

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1994

JANUARY - MARCH

# IFP the 'aggressor' in N Natal

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party cannot comment on a police report citing IFP supporters as aggressors in political violence in Northern Natal until the report has been submitted to the party, according to national spokesman Ziba Jiyane.

Dr Jiyane said yesterday the IFP had not seen the document, but had called for a copy.

The report blames the vio-

lence on the continuing struggle for political domination by the ANC and the IFP, but states IFP supporters are the aggressors in most cases.

The report, which warns of an increase in unrest in the run-up to the election, is apparently signed by Natal regional commissioner Colin Steyn and has been submitted to the Transitional Executive Council.

Dr Jiyane said, "This seems

very strange, given that the IFP has received repeated reports of ANC violence and intimidation against its members in the region." (11B) (27)

He said the IFP had no reason to believe claims contained in any confidential report submitted to the TEC, including those made by civil servants "kowtowing to the ANC-dominated TEC, which has assumed the functions of the nationalist government". — Sapa.

ARC 11/1/94



# IFP faces hour of truth at Umtsoyi

Political Staff

**PRETORIA.** — The Inkatha Freedom Party faces its hour of truth at the weekend when its central committee meets in Umtsoyi to decide whether the party should contest the election.

The central committee's decision, in the form of a recommendation to the party's general conference to be held later this month, could have far-reaching implications for the IFP's political future.

IFP spokesman Peter Smith confirmed today that the central committee would meet at the weekend, but said no firm decision on whether to contest the election would be made.

He said the central committee would merely make a recommendation to the party's general conference, to be held later this month at a

□ Committee to decide on election date yet to be determined.

However, it is unlikely that the general conference would deviate from the central committee's decision.

The IFP central committee meeting is the high point of a month of frenetic political efforts to reach an all-inclusive settlement before the April 27 election.

Also on the agenda this month is the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria; further negotiations between the ANC and the far-right Afrikaner Volkfront (AVF); and the Freedom Alliance's response to the government's latest proposals aimed at bringing it back into the process.

The full TEC meets on Tuesday next week, but the transitional

body's sub-councils are starting their work tomorrow, when the sub-councils on defence and foreign affairs meet for the first time.

On the agenda of the defence sub-council is the establishment of a national peacekeeping force comprising members of all military formations and policing agencies under the control of the TEC's participants. **ARLW 31/1/88**

The ANC and AVF are talking about the possibility of self-determination for Afrikaners in a volksstaat, following a deal negotiated between the two groupings but cancelled at the last moment when talks between the government/ANC and the FA failed. They have to report to their leaderships on January 20. Hopes of a settlement with the FA

were subsequently revived when the organisation agreed to refer a joint government/ANC proposal to its leaders for consideration.

The proposal entailed a commitment by the FA to the transitional process and the April 27 election, in return for an undertaking by the government and ANC to amend the interim constitution if agreement is reached on the FA's demands.

Should the proposal be accepted by the FA leadership, talks involving the three groups will start immediately. The three sides will then have until January 24 to reach agreement on any changes to the interim constitution.

Talks involving the FA will be high in the minds of the IFP's central committee members when they discuss the party's participation in the election.

# Hour of decision looms for Inkatha

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## ■ CRUCIAL CHOICE Natal

party's future could be affected:

*Sowetan*

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### Peacekeeping force

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foreign affairs meet for the first time.

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(113)

### Self-determination

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## US interest in Viljoen, Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — A delegation of US congressmen will have talks tomorrow with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and then meet the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen in Johannesburg. (113)

The group arrives in South Africa tonight and leaves on Saturday. It is headed by Representative Harry Johnston, chairman of the House Africa sub-committee.

A committee staff member said the sessions with Chief Buthelezi and General Viljoen should not be seen as "a signal of support or approval". Mr. Johnston decided to see General Viljoen after hearing ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela describe him as "someone with whom we can work".

The ANC and government are hosting separate dinners for the visitors. 27.5/194

APR 7 1994 (11B)

# IFP may delay conference as talks with Alliance stall

## Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's special conference next weekend could be postponed due to a lack of progress in talks between the Freedom Alliance, the government and African National Congress.

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane said yesterday the special conference was called to decide on the participation of the party in the April election.

The possibility existed, however, that it might be postponed because three-way dis-

cussions between the FA, ANC and the government on the alliance's amendments to the interim constitution had not been completed.

The talks are scheduled to restart next week following an FA leaders' summit on Monday to formulate their response to a government/ANC demand that the alliance commit itself to take part in the elections, abide by the interim constitution and abide by the Transitional Executive Council's authority.

## Sounds reasonable

(11B)

Several hurdles remain before Inkatha will agree to participate in the April 27 election, according to hardline party negotiator Walter Felgate. This is in spite of a hint by party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, during the

Christmas break, that the deadlock could soon be broken.

