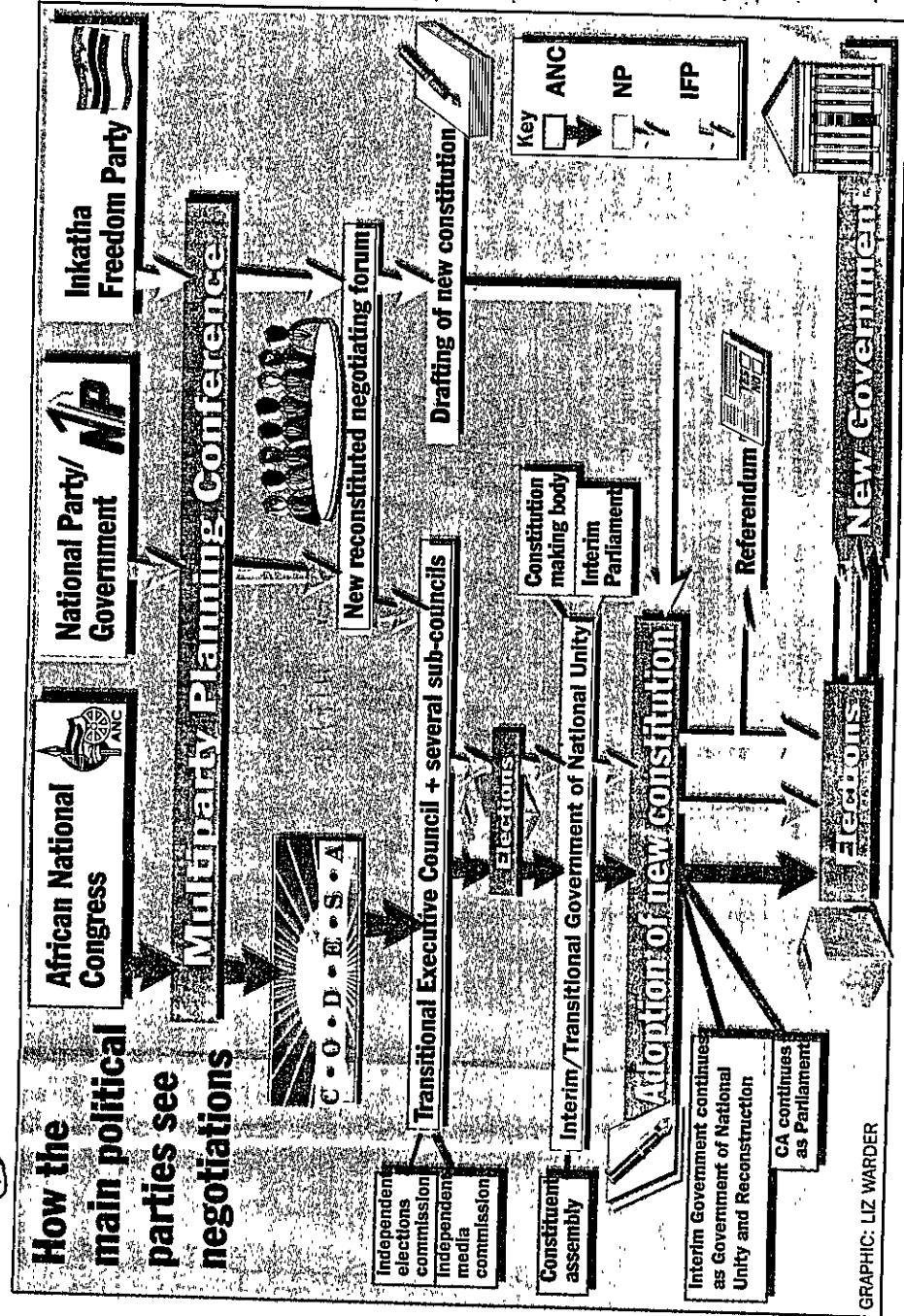
These differences are largely due to the different scenarios for the transition.

On the one hand, the Government and ANC want an elected body to draft the new constitution, while the IFP wants an appointed multiparty negotiating forum to draft the constitution before elections can be held.

Also, the IFP wants the planning conference to determine whether the post-apartheid South Africa will be a unitary or federal state.

Squabbles at the conference and hitches in the negotiating process are to be expected, but urgency in the process is an overriding factor.

Tomorrow will be a moment of truth in South Africa's negotiation process. □



GRAPHIC: LIZ WARDER

Govt 'helped plan march'

11B

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Government intelligence agents helped members of the ANC's security wing plan its threatened march on Ulundi, the IFP claimed.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet released transcripts of an alleged telephone conversation between the head of Criminal

Investigation Services (CIS) Major Hentie Botha and "operative" Mr Wessel Jordaan.

In the transcript Major Botha, who the IFP said had links with the National Intelligence Service, instructed Mr Jordaan to offer the ANC assistance in planning the march. CR414193

Reporters were also taken to

an unoccupied office from which the IFP claims Mr Botha ran a "front" company for the security police and NIS.

The IFP said the government was attempting to "besmirch political opponents... to engineer a deal between it and the ANC". The ANC has rejected the claims as "pure lies".

IFP, CP 'must
stay in talks'

Political Staff

A CONSTITUTIONAL settlement without the IFP and Conservative Party was not desirable and could be very dangerous, Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, has warned.

But he said that if the CP and IFP remained intransigent, majority parties may have to form an interim government without them.

Dr Boraine was writing in the latest issue of Idasa's journal, Democracy in Action, which was released yesterday.

Tribal Star 4/3/93 leaders set for indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Delegations representing the Zulu king and other tribal leaders from all four provinces are likely to swell the ranks of those attending tomorrow's multiparty planning conference to get negotiations back on track.

The two-day conference will be the broadest-yet gathering of parties and other groupings for negotiation, from the PAC on the Left to the Conservative Party on the Right.

The PAC confirmed yesterday that it would be there and the Government said it would not object, although the PAC refuses to abandon its armed struggle.

The PAC, which walked out of Codesa, said it would also continue to take part in negotiations and would attend the full multiparty conference which negotiators hope to convene before the end of the month.

Indications are that no one will walk out when a delegation representing the Zulu king and other Natal traditional leaders arrive at the World Trade Centre for the meeting, even though the ANC has in the past opposed this.

Negotiations sources said yesterday they expected a delegation representing the king and other KwaZulu-Natal tribal leaders to attend, although the king himself would not.

Invitations had also been sent to traditional leaders of the other three provinces.

Allowing the Zulu king to be represented through a delegation of traditional leaders seems to be a compromise to get round the ANC's objection to his attending as the head of a KwaZulu government delegation.

26 delegations from PAC to CP at key conference

We're on the road again

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius

As delegates began arriving at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today, South Africa was set to take the first official step towards the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Hundreds of security officials were on duty as at least 26 delegations gathered for the important two-day planning conference.

Local and foreign media contingents began arriving shortly after 8 am.

Early today last-minute details were still being attended to but it appeared that Azapo and three delegations of traditional leaders from the Transvaal, Cape and Free State would join the 23 delegations already announced.

This would confirm the planning conference as the most representative grouping of political organisations yet brought together under one roof for negotiations.

For the first time, the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the KwaZulu government will sit at the same table.

It is understood the KwaZulu delegation, led by Dr Ben Ngubane — KwaZulu minister of health and ITP-central committee member — will represent traditional leaders of Natal, which makes their presence acceptable to the ANC.

Similarly, delegations from traditional leaders of the other three provinces are now expected to attend.

Moment of truth arrives

Stein 5/3/93



David and Goliath... Lorna Stanton of the African Raptor Information Centre holds a pearl-spotted owl and a giant eagle owl. The conservation group is running a raptor film festival at the Constantia Centre in Midrand until Sunday. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

Teachers warn

Stein 5/3/93

(321)

NY bomb: man held

Stein 5/3/93



3 Natal suspects arrested

Stein 5/3/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Owen Correspondent

Three men were arrested last night in connection with the murder of six children on their way to school near Maritzburg on Tuesday.

SAP Midlands spokesman Captain Henry Buttram said a full statement would be released later.

The arrests follow the disclosure that the driver of the bakkie, Philalithwa Ngubane (25), identified one of the gunmen as someone who had lived in Mboyi, where the massacre occurred, but had recently fled the area.

Buttram confirmed yesterday a gunman had been identified, but said he could not divulge details at this stage as it would hamper investigations.

To Page 3

Kwazulu Government sit at the same table.

It is understood the KwaZulu delegation, led by Dr Ben Ngubane — KwaZulu minister of health and IFP central committee member — will represent traditional leaders of Natal, which makes their presence acceptable to the ANC.

Similarly, delegations from traditional leaders of the other three provinces are now expected to attend.

Moment of truth arrives — Page 10

Negotiators last night expressed guarded optimism about a successful outcome although they acknowledged that the hazards of keeping such a divergent grouping from each others' throats introduced an element of unpredictability.

Ostensibly, the tasks are simple — to review past agreements such as those at Codesa and to set a date and agenda for a full, formal multiparty conference.

Although there are basic differences on how a new constitution should be drafted, the general view is that these will not be allowed to upset the conference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party remains something of a wild card because it differs markedly from the other parties on several issues.

But in Durban yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave the assurance that he had instructed his delegation to be "harmonious", while not abandoning its principles.

Diplomats of 42 nations and representatives of the Vatican and five international organisations are also set to attend.

Organisers said today's proceedings would finalise the first point on the agenda — an assessment of the current situation.

Each delegation will be allowed seven minutes to give its views.

Delegates are expected to agree on the necessity to restart negotiations.

Tomorrow, the discussion will focus on preparations for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The IFP is expected to propose that the conference decide on whether South Africa should be a unitary or federal state.

The ANC and Government are opposed to this proposal.

● Moment of truth — Page 10

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planning conference should be the determination of what form the new state should take. Buthelezi maintained that it should be decided, before matters progressed much further, whether SA is to be a unitary or a regional/federal state.

"This issue cannot be relegated to the end of the transformation of our society. We are not willing to negotiate constitutional principles other than federal principles, or any



Buthelezi ... bluff only effective as long as it's not called

probably realises this is as far as the ANC can or is willing to go on the subject. Shrirer thus concludes that all one can hope for at this stage is broad agreement that any new system should in fact include the decentralisation of power.

Instead of bargaining from strength, he says, Buthelezi is signalling his doubt about his political power base. That, adds Shrirer, should be sufficient to weaken his position further if observers are astute enough to pick up the signals.

The reality is that there are two key players, the ANC and the Nats. They are the ones who will make or break any agreement. That is the bottom line irrespective of the importance given to fringe groupings by some analysts.

Implicit in Buthelezi's drum beats is the suggestion that the IFP could make things difficult if it doesn't get its way. But that would cast the IFP leader in the mould of a Jonas Savimbi — and we doubt whether he would relish that.

matter related to interim arrangements unless there is an agreement on the issue of the form of a future state," he asserted.

However, his strong line on federalism is being interpreted by some as mere bluff. Cape Town University's Robert Shrirer explains: "The Buthelezi strategy is quite transparent. While he occupies an important institutional position under the old rules, his future position is problematical because it hinges on political support.

"It's part of the power game where those who have substantial power now, but stand to lose it in the future, seek to maximise their input. The converse is true of those, such as the ANC, who have the promise of power."

He adds, however, that there is clearly a limit to which present forces can shape future political models, and if Buthelezi pushes too hard he faces a real danger of being marginalised. "A bluff is only effective as long as it isn't called, and the danger for Buthelezi is that he'll overplay his hand," Shrirer says.

At this stage it seems that Buthelezi is asking for something that has rather to emerge from more inclusive negotiations, rather than being the prelude to them. While there is a growing recognition of the need to resolve regional issues through decentralisation, there is also a general view that power at the centre does need to avoid problems of the past on issues such as parliamentary sovereignty.

This has been accepted in principle by the ANC and government, if not the IFP, which

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
5/3/93
Federalist's last stand

The next few weeks are crucial to SA's future as a stable federal state — or are they? Certainly that's the view of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi who has again been thumping his well-worn federalist drum. But it has also been suggested that this is a last-ditch attempt by him to grasp regional power before it is swept out of reach for ever.

Buthelezi used a weekend meeting at Vryheid, ostensibly to welcome new members and old friends Jurie Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farook Cassim into the IFP, as a platform to echo his warnings that failure to secure a binding commitment to a federal republic now would be tantamount to signing away "our children's and grandchildren's" birthright for 150 years for the sake of a five-year period to protect the NP's position of power and privilege.

In short, he maintained it would leave constitution-making to the mercy of an ANC-dominated constituent assembly.

"I tremble at the idea of that the guarantees for our freedom and fulfilment of our needs, wants and aspirations could be given in dealings between government and the ANC," said Buthelezi.

Therefore, he stressed, the main item on the agenda of the forthcoming multiparty

Next two days will test commitment, writes Political Reporter Esther Waugh

Star 5/13/93

SA's moment of truth arrives

A MOMENT of truth arrives in the negotiations process today when a group representing every shade of South African political opinion meets at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park.

The outcome optimists are hoping for is that delegates will set a date for resuming multiparty constitutional negotiations.

The worst-case scenario — which at this stage looks unlikely but possible — is that one or more of the groups will walk out.

There are certainly enough peripheral issues to make this possible.

The two-day conference will be a test for participants of whether they are prepared to put national interests above party politics.

Only two issues are on the agenda — an assessment of the current political situation and the resump-

tion of multiparty negotiations. The agenda does not include all the issues some of the parties want to discuss.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, for instance, wants the meeting to decide whether a post-apartheid South Africa will be a unitary or federal state.

But it is clear from the agenda that it will not be a forum to discuss substantive issues.

The test for political groups will be their stance on practical issues such as who should attend, and how decisions will be reached. Crucial to the success of the event will be whether participants take intractable positions.

It is clear that at the World Trade Centre, for the first time in South Africa's negotiations process, the most divergent political views will be represented.

And, for the first time, the press

will be allowed to observe deliberations. During Codesa the press could watch only the two plenary sessions at first hand.

While most parties realise the urgency of this crucial moment, the acid test of success will be their commitment to getting the process restarted.

Inherent in the negotiation process is that a negotiating forum will be imperfect to some of the groups.

A test for the players will be whether they propose constructive solutions.

The IFP and its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group do not want Codesa reconvened. Instead, they want a new, restructured forum.

Codesa reached many agreements, though they were not ratified at Codesa 2.

It will therefore be difficult to ignore what was achieved from the start of Codesa 1 in December 1991 to the failure of Codesa 2 in May last year.

The IFP wants all Codesa agreements reviewed on the ground that new groups have joined the process.

Whether the conference decides to build on the earlier agreements or to adopt a new approach, it will be difficult to ignore the events of last year.

When proceedings start today, each delegation will have seven minutes to present its assessment of the current situation.

The best option will be for all groups to agree on the need for a negotiating forum to be convened.

In terms of the second agenda item they will then present their views on the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

It would be unrealistic to expect the planning conference to go off without squabbles.

One potential area of conflict is the presence of the media. The PAC said on Wednesday the proceedings should be open to all media, including television cameras, which have been barred from the meeting.

Another point of conflict could be the participation of new groups, particularly the PAC and the KwaZulu government.

The Government has indicated its opposition to the PAC's presence, but is unlikely to oppose it formally.

On the other hand, the ANC and its allies are opposed to the presence of the KwaZulu government.

At Codesa the IFP was pushing for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to be present. There has been a

slight shift in its canvassing of this point.

The king is a constitutional monarch and has a seat in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He will therefore attend as part of the KwaZulu government.

The ANC proposed that he attend along with other traditional leaders in four provincial delegations.

Another possible problem area is the panel of seven rotating chairmen.

Some of the participants may argue that all groups should be represented on the panel.

Progress in the next two days will be determined by the groups' commitment to re-starting the process of moving from apartheid to democracy and on whether they squabble about side issues — and perhaps insist on derailing the conference because of them. □

Give peace a chance

WMAW 5/2-11/3/93
INKATHA Freedom Party supporters in the war-torn Umgababa area near Durban say they want IFP president Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi to attend multi-party talks and to support a government of national unity. (118) (116)

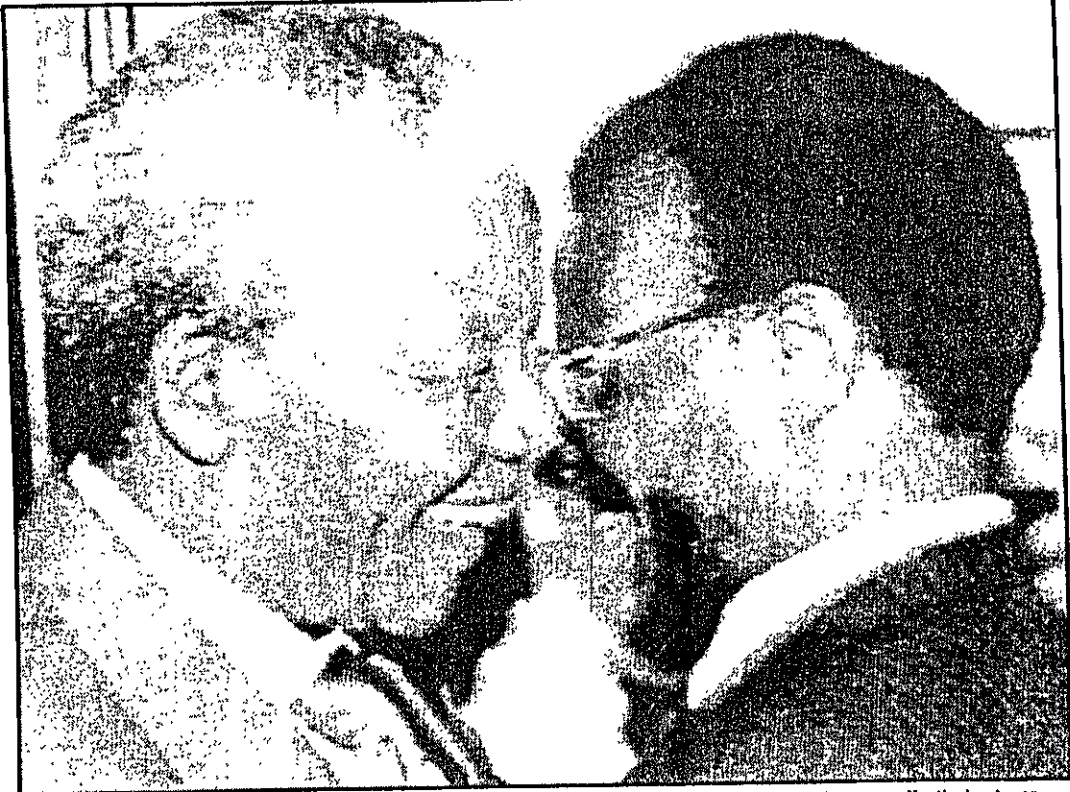
They regard peace as their priority, and want all South Africa's political leaders "to stop playing games" because people are dying.

Emanuel Luthuli, a former chief in Umgababa who is regarded as a father figure by both IFP and African National Congress members, said he hoped talks would lead to a settlement on the date for elections.

"I don't care who wins — we want peace now."

Tholakele Luthuli, the wife of the current chief, Philibert Luthuli, said her husband, an IFP supporter, no longer stayed in the area because ANC supporters wanted to kill him. "For the past two years, we have been sleeping in the forest with young children. I will ask my husband to allow the ANC to operate in the area, though we still support Inkatha."