Felgate, who feels government and the ANC may still be making the dangerous and "tragic" mistake of believing Inkatha and its Freedom Alliance partners, are "just



Felgate

posturing," stresses that regional autonomy and the extent to which this is supported by the rest of the constitution remains the kernel issue. Fm 7/11/94

But that is not all. The constitutional proposals Inkatha is making are, he maintains, reasonable and the minimum requirements for its vision of a democratic future. These revolve around issues such as the party's objection to a single election ballot paper which will undermine the whole concept of regional proportional representation and the need to abolish deadlock-breaking mechanisms which are not found in any other constitutions. (11B)

He adds that regional autonomy and amendment to the chapter dealing with it in the constitution, is probably negotiable. But he cites examples, such as the Public Service Commission at a national level having jurisdiction over regional civil services. Regional autonomy without control over the civil service actually leaves governance in the central authority's hands, he argues.

Similarly, even if there is agreement over the establishment of regional police forces, control will remain with Pretoria if senior appointments (above that of lieutenant-colonel) are made by central government.

A special Inkatha general party conference is scheduled for January 15 and 16 but may be delayed because of this week's special parliamentary sitting. "We cannot hold that meeting until we have a constitution to put to the party. That in turn will not happen until we have completed negotiations about our remaining substantial objections to the constitution. We will negotiate the best deal we can and then put it to the party to decide whether it is acceptable," says Felgate. ■

Nurses demand R500 more

# IFP leaders in meeting

Sowetan 7/1/94

## ■ FA DEMANDS Jiyane claims

amendments were scaled down:

By Lujama Luti

**T**HE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Inkatha Freedom Party meets in Ulundi today in a crucial meeting following the suspension of a general conference originally planned for this weekend. (118)

IFP information chief Dr Ziba Jiyane said in a telephone interview in Durban yesterday that the conference had to be postponed following the delay of the negotiations about the inclusion of the organisation's proposed amendments to the interim constitution.

"The Freedom Alliance submitted a document on the proposed amendments and the Government has not yet responded.

"We have committed ourselves to the elections pending the successful completion of the constitutional negotiations and the debate is no longer on whether or not we will participate in the elections," said Jiyane.

Jiyane dismissed allegations of divisions within IFP ranks regarding the impatience of IFP MPs who want to forge ahead with participation in the elections while the amendments have not been attended to successfully, as stemming from misleading media reports.

"The truth is that all IFP leaders want the amendments to be made. In fact, the MPs were instrumental in the drafting and shaping of these amendments.

"What we are saying is that there should be earnest efforts to address them, particularly because they have been significantly scaled down from our original proposals," he said.

Meanwhile, the FA is scheduled to meet with the Government on Monday.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said that the Government would arrange a trilateral meeting between itself, the FA and African National Congress.

# IFP adamant: No part in poll

**ROBERT BRAND**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party has resolved not to take part in the April 27 election nor in transitional structures.

The resolution, which rejects the interim constitution and issues a challenge to the Transitional Executive Council, was passed yesterday in Ulundi.

The resolution will be submitted to a special congress of the IFP later this month, when a final decision on participation in the election will be taken.

The National Party and the African National Congress have expressed surprise at the central committee's stance, which comes against the background of ongoing negotiations between the government, ANC and Freedom Alliance, of which the IFP is a member.

NP information director

(11B) ARG 8/1/94  
Marthinus van Schalkwyk accused the IFP of blackmail, and the ANC's Carl Niehaus said the election would go on with or without the IFP.

The Conservative Party, however, welcomed the resolution, saying it was in line with the position of the Freedom Alliance.

The resolution states that the IFP will not participate in the election, nor enter parliament or the provincial legislatures under the 1993 constitution.

Further, the IFP will not participate in the TEC and its subcouncils nor accept any decisions by the transitional body.

The central committee said only the acceptance by the government of the Freedom Alliance's constitutional demands would move it to reconsider its position.

The resolution states that the IFP regards as non-negotiable the elimination of the deadlock-breaking mechanism to

settle constitutional disputes and the scrapping of the single-ballot voting system.

Mr Niehaus said the conditions set by the ANC and government — that the Freedom Alliance leaders commit themselves to the transitional process and the election — were perfectly reasonable and intended to secure the participation of all parties in the constitutional process.

"We are surprised by this over-hasty reaction."

The time is still open for negotiations with the FA until January 24, Mr Niehaus said.

"We want to emphasise that the transitional process and the election will go on whether the IFP participates or not, although we would obviously like them to participate."

"But we believe that the vast majority of the people of South Africa support

the transitional process and the process towards democracy."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the government and NP had bent over backwards to accommodate the IFP and Freedom Alliance.

The alliance and IFP had initially used delaying tactics, but the IFP had now turned to blackmail in proposing a trade-off between the acceptance of its proposals and its participation in the election.

"We will consider their proposals on merit, and we will not be blackmailed into decisions, however much we want all parties to participate in the election." CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the IFP had made the right decision, and denied that it was at odds with the FA's willingness to continue with negotiations.

We will have to consult within the FA, and I think negotiations will continue. But we'll have to see what the negotiations produce, he said.

# IFP reaffirms election stand

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party will not take part in the April 27 elections or enter Parliament and the provincial legislatures under the 1993 constitution, the IFP central committee said in Ulundi yesterday.

The IFP said in a statement it would not participate in the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils and would

oppose TEC decisions that affected the IFP.

Only the acceptance of constitutional proposals put forward by the Freedom Alliance on December 19 last year would prompt it to reconsider its stand.