The latest victims of the savage warfare in the Natal Midlands were 16 people, gunned down in ambushes near Maritzburg this week. GRAHAM MCINTOSH says the ANC and Inkatha have turned parts of the Midlands into little Somalias



FANNING FLAMES? Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi embrace, but their organisations are effectively at war

MANY people have little insight into the pattern of oppression, intimidation, prejudice and apartheid that has emerged in parts of the Natal Midlands as the ANC/SACP and the IFP — which profess to be apostles of democracy — fight for political control

These two organisations — for some reason they are always referred to as “organisations” rather than parties — must be bringing a wry smile to those many granite reproductions of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd that are quietly being removed in most places.

In the Natal Midlands, however, Dr Verwoerd's apartheid is alive and well thanks to the IFP and the ANC/SACP. Every black person must be classified and the only two categories are ANC or IFP; the new “dompas” or reference book is the party membership card; the poll tax is the money that is demanded or extorted from party members — often without receipts.

“Group Areas” are arbitrarily declared and, if you happen to be in a so-called ANC or IFP “group area”, you either appear to be one of them or move out because the alternative is physical attack or an arson attack on your home. Schools are deemed to be ANC or IFP as are churches, shops, bus terminals, public telephones, taxis and hospitals — often on the flimsiest of pretexts.

The “forced removals” instituted by the ANC and IFP make Verwoerd's “black spot” removals seem sweetness and light by comparison. With murderous intolerance the ANC and IFP have forced thousands of people to flee and relocate

In Estcourt “ANC blacks” are chased away from the bus rank whereas “IFP blacks” are chased away from the street where OK Bazaars and Checkers are located. If they don't run away they will be shot and stabbed or get pangas lodged in their skulls. In Mooi River and Richmond similar things happen

The contamination of being involved with the “wrong” party is often so irrational that it would be hilarious if it were not so sickeningly life-threatening. The Kwazulu Health Department has had to stop using clinic cards at its ante-natal clinics because

In the savage heart of the NEW APARTHEID

“ANC” for ante-natal clinic visits was printed on the card.

The ANC, in a kind of strange racism, alleges that whites have been killed helping the IFP. Edendale Hospital is perceived as IFP, Estcourt Provincial Hospital is so-called ANC and Emmaus Lutheran Provincial Hospital, near Winterton, is deemed to be IFP.

Medical personnel are puzzled and even angry when it is suggested that they would do anything but give the best treatment to all patients. All

hospitals in Natal now have extremely tight security and signs displayed saying, “No firearms allowed in the hospital”.

The real problem for genuine democrats and people committed to political tolerance and human rights — there are many in both organisations but they are paralysed with fear or terrified of being termed “sell-outs” or soft; what the “hawks” in the organisations like to term the “doves” — is when to intervene decisively and toughly.

sition of guns, the throwing of petrol bombs and intimidation of people into conforming to their beliefs are clearly not being disciplined by their organisations

Those of us who know what the situation is like in Estcourt/Wembezi or Mooi River/Bruntville or Richmond/Ndalen can bear witness to the intolerable suffering that ordinary innocent people are having to endure at the hands of both the IFP and the ANC/SACP.

Is it not time that South Africa, like the international community in Somalia, imposes a state of emergency or martial law so that these oppressors of the people can be stopped in their tracks? Are our courts insensitive to the suffering of the innocents and should they not refuse bail in all cases of public violence and pass sentences which involve severe punishment rather than “correctional services”?

WE have our own little Somalias in the Natal Midlands and it is surely time for decent South Africans — and especially those many within the organisations — to speak out and demand tough action from their leadership and the courts against these vicious and evil savages who only understand peace as victory and unity as agreement with themselves and who only recognise oppression and violence when their organisation is the victim

Of course the ultimate weapon for each one of us is not to vote for these organisations but to vote for a party that will have nothing to do with intimidation, violence and deceit. It is not uncommon to hear people say “Asifuni Mandela, asifuni Buthelezi” (We don't want Mandela, we don't want Buthelezi). Their votes are unlikely to go to the two oppressive organisations headed by these men.

□ Graham McIntosh is involved in the National Peace Accord as a convener of a Local Dispute Resolution Committee for the Estcourt/Wembezi area. He is a former IFP member of Parliament and serves on the National Council of the Democratic Party

For how long do ordinary, decent South Africans tolerate the barbarous savagery, bloodshed, intimidation, fascist intolerance and destruction of property that the ANC and IFP excuse, defend, connive at and encourage?

Is this not the same question which decent people around the world have had to ask themselves as they watched the selfish, barbaric, uncivilised and violent chaos that the Somali leaders created, which led to hundreds of thousands of innocent Somalis facing death by starvation?

Must decent people within the organisations as well as those outside them not ask themselves for how long does one allow killers, insurrectionists and intimidators to rego on closing clinics, burning houses, closing schools and hounding and persecuting people of a supposedly different political outlook?

The people in the organisations who signed the National Peace Accord but undermine it by paying lip-service to it while encouraging the acqui-

S/Times
7/3/93

(11B)
(R)

Suppl to C/Press

Joint peace force

7/13/93

A joint peace-keeping force made up of at least 1 000 personnel each from the PAC, ANC, Inkatha and the NP was necessary to help stop violence in SA. This was stated by the National Peace Accord vice-chairman and Methodist Church minister Rev Stanley Mogoba.

Mogoba was among a group of prominent South Africans who attended a four-day conference in Sintra, Portugal.

"We are not saying the armed forces of these organisations should **disband** or hand over their guns to the authorities. This has proved to be impossible. What we are saying is that a peace-keeping force involving all the major players could be part of the

solution to long-lasting peace."

He said money should be made available to buy uniforms and provide transport for this force. "These forces must be clearly and easily **identifiable** from the rest of the **civilians**."

"If **(118)** members from all these organisations could form a joint peace-keeping force, I think part of our problems could be solved," he said.

DICTIONARY

Prominent: to stand out or be noticed.

Disband: to do away with.

Identifiable: easy to recognise.

Civilians: ordinary people; not military staff.

Defusing the politics of ethnicity

BROTHERS BORN OF WARRIOR BLOOD — Politics and Ethnicity in South Africa, by Gerhard Maré (Ravun, R24,20)

THE trouble with the SA debate on ethnicity, argues Gerhard Maré, is that the Marxists have traditionally viewed the phenomenon as a largely artificial one devised by the planners and beneficiaries of apartheid, while right-wing nationalists have viewed it as the predominant basis of socio-political relationships.

Maré believes both are wrong. And, as a left-wing Natal University sociologist brought up in a conservative, Natal, ethnic Afrikaner family, he has an appropriate combination of credentials to address the question — especially since the book focuses most closely on Inkatha.

The 121-page work is timely too, given that this is probably the most burning issue currently facing SA as it claws its way towards democracy.

The first section is a scholarly, often pedantic attempt to set out the theoretical basis of later analysis. This is not surprising, given the author's academic background, but rather hard going for the layperson.

The really interesting part begins thereafter as he paints a picture of Mangosuthu Buthelezi carefully and skilfully building his political base using (and sometimes abusing) symbols of Zulu history.

It is not a work which will please Buthelezi, who personally scolded



□ BUTHELEZI

Maré for a book on a related subject five years ago.

Buthelezi, Maré argues, has built his political kingdom by embarking on a process of "ethnic political mobilisation", portraying all who are against him as enemies of the entire Zulu nation. Maré quotes from an August 1990 speech where Buthelezi said: "I hope that the Zulu people of whatever their political affiliations will realise that the ANC campaign of vilification is no longer just

against me but also against the Zulu people as Zulu people."

Maré draws generously on the texts of Buthelezi speeches over the years — speeches that much of the media tends to ignore simply because of their frequency and length — to illustrate his arguments. He does the same with the speeches and statements of King Goodwill Zwelithini in outlining the history of the relationship between the king and Buthelezi.

Twenty years ago the NP and its security organs saw King Goodwill as a more pliant Zulu political leader who might do what Buthelezi refused to do — accept independence for KwaZulu. But Buthelezi outmanoeuvred them in their attempts to supplant him with King Goodwill. And he proceeded to mould the king into a titular head of the Zulu nation, purportedly above politics but in reality loyal to Buthelezi and conferring a legitimacy on his claims to be the central political leader of the Zulu nation.

In a remarkably nuanced observation, Maré notes: "It is not only that Buthelezi self-consciously manipulates history. He actually lives what he claims to be. The myth and the man, and the movement he represents and his own identity are one. Deny the one (or the way in which it has been constructed) and you deny the other."

Ethnicity, in itself, is not a "problem"; Maré argues, and the solution is not to ignore it, attempt to eliminate it or assume it will disappear when apartheid does. Indeed, society can be enriched by variety. The problem, as we can see both in SA and in the former eastern bloc, is when it is used as a tool for political mobilisation.

The solution requires that ethnicity "as a social identity... be separated from political mobilisation, manipulation and fanning of ethnic sentiments". This can be achieved by strengthening "the range of alternative group identities... with the self-conscious purpose of removing ethnicity as the only 'obvious' presence at this level of social representation". He is referring here to trade union, church, women's, civic organisations and so on — organs of civil society, to use the latest jargon.

But these organisations cannot succeed in their task of demobilising ethnic politics if they themselves are identified with any particular political grouping. And here he only briefly alludes to the huge practical obstacle to his prescription: most of these organisations in SA are — whatever their official line — allied to one or other political movement, predominantly the ANC.

And that is why the threat of ethnic political mobilisation remains the biggest obstacle to a peaceful transition to democracy.

ALAN FINE

R044 8/193,

118



ALAN FINE

Formal ANC-IFP talks are held up

THE ANC and Inkatha have been discussing constitutional matters informally over the past few months. But the delay in convening the crucial summit between their leaders is preventing formal bilateral negotiations.

The delay is also delaying another crucial meeting — that of national peace accord signatories where it is hoped the parties will give the peace structure more teeth to combat violence.

Spokesmen from both parties yesterday said the summit was "definitely still on and will happen soon" but neither could give any indication of when this would occur. *BIPM 9/3/93.*

The meeting of the eight-a-side facilitating committee, scheduled for last Friday, was postponed indefinitely because of the planning conference. No date has been set for the teams, which have been broadened to 12-a-side, to meet.

BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC has appointed its negotiations secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa to liaise with Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate.

Felgate said yesterday the summit had to precede any formal discussions with the ANC. *(118)*

Felgate said there were two phases to the discussions with the ANC: the first was to clear up misunderstandings of their positions and get clarity on a range of issues, especially regionalism; and the second was to discuss regionalism in a national context.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa acknowledged that regionalism was the key issue to overcome, but said he believed the differences between Inkatha and the ANC could be bridged.

Liberation movements keen on election pact

BIPM 9/3/93.

WILSON ZWANE and LLOYD COURTNEY

THE ANC and the PAC said yesterday they were not averse to an election pact of liberation movements as such an arrangement would strengthen the position of the masses.

And the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) is to embark on a campaign to unite liberation movements in an election front.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said yesterday Sanco believed "credible" organisations should participate in an election on a single ticket to ensure a high percentage victory for the democratic movement in constituent assembly elections.

Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) secretary-general Dan Mofokeng said such a pact would "for the first time remove any doubt as to who can reconstruct the economy and the social lives and many other spheres in the lives of the disadvantaged people".

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said his organisation's programme for coming elections did not shut out members of other organisations and would look at the issue of pacts in due course.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said it would be "preferable" to have a united front of the "oppressed against the oppressor".

SACP secretary-general Chris Hami has said "an anti-apartheid alliance" would strengthen the position of blacks in the elections.

Azapo said at the weekend it sought an alliance formed by itself, the ANC and the PAC, to "initiate a common programme which would unite blacks and address violence against them".

It is understood that Patriotic Front members will meet in Johannesburg later this month to discuss an election pact and strategies they should adopt at a multiparty negotiating forum, scheduled for April 5.

Mayekiso said the organisations would be approached individually, and a possible joint meeting would be determined by the outcome of these approaches.

PAC remains firm on armed struggle stance

BIPM 9/3/93.

WILSON ZWANE

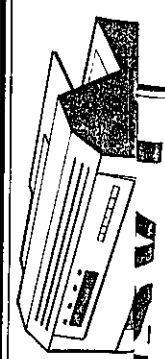
PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday reiterated his organisation's position that it would not end its armed struggle until mechanisms to control armed formations had been agreed upon by a multiparty negotiating forum.

In an interview, Alexander said the PAC in Botswana, it would not support any move by the organisation to attend a multiparty negotiating conference.

A multiparty planning conference resolved at the weekend that a multiparty forum should be convened not later than April 5. Alexander said his organisation would participate in the forum.

A subcommittee was to meet today to draft an agenda for the multiparty negotiating forum, Alexander said earlier.

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Elections could dampen or aggravate the violence, says Patrick Laurence

Star 10/31/93

'No go' areas may decide victors

SOUTH Africa's main political organisations, including, critically, the NP, the ANC and IFP, are publicly unanimous on the need for nonracial elections to establish a legitimate and representative government.

Their declared pro-election stance invites the question of whether a free and fair poll is possible in the prevailing climate of violence.

It is not an idle question: last year more than 3 100 people were killed in politically motivated violence; the daily average number of deaths was 8,5 people.

The threat of violence to a peaceful settlement has been undiminished in the past week by three brutal massacres in Natal: in the first, six schoolchildren were shot dead in an ambush; in the second 10 adults — six of whom were women — were slain in what might have been a revenge attack; in the third four people died when gunmen opened fire on a bus.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP, has opposed plans to hold elections for a constituent assembly and a transitional government of national unity within the next 15 months, citing as one of his reasons the impossibility of holding free and fair elections.

The IFP, Buthelezi avers, will not accept a constituent assembly "elected in unfree and unfair elections in the current climate of violence and intimidation"; nor, Buthelezi adds, will it allow an "undemocratic" assembly to define boundaries of regions and powers of regional governments.

Buthelezi's political opponents, particularly those in the ANC, accuse him of using the ongoing violence as an excuse to avoid the verdict of the people in popular elections. But in its latest report on the violence, the International Commission of Jurists also concludes that free and fair elections are not possible.

However the report is now more than six months old and, until last week, there was some evidence that the level of violence may have begun to tail off.

Thus the South African-based Human Rights Commission (HRC) notes in its latest report that the monthly tally of deaths in political violence has begun to decrease: the monthly average for the first two months of 1993 is 170,5, against a monthly average of more than 290 for 1992.

Even allowing for evidence that the downward movement of the graph showing fatalities started in November last year, it is still too



early to draw any definitive conclusions. As Matthew Kenridge, author of a penetrating book on the Natal conflict has observed, the undeclared war there waxes and wanes: what appears to be a tapering off may simply be the lull before the storm.

There is another complicating factor: the decrease coincided with a decision by the police to stop issuing their daily "unrest report", suggesting that the known number of deaths may have dropped because fewer are being reported.

The HRC figures do not take account of the latest killings in Natal. Judging from similar brutal episodes in the past, these massacres, tragically, have the potential to intensify the spiral of political assassinations in that unhappy province.

The latest carnage suggests that the epicentre of violence has shifted from black townships in the megalopolis around Johannesburg to Natal — where it began — on a national scale.

But the contention that the violence has made free and fair elections impossible must be weighed against a counter argument: that the violence makes elections all the more necessary. Joe Slovo, na-



tional chairman of the South African Communist Party and a senior member of the ANC executive, has put the counter argument eloquently.

"In moving rapidly, now, towards one person, one vote elections, we will show those forces in our country that they cannot stop the movement towards democracy by escalating the body count. But if we falter now, we will encourage ongoing violence."

The counter-argument is posed on a fundamental premise: that a major cause of the prevailing violence is President de Klerk's illegitimate and unrepresentative Government (it was elected by less than half of an electorate drawn from less than 15 percent of the total population).

Its replacement by a government of national unity after a nonracial election will, it is reasoned, remove a primary cause of the conflict.

But there is a risk that an election may exacerbate rather than reduce the violence if it is held before the violence abates.

The ANC complains that there are parts of South Africa where it cannot campaign because they have been declared "no-go areas" to ANC cadres by tribal poten-



tates. It is referring chiefly to the politics of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, where anti-ANC leaders — Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo — are in power. Areas where rabid white rightwingers are powerful can perhaps be added to these tribal territories.

But the ANC is not a completely innocent party: it has itself contributed to the growth of a "no-go" mentality.

Its supporters have disrupted at least one meeting in a black township outside Cape Town held by the small white-led Democratic Party (DP) and have reportedly been involved in the breaking up of another. A top leader of the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation, Don Mofokeng, has moreover, vowed to prevent the largely white DP and NP from campaigning in black townships.

"The people... are not going to allow these parties to come to townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who have fought so hard for liberation," he has stated.

Mofokeng's remarks — which were later routinely repudiated by the ANC — have drawn a riposte from Tony Leon of the DP. "The jury is out," Leon says, "on wheth-

er South Africa can hold free and fair elections."

Leon's remark assumes greater relevancy in light of the arrest of members of the ANC's underground army for smuggling arms into Natal and the defence of their activities by the leader of the ANC in Natal Midlands, Harry Gwala. These events, coupled with the arrest of IFP men for gun-running, are ominous omens.

The ANC and the IFP have already succeeded in putting parts of Natal out of bounds to their rivals, to move freely in particular areas men and women have to carry membership cards of the dominant organisation in that area.

According to Natal farmer and former opposition MP Graham McIntosh, there are ANC and IFP areas within the town centre of Escourt, into which people dare not go without the appropriate membership card. Party members' "dompas" of the 1990s, he says.

Unless national leaders campaign in concert for tolerance and take firm action against their recalcitrant followers, the pending election will be won by the party or combination of parties which can carve out the biggest or the most "no-go" areas. □

ANC and IFP join hands in peace bid

Star 11/3/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

In a major breakthrough for peace in the troubled Natal Midlands, the ANC and IFP yesterday made a joint call for calm and agreed to work together to help the police secure the area.

The call followed a closed emergency meeting in Durban between ANC Midlands secretary Sifiso Nkabinde and IFP Midlands chairman David Ntombela.

Both organisations underscored their commitment to stemming the bloodshed of the past week by accepting an invitation for their regional leaders to tour the Midlands with Law and Order Minister Hernus

Kriel today.

A SAP spokesman said Kriel had welcomed the joint appeal and would be looking for steps "at grassroots level" to promote peace.

Twenty people have been killed in three ambushes on vehicles near Maritzburg since last Tuesday.

The IFP and ANC leaders jointly appealed for restraint, particularly this weekend when the victims of the ambushes will be buried.

Natal-KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee executive member Siphon Gcabashe said the two parties had agreed to investigate all three ambushes, Sapa reports.

Sowetan 11/13/93.

The only success of last weekend's planning meeting was that opposing factions turned up in the same place at the same time. Only Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer really got what they wanted.



THE EUPHORIA over the symbolic success of last weekend's planning meeting should remain there — at the meeting. Beyond the gathering there were no successes. Nothing substantial or contentious was discussed.

The meeting's success rested solely on the fact that the PAC and Conservative Party attended and the Inkatha Freedom Party did not cause any problems.

It is matters of substance and even a palace revolt that could still see the PAC, the IFP and Conservative Party leaving negotiations. Admittedly this is the worst scenario.

The CP and PAC are notoriously dogmatic, as any party with a specific ethnic or racial identity base would be.

For its lack of numbers and depth, this theory excludes, for the time being, the identity-based parties in the tricameral parliament.

Besides the fact that the PAC is seeking to establish democracies of Africans for Africans and by Africans, both parties have separated two concepts which are inexorably intertwined.

Negotiations and compromise are like the chicken and egg situation: which came first?

Both parties seek to establish a state based on (their respective) party policies and not so much on universally accepted principles in whatever form.

That does not mean that the ANC and the National Party are perfect examples of anti-sectarian thought.

Nonsectarian state

These two parties have, in a manner of speaking, identified the need to create a nonsectarian state governed by universally accepted democratic principles.

Both the NP and the ANC have assumed positions that required serious compromises from both.

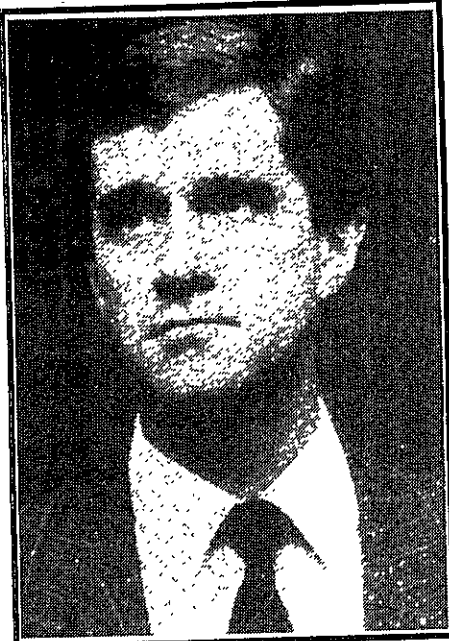
For the ANC the notion that liberation waves a red flag and rides a horse through a gauntlet of toothless peons (waving smaller red flags) has been supplanted by Realpolitik and a desperate need "to get on with it".

The ruling National Party, inscrutable as always, knows that without the ANC it cannot begin to imagine a future for itself. It has also accepted that, given the parlous state of the economy, for which, incidentally, it is largely to blame, it has perhaps become time "to get on with it".

The same cannot be said for the PAC and the CP or, to a lesser degree, the IFP, all of whom are locked in their own embrace.

The CP wants a separate Afrikaner state, the PAC wants a socialist state controlled by Africans and whatever else happens the IFP wants its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in central

Ismail Lagardien reports on the uncharted waters that lie ahead: *(Handwritten initials)*



Roelf Meyer ... got what he wanted.

government and KwaZulu-Natal within a gentle push of independence or even secession.

These are the three non-negotiables in a (negotiations) process which cannot go without compromises.

Parties are dogmatic

Besides these specific non-negotiables, the three parties are also dogmatic about the process.

That the process should encourage economic stability (at least), let alone growth, is not an issue with the PAC, IFP and CP.

That the process should encourage social and political stability (at least), let alone lasting peace, is not an issue with the PAC, IFP and CP.

The PAC wants the process to go the PAC's way. The CP wants the CP way and pretty much the same can be said about the IFP.

It can be said that the ANC would have liked the process to go its own way. But looking at this movement's ideas about national unity (based

on voter preference) there is a great deal of pragmatism in these proposals

An interim government of national unity does not mean that the ANC will sell out the ideals and objectives of the indigenous and disenfranchised people

Less treacherous route

It simply means that the less treacherous route to eventual and unimpeded majority rule, that of keeping the voting bloc that contains South Africa's nefarious security forces in rem. is the better option

In simpler terms, the NP might represent only 20 percent of the vote but 75 percent of this is the army, the police and civil service

To summarily dump this bloc would be disastrous.

To the PAC this type of thinking is a sell-out and the leadership of the Africanists have said that much.

It is hardly likely that the CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will sit in any cabinet under anybody who is in an alliance with communists or blacks for that matter.

It is hardly likely that the PAC will take a back seat to the NP in an ANC-led cabinet.

And Buthelezi. Well, the good doctor wants to have a big say in central government and the only say in KwaZulu-Natal.

It is early days yet for the neophytes. One need only reflect on how big the collapse at Codesa 2 was — when they actually started talking about real issues

Last weekend was a breakthrough for the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and his Government counterpart, Mr Roelf Meyer.

They got what they wanted: the resumption of talks and maximum inclusion.

Beyond lies the uncertainty of the clash between party politics and the national interest.

To abuse an old cliché: You can lead a horse to the water but there's no guarantee that it will drink.

Town to fund training of policemen

STEPHANE BOTHMA

RANDBURG Town Council will fund the appointment and training of 60 policemen who are to be deployed in a joint policing scheme with the SAP.

The scheme was approved in principle by Cabinet yesterday. *B/DAM*

Randburg management committee chairman Brian Crail said the project would be funded by the town council and training and control of the policemen would be in the hands of the SAP.

The policemen would be deployed within Randburg municipal boundaries to combat crime, particularly housebreaking, he said. *11/3/93*

"We will monitor the success of the venture closely and reassess our position

regarding the employment of more policemen under the same scheme."

Crail said the council would meet senior SAP members within the next few days and more details would be announced soon. *(SAP) (SAP)*

NP MP for Randburg Martinus van Schalkwyk said Cabinet approval was a breakthrough for community-supported policing, opening the door to local authorities to participate in policing.

The scheme would further combat the formation of private or vigilante forces, he said. It supplemented the deployment of 200 additional policemen in Randburg during the past year.

DP names top Inkatha and Bop men as 'possible spies'

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje were named in Parliament on Wednesday as possible SA government spies. *B/DAM 11/3/93*

The Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Cobus Jordaan, named the men and former Inkatha adviser Albert Blaustein during question time, Sapa reports. *(NS) (SAP) (IB)*

He had asked President F W de Klerk whether, over the past 10 years, the state had directly or indirectly provided funds to nine people, whose names he had given to the President's office, to provide information on certain cultural and/or political organisations or governments.

After De Klerk declined to give the information, Jordaan asked whether the activities of people such as Felgate, Cronje and Blaustein should be kept under wraps while they were one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations.

De Klerk said there was certain information on the activities of all three secur-

ity services which it was not in the national interest to disclose.

He would neither confirm nor deny Jordaan's information.

He said there had been an era in the country's history in which the security forces had used extraordinary measures, and had handled matters as if a war situation existed.

Our Political Staff reports a furious Felgate last night slammed Jordaan for what he called an "ugly, ugly allegation" and challenged him to air the claims in public and away from the legal protection of Parliamentary privilege.

He would also place the matter before the peace committee as a violation of the peace accord.

Jordaan later refused to elaborate further on his allegations.

Blaustein, a professor, is a Washington-based constitutional expert who advised the IFP at Codesa 1. At present he is understood to be on a temporary sojourn in Russia.

'Ugly allegation is untrue' — Felgate

CT 11/3/93

Political Staff

(118)

AN allegation that Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate had been paid by the state for certain activities was aired in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Also named by DP MP Mr Kobus Jordaan in connection with the furnishing of "input and/or advice to or about certain cultural and/or political organisations or governments" were Bophuthatswana Minister Mr Rowan Cronje and former IFP constitutional adviser Prof Albert Blaaustein.

Last night Mr Felgate said the "ugly, ugly allegation" was totally untrue.

Mr Jordaan tabled a question for President F W de Klerk asking whether nine people had been "provided funds" directly or indirectly by the state.

Mr De Klerk refused to divulge any information, saying that if he did so future refusals would lead to the assumption that he was confirming the claims.

IFP negotiator comes under fire



Sowetan 11/3/92

only if it will be legal. The federal option should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide.

Thanni, Durban

"Why is it necessary that Mandela and Butheletzi meet before violence can come to an end?"

Ernest, Soweto

"The IFP and other parties are wasting time. The ANC is already in charge. They must avoid a recurrence of what happened in ANC concentration camps in Tanzania."

Emmanuel, Johannesburg

"The IFP's idea of federalism is meant to perpetuate apartheid. It is so naked that you cannot hide it."

John Molefe, Hillbrow

"All Zulus in Natal are forced into bed with the IFP and Gaissha, IFP and Gaissha teach Zulus to be intolerant of Xhosa. Is this democracy?"

M Zulu, Kaitleng

"We do not trust Inkatha for many reasons. They say things they do not practice. Inkatha members say they cannot be ruled by a Xhosa."

Mbongeni Zulu, Durban

Sowetan & Radio Metro

By Mzimasi Ngudle

Talkback



with Tim Modise

THERE is no question of people at polling booths deciding who is who in politics, Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Mr. Walter Felgate said on Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday.

To the chagrin of callers who rejected his objection to a democratically-elected constituent Assembly Felgate said the African National Congress and the Government were delaying a political settlement by insisting on elections before a constitution was drawn.

He said federalism should be entrenched in the constitution and that no elections could be held until the violence ended.

Felgate added that parties engaged in talks at present should draw up a

constitution, a suggestion to which the callers responded.

"What Felgate says is totally unacceptable. It is an undemocratic way of ushering in a new dispensation. I fundamentally differ with his betrays drawing up a constitution for our country."

Hope, Johannesburg

"Felgate is a funny character. He was fed, bred and brought up by the racist Government. How does he think he can represent the Zulus. I would prefer people like him to go to white political parties."

Khotse, Modderfontein

"The IFP's talk of regionalism smacks of totalitarianism. I know that if the IFP is allowed to rule Natal, Cosatu will be outlawed and

Talkback topic Tel: (011) 714 - 8063

THE Minister of Finance Mr. Derek Keys has unveiled an economic restructuring plan which he hopes will create 1,3 million jobs by 1997. What do you think is wrong with South Africa's economy? What are the solutions? Share your view with the nation by phoning Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

FM 12/3/93.

Smile on the face of the tiger

The country should not work too desperately for rapid political consensus, in case it masks problems that will only surface later. To be sure, we all feel comforted and relieved when Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa, the chief negotiators for government and the ANC respectively, emerge smiling from the latest round of "crucial" talks.

After so many disappointments and betrayals along the road already, there is anxiety for peace at any price. It is easy to get impatient when parties other than the ANC and government raise objections; we agitate for progress.

In particular, we become impatient (and nervous) when the IFP gets difficult. But consider what might happen if the legitimate objections of the IFP are ignored — and legitimate objections may be defined as those whose principles can be extended beyond the private political agenda of the IFP or its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The IFP has long objected to the idea that an elected constituent assembly should be entrusted with writing a new constitution. The basis for this objection has been best expressed by Herman Cohen, the retiring US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa — not a man renowned for taking sides in SA, least of all that of the IFP.

Cohen was quoted in *Business Day* this week as saying that he had no doubt about how a new constitution should be written: "If a constituent assembly, which is elected by one-man one-vote, makes all the decisions, then you have not had negotiations. And if you don't have negotiations, you have

severe insecurities on the side of minorities."

This is plain commonsense — so plain, in fact, that the only way the consensus-obsessed media have found to deal with it is to ignore it. Yet it can be argued that so important a creation as the national constitution should be the responsibility of experts — whose work would then indeed have to be ratified or rejected by an elected assembly. This was once, roughly, the view of the NP too — but such is its lack of bargaining power that it was forced to concede on this crucial point. No wonder Roelf smiles: he has no ammunition to speak of and must bluff his way as best he can.

It is all very well for the toiling negotiators to talk now about agreement being reached by the strange process of "sufficient consensus." We can be sure that when the members of an elected assembly take their seats, they will have the moral authority to decide by majority — simple, two-thirds, whatever — on any clause of any measure put before them. By then, the mysterious concept of "sufficient consensus" will probably have the status of a cute footnote in history books.

We do not need the IFP and Herman Cohen to tell us that an elected constituent assembly — whoever is in the majority — would be as qualified to write a new constitution as it would to perform the work of a rocket scientist.

Yet the ANC and the Nats have apparently reached consensus on this. Perhaps it is time for the rest of us to let them know it is not sufficient. ■

Chief: retain

Legislative Star 12/3/93 Assembly

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(113)

Inkatha Freedom Party leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to remain in place.

He has also requested an opportunity to address President F.W. de Klerk and the National Party caucus "as a matter of urgency which is in the national interest".

Buthelezi made the remarks in his vote of thanks to Local Government Minister Dr. Tertius Delpont, who yesterday officially opened the 1993 session of the Legislative Assembly.

He said: "We need a KwaZulu/Natal regional dispensation during the negotiation process. We have such a dispensation. Do not destroy it. Let there be bottom-up negotiations which, in this region, would be amply serviced by what already exists."

Buthelezi said he was prepared to call a referendum to ask the region whether it wanted its future to be decided at the national negotiation process or "whether they would like the destiny of this region to be thrashed out here and then dove-tailed and slotted into whatever is negotiated at the national level through consultation and negotiation".

However, his statements did not detract from his commitment to negotiations at a national level.

A new phase in the negotiation process had commenced with last weekend's multiparty planning conference.

Star 1213193

IFP-ANC leaders trade accusations and insults

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Natal ANC and IFP leaders yesterday traded bitter accusations when they visited the sites where 20 people, including six children, have been killed in the past 10 days.

But despite the suspicion and acrimony, the two sides have agreed to talks to try to stem the bitter conflict in the Table Mountain area.

The agreement followed a visit by Law and

Order Minister Hernus Kriel who, together with IFP and ANC leaders, flew by helicopter to sites where the recent violence occurred.

Sapa reports that bitter accusations flew thick and fast from the start, and the party leaders traded insults and accusations in front of journalists.

ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala accused parties to previous peace talks of talking peace during the day and kill-

ing at night.

IFP central committee representative James Ngubane criticised the ANC for refusing to hold bilateral discussions with the IFP.

In a separate development, Lawyers for Human Rights member Anne Strode said international funding had made a witness protection programme for the area possible. The programme would try to find homes and jobs for witnesses.

BY agreeing to answer regularly, spontaneously, a set of questions which he has not seen, President FW de Klerk has belatedly introduced greater accountability and openness in parliament in the dying days of his party's monopoly on political power.

If the African National Congress takes power, it is going to find a whole lot of practices in place that never applied to the National Party during the past 45 years.

We ought to be thankful to the NP for its expertise. Who else could be more aware of how easy it is to abuse political power, and who could be more capable of constructing a more abuse-proof system for its successor?

The NP has set up an ombudsman for civil service corruption, is fighting to ensure the impartiality of the SABC, has become an advocate of an enforceable Bill of fundamental rights, and is setting up a broad set of mechanisms to control government spending.

It's the principle that the best gamekeeper is a former poacher. As United States president Franklin Roosevelt said in 1933 when he appointed the notorious stock market swindler, Joe Kennedy senior, to head a new regulatory agency to tidy up the stock market: "It takes a thief to catch a thief."

While the NP is at it, perhaps it can go the whole way and hold public hearings on cabinet appointments, as is done in the US. I doubt whether many of the ministers of the past four decades would have been declared fit to hold public office had their selection been subjected to public scrutiny.

I suspect, though, that it's probably Joe Kennedy's telegenic son, president Jack Kennedy, whom De Klerk is seeking to emulate by exposing himself to the cameras in impromptu question time. It is a showcase for the president, clearly the Nats' hottest property in the election. De Klerk's qualities of seeming sincerity and affability, coupled with the art of the quick comeback, generally come across well.

Parliamentary open time is supposed to be based on the British system, but it heads South African democracy more in the US presidential style of election which, in the modern idiom, is the idiom of television.

Starting with last year's US election and developing under the Clinton administration, a "brave new world" is taking shape. The age of the electronic town hall meeting, the instant talk show, the overnight opinion poll is upon us. And South Africa has already gone some way down that road with Radio 702 leading the field.

The temptation is to welcome it as a valuable innovation in participatory democracy. Could an injection of pub-

The poacher makes the best gamekeeper

It has taken many years but FW de Klerk, spurred on by the fact that his party won't be in power for much longer, has decided to introduce substantial changes



By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

lic involvement not help us to overcome the endemic boredom of the multi-party conference?

It would be great fun to mix the multi-party deliberations with the electronic town hall concept. Let people call in from all over the country and vent their feelings to the politicians.

Perhaps we could borrow talk show presenter Phil Donohue as the chairman, or host, storming around the room brandishing his microphone, raising an ironic eyebrow as Piet from Brakpan phones in on the car phone.

It could put some colour into the negotiations that was lost when the acerbic and witty judge, Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed, was hoofed out as co-chairman of the conference.

Instead of a seven-minute metronome, the leader of the Dikwankwela Party would have 15 seconds — and would be brutally cut off if he failed to come to the point fast.

All eyes would be on the conference, transforming this most important moment in the life of the nation from a bore into something that could command the same audiences as international one-day cricket or soccer.

Unfortunately, it would play into two of the biggest weaknesses of politicians: the tendency to grandstand when given a platform, and cowardice, in the face of opinion polls that determine what the public's alleged view on any topic under the sun could be.

And, given the delicacy of the negotiations, unpopular compromises could not be made in the full glare of electronic mob rule. Under such conditions the ANC would never have been able to offer a five-year post-

ponement of full majority rule and the NP would not have been able to scrap permanent power sharing.

Even the US constitution was drawn up in Philadelphia in 1787 behind closed doors. It was not until the final product was assembled that it was taken to the people.

But perhaps a more serious and more immediate hold-up is the unrepresentativity of many of the participants at the talks.

The ever-present danger last weekend was that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — would walk out. This fear has been held over till the next round on April 1.

The clash over whether South Africa ought to be a unitary state with regional government or a federal state with regional self-rule still lies ahead. The debate is skewed because the 26 participants arrive at the negotiating table without an electoral mandate.

The IFP, for instance, shows a rather immature view of democracy. After the breakup of Codesa last year, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared that the federalist versus unitary state breakdown was eight-all at Codesa, as if it was a parliamentary tie, with the governments of QwaQwa and kaNgwane equal in vote to the NP and the ANC delegations.

This sort of thinking lies behind the insistence of having two delegations at the conference, one for kwaZulu, the other for the IFP. But even if the IFP had 10 delegations at the conference, it would not change the equation, or what is perceived to be the requirement of sufficient consensus.

A more fruitful approach would be to examine the latest polling information to estimate how representative the various positions are.

According to the Human Sciences Research Council figures for 1992, the combined total of the Cosag parties amounted to about 16 percent (10 for the IFP, six for the CP).

However, this was based on a fairly low estimate of the size of the electorate (14-million as opposed to the Department of Home Affairs' 22-million) and excludes Bophuthatswana and the pro-ANC Transkei.

Mark Orkin, of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, has extrapolated that if one includes Bophuthatswana and Transkei, and reallocates the HSRC's 10 percent undecided vote, the IFP and CP together would get 14 percent, with negligible support for the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments. The national figures would then be (with the original HSRC calculations in brackets): ANC 55 (43), NP 20 (21), IFP 9 (10), CP 5 (6), Pan Africanist Congress 2 (1), Democratic Party 1 (1).

According to a Research Surveys poll in November 1992, based on interviews with 3 850 respondents countrywide, the scoresheet looks like this: ANC 60, NP 17, IFP 5, CP 6, DP 4 and PAC 8. That puts the Cosag parties down to 11. Thus, the maximum range of Cosag, if it chooses to dissent, would be between 11 and 16 percent.

The only question then is whether they would have a regional veto anywhere. As Research Surveys have not yet done its regional arithmetic, one is left with the HSRC figures. Here, the IFP would have something resembling a veto in kwaZulu/Natal, with 37 percent against 21 for the ANC, 15 for the NP and one for the DP. The inclusion of the two for the CP would give Cosag a 39 to 37 advantage in Natal.

However, this contrasts with the polling data of Research Surveys which gives the IFP roughly half of the HSRC figures nationally and, one assumes, substantially less in Natal.

What it does reveal is that, on any of the available estimates, a deal between the NP and the ANC would amount to sufficient consensus nationally. While it is desirable that a settlement be as inclusive as possible, none of the other parties has the moral right to delay democracy.

And, if they don't like the deal, or don't believe the polling figures, they should put their money where their mouths are. A national referendum could give a genuine taste of popular opinion.