The ANC said last night that the "reasonable demands" set out in the proposed joint committee document of the ANC, government and the Freedom

Alliance had the potential to unlock the current deadlock.

There was no question of reviewing the election date.

The NP said the Alliance appeared to be resorting to blackmail. "Although we would like to see all parties take part in the election, we shall not allow ourselves to be blackmailed in the process," it said. — Sapa



# IFP will not take part in poll, TEC

Star 8/11/94

POLITICAL STAFF  
and OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) central committee has resolved not to take part in the April 27 election or transitional structures.

The party issued a statement last night rejecting the Interim Constitution and issuing a direct challenge to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The decision was apparently taken at a central committee meeting at Ulundi yesterday.

The resolution will be submitted to a special congress of the IFP later this month where the final decision on participation in the election will be taken.

The National Party and the ANC have both expressed surprise at the central committee's stance, which comes against the background of ongoing negotiations between the Government, ANC and the Freedom Alliance (FA), of which the IFP is a member.

NP information director Marthinus van Schalkwyk accused the IFP of blackmail. The ANC's Carl Niehaus said the election would go on with or without the IFP.

## Non-negotiable

The Conservative Party, however, welcomed the decision, saying it was in line with the position of the FA.

The resolution states that the IFP will not participate in the April 27 election or enter Parliament or the provincial legislatures under the 1993 Constitution.

It further states that the IFP will not participate in the TEC and its subcouncils or accept any decisions of the transitional body.

"The IFP will oppose every decision (the TEC) makes which in any way affects the IFP, the South African people and kwaZulu," the resolution read.

The central committee said only the acceptance by the Government of the FA's constitutional demands would move it to reconsider its position.

The IFP regards the elimination of the deadlock-breaking mechanism in the event of a constitutional dispute and the scrapping of the single-ballot voting system as non-negotiable, the resolution states.

Niehaus said the conditions set by the ANC and Government that the FA leaders commit themselves to the transitional process and the election were perfectly reasonable and intended to secure the participation of all parties in the constitutional process.

"We are surprised by this over-hasty reaction. The time is still open for negotiations with the FA until January 24," Niehaus said.

"We want to emphasise that the transitional pro-

TO PAGE 2.

FROM PAGE 1.

cess, and the election will go on whether the IFP participates or not, although we would obviously like them to participate.

"But we believe that the vast majority of the people of South Africa support the transitional process and the process towards democracy."

## Merit

van Schalkwyk said the Government and NP bent over backwards to accommodate the IFP and FA. He said while the FA and IFP had initially made use of delaying tactics, the IFP had now turned to blackmail by proposing a trade-off between the acceptance of their proposals and their participation in the election.

"We will consider their proposals on merit, and we will not be blackmailed into decisions, however much we want all parties to participate in the elections."

NP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the IFP had made the right decision, and denied that it was at odds with the FA's willingness to continue with negotiations.

ANC negotiations commission secretary Valli Moosa said the IFP resolution would be discussed at the ANC's national executive meeting on Friday.

"Unfortunately, the

IFP is attempting to draw us into negotiations in order to amend the Interim Constitution agreed upon at the World Trade Centre. Yet at the same time it is not prepared to commit itself to the process and the transition," he said.

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Gavin Woods, described the Ulundi resolution as a reaffirmation of the position the IFP has held "how and for a good couple of weeks".

"It's not a radical shift. But he (Buthelesi) is saying: 'We are not playing, but if you look at our position the avenues are still open'."

Woods said bilaterals between the Government and the IFP would continue "between now and the 24th".

## Tragedy

"I think the ANC and the Government will see this (resolution) as a rewording of what the IFP has said before ... I don't see any reason to be more pessimistic."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said "it would be a tragedy if Inkatha were to pull out of the election and rob the new South African parliament of the constructive influence which it might bring to bear there within the Parliament". He appealed to Inkatha urgently to communicate with all parties with the view to bringing about their re-entry into the constitutional process.

# Talks hopes fade as Freedom Alliance sticks to its guns

By RAY HARTLEY  
Political Reporter

HOPES of an early breakthrough in negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, ANC and the government dimmed this week after the alliance insisted it would only bind itself to transitional processes after talks. *S. Times*

And this week, Inkatha said it would not participate in the April 27 election unless alliance bottom lines — including separate ballot papers and stronger regions — were met. *9/11/94*

Inkatha has scheduled a special congress for the end of January to make a final decision on participation in the election and transitional processes. The congress will take place within a week of the January 24 deadline set for the conclusion of constitutional talks.

The alliance was asked by government and ANC negotiators last month to commit itself to transitional arrangements and the elec-

tion before talks could advance. But this week, the alliance said it had already committed itself to "substantially the same terms" as those proposed by the ANC.

However, ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the latest alliance position did not take talks any further.

The ANC's national executive committee would, nonetheless, discuss the alliance statement at a meeting on Wednesday. *(S. Times)*

The alliance said in its statement: "The contents of the required commitment correspond substantially with the commitment already given by the alliance and its leaders. *(118)*"

"If and when a final agreement on the minimum package detailed in its submission is reached and such agreement is endorsed by its controlling bodies, then the alliance would participate in the elections and the constitutional process."

## Red threat looms, warns Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that communists could use the new South Africa as a springboard to force their ideology on developing countries.

(11B)  
"It is possible that international communism will reorganise from a South African base to become the ideology of the developing countries," Chief Buthelezi told a delegation of the US House of Representatives in Ulundi. ARG 8/1/94

He was speaking before a meeting of the IFP central committee, held to discuss participation in the April 27 election.

He said 75 percent of the ANC national executive were members of the South African Communist Party and communists believed their system of government did not fail in the former Soviet Union but that the communist leadership failed in its mission.

"It might no longer be a threat to the essential interests of the United States but communism is of terrifying relevance to the people of this country," Chief Buthelezi added.

"The fundamental aspirations and cries for self-determination arising from all corners of South Africa have been totally ignored and mortified." South Africa would be facing problems of a "catastrophic dimen-

sion" if the country's interim constitution was not rectified "immediately and adequately".

He told the delegation, led by the chairman of the American Foreign Affairs sub-committee, Harry Johnston, that South Africa needed a federal settlement. In a memo to the delegation Chief Buthelezi said: "The political power bases of minorities must be constitutionally entrenched by means of a federal system".

Otherwise "the successful majority will destroy the political power bases of minorities, thereby preventing forever a minority from becoming a majority in the future".

Chief Buthelezi defended the IFP's stance towards negotiations, telling the Americans that "no concessions have been made to accommodate the Freedom Alliance or the IFP".

He alleged that during talks his party's inputs were "constantly ignored", demands "sidelined" and concerns "silenced".

"Manipulation and arrogance characterised the process, leaving no space for true negotiations with us."

Chief Buthelezi claimed that during negotiations "we dramatically reduced our original demands without being met by corresponding efforts from our counterparts." — Sapa.

414  
(115)  
**'IFP to blame  
for violence**  
C1101194

DURBAN. — IFP supporters are largely the aggressors in political violence in northern Natal, according to a confidential police report submitted to the Transitional Executive Council in December.

The report — apparently signed by Natal regional police commissioner Lt-Gen Colin Steyn — warns of an increase in unrest before the election.

IFP political director Mr Ziba Jiyane dismissed the commissioner's findings yesterday, saying IFP members were the victims. — Sapa

APPROVAL 011

DATE: 10/11/94

# IFP digs in on poll deal

Own Correspondent

(118)

DURBAN. — Only two weeks are left for an increasingly hardline Inkatha and its Freedom Alliance partners to push through constitutional changes and agree to elections.

Tomorrow's planned meeting between the Alliance, the government and the ANC appears unlikely to produce a deal.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de

Klerk are to meet on January 17 to discuss the IFP's decision to boycott elections and ignore the Transitional Executive Council.

The IFP said on Saturday it would hold a special general conference at month-end. If this week's flurry of talks produces a deal, this conference may agree to contest elections.

But while the government is amenable, the ANC is unlikely to concede major issues to the IFP.

CT 10/11/94

# First full meeting of TEC to probe alleged hit squads

PRETORIA — The full Transitional Executive Council (TEC) meets in Pretoria for the first time tomorrow.

The TEC's management committee will decide today on the agenda for the council's fourth meeting, although a number of controversial items are likely to be included.

KwaZulu Police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During has been summoned before the council to provide information on the existence of hit squads within the KwaZulu Police.

During has refused twice previously to submit documentation or evidence on the issue, uncovered last year by the Goldstone commission.

In a letter to the TEC in December, During wrote: "The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information."

The TEC responded by reminding

## ADRIAN HADLAND

During of his legal obligations under the TEC Act and arguing that the views of the KwaZulu government were not relevant to his appearance before the TEC. *BIDAY 10/11/94*

The TEC may also consider a number of recent requests from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, the National Land Committee, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, the ANC and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

These requests concern extradition laws in independent states, the eviction of labour tenants, the creation of an independent investigation team to examine alleged Apla attacks and arrests, the purchase by KwaZulu of a multimillion-rand executive jet and the Sebokeng hospital strike.

Additional issues to be discussed include the TEC's order to Kriel for the dispatch of SAP officers to KwaZulu, several parties' complaints

about a R21m government advertising campaign on the constitution, and the new national peacekeeping force's use of the peace doves symbol, which is opposed by the national peace committee.

Following an early meeting of the defence subcouncil last week, in which plans for a national peacekeeping force and restructured SADF were unveiled, all seven TEC sub-councils will deliberate on a range of issues this week.

The law and order, status of women and foreign affairs subcouncils meet today, the law and order and local government subcouncils sit tomorrow and the intelligence sub-council convenes on Wednesday.

But the Freedom Alliance parties — including the CP, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha Freedom Party — still remain outside the council's ambit.

● See Page 6

## Randfontein nine named

MARIANNE MERTEN

POLICE have released the names of nine AWB members arrested on Thursday in connection with an attack on black travellers near Randfontein on the West Rand in December.

The nine are Jaco Badenhorst, Gert Diederichs, Phil Kloppers, Deon Martin, Piet Matthews, Carol Meiring, Marthinus van der Schyff, Andre Visser and Etienne Visser.