'Inkathagate' 116 cop promoted

W/Mail 12/3 - 18/3/93

By BEVERLEY GARSON: Port Elizabeth
A SECURITY police major at the centre of the Inkathagate scandal has since been promoted and is now the South African Police community relations head in the Eastern Cape.

Port Elizabeth-based Louis Botha, now a lieutenant colonel, is the same man identified by *The Weekly Mail* as having channelled large sums of money from the police to Inkatha, police liaison officer Colonel Reg Crewe confirmed this week.

The money was specifically intended to help Inkatha oppose the African National Congress.

Head of the public relations department in Pretoria, Major-General Leon Mellet, said Botha "is doing sterling work in the eastern Cape and we are more than confident that he will continue to build bridges between the communities and the SAP".

In 1991, when he was attached to the security police in Durban, Botha was shown in secret documents to have recommended the clandestine payment of least R120 000 to Inkatha to help fund a rally.

A 10-page memo from Botha to the head of security in Pretoria revealed that he had several secret discussions with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on ways of opposing the ANC.

Botha suggested that it would help Inkatha, which he admitted was losing membership, if there was a strong show of support for Buthelezi at a rally.

Following these revelations, Botha maintained a low profile until his appointment in the eastern Cape. Botha could not be reached for comment this week. — Pen

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Tel: (011) 334-2400, Fax: (011) 334-2905

Colleges: An open and shut case

UK journalist censured for Goldstone boob

Weekly Mail Reporter THE Foreign Correspondents Association (FCA) was up in arms this week over an embarrassing alleged breach of ethics by the representative of one of the world's most famous newspapers, *The Times of London*. There was an attempt to expel *The Times*' Michael Hamlyn from the association for allegedly reporting the details of an off-the-record briefing by Judge Richard Goldstone. Details of Goldstone's frank discussion with journalists appeared in the paper on Sunday. *W/M* 12/3-18/3/93

The briefing, held last Thursday, was organised by the FCA, which was concerned that future briefings would be prejudiced by Hamlyn's alleged breach of the rules. FCA members, however, are keeping mum about the incident, saying "the matter is being dealt with internally".

It is believed that Hamlyn has apologised and the FCA has submitted a formal apology to Goldstone. Judge Goldstone's response was unknown to *The Weekly Mail* at the time of going to press. Hamlyn declined to comment.

Watch out for Africa South & East in The Weekly Mail next week

DESPITE public commitments by the government to a single education department, three cabinet ministers have emphasised that in reality apartheid in education continues relentlessly.

Newly appointed Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais told parliament last week (in his capacity as minister of education and culture in the white House of Assembly) that two training colleges had been closed down last year.

This week, his colleague, Educa-

W/M 12/3-18/3/93
Does the left hand know what the right hand does? Certainly not in the various education departments.

By **IAN CLAYTON**
tion and Training Minister Sam de Beer, who is still responsible for black schooling outside the 10 homelands, said about 75 000 applicants were refused admission this year to

training colleges for blacks. So while the white education department is merrily closing training colleges — and, according to Marais, 88 more white schools are due for closure this year — the black education department is turning away potential trainee teachers.

De Beer's department is also engaged in a large school-building programme — six more are to be erected in Khayelitsha alone this year — while Marais' department is still closing them down.

Meanwhile Abe Williams, minister of education and culture in the House of Representatives, told parliament this week that six teacher training colleges catering for coloured students are under threat of closure. Involved are 1 155 students and 132 staff.

De Beer said about 75 000 applicants have been refused admission to colleges under his department's control. "Since a large number of persons applied to more than one college, it is impossible to say exactly how many persons were refused admission," he said enigmatically in reply to a question which was tabled in parliament by Democratic Party education spokesman Roger Burrows.

"There is no general shortage of teachers," De Beer said, "but there is a shortage of posts and fully qualified teachers in subjects such as mathematics, physical science, accountancy, biology, technical subjects, English and Afrikaans."

● The South African Students' Congress (Sasco) will meet De Beer on Monday, March 15, to talk about government subsidy cuts, provision of emergency funding for black students who can't pay the up-front portion of their university registration fees, and the possibility of writing off a R52-million deficit incurred by the end of last year by "historically black universities" whose students defaulted on their fees.

At the same time, Sasco says, its mass action campaign will continue, with "regional activities" on Monday.

● See Review/Education

De Klerk remains silent on spying

By **PHILIPPA GARSON** *W/M* 12/3-18/3/93
INKATHA Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate and eight other people were this week accused in parliament of being paid by the government to inform on various political parties.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan asked whether the government had for the past 10 years paid nine people — including Felgate, Bophuthatswana cabinet minister Rowan Cronje and United States constitutional advisor to the IFP Albert Blaustein — for information.

Jordaan said he raised the question this week because it was in the interests of the negotiations process to do so. "We are making use of the parliamentary channels at our disposal," he told *The Weekly Mail*. Jordaan insinuated in parliament that the three individuals mentioned were a "millstone around the neck of negotiations". The DP is likely to pursue the matter in future parliamentary interpolations. State President FW de Klerk's eva-

ive reply to the question raised by Jordaan is startlingly similar to the answer he gave to the same MP two years ago when he asked whether the government was giving financial or other support to any political organisation.

De Klerk would not confirm or deny the question, saying that if he denied the question now, it could lead to future silences on similar allegations being interpreted as admissions. He said the furnishing of such information would run counter to the aims of the government's intelligence activities.

In March and again in April 1991 Jordaan asked De Klerk in parliament whether the government was providing financial or other support to any other political party. The state president sidestepped the question in precisely the same way, saying: "I confirm once again the principle standpoint, namely that denials in specific instances can lead to (situations whereby) later denials to give information in other instances, which are not in the

public interest, can be considered as admissions."

Three months later *The Weekly Mail* broke the Inkathanga scandal, revealing that the government, in particular the South African Police, had been funding the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Meanwhile both Felgate and Cronje have vigorously denied the allegations, challenging Jordaan to repeat the accusations outside the protective realm of parliament. Felgate has threatened to take legal action against Jordaan and Cronje has called on De Klerk to issue a clear reply to the allegation.

Martia Dolinck, formerly a senior officer of the Bureau of State Security (Boss) and now working for the ANC, alleged in August 1991 that the state's intelligence services bolstered the IFP by providing direct security and surveillance services to the organisation. He said Boss set up an office in Empanjeni which, manned by nine people, was the link between Pretoria and Ullandi.

**IFP predicts (118)
key talks issue**

CT 13/3/93
ULUNDI. — IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday the question of whether South Africa would be a unitary or federal state would be the key issue at the forthcoming multi-party negotiations.

Addressing the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Mdlalose said that although the planning conference had gone smoothly, there were still problems ahead. "Argument over the issue of federalism or unitary state should be expected".

He also hinted at the importance of regional talks. — Sapa

Mandela to mourn with Buthelezi

ARLT 13/3/93

~~11B~~
11B

■ Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi will appear together today to mourn the lives of six Natal schoolchildren

MARITZBURG. — African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are likely to appear together in public for the first time since January 1991.

Both have announced their intention to attend today's funeral of six children slain in an ambush in Mboyi, near Pietermaritzburg, last week.

Mr Mandela yesterday told supporters at rallies in Wembezi and Bruntville, in Natal's Midlands, he would attend the funeral to grieve with the relatives of the children who were shot on their way to school.

Dr Buthelezi, meanwhile, announced on Thursday he would attend the funeral, scheduled for this morning in the tiny Mboyi settlement near Table Mountain.

Yesterday Mr Mandela claimed the killings were a deliberate attempt to heighten animosity between the two organisations. He also said the ANC's version of events around the massacres differed with that of the police and the organisation was carrying out its own investigation.

Mr Mandela is being accompanied by top ANC leaders on his weekend visit to the war-torn Midlands. His delegation includes SA Communist Party secretary general Chris Hani, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Cosatu's John Gomomo.

Speaking at Estcourt, he called for the formation of a national peace force comprising a wide range of political, religious and

international organisations to stop the violence. He said the peace force should be located within the National Peace Committee and the commander should be appointed by the United Nations with other international organisations, like the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community, controlling him.

The planned visit by Mr Mandela to the Ladysmith area today has been cancelled after a further serious outbreak of violence yesterday in strife-torn Ezakheni in which a former ANC chairman was shot and killed.

The decision to cancel was taken after Mr Orbit Mapanga had been killed while he was making arrangements for Mr Mandela's visit.

He will address a meeting at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg tonight. — Sapa.

There must be no revenge, says Mangosuthu at funeral

C/Press

14/3/93

BUTHELEZI'S CRY FOR PEACE

(11B)

(11B)

(11B)

By ELIAS MALULEKE and Sapa

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for reconciliation and unity at the funeral of six children slain by gunmen near Maritzburg last week.

Buthelezi also urged his supporters not to revenge the deaths.

The service at Emboyi in Table Mountain for the six pupils - Thulani Mkhize, 19, Nduna Mkhize, 13, Thule Mkhize, 9, Ngce Mkhize, 10, Wanda Ngubane, 12, and Nomusa Gwala, 12, - was attended by over 2 000 people including UN peace monitors and other international observers.

At the funeral Buthelezi said the massacre in Natal's Table Mountain area last Tuesday and the two that followed must not result in further bloodshed... "It is now time that we embarked on a healing process; that we reach out in search of conciliation".

In a dramatic move Buthelezi addressed most of his speech to the six slain youths as if he was communicating with them directly.

"Your suffering will never, ever, be forgotten. To us the light of your lives will shine forever. Your laughs will ring again in these hills and other children will praise your names.

"There can be no finer moment to you than for the people of SA to join together as one... to put an end to the kind of terror to which you were so despicably subjected to."

Earlier ANC president Nelson Mandela had to



Earlier, ANC president Nelson Mandela had to cancel plans to attend the funeral. ANC executives said police had advised them that due to the volatile situation in the area Mandela's safety at the funeral could not be guaranteed.

Buthelesi touched down in a helicopter at the funeral at 11:30 am and gave a brief press interview in which he reiterated his call for joint peace rallies with Mandela to end the violence.

Buthelesi also said he was not aware of Mandela's intended presence at the funeral and pointed out that he and Mandela nevertheless shared the same anguish over the massacre of the children and other people.

At a rally at Bruntville township in Mooiriver on Friday, Mandela strongly condemned the massacre and called the killers "inhuman".

"The people who killed innocent children should not be called people. They are animals," he said.

He said if it was established that the killers were ANC members, they would be expelled from the ANC fold.

Mandela said it was wrong for the ANC and Inkatha to attack each other at public meetings, saying this practice only fuelled the violence because the "third force" exploited this friction to launch its own agenda and attack innocent people.

■ Meanwhile, Sapa reports that two people, including a KwaZulu policeman, were killed in an attack near KwaMakutha south of Durban on Friday night.

Their bodies were later set alight.

Police said the policeman and three friends had been driving through the township when their car went out of control and crashed into a nearby bush.

Four youths approached them and offered to get more people to help.

They returned later with a group of armed people who immediately opened fire on the occupants, killing the policeman and one of his friends.

The other two occupants of the car managed to escape before the attackers torched the car, burning the two bodies.

The names of the victims have not yet been released.

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CIPress 14/3/93

'Inkathagate' man promoted

A FORMER Durban-based Security Police major at the centre of the Inkathagate scandal has since been promoted and is now the SAP's community relations head in the eastern Cape.

Port Elizabeth-based Louis Botha, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, is the same man identified by the *Weekly Mail* as having channeled large sums of money from the police to Inkatha, Pretoria police liaison officer Col Reg Crewe confirmed this week.

The money was specifically intended to help Inkatha oppose the ANC, the *Weekly Mail* said in a major expose in July 1991 that became known as the Inkathagate scandal.

Head of the SAP's public rela-

tions division in Pretoria, Maj-Gen Leon Mellet, confirmed that Botha had been promoted from the rank of major.

"He is doing sterling work in the eastern Cape and we are more than confident that he will continue to build bridges between the communities and the SA Police," said Mellet.

Botha could not be reached for comment.

A 10-page memo written in 1990 by Botha, which was addressed to the head of security in Pretoria, revealed that he had several secret discussions with Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on ways of opposing the ANC.

Botha suggested in the memo that it would help Inkatha, who he

admitted was losing membership, if there was a strong show of support for Buthelezi at a rally.

"It is recommended that a clandestine grant of at least R120 000 be made available for this purpose," Col Botha wrote to his superiors.

The *Weekly Mail* also reported that they had bank receipts and internal memoranda which confirmed the police payments to Inkatha.

The newspaper also published the number of the First National Bank account into which money was paid.

Following these revelations Botha maintained a low profile. — Pen

Stop pointing fingers — Kriel

Cross 14/3/93

(1B)

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE high profile tour of the massacre scene in the Natal Midlands near Maritzburg almost did not take off when the ANC delegation threatened to pull out unless their seven armed security guards were allowed on board the Puma helicopter.

The ANC insisted that security guards be allowed to carry their firearms and that seven members be allowed on board, but the police insisted that no arms should be carried and that only five members of the ANC would be allowed on board.

After brief deliberations between ANC legal adviser John Wills and Col Billy Dennis of the SA Police, it was resolved that the ANC could carry guns and that six members would be allowed on board.

The ANC delegation led by Midland chairman Harry Gwala and secretary Sifiso Nkabinde also comprised former DP MP's Peer Cronje and Rob Haswell and Youth league chairman Isaiah Nishangase.

The Inkatha delegation comprised Nkosi NJ Ngubane, Inkatha's strongman David Ntombela and ZB Ndlovu.

The NP was led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Natal Midlands NP leader and MP George Bartlett.

The police were led by Gen Wynand van der Merwe, deputy regional commissioner of police in the Natal Midlands.

However, in spite of professing a desire for peace in the trouble spots which in the last week have claimed 20 lives, including those of six schoolchildren, leaders of the two major

players in the conflict failed to shake hands.

Gwala and his entourage were kept apart from the NP and Inkatha throughout the tour.

The NP delegation travelled separately with the Inkatha delegation in one chopper and the ANC and the police travelled in a separate chopper.

The Inkatha delegation and their ANC counterparts were playing to the media and pointed fingers at each other, each side saying they had nothing to do with the killings.

At no stage were the two parties seen talking to each other during the tour and the ANC actually pulled out of talks between itself, the Inkatha and the government planned to be held at a top Maritzburg hotel.

However, some within the ANC eventually forced Gwala

to join the conference when it was almost over.

Earlier during the conference attended by the government and Inkatha, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel slammed the ANC delegation for not being keen to stop the violence.

Kriel said: "We leaders should stop playing with the lives of our children and concentrate on solving the cause of the violence and we can only do so if we come together and start talking to one another."

The two parties had no option but to start talking to each other after agreeing to hold peace talks at a later date.

Gwala said such talks would only be fruitful if they were attended by all the major players, including the police who have been accused of taking part in the killings.

Rival leaders ready to meet

■ RESOLVING CONFLICT Mandela and

Buthlezi call for peace and reconciliation in SA

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela on Saturday said the time was right for him to meet his arch-rival, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Interviewed by SABC TV news in the Natal village of Swayimane, where he attended a funeral for victims of recent violence, Mr Mandela said:

"One issue we're clear about as far as the ANC is concerned is no useful purpose will be served by me meeting Chief Buthelezi if he does not meet the conditions I have set and if we, as the ANC, do not meet the conditions that he has set.

"We must meet because we have now reached a consensus on the issues that are under dispute."

Working committees of the two organisations have for months been working on creating the right conditions for a face-to-face meeting between the two leaders, who last appeared in public together in 1991.

Feuding between the ANC and Inkatha has been identified as the main cause of South Africa's political violence by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

Mandela and Buthelezi on Saturday issued separate calls for peace and reconciliation in South Africa. — Sapa.

Sowetan 15/3/93

(11B)

(11B)

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Conference 'too rushed'

By Brendan Templeton

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night slammed this weekend's multiparty planning conference as "rearranging the kitchen chairs", saying it would be too rushed.

He had hoped the conference would open debate on constitutional issues.

Buthelezi said this in an interview at the Johannesburg Civic Centre where he was attending the induction of Johannesburg's new mayor, Les Dishy. He confirmed that the IFP was unhappy about the presence of Transkei representatives at the conference.

Buthelezi offers talks 'without preconditions'

116
ARC 16/3/93

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is prepared to meet African National Congress president Nelson Mandela "anytime without preconditions".

He confirmed this in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday.

Dr Buthelezi was responding to Mr Mandela's recent announcement that he would meet the Kwazulu Chief Minister only on condition he was certain such a meeting would be fruitful.

Mr Mandela said in Maritzburg on the last day of his three-day Natal Midlands tour that such a meeting would be possible if there was an agreement on the banning of "weapons of death", the fencing of hostels and free political activity in Kwazulu.

Yesterday Dr Buthelezi expressed disappointment that Mr Mandela still set pre-conditions for such a meeting.

He said Mr Mandela was "posturing", and that blaming cultural weapons for the violence was "vile propaganda".

He said statistics from the police and even from the Institute of Race Relations showed most people were killed by AK 47 rifles and very few deaths were caused by cultural weapons.

"The people who died at Table Mountain were mowed down by AK 47s".

On the fencing of hostels; Chief Buthelezi said there was no way he could agree to the creation of concentration camps.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister denied demanding the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) as a pre-condition for meeting Mr Mandela.

But he added: "However, I associate myself with the demands that private armies such as MK be disbanded."

IFP denies ANC claim

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha has rejected ANC claims that it is training youths in the Natal Midlands for paramilitary operations. (113)

The ANC Natal Midlands region said on Thursday that an IFP shooting range existed at Elandskop, near Maritzburg, where youths were being trained for war. C1613193

Inkatha's Natal Midlands chairman Mr David Ntombela conceded communities in the region were being given

basic instruction in self-protection, fire-fighting and first aid, but said this did not clash with the terms of the National Peace Accord.

Police have denied any knowledge of the camp.

● In Daveyton, East Rand, police found the body of a young woman yesterday. She had been shot. AK-47 rifle cartridges and 9mm pistol cartridges were found at the scene. — Sapa

IFP chief rejects Mandela charges

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday hit back at suggestions by Mr Nelson Mandela that he had set preconditions for their peace summit, saying he would meet his ANC counterpart "any time".

"I am prepared to see the president of the ANC this afternoon or tomorrow without any preconditions," he told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Mandela said after touring Natal at the weekend he was not prepared to meet Chief Buthelezi until he was "convinced it would be fruitful".

He said the ANC put conditions to the IFP, including prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons and free political activity in KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi demanded the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, Mr Mandela said.

However, the IFP leader said it was "utterly untrue" that he made the issue of MK a condition for their summit, which is being planned by a joint ANC/IFP working group.

"We say you cannot go forward with negotiations when there are private armies in existence... it was raised by the Concerned South Africans Group (of which the IFP is a member) but it had nothing to do with my meeting Mr Mandela," he said.

He said the ANC's charge that traditional weapons were a threat to peace was "vile propaganda".

"Everyone knows the children at Table Mountain (outside Maritzburg) were mowed down with AK-47 rifles.

"I am saddened by this kind of posturing... I would have thought Mr Mandela would have been more willing for us to put our heads together to work for peace," Chief Buthelezi said.

• The ANC yesterday said it was "most definitely not" about to disband MK simply to facilitate the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela. But the ANC confirmed Mr Mandela would meet Chief Buthelezi providing the right groundwork was laid.

● Over-ripe fruit — Page 6

Star 16/3/93

Bilateral talks seek consensus

(32/4) (11/1) (11/1)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

In a further step in the negotiations process, a new round of bilateral meetings begins this week when the ANC and Government continue their ongoing constitutional discussions on Friday.