The accused allegedly manned a roadblock on the Randfontein-Ventersdorp road on December 13, forced two cars off the road, shot dead Patrick Ga-

## Inkatha divided on the elections

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will make a final decision at the end of the month on whether to take part in the April elections.

The IFP central committee said at the weekend it would not take part, but a final decision would be taken at a general council meeting at the end of January.

The central committee was divided between those who wanted to take part in the elections and those who demanded the party's preconditions, as set out by the Freedom Alliance, should first be met, central committee sources said.

There are also divisions in the alliance. While it had agreed that its members would negotiate jointly, the Afrikaner Volksfront has insisted on conducting separate talks with government and the ANC.

This has hampered progress in talks and made a decision on proposed amendments

to the constitution by the January 24 deadline less likely. *BIDAY 10/11/94*

ANC negotiations commission secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa said at the weekend that the alliance had not agreed to the ANC's demand that it commit itself to taking part in the elections. The ANC would study the alliance's response at its national executive committee meeting on Wednesday. *(11)*

Inkatha central committee sources in favour of taking part in the elections said they would try to reverse the decision not to take part. Boycotting the elections would give the ANC a free run in Natal.

They acknowledged, however, that "hardline" Inkatha adviser Walter Felgate had the ear and loyalty of leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

# SAP 'invasion' warning by Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Entry by the South African Police into Kwazulu without the formal co-operation of, and consultation with, the Kwazulu Police will be regarded as an invasion, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned.

The decision was made at a Kwazulu cabinet meeting, a statement by Chief Buthelezi said.

"The Kwazulu government will therefore not hold itself responsible for the consequences which may ensue should such an invasion take place.

"And nor will the Kwazulu government be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal arrangements and co-operation with the Kwazulu government." — Sapa.

# Zulu king to meet FW

## Political Staff

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini is to meet President De Klerk next week in another bid to resolve the political impasse between the government and the Freedom Alliance.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi will also be at the meeting, which is expected to take place in Pretoria on Monday.

The KwaZulu government and the IFP are running into increasing problems with the central government and the Af-

rican National Congress.

At this stage the IFP is out of the April 27 general election, although the KwaZulu government legally ceases to exist on April 28. (11B)

Political sources said the De Klerk-Zulu monarch meeting would discuss these issues.

ARRT 11/1/94  
Arrangements are also to be made today to put together another three-way meeting between the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC to try resolve differences on the constitution.



*'Deployment tantamount to invasion'*

# Buthelezi warns over SAP action

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu government has warned that any deployment of the SAP in areas falling under its jurisdiction "will be regarded as an invasion".

The blunt warning, announced by KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was issued by the homeland government's Cabinet in Ulundi yesterday.

"The KwaZulu government will therefore not hold itself responsible for the consequences which may ensue should such an invasion take place in areas under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu police (KZP), nor will the KwaZulu government be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal

Star 12/11/94  
arrangements and co-operation with the KwaZulu government," said a resolution adopted by the homeland's Cabinet.

Buthelezi has in the past repeatedly threatened to defy all Transitional Executive Council (TEC) injunctions which affect his party, his government and the people of South Africa.

Yesterday's defiance came as the TEC deliberated on courses of action to take following KZP commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring's failure to comply with its order.

Following the Goldstone Commission's revelation last month of a hit squad operating within the KZP, the TEC ordered Doring to make available any relevant information at his disposal.

Buthelezi instructed the South African-seconded general to ig-

nore the order because KwaZulu had not been party to deliberations leading up to the multiparty structure. (IIB)

The TEC also called on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to deploy SAP members to restore order in areas falling under KwaZulu. Kriel has yet to implement the TEC's decision.

Buthelezi said his government had always recognised that, because of the co-operation that existed between them, the SAP and KZP could operate in each other's areas of jurisdiction "after consultation".

However, any deployment of the SAP in his territory "outside legislation and formal co-operation and consultation" between the two forces would be regarded as an invasion.

## IFP threat to break off talks

DURBAN (11P) Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened to break off all talks with the ANC saying he sees no need for further discussion with an organisation which will not accommodate his party's demands. CT 13/1/94

However, Chief Buthelezi said he was still committed to reaching a constitutional settlement and that the IFP's central committee would review its position on Saturday 22.  
Own Correspondent

## Arms smuggled to kill 'Inkatha killers' <sup>(113)</sup>

ET 13/11/94  
WINDHOEK. — Two South Africans convicted of smuggling guns through Namibia told a magistrate they bought the weapons to kill Inkatha Freedom Party members who, they claimed, had murdered 15 of their relatives, police said.

The men, from Thokoza on the East Rand, were arrested with two others early on Saturday after Namibian police swooped on two lorries and seized 12 AK-47 rifles, a G3 rifle, two pistols and ammunition, according to Rehoboth police commander Inspector Andrew Kisting.

The four were convicted of illegal possession of arms and ammunition in the Rehoboth Magistrate's Court on Tuesday.

The first three accused were sentenced to an effective six years in prison and the fourth was jailed for a year, Inspector Kisting said.

The weapons were bought in Rundu, on the Angolan border for between R60 and R100, the court heard. — Sapa

## Call for Zulu stayaway

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on Zulus to stay away from work on Monday when King Goodwill Zwelithini meets President De Klerk in Pretoria. (11B)

IFP Johannesburg chairman Humphrey Ndlovu, who made the call, declined to elaborate.

IFP Transvaal leader and central committee member Themba Khoza confirmed that the party would call on Zulus to stay away from work on Monday. He said the official call would be made in a statement today. ARG 13/1/94

Mr Khoza said IFP supporters in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging region were expected to mass outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria where King Zwelithini will meet Mr De Klerk. — Sapa.

# Buthelezi rejects more negotiations

Star 13/1/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Further negotiations involving the Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance (FA) ahead of the January 24 deadline would not achieve anything, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

This was because the ANC and its allies would ultimately allow no amendment to the Interim Constitution. (118)

Addressing a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus in Uhundi, the IFP Leader said he was convinced the Government and the ANC had set "another trap" for the FA by extending to January 24 the deadline for the conclusion of constitutional talks.

He had come to this conclusion after carefully analysing reports by Dr Ben Ngubane and Dr Mario Ambrosini, who represented his government and the IFP in the three-day talks that ended in Cape Town last month.

The KwaZulu government and the IFP, he said, now had to draw the line and say firmly they could "no longer be dragged along by the nose".

"We know that at the end of the day the ANC will not allow any amendments to the Constitution which, for us, can be the basis for a constitutional settlement. We know that it would be politically impossible for the ANC to give us such an important political victory."

He added the Government had "demonstrated great inflexibility" in talks with the FA.

Government negotiators at the Cape Town talks had split into two factions, he said, "one led by Ministers Dawie de Villiers and Roelf Meyer, which supported the obstinacy of the ANC, and another led by Ministers (Tertius) Delport, (Danie) Schutte and (Andre) Fourie, which tried to overcome the impasse so that true negotiations could begin".

TIM COHEN

THE NP has disputed the results of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) poll which found more than two thirds of voters support the ANC.

Announcing an extensive "road-show" featuring President F.W. de Klerk, NP executive director Olaus van Zyl said the poll confirmed the NP's own findings that it had "turned the corner". While the ANC had sig-

NP disputes poll results as it launches roadshow

nificant support, it was not as extensive as the poll suggested. He conceded, however, that black support for the NP was crucial and would have to improve significantly over the next few months.

President's Office spokesman Chris Fismar said it was hoped that De Klerk would visit each re-

regional candidates. It would also not select candidates for regional premier-ship until the election results were released.

Sapa reports the ANC said yesterday it would win an outright majority in the elections. It said the conclusion reached in the poll were misleading because people who did not know the World Trade Centre on whom to vote for had been treated as if they did not exist and the TBVC states had been excluded.

The party did not intend establishing a national list of candidates, but lists of

Inkatha refuses to aid violence probe

JOHANNES NGCOCO

THE Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it would not co-operate with the Transitional Executive Council's (TEC) management committee when it visited the violence-torn East Rand townships of Katlehong and Thokoza.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Dlovu was reacting to the TEC resolution taken this week that a task group would be formed to try to restore normality in the townships and the decision that the TEC's management committee should tour the area.

He claimed the violence was coming from the ANC and government "and if anything happens to the TEC entourage during their visit to Katlehong and Thokoza, Inkatha will not be held responsible".

On Tuesday the TEC resolved that a two-man committee, comprising Mac Maharaj and Fanie van der Merwe, would evaluate how the restoration of peace on the East Rand should be carried out.

Sources also said Inkatha branches in Thokoza and Katlehong were divided over whether peace monitors should operate in the East Rand townships, WILSON ZWANE reports.

ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said Inkatha's Thokoza branch withdrew from local peace structures last September, citing biased monitoring as one of the reasons. He said Inkatha claimed that peace monitors operating under the auspices of the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat, were spying on its strongholds for the ANC and ferrying wea-



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Change of control and related transactions

Further to the announcement dated Friday, 24 December 1993 Simpson McKie Inc. is authorised to announce that an agreement has been concluded in terms of which, inter alia, MH Finger Investments (Proprietary) Limited ("Finger Investments") will sell and procure the sale to Games Holdings, with effect from 28 January 1994, ex the special dividend referred to below, of 1 170 405 ordinary shares in UCS for a cash consideration of R12 166 594, subject to fulfilment of certain suspensive conditions.

Change of control and offer to minorities

The shares acquired represent 90% of the issued ordinary share capital of UCS, resulting in a change of control in accordance with the requirements of The Securities Regulation

Stayaway call  
not ours — IFP

(12) CT 17/1/94  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has distanced itself from calls for a Zulu-speaking workers stayaway on Monday.

The IFP's political director, Mr Ziba Jiyane said yesterday: "We disassociate ourselves from statements by certain IFP members implying that the IFP has called for the stayaway."



2

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, January 14 1994

# Fresh bid to draw alliance into poll

B. Day 14/1/94

ANC, government and Freedom Alliance chief negotiators will meet informally in the next few days to try to arrange a new round of talks aimed at drawing the alliance into participating in the election.