The Government and IFP are expected to resume their talks soon, but no date has yet been finalised.

The ANC-Government talks are aimed at achieving broad consensus on the transition. However, fundamental differences on regionalism and power-sharing remain between the two groups.

Friday's talks are expected to focus on regionalism, a government of national unity and legislation for a transitional executive council.

A crucial ANC conference on regionalism, where its draft document on regionalism will be discussed, takes place in

Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday. It will be attended by the organisation's 14 regions, which have proposed amendments to the draft document.

ANC negotiators said the draft document on regionalism had provided important impetus to ANC-Government talks and contributed to the breakthrough on a government of national unity.

ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha yesterday said no radical shifts from the draft document are expected. One of the areas of debate will be the number of regions in a new South Africa.

The draft document did not specify the number of proposed regions.

Botha said that once the document had been finalised, it would be presented to a proposed delimitation commission and a constituent assembly.

Negotiators indicated after the multiparty planning conference, held on March 5 and 6,

that bilateral discussions had become an integral part of the negotiations process.

They said the last round of bilateral meetings had contributed significantly to the success of the planning conference.

In another development, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — begins a two-day meeting in Pretoria today.

Cosag spokesman Rowan Cronje said the meeting would finalise positions and strategies for the multiparty conference on April 1 and 2.

Cronje denied that a rift had developed between the CP and other Cosag members.

"This is blatant political mischief-making with no substance whatsoever," he said.

Cronje made the statement after what he termed Cosag's "most successful meeting yet", held at the weekend in Ciskei.

Details on import sums disclosed

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — SA issued import permits for new clothing to the value of R237m and second-hand clothing to the value of R22m during 1992, according to the Trade and Industry Department.

In answer to a question asked by CP MP Andries Bruwer, the department said import permits were issued in monetary value only and no mention was made of quantities or tonnage. *BIDA 17/3/93*

The question was asked in the context of complaints of the local clothing manufacturers that the comparatively high quantity of imports of second-hand clothing was affecting the viability of the local industry. *17/3/93*

The department said the rand value of imports issued for meat during 1992 was R262m.

Import permits issued for milk powder were valued at R21m.

Because of high import duties on meat, permits were often not fully used and actual imports amounted to only 42,8% of the total value of the permits issued.

Parties meet to plan talks strategy

BILLY PADDOCK

BIDA 17/3/93
ALL THE major negotiating parties were locked in discussions yesterday to finalise their positions for tomorrow's meeting of the facilitating committee where the name, agenda and structure of the new negotiations forum will be decided.

The ANC's negotiations commission was meeting in Johannesburg, while government's team was meeting in Cape Town and the members of the Concerned SA Group, led by Inkatha, gathered in Pretoria for a two-day meeting.

Sources in the parties said the caucusing would not only focus on tomorrow's meeting but would also be developing strategies for the first meeting of the new multiparty forum on April 1 and 2.

The major decisions likely to come out of the meeting tomorrow are the endorsement of proposals thrashed out by a 10-man subcommittee last week on the structure of the new forum and how it will be run.

It is expected that the four-tier structure will be approved. It consists of a plenary, meeting irregularly when major decisions need full party ratification; a negotiating forum, meeting every two weeks; a negotiating council — heads of the negotiating teams and an adviser who will meet three to four days each week; and a planning committee of 10, meeting every day to ensure smooth functioning and help with dispute resolution.

There is likely to be some contention

over the name of the new forum. Government and the ANC want to retain Codesa for continuity while Inkatha, the PAC and some other smaller parties want another name. A suggested name is the Negotiating Forum of SA (Nefsa) or a combination of Nefsa/Codesa.

Another likely point of contention is the proposal that foreigners not be allowed to advise delegations and be part of technical committees. Associated with this is the proposal that all delegation members and advisers be full members of the parties and not be "foreign constitutional experts".

Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government are protesting that this proposal is aimed at them and designed to deprive them of the best possible advisers.

The agenda for the first meeting of the new forum may be finalised.

Inkatha and its pressure group consisting of the Ciskei government, Bophuthatswana, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, among others, wants regionalism and federalism to be the first item while government and the ANC would like to defer negotiations on this until later.

Meanwhile government and the ANC sit down on Friday for "at least a one-day bilateral meeting" to seek common ground and a similar approach on regionalism.

Another meeting between government and Inkatha is also scheduled before the resumption of multiparty talks.

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ANC and Inkatha to march in same area

(113) (18/3/93)

RAY HARTLEY

POLITICAL tolerance in East Rand townships will be seriously tested on Sunday when the ANC and Inkatha hold marches and rallies in Vosloorus and Katlehong on the same day.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday a groundbreaking decision to have a joint ANC and Inkatha "marshalling structure" at both rallies had been taken to lessen the chance of violence at the rallies.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would address Inkatha supporters in Vosloorus, while ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had been asked to address an ANC rally in Katlehong, he said.

Mamoepa said the PWV regional dispute resolution committee had decided on joint monitoring mechanisms which involved police and independent monitors, and it had been agreed that the routes for the marches to the rallies would be identified beforehand and strictly adhered to.

The ANC rally would launch the organisation's election campaign in the region and it was therefore even more important that a tone of peace and political tolerance be generated, he said.

He said ANC supporters would begin door-to-door campaigning immediately after Sunday's rally and would also canvass the area in which the Inkatha rally was being held.

"We are in touch with the regional dispute resolution committee and the national peace secretariat, we are making approaches to the Commissioner of Police to minimise confronta-

tion on Sunday.

"This is the litmus test of political tolerance. Maybe the tone set over the weekend in Natal (where ANC and Inkatha leaders issued reconciliatory statements) will come to the East Rand," he said.

□ LLOYD COUTTS reports that the DP will venture into Soweto this weekend following successful forays into the northern suburbs in pursuit of the hearts and minds of Johannesburg's domestic servants.

MP for Yeoville Douglas Gibson will address the Soweto branch of the DP at the Funda Centre on Saturday on "the DP plan to save SA".

Observers from the UN and the greater Soweto dispute resolution committee will attend the meeting.

DP city councillor Jack Bloom said recent threats from civic organisations to prevent "white" parties from holding meetings in the townships would not deter his party.

"At the end of the day it's a question of political tolerance. If we can't have ordinary meetings, what are we coming to? As far as democracy is concerned, it's not just our right to have a meeting that is at issue, it's free political expression for everyone."

Bloom said disruptions of DP meetings in Guguletu near Cape Town had attracted many new members to the party.

Saturday's meeting will be chaired by Soweto chairman Andile Mzaidume, and will start at 2pm.

Goldstone appeals | Row over invites



IFP welcomes Gwala peace call

at 18/3/93

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The IFP yesterday gave a veiled welcome to a call by ANC Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala for joint efforts to end warfare in the Midlands.

In a statement the IFP said Mr Gwala's approach "marks a refreshing break from his pre-

vious vitriolic and inflammatory statements".

The IFP was responding to Mr Gwala's plea for ANC and IFP leaders to hold joint rallies at flashpoints to show their commitment to peace.

Alleging he had promoted "the ANC's policy of violence" in Natal, the IFP added: "We

are encouraged by Gwala's realisation ... that violence can never provide lasting and genuine solutions."

In an interview printed yesterday Mr Gwala said: "It is not the leaders who are fighting, it is the people on the ground... I think that starting from below is a proper solu-

tion to the violence."

● A "peace mission" of ANC and PAC leaders, businessmen, unionists and clergy met Kwazulu legislators at Ulundi yesterday to seek the Zulu king's help to end violence. A joint committee of the visitors and Kwazulu government was formed.

ANC, IFP to pull together

CT 18/3/93
JOHANNESBURG. — A ground-breaking decision to have a joint ANC and IFP "marshalling structure" at two rallies in East Rand townships at the weekend had been taken to lessen the chance of violence at the rallies, according to ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa. (S) (113) (S)

Political tolerance will be seriously tested on Sunday when the ANC

and IFP hold marches and rallies in Vosloorus and Katlehong.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address supporters in Vosloorus, while ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had been asked to address an ANC rally in Katlehong, he said.

Mr Mamoepa said the PWV regional dispute resolution committee had decided on joint monitors

Inkatha confirms Israeli training

Wjmont 19/3-25/3/93. 118

A SENIOR official of the Inkatha Freedom Party has for the first time confirmed that Inkatha members have received military training in Israel.

The admission, by adviser to the IFP central committee Robert Mkhize, follows recurrent rumours and claims in affidavits about the Israeli role in equipping Inkatha for warfare during PW Botha's "total strategy" era.

It also comes hard on the heels of claims this week by Ari Ben-Menashe, renegade one-time intelligence adviser to former Israeli premier Yitzhak Shamir, that Inkatha members who received such training were sponsored by the South African government and that kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew of the training.

Significantly, the South African Defence Force did not deny Ben-Menashe's allegations when approached for comment this week. Quoting President FW de Klerk's statement on covert projects in July last

year, it said: "The South African Defence Force is not prepared to comment in any way on allegations and speculation about covert actions."

As it has in the past, the Israeli government denied the claims. The new Israeli ambassador, Dr Alon Liei, said the Israeli defence authorities had been approached with the new inquiry and had "categorically denied that any military training for Inkatha people had taken place in Israel".

This week top IFP northern Natal official Mkhize confirmed that Inkatha members had received military training in Israel. However, he insisted that this was purely for VIP protection and security, and not for hit-squad purposes.

This is the same explanation offered by both the government and Inkatha for the top-secret military training given by the SADF to 200 Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip over a seven-month period in 1986. First-hand evidence has been presented to the Goldstone Commission that the training was in offen-

contacted in December 1991. Other sources say trainees back from Israel were well known in Ulundi and nicknamed "Arabs".

In an interview in London this week, Ben-Menashe said the Israeli training of Inkatha members had focused on what he called "anti-terrorist activity". Black South Africans who were not IFP members had also been trained, although he did not know their affiliations.

He went on: "Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been involved in the arrangement but we assumed it was with the knowledge and consent of the South African government which, presumably, paid the bills. Buthelezi has visited Israel more than once."

Actual training was undertaken by the anti-terrorist unit of the Israeli Police Border Guards, who are not part of the country's military establishment. This specialised unit carried out training activities in a base outside the town of Bet Samesh, between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

The trainees, Ben-Menashe said, came over in teams of about a dozen and the system had operated for some time. He did not know the duration of the courses.

Ben-Menashe said anti-terrorist training provided by the Israelis ranged from light arms handling, physical combat, laying and lifting of mines, use of explosives, detection methods to surveillance operations. Emphasis was placed on the recognition of weapons used by guerrilla groups around the globe.

From 1974 to 1989 Ben-Menashe served in Israeli Signals Intelligence, then in the external relations department of Military Intelligence and finally as a special intelligence consultant to Shamir.

He was entrusted with a mission to try to stop various countries — including South Africa — from supplying highly sophisticated military equipment to Iraq, a job which took him to South Africa. In addition he managed a network of Israeli agents.

An Inkatha official has confirmed that members of the organisation received military training in Israel.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON and ENOCH MTHEMBU

sive warfare.

Affidavits by renegade Inkatha men, seen by *The Weekly Mail*, name a certain Matthew Sibande as having recruited Inkatha youth for the training. Among those named as beneficiaries are Zwelli Dlamini — allegedly trained between March and October 1986 and said to have become a hit-squad member — and the head of the IFP's communications division, Thompson Xesibe.

Xesibe, alleged in one affidavit to have commanded a secret base at Secunda where hit-squad members took refuge, refused to comment when



Nat MP Star 19/3/93 (304A) wavers on (118) joining IFP

National party Jeppe MP Hen-
nie Bekker said yesterday that
high-level negotiations over the
next few days would determine
whether he stayed in the NP or
joined the Inkatha Freedom
Party.

He was responding to reports
that he was about to become the
third MP to join the IFP.

It is understood that Presi-
dent de Klerk persuaded him at
the last moment not to an-
nounce his resignation this
week.

Observers believe that his de-
cision could now depend upon
his receiving satisfactory assur-
ances about the NP's relations
with the IFP.

These have become increas-
ingly strained, which has placed
the informal alliance between
the two parties in jeopardy and
estranged pro-IFP NP MPs.

Bekker would be the first MP
outside Natal to join the IFP. —
Political Correspondent.

Chief to address peace rally

Sowetan 19/3/93

11B

**By Themba Molefe
and Isaac Moledi**

■ Meeting coincides with anti-pass anniversary:

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address a peace rally in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Sunday.

The rally starts at 10am at

Vosloorus Stadium.

It coincides with the commemoration of the 33rd anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings in which 69 anti-pass demonstrators were gunned down by police.

The Johannesburg Hostel Resi-

dents Peace Initiative Committee and Vosloorus hostel inmates have appealed to their followers to mark the occasion peacefully.

Those who will be coming from afar have been advised not to disturb the community of Vosloorus.

Greed, intolerance spark taxi wars

PRETORIA — The intolerance, selfishness and greed of minibus taxi operators are partly responsible for outbreaks of violence in the industry, the Goldstone commission has found.

In its fourth interim report on violence in the industry, the commission said a variety of factors had contributed to the serious loss of life, injury and damage in the Groblersdal area since 1988.

These included the existence of too many taxis, a power struggle between operators, economic pressure as a result of high vehicle and maintenance costs, and a culture of lawlessness.

"There is a high degree of intolerance, selfishness and greed which militates against co-operation and bedevils attempts at mediation," the report said.

Among recommendations made by the commission were the appointment of neutral taxi rank marshalls operating under a

ADRIAN HADLAND

code of conduct agreed upon by all taxi companies. Fair, consistent but sympathetic law enforcement from the authorities and a more accessible town council were also required, the commission's report said. SIDOM 19/3/93.

Taxi operators and drivers should obtain further business and driving skills, while those involved in the industry needed greater empathy, less selfishness and more respect for the rights of other operators, the report recommended.

The commission stressed that all participants in the industry should be committed to the peaceful resolution of grievances.

"Unless every person in the minibus industry wants peace and works towards it, all efforts to combat violence are doomed to failure."

ANC and Inkatha plan rallies

MORE moves were made yesterday to prevent violence on the East Rand, where Inkatha and the ANC are scheduled to hold rallies and marches in Katlehong and Vosloorus townships on Sunday.

Johannesburg hostel residents' peace initiative committee official the Rev Mvume Dandala said his organisation had called on 500 Vosloorus hostel dwellers to mark Inkatha's rally in the township with "peaceful behaviour".

Inkatha and the ANC have agreed to a joint marshalling arrangement for the two rallies, which will be addressed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Dandala said the committee had been invited to address the hostel residents "on the need for peace in

RAY HARTLEY

these difficult days. A special call was made to those who will be travelling long distances to get there, to ensure that they observe the efforts for peace and do not disturb the community in any way," he said.

"A plea was made to the township residents of Vosloorus not to be surprised or overcome with panic when they see people in traditional dress on this day, for people have been alerted to observe peace," Dandala said.

International observers and regional dispute resolution committee officials will monitor Sunday's marches and rallies.

Meanwhile, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association would meet shortly to

strengthen an accord signed in October last year.

Mamoepa said the bilateral agreement had substantially reduced violence and not a single incident of political violence between hostel dwellers and surrounding communities had been recorded this year.

He said the meeting would look at ways of putting pressure on government to make funds available through the National Housing Forum for the upgrading of hostels and surrounding areas.

The two organisations would also discuss ways of involving businesses and churches in the upgrading process.

"Business can play a role in providing technical and financial resources for upgrading and development," Dandala said.

● Comment: Page 8

Business vetos Natal UDI

Wimani 1913-2513/93.
By FAROUK CHOTHIA
A PROMINENT Natal businessman who served on the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba came out strongly against secession this week, saying the region could not afford to be cut off from central government finance.

Speaking at a seminar organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, South African Sugar Association chairman Tony Ardington said: "UDI would be the ultimate folly."

Ardington added: "Natal would be exposed to huge uncertainty in export terms if it was to break away from the rest of South Africa."

"The prospects for our largest industry, sugar, would be bleak and we would cut ourselves off from vital government funding for education,

health and roads. Most significantly, we would have to rely on our own tax resources to sustain public services. There is no way we could sustain things as they are now."

Ardington was also chairman of the Economic Committee of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

His views are in sharp contrast to those of Inkatha and reflect that the organisation's support is weakening in the business sector.

Ardington said he supported federalism, but it had its drawbacks: a devolution of power would lead to increased "duplication" and corruption.

"Most corruption occurs at local government level — though our government is an exception," Ardington commented.

Star 20/3/92

No role for foreigners in shaping new dispensation

CAN non-South Africans take part in shaping the new South Africa? This was the thorny question debated at the World Trade Centre this week — and the outcome has potentially serious repercussions for some groups, including the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators planning next month's resumption of full-scale multiparty talks decided that from now on "non-South Africans" may not be appointed to technical committees of the new negotiations structure.

Many non-South Africans have participated officially in negotiations since talks got under way in 1991, and their positions are now under threat.

One of the IFP advisers at the multiparty planning conference earlier this month was Washington-based constitutional lawyer Mario Ambrosini. Ambrosini was also seen at the World Trade Centre on Thursday, where the negotiations facilitating committee was meeting.

At Codesa in December 1991, one of the IFP's prominent advisers was US

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Reporter

Professor Albert Blaustein.

It is believed that the IFP's "foreign" advisers were among the targets of Government wrath in January, when Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the party was being given bad advice by outsiders.

The decision taken this week is likely to cause headaches in political circles. It was announced by Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana's Minister of State. Journalists asked him whether he himself would be affected, as he is representative of a nominally independent country. SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo came to his rescue, however, interjecting that Cronje was "regarded as a South African".

Speculation even arose about Slovo's own position — he could not vote in last year's reform referendum because he was not in possession of an SA identity document.

MP Tarr predicts ANC, IFP merger

Political Staff

A MERGER of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress could happen one day, says the new IFP Member of Parliament Mr Mike Tarr. **ARC 20/3/93**

Speaking in the Own Affairs budget debate in parliament, Mr Tarr, MP for Maritzburg North who recently defected from the Democratic Party, said he was sending out "as strong a message as I can to my colleagues in the ANC and South Africa as a whole".

"Why do I say this? There is a remarkable degree of agreement right now on a wide range of issues. We both agree on a bill of rights. I have stud-

ied both versions. Our versions are not irreconcilable.

"We both agree on a sovereign constitution. We both agree on an independent judiciary with testing powers. We are now much closer on the question of strong regional government. We both want elections as soon as possible.

"We both want to end the violence," said Mr Tarr.

"Our differences are rooted in the past and not on what we want in the future. Any differences that still exist can be accommodated within any normal political system.

"This country now needs leadership that can join hands and go together into the future."

Inkatha backs St Lucia mining

(11B) (11)

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party last night endorsed mining at St Lucia, but suggested that local communities should get a slice of mining revenues.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's endorsement pits the IFP against the ANC, CP, DP, and KwaZulu's own conservation arm, the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (KBNR). *CT 20/3/93*

Dr Mdlalose said mining at St Lucia would create "enormous economic bene-

fits" for locals and South Africa.

But KBNR chief Mr Nick Steele yesterday criticised the CSIR environmental impact report on St Lucia released this week, which stopped short of calling for a ban on mining. He said it was based on "outdated policies certain to change with a new political dispensation".

He said that if the mining lease was granted to Richards Bay Minerals (RBM) it would seriously threaten conservation

and tourism in the region.

Mr Steele said eco-tourism was "the most viable land use option" for St Lucia, with "sustained long-term benefits".

St Lucia is Africa's largest estuary. RBM wants to dredge-mine 1 660ha of coastal dunes for titanium over 20 years.

The Campaign for St Lucia says no mining should be allowed and demands that 258 000ha of the area should be declared the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park

Call for ANC, IFP alliance

Political Staff

CT 20/3/93
INKATHA MP Mr Mike Tarr has called on his party and the ANC to form a pact, an alliance or even to merge.

The MP for Maritzburg North made his startling call during yesterday's own affairs budget debate in the House of Assembly. (12) ~~12~~

He said the argument between the ANC and IFP over who started hostilities between the organisations had become academic.

"I want to suggest there is now a compelling argument for the IFP and ANC to work together an co-operate in some form or other, be it by pact, alliance or even merger," he said.

He said there was considerable common ground between the ANC and IFP policies. "The point I want to make is that many of our differences are rooted in the past and not in what we want in the future."

The country now needed leadership to bury differences and change the climate in South Africa.

Strict US rules hold up cash for ANC, IFP

Times

21/3/93

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

STRINGENT accounting requirements are slowing disbursement of US "democracy" money to the ANC and the IFP.

Responsible for lading out the \$10-million (R32-million) initially appropriated by Congress in 1990 to help the ANC and other parties prepare for democratic elections is the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep), a respected private group.

Its Washington-based director, Robin Hoen, admitted last week that it was having difficulty pushing the money, which includes R12-million for

the ANC, out of the door to recipients.

"It's going very slowly," Mr Hoen said, "because the purpose is very restricted. It's hard to spend the money in accordance with the terms and conditions."

These include a fully documented accounting for expenditures by recipients.

The lifespan of the so-called "Transition to Democracy Project" — which should have been almost complete by now — has had to be extended by 15

months. When initially proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus, the project was supposed to be a slush fund to help the ANC build up its political operation in South Africa after years in exile.

After months of haggling between the sponsors, Congressional Republicans and the State Department, it was finally decided that most of the money should be divided between the ANC and Inkatha, with the former getting the larger share.

The funds were to be spent on office expenses, and further delays were

generated in a debate over whether the parties could use the funds to pay salaries.

It was finally agreed that they could not.

Expenditures would be limited to equipment and furniture.

Mr Hoen downplayed suggestions that there were problems with the accounts submitted by the recipients, preferring to stress the stringency of the accounting rules laid down by the US government.

Ussalep and the parties were also discussing using remaining funds for voter education programmes.

FW placates his would-be rebels

ST Times 21/3/93
STATE President FW de Klerk this week stepped in to defuse tension within his caucus after rumours that a group of MPs were considering following NP defector Jurie Mentz to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr de Klerk told the caucus on Thursday "rumblings of discontent" had come to his ears about members of the caucus thinking of joining other parties like the IFP.

In a conciliatory address which was applauded — Mr de Klerk told the caucus there was "much common ground" between the NP and the IFP.

He said on various constitutional principles, like a free market system and strong regional government in a federal state, the NP and the IFP were in agreement.

Differed

He said it would therefore "make no sense" to consider joining a formation in broad agreement with the NP on constitutional principles.

He would have understood it if there were NP members who wanted to join a party which radically differed from the NP.

Sources said Mr de Klerk seemed to have "hit on the right spot" in placating would-be rebels.

However, they said the dissatisfaction within the caucus stemmed from unhappiness with the way Constitutional Affairs Minister

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Roelf Meyer was conducting bilateral negotiations with the ANC.

There was a perception that Mr Meyer was pandering to the wishes of the ANC, was too accommodating at the expense of the IFP which in turn threatened to alienate the IFP from the NP.

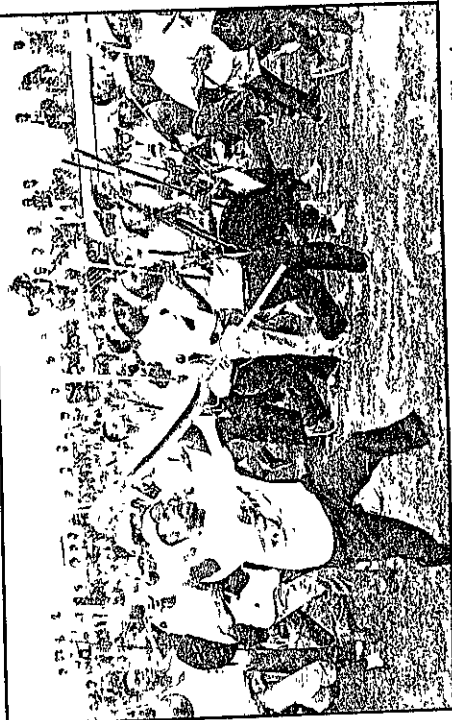
On some issues there were such strong feelings among a group of NP members — mostly whites — who were pro-IFP that at one stage the possibility of a "Cape secession" was broached should negotiations prove to be more in favour of the ANC and less in favour of regionalism and federalism as preferred by the IFP.

There has been considerable discontent within the NP over recent negotiation agreements between the ANC and government — specifically over the issue of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions.

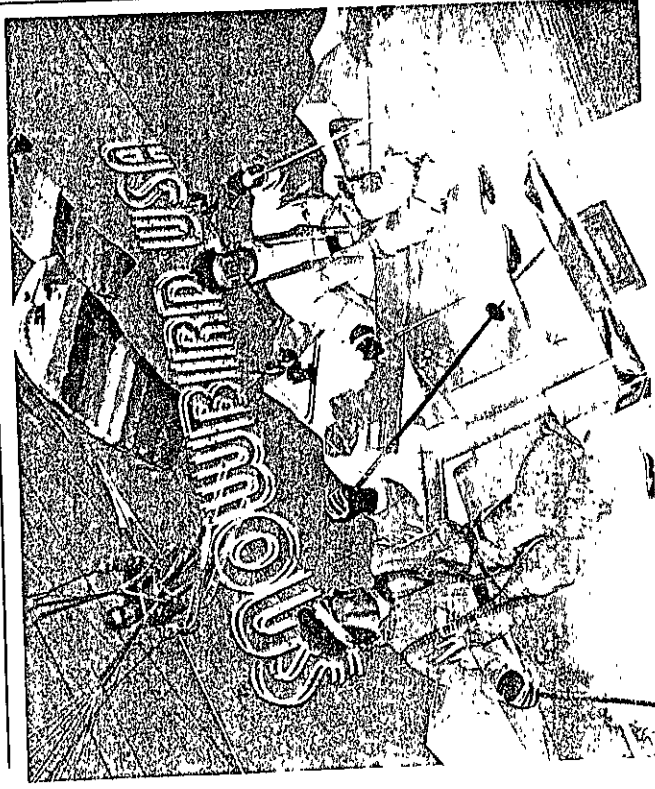
Dissidents insist these issues should be decided before an election is held, rather than allowing, as the ANC wants, an elected constituent assembly the final say.

Rumours persist that Jeppe MP, Mr Hennie Bekker, wanted to join the IFP, but that he was persuaded not to do so only after a discussion with President de Klerk this week.

Peace calls at



Members of the Inkatha Freedom Party brandish their less threatening traditional weapons in what turned out to be a peaceful rally at the Vosloorus Stadium on the East Rand yesterday.
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU



Rallies

Sowetan 22/3/93

By Themba Molefe, Musa Zondi, Mokgadi Pela and Sapa

THE FOUR MAIN BLACK political organisations yesterday held separate services to commemorate the massacre in 1960 when the South African Police gunned down 69 unarmed "demonstrators" in Sharpeville.

The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party rallied their supporters to rededicate themselves to the memory of those who died on that fateful day in the Vaal Triangle.

Emotions ran high but no serious incidents were reported, with the exception of one in Vosloorus when an unidentified man was shot and injured from a passing minibus after the IFP rally.

At the rally IFP president Mangosuthu Butheza reiterated his plea for a meeting with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for the sake of peace.

"It is crucial that the leadership of the ANC and the IFP get together and solve the issue of violence," he said.

After a short interlude, because of the rain, Butheza called on Mandela to "stop posturing and commence a series of joint appearances with me at public meetings, so that we can show strife-torn areas in the whole of the nation that the ANC and the IFP are seriously joining forces to eradicate violence in our midst".

A bystander was shot as IFP supporters returned from the rally.

In Sharpeville PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said his organisation would not declare a moratorium on its armed struggle yet.

He said the Azanian People's Liberation Army would stop its mission once the Government had agreed to "a mutual cessation of hostilities". This was the agreement they reached at

two meetings outside the country. Asked to comment on claims that Apia was responsible for the killing on Friday of three whites in the Grasmeere-Bikenhof area, Makwetu said: "I am not able to do so as I have no information."

In Kallichoing the ANC called on its supporters to be tolerant in the run-up to elections. In a speech that was more of a campaign speech, NEC member Ronnie Kasrils called on the party faithful to go out, door-to-door, and educate the people about voting.

At an Azapo service at the Kopanong Community Centre in Dobsonville Youth Club recited poems that said the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 and the killings of hundreds of other black people since then had produced people determined to overthrow white domination.

Azapo deputy political education officer Molathlegi Thale called on the black youth to openly associate themselves with the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

He said blacks were tired of being victims of State violence and would use any means to defend themselves.

In another development the Sebokeng home of the PAC chief of protocol and former UN representative Mr Count Pleterssen was raided by the police at 3am yesterday.

His 25-year-old son, Mr Musa Sulundwana, was arrested on unspecified charges. Pleterssen said about 12 policemen entered his home through the roof.

Buthelezi policy speech goes into second week

CT 2/3/93 Own Correspondent (118)

JOHANNESBURG. — A policy speech by KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly enters its second week today after a six-day, 145-page "introductory overview".

Chief Buthelezi has been holding forth since Friday March 12, dealing with issues ranging from federalism to negotiations and the Lancaster House talks before Zimbabwe's independence. He is expected to go on talking for a few more days.

Bystander shot after IFP rally

JOHANNESBURG. — A bystander was shot at Katlehong yesterday as Inkatha Freedom Party supporters returned from a Sharpeville Day rally at Vosloorus on the East Rand.

Peace monitors at the scene said the man was shot from a passing minibus.

The observers withdrew when tensions rose as people and police gathered around the injured man who was being treated by ambulance personnel.

At the IFP rally, Chief Mangosuthu

Buthelezi called on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to stop posturing and join him in a series of public meetings in strife-torn areas in an effort to eradicate violence.

At an ANC rally in Alexandra township, ANC MP for Sandton Mr Dave Dalling said the organisation should strive to make Sharpeville Day an event devoted to reconciliation rather than division.

Meanwhile, Azapo yesterday called on blacks to intensify the armed struggle for

CT 22/3/93 (118)
the "repossession of our land".

Speaking in Dobsonville, Azapo deputy political education officer Mr Molathegi Tlhale called on black youths to openly associate themselves with the Azanian National Liberation Army.

● No incidents of violence were reported at local Sharpeville Day rallies.

The PAC and the ANC held separate rallies in Langa. — Sapa, Political Staff, Staff Reporter

Bid for Zulu king to help reduce carnage

CT 22/5/93
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — An apolitical initiative to get King Goodwill Zwelithini to play an active central role in efforts to quell the on-going carnage in Natal is expected to open tomorrow when a group of concerned Zulus from different walks of life meet the king's representatives in Ulundi.

The main objective of the meeting will be to plan and set up an acceptable mechanism for the initiative.

The concerned group of Zulus first

met the king last Wednesday, where the idea was formally presented.

A spokesman for the concerned Zulus emphasised that although the group involved high-profile members of various Natal communities, they were keen to keep the initiative completely independent of party politics.

Among those involved are ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma, PAC veteran national executive committee member Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, Sabta president Mr James Ngcoya and Professor Herbert Vilakazi.

Air deal irks travel agents

STAR 23/3/93

By John Miller

Some travel agents have complained that a recent deal between SA Airways and Saudi Air on charter flights to the Saudi Arabian city of Jeddah has put a stranglehold on the route.

During the next two months, the airlines will each operate nine direct charter flights between South Africa and Jeddah. The fares to Jeddah range between R3 000 and R3 500 — up to almost R1 000 more than other airlines charge.

Jeddah is a popular destination for South African Muslims

The complaints follow a deal between SAA and Saudi Air. The deal, made by a Saudi royal decree, according to SAA spokesman Anelda Reinecke, is that only the two carriers will be allowed to transport passengers from South Africa to Jeddah.

Travel agents have said it

is almost impossible to arrange visas for passengers wanting to fly on other airlines, while those flying SAA or Saudi Air experience no problems.

Reinecke rejected the allegations and denied SAA's fares were steep.

One travel agent said passengers were unable to fly with other airlines because it was almost impossible to obtain visas.

Jane Salta, manager of Gulf Air, believed people should have a choice.

"If someone offers a cheaper fare, passengers should be able to take advantage of it."

Gulf Air offers flights to Jeddah via Abu Dhabi while Flitestar flies as far as Bahrain.

Both these airlines offer cheaper fares, but because of the deal between SAA and Saudi Air they are unable to transport passengers bound for Jeddah.

IFP opts for single constituency elections

Star 23/3/93

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — The IFP has staked its faith in the existing single individual constituency electoral system for the upcoming elections, and has rejected all forms of proportional representation as favoured by the National Party and the ANC.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday that it demanded a single constituency system where anybody could run for office "without the control or approval of national parties and organisations".

It wanted people and their interests to be represented — not their "affiliation to vague concepts".

"We want to ensure that



Dr Buthelezi rejects proportional representation

political representatives are elected through the electoral process rather than witnessing elections which for all practical purposes elect political parties which in turn allocate their votes to the individuals they have previously chosen," Buthelezi said.

The IFP believed that the chosen system of representation should operate at all levels from the county or region (within a state) to the election of the legislature at the federal level, he said.

"If we intend to represent the differences of interests and beliefs among the population and encourage local representation ... then the system to be chosen will be the single individual constituency. The US offers a good example of such a system."

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WANT TO LEARN TO FLY?



ELECTION BASE ...
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

IFP endorses voting system

CT 23/3/93 (11B)

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The IFP has staked its faith in the existing electoral system rejecting all forms of proportional representation as favoured by the National Party and the ANC.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday the IFP demanded a single constituency system where anybody could run for office "without the control or approval of national parties and organisations".

"We want to ensure that representatives are chosen through the electoral process rather than witnessing elections which for all practical purposes elect political parties which in turn allocate votes to the individuals they have previously chosen," he said.

Special representation, in the form of reserved seats, should be made to represent interests which were not likely to be adequately represented through the electoral process, such as women and the ethnic minorities.

DP alleges state cover-up

IT appeared government was busy with another massive cover-up, DP Chief Whip Roger Burrows said in a statement in Cape Town yesterday. The DP had requested a special debate on security issues, including allegations that an Inkatha central committee member had spied for government, the role of homeland police and the President's undertaking that all documentation on the death of Matthew Goniwe would be given to the east Cape attorney-general. But the NP had cancelled the debate.

6/10/97 21:32

(113)



focus on Inkatha

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

NEWSPAPER clippings about the Inkatha Freedom Party in archives around the country invariably associate this organisation with the violence in South Africa and the disruption of negotiations.

Headlines almost always depict the IFP as a movement at the heart of a vicious battle with the ANC in the country's killing fields and at the centre of walk-outs and grandstanding during negotiations.

This dark cloud over the IFP lifted, briefly, on March 13, when one headline extolled a virtuous meeting (albeit to mourn yet another murderous massacre) between the most senior leaders of the ANC and IFP, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — a summit which, it can be argued, was born in President FW de Klerk's Cabinet as a political ploy.

But there is another IFP; one that, like all political parties in the country, has a power base which, it can be said, has yet to be determined both in terms of its size in numbers and influence.

While it is the party which has assumed the role as the protector of "the Zulu nation" it is, at the same time, fast becoming a refuge for whites from battered and abused political homes in South Africa and home to the establishment politicians of Natal, where the IFP has its biggest support base.

Three Members of Parliament, two white and one of Indian descent, recently joined the IFP, a move which gave this party an immediate foothold in a legislature that could transform itself into a constituent assembly within a year.

Moreover, it gave the IFP a vital entrée into the white community.

In classic political terms, of which the constitution for Natal-KwaZulu tabled by the IFP in December last year is an eminent example, this party is no more or no less liberal or centrist than the Democratic Party for instance.

The difference in policy between the IFP and the ruling National Party, too, is marginal.

In a recent interview with *Newsweek* the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, confirmed they had much in common and highlighted the difference between them as being only on the process of political change in South Africa.

However, because of the nature of South Africa's political redevelopment, where the process is pre-eminent, the two parties remain in no more than a tenuous tryst.

It is, too, the process and the tensions that have caused the major rifts between the two parties.

The IFP — "protector of the Zulu nation" — is fast becoming a refuge for whites.

The move by three MPs to join the party gave it a vital entrée into the white community reports **Ismail Lagardien:**

Sweeten

24/3/93.

(118)



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... driving force of the IFP.

Violence aside, then, and in terms of political participation in South Africa's emerging democracy, the IFP is no different from even the ANC or Azapo.

The IFP's main attraction (to whites) is its strong and apparently unrelenting position on federalism — which gives the impression that it would dilute or curtail the powers of the next (presumably ANC-led) government.

White South Africans are also keen to align themselves with a black-led party "which they can deal with" — not too radical and which has no communists in its ranks.

When Mr Jurie Mentz, the MP for Vryheid, left the National Party on January 29 this year to join the IFP he said that voters in Natal would have to choose between his new party and the ANC — which suggested that his old home had little to no role in that province.

"To me, in Natal-KwaZulu, the moderate people I know and trust are supporters of Inkatha. We will never have peace in our coun-

try if Natal-KwaZulu is governed from Pretoria by the ANC-SACP," Mentz said.

The other MPs, Mr Mike Tarr, formerly of the DP, and Mr Farouk Cassim, Solidarity in the House of Representatives, gave strong signals, that did not go unheeded in the white community, that while there is no argument that the future lay in the best form of democracy attainable, the route lies in a black-led party.

And of the most credible, ideological differences aside, are, the ANC-SACP, PAC, Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This was never summed up more perfectly than during last weekend's Sharpeville Day memorial meetings.

When the stranglehold the NP has over South Africa ceases and when elections (after the interim government of national unity has run its course) are held, these four parties will be in the running.

That, of course, presupposes that the NP also loses its grip on the security forces...

Inkatha switches poll position

BIDAM 24/3/93
INKATHA has shifted its position on elections away from its original stance favouring proportional representation.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday he rejected all forms of proportional representation favoured by the NP or the ANC.

However, Inkatha chose proportional representation as the preferred system for elections just four months ago when it published its constitutional proposals.

Now Inkatha has staked its chances on the existing Westminster system of individual constituency elections, he said.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos yesterday said one of the party's working groups had studied systems and had now refined its recommendations to the executive, which had been accepted.

She denied this was a shift in Inkatha's position, arguing that when the Codesa declaration of intent was signed, most parties had not come to grips with the detail of most issues they were confronting. The declaration, which Inkatha signed, states that elections would be based on proportional representation.

Inkatha's shift, which will be supported by the KwaZulu delegation to multiparty

(118)
BILLY PADDOCK

talks, will be a further problem for negotiators and will hold up the launch of an independent electoral commission.

Buthelezi said he demanded a single constituency system where individual politicians were elected rather than political parties. He wanted this system to operate at regional level as well as national level.

Political observers were surprised yesterday by this "turnaround" and said the proportional representation route was the better option for Inkatha because it would allow it more seats in a parliament than constituency or "first past the winning post" systems which favoured the more powerful parties like the ANC.