This decision comes after a strong statement from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he will use everything in his means to prevent the ANC coming to power.

The three sides have set January 24 as a deadline to reach agreement on changes to the constitution that will satisfy the alliance's demands.

However, three days of talks at the end of last year came to nothing as the sides thrashed out procedural matters, with the ANC trying to extract a commitment from the alliance that it would take part in the TEC and the elections.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said yesterday the Freedom Alliance was still committed to further talks but said government and the ANC "must stop playing with words and start discussing substantive matters". His words echoed those of Buthelezi who told the KwaZulu legislative assembly caucus on Wednesday that further negotiations were a waste of time.

He said the KwaZulu government and Inkatha "will not tolerate their (ANC) march to the seizure of power either through the ballot box, or through mass action, rolling mass action, or through revolutionary violence".

Two options were available: to continue negotiating for another six weeks until the rejection of the alliance's demands; or "we

**BILLY PADDOCK**

call their bluff and say enough is enough". In both cases Inkatha would end up in the same position. ~~(SAPA)~~ (IB) (ATP)  
 "Our position is very clear... We can no longer afford to waste three or four weeks on useless exercises which we know cannot deliver," Buthelezi said.

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana's internal affairs department has launched a voter education programme in the territory amid speculation that President Lucas Mangope will contest the election as premier for the northwest region, despite the fact that Bophuthatswana has not yet committed itself to taking part in the election.

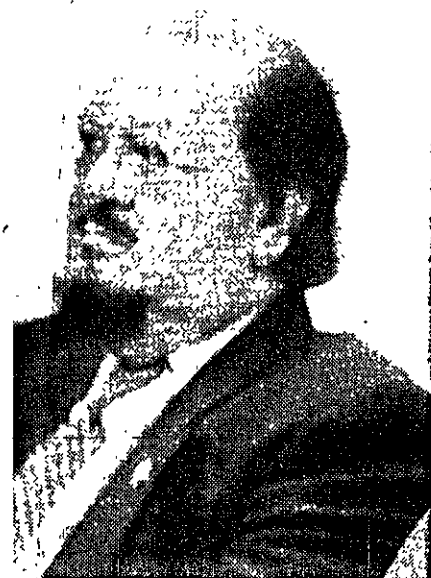
An internal affairs ministry spokesman said yesterday the programme was being conducted by Q-Projects.

However, Q-Projects co-ordinator Deanne Galbraith denied this, saying the matter was too sensitive. She would acknowledge only that the organisation was involved in democracy education.

The ANC's nomination for premier of the northwest region, Rocky Malebana-Metsing, exiled from Bophuthatswana after the abortive coup, said he was looking forward to contesting the election openly and freely with Mangope.

He said he had it on good authority that Mangope was to contest the April 27 election. "He is starting to acknowledge that he has no option but to reincorporate."

The ANC had registered and helped more than 85 000 Bophuthatswana residents to get SA ID books in the past two months. "That is only in the western Transvaal section of the northwest region."



Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, left, the Patriotic Front summit in Johannesburg

## CP councils spurn summit

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE CP-aligned Transvaal Municipal Association will not take part in next week's local government summit that is to be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk. ~~BIDON~~

Government sources said yesterday the association's decision had "come as quite a surprise". The association had been active in local government negotiations and had helped fashion an agreement that was acceptable to right-wingers at least until local government elections later this year. ~~11/94~~

Earlier yesterday the Local Government Negotiating Forum, of which the association is part, said it regretted the decision. It said it had been notified that the right-wing council of Akasia, north of Pretoria, would not attend the summit. Sapa reports that the Akasia town council said it did not recognise the forum.

Deputy Local Government Minister Yakooob Makda said the decision would result in residents being uninformed. However, sources said information would be disseminated by radio and in local publications, but not through municipal offices "where it might get lost" ~~(SAPA)~~

It was decided last year to call the summit to launch a publicity campaign informing the public about local government restructuring.

The forum said it needed public affirmation by national leaders of the changes, which were secured only after compromises by both government and the ANC.

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**Preliminary Announcement of Results**

	Year ended 31 December	
	1993	1992
	R000	R000
<b>Revenue</b>		
Income from rent and sale of property .....	9 945	8 219
Surplus on realisation of investments and fixed assets	2 045	2 124
Interest earned, gold royalties and income from other sources .....	816	1 648
Income from investments .....	1 205	1 308
	14 011	13 299
<b>Expenditure and amounts written off</b>	5 401	3 910
Administration and general .....	3 508	3 075
Interest .....	1 883	645
Amounts written off investments .....	10	190
<b>Profit before tax</b> .....	8 610	9 389
Tax .....	2 663	3 356



# Natal ANC fights fire with water

The surprise election of Jacob Zuma to the ANC's Natal premiership has strengthened the organisation's hand against the IFP, reports **Farouk Chothia**

**T**HE African National Congress' surprise choice for the premiership in Natal, deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma, sent a powerful message of peace and reconciliation to the Inkatha Freedom Party this week in an apparent attempt to win the organisation's support for the April 27 election and to calm its fears of ANC rule.