In an article in the Journal of Democracy, US Institute of Peace programme officer Timothy Sisk, currently writing a book on SA's constitutional process, argued that Inkatha chose proportional representation as the most advantageous because of its lack of popularity in non-Zulu areas.

It is understood that the constituency system has great potential for distortion where a party with shallow support distributed across a wide area could win more seats if the opposition is divided.

ANC 'unaware' of meeting with IFP

DURBAN. — ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala said yesterday he was unaware of a planned meeting with Inkatha aimed at forging a peace initiative in the strife-torn region.

Mr Gwala was responding to Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman Mr M Pretorius, who said the ANC Midlands chairman and his IFP counterpart, Mr David Ntombela, would meet soon to plan a formal meeting aimed at securing peace in the region.

"This is the first time I hear of it," Mr Gwala said.

He said the ANC was prepared to hold a joint rally with the IFP in Maritzburg but had not arranged to attend any other meeting.

Mr Ntombela was not available for comment yesterday. — Sapa

ET 24/3/93

IFP man injured in handgrenade attack

Own Correspondent

between Mr Miya and Mrs Sokhela.

DURBAN — The Chairman of the IFP's Ema-shini section is in critical condition after a handgrenade was tossed into his shop in Estcourt yesterday.

Alfred Miya and shop assistant Zodwa Sokhela were taken to the Emhaus Hospital after the F1 anti-personnel handgrenade exploded between them as they stood behind the counter of the Zamokuhle General Dealer in the Estcourt Plaza.

Arrested

Estcourt detectives arrested two men in connection with the blast 30 minutes after the explosion and said they expected to make further arrests.

A witness said the explosion occurred at 10am when a group of men threw the grenade into the shop.

"The grenade landed behind the counter be-

"When it exploded it sent slivers of shrapnel in all directions. There were about six customers in the shop but the counter shielded them from the explosion and they were not injured," he said.

"Mr Miya's left leg was badly damaged and there was a trail of blood where he crawled out of the store. Mrs Sekhela had cuts all over her body."

KwaZulu deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu said the IFP was outraged by the unprovoked attack.

He also called on Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala to "demonstrate his sincerity and commitment to his recently belated conciliatory peace overtures by publicly condemning this attack".

He said it was ironic Miya was targeted as he had played a leading role in mediating in strife-torn Wembezi.

STAR 24/3/93



Ronnie Kasrils speaking at Katshehong.

Chief dries up in the rain

Sowetan 25/3/93. (118)
■ BRIMMING OVER Nothing could

dampen joy of young and old at rally:

By Musa Zondi

THE THUNDER roared and women ululated.

"It is fitting there should be thunder when the chief speaks," said one of the party faithful.

Droplets began to fall. People started shifting from one side to the other. Then the drops became bigger. People walked up to the tent where the dignitaries were sheltered and started pushing. Then it poured.

This was the scene as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was addressing a rally at Vosloorus.

He hellowed, trying to drown the screams as women felt the cold rain.

He was in turn drowned out. The rain did not discriminate and left no dry patches. It clouded the leader's spectacles. He gave up.

The youth brigade members stood up and danced the toyi-toyi in the rain. Some men, as if trying to prove their manhood, stood in the rain in full Zulu regalia — ihheshu with feathered hats and skin armbands. One, a healthy looking man, stood and chatted to a number of people proving they were resilient and macho.

Then women joined in the fun and danced

in the rain with the young ones.

About 10 kilometres away, in the dusty stadium of Huntersfield in Katshehong, another rally was taking place. The makeshift podium contrasted sharply with that at the Vosloorus Stadium.

There were more people at the Vosloorus Stadium than at Huntersfield. Most sat comfortably on the lawn and on the grandstand. Outside the stadium gate, "holy water" — beers in crates, sorghum beer — flowed and the spirit was more like that of a carnival than a political rally.

When the rains came, the people started to dance as if they remembered the days when they were young.

Only a slight drizzle fell at the ANC rally in Katshehong. The crowd was relatively small and much more subdued.

But there were similarities. Izimbongi (praise singers) sang praises to their leaders and parties — quite a rich piece of contemporary history at that. Women ululate and men whistle when the praises are sung. This happened at both rallies.

Also, when the thunder roared and Ronnie Kasrils was spitting fire, the crowd loved it. With the chief, it was the same story. There were many similarities — and some differences — but since in the world of politics there is so much dirt, differences gain the upper hand.

Oppose violent campaign to derail talks, ANC urges

BIDAY 25/3/93
WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC yesterday appealed to all South Africans to stand together and ensure the process of negotiations was not undermined by perpetrators of violence.

The organisation was commenting on the recent killings of whites in Walkerville in the Vaal Triangle.

The ANC said the planners of such atrocities knew that racial conflict, precipitated by their actions, would derail the peace process.

"The ANC unequivocally condemns these killings. We call on all South Africans to register their outrage (at these crimes) and stand together to ensure that those who are trying to undermine the negotiating process are isolated and called to account to the full extent of the law."

The ANC lashed out at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and the SAP. It said while the Minister had to be commended for visiting Walkerville residents "it is disturbing that he allowed himself to be photographed

on the site of a demonstration of the AWB along the M27 Johannesburg/Vereeniging highway where blacks were being harassed and threatened with violence".

The organisation said while Kriel distanced himself from the AWB's actions, police took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation".

It was also "significant that no arrests had been made so far, particularly in the area where police reportedly have a wide network of covert operations".

The ANC said there was no certainty that the attacks on whites were carried out by the PAC's armed wing Apla. "Whoever the killers are, and whether they attack blacks or whites, they are criminals of the worst sort. The facts about these senseless killings can only be established through intensive investigation that is not motivated by political agendas."

The ANC was opposed to the exclusion of the PAC from multiparty negotiations because of Apla's alleged activities. "Pandering to calls for the PAC's exclusion is counterproductive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

The ANC also said the newly established AWB "secret units" should be exposed and prevented from implementing threats to attack blacks.

Sapa reports a man was killed yesterday and two women injured when shots were fired from a minibus at Soweto's Baragwanath taxi rank.

Police said a white minibus carrying between eight and 12 men drove along the road and occupants opened fire on bystanders.

And on Tuesday Magarnale Buthelezi was accosted by a group of men and fatally shot at Ven Rhyn train station in Benoni. This brings to two the number of people killed on trains or at stations this month.

Call for calm after Inkatha official's murder

DURBAN — Peace accord and ANC officials yesterday moved to defuse potential violence in Umlazi outside Durban after the assassination of local Inkatha dispute resolution committee official Ephraim Ndebele on Tuesday.

Ndebele was killed just days before he was to participate in a meeting to discuss the return of refugees to an area of the township which had been evacuated after attacks by hostel dwellers this weekend.

A Natal dispute resolution committee statement described Ndebele as a man who supported peace moves with "energy and vigour".

Ndebele's killing has fuelled speculation that forces opposed to the growing reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal are deliberately planning violence to derail

BIDAY 25/3/93
RAY HARTLEY

peace initiatives. A well-placed source said militant elements of the ANC, who may have been behind the recent killing of school children at Table Mountain, were actively working at destroying the growing trust between ANC and Inkatha leaders in the region.

The source said the killing of an Inkatha-supporting hostel dweller in Umlazi last Saturday, may have had similar motives.

In an effort to calm tensions in the community, the ANC said in a statement that "Ndebele distinguished himself among Inkatha local leaders as a man who sought peace".

Meanwhile, tension in the Port Shepstone area — where violence

(118) claimed 40-70 lives a month late last year — rose yesterday, with local Inkatha leaders rejecting plans for a joint rally with the ANC.

Sapa reports that Inkatha said it had not been involved in the planning of the "peace festival".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said Inkatha objected to a perceived bias towards the ANC in the Port Shepstone local dispute resolution committee which, he claimed, had recently made a submission to the Goldstone commission on violence in the area without Inkatha's consent.

Our Durban correspondent reports a KwaZulu policeman is expected to appear in court today in connection with an attack on a bus at Swayimani on March 8 in which four people were killed.

Jeppie outraged as MP joins IFP

Star 26/3/93

Staff Reporters

Jeppie residents reacted with outrage, dismay and dull resignation on hearing last night that their MP, Hennie Bekker, has swapped his National Party rosette for the red headband of the IFP.

Most of them called for him to resign his seat so that a by-election could be held to determine if he still had support.

Bekker said he would reconsider his position in Parliament if there was a total outcry against his action.

He now finds himself isolated as the only IFP MP in the Transvaal. Three Natal MPs — Vryheid NP MP Jurie Mentz, Democratic Party Maritzburg North MP Mike Tarr and nominated Solidarity MP Farouk Cassim have also joined IFP.

It was not strange that he had joined the IFP — there were more Zulus in hostels (25 000) than there were white residents (18 000) in Jeppie, he said.

The former-NP Transvaal chief whip believed the NP would be forever tainted by its apartheid past.

It was unrealistic to expect



Bekker ... the only IFP MP in the Transvaal.

black South Africans to join predominantly white parties that had been part of the apartheid system, he added.

NP Transvaal leader Pik Botha said last night that the party's Transvaal executive had decided to expel Bekker for disciplinary reasons before he offered his resignation.

He would not say why, but it is understood that the reason was Bekker's disclosure last week that he was considering joining the IFP.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi welcomed Bekker's decision and said he would try to

have him nominated to the party's central executive.

But the Jeppie MP's decision left neighbouring Yeoville's MP, the DP's Douglas Gibson, mystified. "I have known Hennie as a verligte Nat and always expected him to leave the NP. But I can't understand why he should choose the IFP," he said.

Elaine Swart of Malvern East was the only resident in a flash-survey who did not feel Bekker should resign.

"I don't really like the thought of the blacks taking over — in fact, I would hate it — but the whites have made such a mess of the country that I think it's time we gave someone else a chance. Things can't get any worse," she said.

Maria Swart of Jeppie said she supported "a different party", and did not like Bekker's joining a "black" party. "What's wrong? Is the NP not good enough any more?"

Bekker told Political Correspondent Peter Fabricius last night that he still believed that President de Klerk was one of the greatest leaders South Africa had ever had. But he felt the NP had lost the opportunity after the referendum to build an alliance of moderates.

Nat MP for Jeppe quits, joins Inkatha

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha gained its fourth Parliamentary representative yesterday when Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker resigned from the NP.

He is the second NP MP to join Inkatha, following Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz who quit last month.

Inkatha has also gained Mike Tarr from the DP and Farouk Cassim from Solidarity. Seven MPs have joined the ANC.

Bekker said he believed it was time that white, coloured and Indian South Africans "walked the extra mile" and joined pre-

dominantly black political organisations. As a "verligte" and liberal South African, he had serious doubts about whether the NP could free itself from the "apartheid ghost of its past". He said he would prefer to fight the coming election with a smaller, more directed party.

Bekker said he would hold a constituency meeting soon to discuss his plans. These included boosting Inkatha's growth and

To Page 2

MP quits

promoting federalism. He would also advocate peace and reconciliation between all political factions.

NP Transvaal leader Pik Botha said the region's executive committee had decided to terminate Bekker's membership, "due to disciplinary reasons", before he had submitted his resignation.

Meanwhile Joe Marks, a Cape Town member of the ANC and the SACP, has joined the DP. He said ordinary people's

needs had been lost in the power struggle between the bigger parties.

The DP would be the party of ordinary people and he felt his ANC membership was not compatible with his lifelong service to the community.

Marks was a founder member of the UDF and was detained several times under emergency regulations. He was banned for two years until February 1990.

From Page 1

New blow to NP as senior MP opts for Inkatha



Mr Hennie Bekker

Political Staff

ARC 26/3/93

THE National Party has been dealt another blow with the defection of senior Transvaal MP Mr Hennie Bekker to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He declared yesterday that the NP would never rid itself of the ghost of its apartheid past.

Mr Bekker, MP for Jeppe and the NP's Transvaal chief whip, is the second Nationalist MP to join the IFP.

He said it was time that white, coloured and Indian South Africans "walked the extra yard" to join predominantly black organisations.

It was unrealistic to expect black South Africans in large numbers to join predominantly white parties that had been part of the white-dominated power system.

Mr Bekker finally made up his mind yesterday after wavering for more than a week. He was expected to walk out last week but President De Klerk persuaded him not to go.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warmly welcomed Mr Bekker into the party and indicated that he would be promoted immediately to the central committee.

NP Transvaal leader Mr Pik Botha said the party's provincial executive had decided to expel Mr Bekker for disciplinary reasons before he offered his resignation.

Mr Bekker became the first MP outside Natal to join the IFP. Three Natal MPs — Vryheid Nationalist MP Mr Jurie Mentz, the Democratic Party's Maritzburg North MP Mr Mike Tarr and nominated Solidarity MP Mr Farouk Cassim — left their parties recently.

● Jeppe residents reacted with outrage, dismay and dull resignation on hearing that their MP had joined the IFP. Most called on Mr Bekker to resign his seat so that a by-election could be held to determine whether he still had support.

Like-minded groups will dominate the PF meeting writes Kaizer Nyatumba

Stein 26/13/92

Not all is well with the Front

(11B)

FOR a while in the past two weeks it looked as though the Patriotic Front conference scheduled for Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, tomorrow might go some way towards healing the rift which opened between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress late last year.

This would have injected a new lease of life into the PF, formed in Durban 17 months ago.

For the first time since October 27 1991, the two co-conveners of the Durban conference, the PAC and the ANC, were going to bring together the other 90 members of the PF to assess political developments since then.

This should have taken place six months after the launch of the PF, at the end of last April, according to a resolution adopted at the time of the launch.

Since then the PF — which has tottered on the brink of collapse — has by and large existed only in name. And when the PF has been mentioned in media reports, it has usually been in reference to the ANC's coterie of allies within Co-

desa, mostly homeland governments and tricameral parliamentary parties.

But when the PAC accepted an invitation to a caucus meeting of the ANC's "Codessa allies" during the recent multiparty preparatory conference at the World Trade Centre, observers were quick to suggest that perhaps the PF — called the Patriotic United Front by the PAC — was not dead after all.

For, once the PAC was part of the "Codessa PF", the point could be made fairly convincingly that the Durban PF was finally up and running.

After all, as the ANC has often pointed out, those it considered its allies within Codessa had also attended the launch, and consequently were members of the PF.

And when it was later announced that the "broad PF" — though it from the "Codessa PF" — would meet in Lenasia to discuss a range of issues, including common strategies to be used in negotiations, speculation grew bolder.

Some observers suggested this broad alliance, now including the PAC and possibly the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) — which was expelled from co-convenership of the PF only days before the launch — could enter into some kind of an election pact "to avoid dividing the black vote".

These observers were running way ahead of developments. As unpublished events this week confirm, much arguing and arm-twisting remained to be done, and controversy continued to embroil the PF as late as yesterday.

Only 48 hours before the conference, the PAC had still not ironed out its differences with the ANC, and was unsure whether or not it would attend.

At the centre of the row is the status of the organisations attending the conference, and the role of these organisations in arranging the conference.

The PAC feels the ANC has excluded it in organising the conference, in sending out invitations and in drawing up the agenda. Most of the decisions regarding the con-

ference were taken at an hotel in Johannesburg last week, at a meeting attended only by the ANC and its "Codessa allies".

It was that meeting which decided, among other things, that ANC president Nelson Mandela should deliver the keynote address — and the PAC is aggrieved. Mandela can do that, says the Africanist organisation, but PAC president Clarence Makwetu should also be accorded an opportunity to address the gathering.

And to this the ANC says no, according to PAC sources.

Although the PAC was still frothing at the mouth yesterday, its national executive committee decided last weekend to send a delegation to the conference. Should the organisation reconsider that position, the Lenasia conference will be nothing more than yet another gathering of the ANC and its allies.

While it could be argued that that alliance has a better-than-average chance of entering into an election pact without the PAC, it is also true that the Africanist or-

ganisation — and Azapo when it finally joins negotiations — will make stronger allies for the ANC in a multi-party forum.

With the new forum divided into three distinct groups — the Concerned South Africans Group led by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the "Codessa alliance" led by the ANC, and the Government standing on its own — the ANC would no doubt be happy to have a voice such as the PAC's on its side.

Not only would that eliminate for the ANC the worry about sniping from the touchlines by the PAC and Azapo, but it would also strengthen the ANC's hand on some issues on which these three organisations agree — and there are many such issues, despite the well-known differences.

This explains the ANC's insistence that the PAC should be allowed to attend multi-party negotiations, regardless of the activities of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

And so the success of the Lenasia conference will be gauged not

only by the resolutions adopted there, but also by the quality of the organisations attending it.

For it matters little to have an array of insignificant groups coming out with fine-sounding resolutions, if they lack the capacity to help implement them or their voices do not add weight to the debate.

A meaningful unity or front is not one which involves already like-minded organisations trying to curry the favour of the big one in their midst who might one day be in a position to dish out goodies to those who stood by it when it needed allies.

Instead, it is the one which involves adversaries or organisations which differ with one another but who, for some greater common cause, agree to put their differences aside and co-operate. Such a front would include social, professional, church and sports organisations, but, more importantly, it would also involve the important political players on the Left, notably the ANC, the PAC and Azapo. □



Inkatha move worries locals

Sowetan 26/3/93

■ Meeting in ANC area
may trigger violence:

By Lulama Luti

FEARS were mounting yesterday that there will be violence in Driefontein in the Eastern Transvaal when the Inkatha Freedom Party launches a branch there at the weekend.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is scheduled to address a rally in the area tomorrow. (11B)

Local sources told *Sowetan* the situation was already tense in the area, whose community is predominantly African National Congress-aligned.

Speaking from Driefontein, IFP Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza said the fears were unfounded. His party enjoyed the full support.



Pumping their performance ... Marching Inkatha members veer past the line of peace monitors

Photos: KEVIN CARTER

Fragile peace along a thin orange line

Wmaw 26/3 - 1/4/93. (11B) (2B)

At the end, it is a thin orange line which saves the peace in Thokozwa-Katlehong. A handful of African National Congress and Inkatha peace monitors wearing orange Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat stickers on their chests and backs join hands with international observers in the blues of the United Nations and the Commonwealth and the green of the Organisation of African Unity to stop the surge of red-shirted Inkatha marchers.

Disaster seems near. Inkatha Freedom Party supporters are determined to force a straight route while police and monitors believe the only way they will avoid ANC marchers returning from a rally is to turn left. The monitors finally turn the tide at the corner demarcated by the police as their final cut-off point — the point at which security forces will open fire if reason does not prevail.

But the peacemakers, neighbours from across the ideological and ethnic divide, prevail, sending a fragile new message of genuine peace to their leaders from the weekend Sharpeville day rallies.

Working within a strategy agreed with security forces, 32 peace monitors from each of the rival organisations at least twice prevented bloodshed in the battle-scarred east Rand townships, as a written agreement to separate the marchers broke down and it appeared that armed members from the IFP and the ANC were about to clash.

The treaty, brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, created mobile ANC/Inkatha conflict-resolution teams which, on several occasions, found themselves in the front line separating marchers armed with steel axes, pangas and firearms. And, as about 10 000 participants from all sides returned to their homes and hostels on Sunday evening, it became clear

Violence seemed imminent as the African National Congress and Inkatha held rallies commemorating Sharpeville. But a small group of peace monitors averted disaster.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER** and **DAVID ZARING**

that despite a shooting incident it was the sheer willpower of the monitors, rather than their physical numbers, which had saved the day.

The monitors got to know and respect each other in several preparatory discussions in the weeks leading up to the rallies.

The first test of their newfound strength and unity of purpose came as they faced down a critical situation prior to the rallies.

Apparently determined to take the shortest route to their meeting with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Vosloorus stadium, about 500 Inkatha supporters organised in three disciplined groups and brandishing a variety of weapons surged up a road reserved for participants in the ANC rally at Huntersfield stadium in Katlehong.

Approaching a curve in the road, they caught sight of several buses filled with ANC supporters heading towards them.

Informed by radio of what was happening, peace monitor Gertrude Mzizi of Inkatha and Alfred Woodington of the ANC rushed to the scene with the police captain commanding operations in the area.

With the tension at the thought of the



Restrained but ready ... Policemen ensure marchers follow their designated route to prevent confrontation

coming showdown visible in her face, Mzizi talked en route about her four children and her wish that South Africans could find a way to express political differences peacefully.

And she told Woodington that it was time he taught her some Afri-kaans.

Arriving, the monitors find passions running high, weapons drawn, and the rival groups within 100m of each other. Police have just manoeuvred armoured vehicles between them, donned bullet-proof vests and loaded automatic rifles.

Frail and intense, her voice sometimes breaking with tension and effort, Mzizi implores the Inkatha leaders to halt their marchers. They fail to respond at first, but Mzizi is unde-

terred. "We won't be told where we can march," taunts the crowd.

Clutching at one IFP man's naked shoulder, she pleads with him to slow his marchers down at least long enough to give the ANC monitors time to talk to their side.

Meanwhile, Woodington and other ANC peace monitors are cajoling their people — who are outnumbered but ready for a fight — back into the buses, explaining to them that allowing Inkatha marchers right of way will be less painful than loss of life.

Minutes later the situation has been defused. The ANC buses have turned around and the Inkatha marchers are on

their way. But for the peace monitors, the respite will only be temporary. The real test is due after the rallies, when marchers on both sides return to their homes. And indeed, the showdown comes at a crossroads in Katlehong. Troops in full battledress are deployed and the police confirm that they will open fire if there is no resolution of the situation.

But the thin orange line averts disaster.

●The keeping of the peace on Sharpeville Day is the subject of *Ordinary People*, The Weekly Mail Television programme screening on Sunday at 9pm. See PAGE 32

Sacrificial lamb back in the IFP fold

THE man who took the rap for the Inkathagate scandal, MZ Khumalo, has been quietly reinstated as the head of administration at the Inkatha Freedom Party head offices in Durban.

Khumalo resigned in 1991 from his position as IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's private secretary, after taking responsibility for accepting R250 000 from the South African Police for Inkatha rallies and other anti-African National Congress activities.

Buthelezi claimed to know nothing of the covert transaction, implying Khumalo had got the IFP into its most damaging crisis without authority. Khumalo said at the time that if Buthelezi had known of

By Weekly Mail Reporter

private secretary who took

responsibility for Inkathagate

is back in office at the party's

headquarters.

By Weekly Mail Reporter

Inkatha's secret state funding, "he would immediately have disassociated himself from this action and would have exposed me immediately."

Khumalo was "extremely busy" in his new job this week and could not be reached for comment. "Could you leave a message? He's busy with the office of the

prime minister (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) in Uthandi," a receptionist told *The Weekly Mail*.

Buthelezi's office declined to comment on Khumalo's reappointment and referred inquiries to IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose. Mdlalose could not be reached for comment. Khumalo's superior in the Inkatha offices in Durban, Joe Mathews, was also not available for comment.

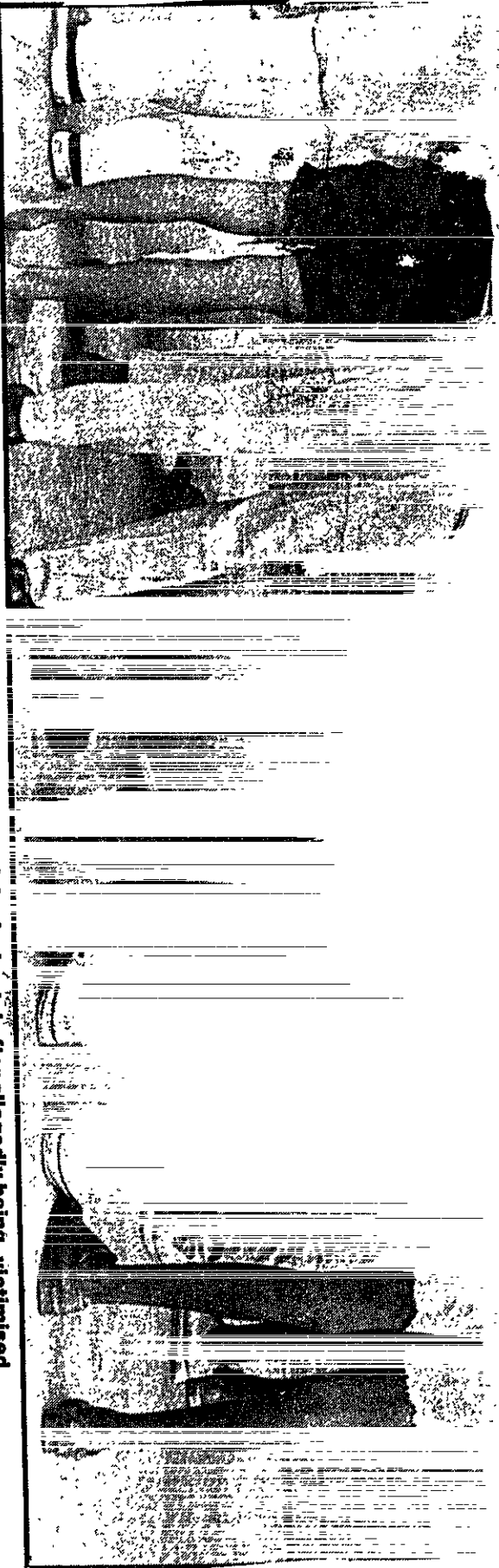
Speculation at the time of Inkathagate was that Khumalo, who is known to be extremely loyal to Buthelezi, had agreed to be a sacrificial lamb and that it was highly unlikely Buthelezi would not have known of the secret funding.

A source said that after the *Weekly*

Mail's exposé, an hours-long Inkatha central committee meeting was held on how to defuse the crisis. At the meeting, Buthelezi was "depressed, confused and frustrated".

Khumalo, seated at the far side of the conference hall, stood up and offered to take responsibility, the source said. He added that Buthelezi walked towards Khumalo and hugged him, and that, amid palpable relief, the rest of the central committee took turns shaking Khumalo's hand.

In an interview after his resignation, Khumalo said: "I am looking for a job. Tomorrow morning at nine I am going for an interview. My children are going to starve."



GANGSTERS... Members of the notorious Toaster gang who sought refuge at an Inkatha hostel after allegedly being victimised. Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Toasters turn to Inkatha

By MOSES MAMALLA

THE most feared gang in Thembisa, the Toasters, revealed this week they joined Inkatha for protection after being frustrated by double standards displayed by the local ANC leadership.

In a "behind the enemy line" interview at Vasimuzi Hostel, the gangsters said they joined Inkatha so they could effectively fight some leaders in the ANC who had declared war on them.

The youths, aged between 14 and 25, told how they were forced to flee their homes and drop out of school after ANC executioners destroyed their homes and killed their relatives.

Sixteen-year-old Vusi Shambi said: "We were committed to the ANC and actively participated in their activities. We risked our lives by taking part in underground operations of the self-defence units where lethal weapons were used."

"Following consultation with other members, a life for a life resolution was adopted."

But a few weeks later, an ANC leader in the area shot dead a 14-year-old youth after the youth had refused to join the self-defence unit, according to the Toasters

"We thought that the leader would be killed as a matter of principle but nothing was done. When we questioned the apparent double standards of the leadership, we were labelled rebels who wanted to kill leaders," said Shambi.

They said the comrades then launched a series of attacks on their homes, killing their relatives.

"We were forced to regroup at the hostel to form the Toaster gang and launched the best form of defence - attack. We know our targets, and when we strike, we strike hard. But this notion that we have declared war on the residents of Thembisa is simply not true," said Toaster member George Mazibuko. **CP 28/3175**

The gangsters said they were forced by conditions to join Inkatha.

"We realised that the we could not fight ANC effectively in the township because most residents supported it. But we knew that if we were based at the hostel as Inkatha members we could wage and sustain our war against some people in the organisation," the youths said.

Thembisa residents have linked the Toasters to several cases of murder, rape, car hijacking and a series of other offences.

ANC, IFP *Star 29/3/93* in festival of peace

PORT SHEPSTONE — Hundreds of ANC and IFP supporters gathered yesterday in a field at Batania, near Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast, to celebrate three months of peace in the once war-ravaged community. Chanting supporters from both organisations mingled and toy-toyed without any signs of acrimony.

The "peace festival" followed months of wrangling by the Port Shepstone Peace Committee and international observer missions.

A large police contingent watched the proceedings.

There has been relative calm in the two chieftainships in the area after the safe return home of ANC refugees in December. — Sapa.

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Farmers, Star 29/3/93 new MP at IFP rally

(118)

DRIEFONTEIN — About 30 beefy white farmers and an excited new IFP MP Hennie Bekker were among a 5000-strong crowd at an IFP rally addressed by party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Driefontein in the south-eastern Transvaal on Saturday.

Buthelezi warmly welcomed the white support and hugged Bekker, who said he was excited to be at his first Inkatha function since defecting from the National Party last week.

After raising his hands in an Inkatha salute, he addressed the cheering crowd in faltering Zulu and English, and in Afrikaans, saying he would go to work immediately to improve Inkatha's image on the Reef.

"We just want a fair deal," he said, adding that he firmly believed he retained majority support in his Jeppe constituency, particularly its Zulu hostels, since crossing the parliamentary floor.

Buthelezi told the crowd that it was time for reconciliation between black and white and between black and black.

He appealed for an end to strife, fear and racial conflict.

A spokesman for white farmers at the rally from Wakkerstroom, Piet Retief, Ermelo and Amersfoort said they had no problem with Inkatha since it stood for Christian values and recognised the importance of job creation. — Sapa.

focus on the IFP

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's economic policy advocates minimal State intervention, where the private sector will be the engine for growth. The IFP says this country's economy has endured decades of massive Government intervention and has been left inefficient and unproductive.

However, an economy dominated by a highly centralised formal sector and characterised by racial inequalities calls for an enhanced Government involvement.

"To ratify this and to place an economy on a sustainable growth path, the Government will have to take an active part in the restructuring of the economy.

"The objective of any intervention, however, will be to promote growth by creating conditions conducive to a free operation of a market economy," argues the IFP.

In addition to defining the Government's role in the economy, the organisation's economic policy document dwells on wealth creation and redistribution.

A number of sectors and strategies to generate wealth have been outlined.

An independent reserve bank under an IFP government could foster a stable and consistent monetary policy, spilling into the entire economic system and eventually attracting domestic and foreign investment.

Business confidence is central to stimulating growth, argues the IFP, and without a proper policy on Government expenditure, good monetary policies and other sound economic guidelines could be compromised.

Investors are known to be conservative when it comes to investing in a country battling with large budget deficits.

"Essentially, the Government must be aware of the need to spend within its means, failing which, investment crucial for growth can be adversely affected," the document says.

Rationalisation of the public sector would form part of the strategy aimed at increasing efficiency and productivity. In an IFP's administration, gone would be the days when the public sector would have a larger share of the country resources.

Greater freedom through deregulation and outward looking economy could also increase efficiency. The organisation champions the relaxation of import duties which would in turn bring about less protectionism, contrary to policies followed by the current Government.

"In an open economy, the manufacturing of goods for both the domestic consumption and the export market demands increased competitiveness and a lowered cost structure," argues the organisation.

Coupled with these, the IFP advocates anti-trust legislation to break down large conglomer-

The IFP's economic policy document wants the private sector to stimulate growth to create conducive conditions for the market. **Mzimkulu Malunga** looks at the document:

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IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... IFP wants minimal State intervention.

ates and enhance competition.

There would also be selective privatisation of State-owned corporations while nurturing the spirit of entrepreneurship in the process.

Expansion in the agricultural sector could be aided by a land reform policy. Though the document does not go into details on how a land reform programme would be implemented, the

IFP appears to favour the abolition of control boards and subsidies to bring about more competition.

One other sector which the document highlights is tourism. If properly nurtured, it would not only increase the country's foreign exchange earnings but could create more jobs.

The informal sector, to which many people turned to as jobs got scarce in one of South Africa's longest recessions, has to be helped through the injection of developmental finance. The finance would have to be spent mainly on training programmes for informal business people.

If South Africa hopes to become competitive internationally, it should invest in human resources through education and training, says the IFP.

"As an industrialising nation, South Africa must lay a technical and skills foundation to underpin its economic growth. This requires a shift in emphasis towards more appropriate education," the organisation says.

While some officials within the IFP would refrain from mentioning the phrase "affirmative action", the organisation's economic policy makes use of the phrase and says it should concentrate on equipping members of disadvantaged communities with skills enabling them to compete better in the job market.

Role

Trade unions could also play an important role in the development of human resources, says the IFP.

The organisation says while it subscribes to a fair distribution of wealth, skills and opportunities, there should be appropriate strategies which would not compromise the principles of a market economy.

Strategies like nationalisation could be counter-productive; rather, the redistribution of wealth would probably flourish in a situation where there is rapid economic growth, more jobs and increased tax revenues.

Unlike the current Government's proposed economic policy, which accommodates its federal thinking, the IFP makes no mention of this notion in its economic policy document.

POLITICIANS are fond of talking of the fog of war, but peace is shrouded in its own strange mists.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Natal, where fledgling peace initiatives are in danger of being bogged down in a mire of conditions and continuing violence.

Leaders from Inkatha and the ANC are certainly talking the right language. They say they believe that the time has come to take concrete steps to persuade their supporters to lay down arms and reconcile their differences. But now that the initiative has reached the point where it is clear to all that leaders need to take the brave step of planning the implementation of peace, their vanquished suspicions have returned to haunt them and they are suddenly hesitant.

At this critical point, the peace process appears to be in danger of becoming war by other means as political parties set conditions and try to extract political capital from SA's most desirable commodity.

Nonetheless, it is remarkable that Natal ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and his Inkatha counterpart David Ntombela have decided at least to create the appearance of reconciliation in the region where violence has dominated the lives of the majority of residents for more than seven years now.

Regional dispute resolution committee chairman M C Pretorius said the first signs of a change in attitude among political leaders occurred in October last year. There was growing co-operation between ANC and Inkatha negotiators in meetings preparing the way for an encounter between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The ANC has agreed to acknowledge the significance of traditional chiefs, who have been the targets of attacks in the past because they are seen as apartheid aligned local authorities. On the other hand, Inkatha has conceded that the chiefs need to allow free political activity in areas under their control and end years of preventing the ANC from addressing people in community halls under

Natal leaders need to seize the moment

Blom 3/13/93.

RAY HARTLEY



succeed. Security forces need to move quickly to establish their impartiality and the surest way of doing this would be by breaking the command structures of the shadowy forces provoking the violence.

To do this they will need their best investigators such as Goldstone commission special investigator Maj Frank Dutton who, by virtue of his role in the commission, has been robbed of his ability to follow through his investigations with prosecutions.

Goldstone's force has the credibility and the investigative ability to act against violence, but it needs to be strengthened and given the power to crack down on those found to be orchestrating the violence.

Intensive police investigations need the backing of all political leaders to succeed. Leaders should accept greater responsibility for bringing killers to book.

The petty problems that continue to bedevil meetings between leaders have to be put aside in favour of a far-reaching commitment to do what it takes to end violence, however great the embarrassment of appearing to capitulate.

Bilateral meetings being organised by the Natal regional dispute resolution committee will not succeed without their unqualified support and the impact of joint meetings, which will build public confidence in peace, cannot be underestimated.

A meeting of the signatories of the national peace accord is of vital importance to enable that organisation to back the work of its regional and local dispute resolution committees with political support.

Claims that meetings cannot go ahead because of "improper consultation" continue to hamper efforts to get the peace initiative off the ground. This kind of politicking could kill the peace initiative and turn it into another political toy.

The emerging peace initiative, with all its problems, is the first glimmer of hope the people of Natal have seen for some time. They can only hope that their leaders will seize the moment.

answer. The killers masquerade as police and soldiers, they carry false membership information and they seem to strike randomly.

Some peace officials believe the hit squads are under the control of elements of the ANC and Inkatha bent on undermining the growing reconciliation by their leaders. They argue that these militants believe in the elimination of their opponents and accuse their enemies of publicly committing themselves to peace while continuing with violent efforts to undermine opponents.

Others believe the killings are part of a double agenda pursued by political leaders, who want to increase their popularity by associating themselves with the peace process while cynically continuing military operations to undermine opponents.

A third group argues that the killings are being perpetrated by right-wing elements of the security forces — sometimes called the third force — who wish to prolong the status quo and make elections impossible.

All seem to agree that some of the violence is committed by people who have been driven out of their homes and now seek retribution. Many have seen family members killed and their homes destroyed.

The killers will have to be unmasked if the peace initiative is to

men, whose political allegiances are difficult to establish.

The callousness of the killing of six schoolchildren on a winding isolated road through Table Mountain graphically illustrates the extent to which these hit squads have lost their humanity. The bakkie carrying the children was raked by AK-47 fire at a bend in the steep road where the vehicle was travelling at its slowest. The killers must have spent a good 10 minutes watching the bakkie struggle slowly up the hill before they opened fire.

The fight for territory, which characterised the 1980s, has reached a bloody stalemate. Political observers in the region ascribe the change of heart by political leaders partially to a realisation that killing people doesn't win votes. With an election a mere nine months away, they are eager to promote themselves as peacemakers and statesmen.

Meanwhile, the question of who is responsible for the sinister hit squads that undermine peace has become seemingly impossible to

their jurisdiction.

Pretorius said the recent killing of schoolchildren at Table Mountain had a profound effect on leaders in the Natal Midlands, culminating in a joint statement calling for peace.

But the agreements on paper are yet to be implemented and a war psychosis continues to grip much of Natal. More than 95 people have died there this year — higher than the figure for the same period last year.

Seven years of conflict have turned much of the province into a series of Inkatha and ANC controlled zones where no political freedom exists. The Table Mountain area near Maritzburg, where a series of killings left more than 20 people dead this month, is typical of this.

The mountainside is dotted with the burned out houses of ANC supporters who have been driven out of the area and forced to live as refugees. In other areas, Inkatha supporters have been removed in similar fashion. An atmosphere of resignation and suspicion rules the hills and few people walk on the treacherous roads where automatic rifle fire has taken so many lives.

It is clear that people on the ground have had enough of violence, and the mass attacks by one political group on another have given way to assassinations by professional hit-

IFP urges probe of MK's role in robberies

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CT 31/3/93

ULUNDI. — The IFP will call on the Goldstone Commission to investigate the role of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) in robberies throughout the country, the IFP said in a statement yesterday.

The statement, which follows Monday's rejection by MK chief-of-staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda of claims of MK involvement, accused Mr Nyanda of being out of touch with his "troops". The IFP said evidence by the ANC's Mr Solomon Mqanqeni in court last week indicated stolen money had been taken to the ANC headquarters after robberies in 1991. — Sapa

Buthelezi finishes his 3-week-long speech

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has ended a marathon three-week policy speech, his spokesman Mr Amos Ngema said yesterday.

Mr Ngema said KwaZulu legislators would now debate the 427-page speech, which if laid out end-to-end would be 128 metres long.

Chief Buthelezi has been addressing his assembly since March 9. He said his Inkatha Freedom Party's sole aim in talks was the establishment of a federal system of government. — Sapa-Reuter.