As he is seen as a traditional Zulu, the 52-year-old Zuma's nomination has intensified calls among IFP moderates to participate in elections — or risk seeing a major haemorrhage of its support to the ANC, sources close to the IFP said.

Commented one source: "There are now two claimants to the aspirations of Zulus — one working under the banner of the IFP and the other under the banner of the ANC. If the one stays out, the other will draw support."

IFP national political director Ziba Jiyane said that while Zuma "respects" Zulu culture and tradition and this needed to be welcomed, it was unlikely he would pick up rural support as ANC hardliners were still determined to destroy the chieftaincy.

But some sources close to the IFP said that Zuma's nomination could harden Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's resolve to boycott elections, as it has heightened the chances of an IFP defeat in elections in Natal.

Zuma is not known to have publicly criticised the IFP on any occasion in the four years since the ANC's unbanning, and is the ANC's strongest advocate of peace talks with the IFP.

This is in sharp contrast to ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala, who responds to fire with fire, and the movement's Southern Natal chief, Jeff Radebe, who adopts a mix of moderation and militancy in his approach to the IFP.

Zuma's victory at the ANC-led Patriotic Front's nomination conference last weekend in Durban was by the narrow margin of 17, polling 149 votes against Radebe's 132 and Gwala's 114.

Unlike the two defeated candidates, Zuma has forged ties with top IFP moderates and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

ANC sources said Zuma's nomination could encourage both IFP leaders and



Monarch of Natal? King Goodwill Zwelithini

PHOTOGRAPH: ELLEN ELMENDORP

Zwelithini to break away from the organisation in the countdown to the poll.

He is also said to have earned the respect of Buthelezi and alleged "warlords" like Thomas Mandla Shabalala and could contact them directly in a bid to ease tensions in the election run-up.

Spelling out his vision for the future of the volatile province to the *Mail & Guardian* this week, Zuma said he would have "no problem" if Natal was renamed kwaZulu or Zululand after elections, as the existing name, of Portuguese origin, was "meaningless" to him. The IFP is demanding a name-change for the province as a precondition for participation in elections.

Zuma said he saw Zwelithini as the monarch of all Natalians and not only Zulus — a possible hint that the ANC plans to make the king the constitutional monarch of the province.

Pursuing his moderate line, he said a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Buthelezi should take place in Ulundi, and that the two should jointly tour violence flashpoints in Natal — thus reviving, to the dismay of ANC hardliners, an agreement signed last year.

Zuma stressed he would propose a government of regional unity in Natal once the ANC came to power in the province. This will put the IFP in a bad light — particularly in the business sector, which sees stability as essential for economic growth — as it has not made a similar offer to the ANC if it contests and wins elections.

But Zuma adopted an uncompromising stance on several other issues, notably on

the implementation of the Transitional Executive Council decision to deploy the South African Police in kwaZulu-controlled areas where free political activity is being thwarted. He added that the TEC should also intervene in cases where the ANC is found to be preventing free political activity.

Zuma also insisted there be no further devolution of powers to the provinces, and that there should be a single ballot for both the national and provincial legislature in elections.

In the interview, Zuma said he believed Natal's whites, Indians and coloureds would not oppose the name kwaZulu for the province as they too "pledge their loyalty" to the king. Any name-change should be discussed at a provincial level and enshrined in a permanent constitution.

Zuma said the economy should incorporate both privatisation and state intervention, carried out "rationally, carefully and clearly" in a bid to address poverty. This could be used by the IFP to woo back the province's conservative business community.

He denied a National Party claim that he is a South African Communist Party member.

It is unclear how Zuma pulled off the victory at the nomination conference: some sources claimed that Congress of South African Trade Unions delegates — comprising a fifth of the representatives — tilted the balance in his favour.

There was a feeling in their ranks that Radebe, though a senior SACP member, was too close to the business community and, as ANC Southern Natal chairman, had not taken into account Cosatu's views on reconstruction and development.

Sources pointed out that Zuma was the ANC's first chairman in Southern Natal and still commanded support among key activists in the region. Radebe was seen as lacking the stature to be a formidable candidate against Buthelezi and to attract rural voters, they said.

It appears that Zuma was the favoured choice of the ANC head office — a claim he denied, saying head office had not backed any candidate.

Gwala's poor showing was a major setback for him. It reflects a rejection of his hardline stance by the ANC-led alliance's first and second-tier leadership — though he is still seen as the most popular leader with the rank and file.

While admitting that the nomination race was "competitive" and "tensions" developed, Zuma promised that the three would "work together" as a "collective".

(11B)

WMM 14-20/1/94

# Fears of violence

## at Zulu march

Pretoria rally  
to honour king

AR 15/1/94

(115)

JOHANNESBURG. — Intimidation and violence are being anticipated with Monday's Zulu march in Pretoria, according to claims and counter-claims made by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

About 50 000 Zulus in traditional garb are expected to march through the capital to the Union Buildings where King Goodwill Zwelithini will meet President De Klerk to discuss the future of Zulus in the new South Africa.

Cosatu said yesterday its sources in the hostels had reported that "vigilante elements" were planning to hijack taxis and buses to Pretoria and to violently force people to participate in the march. It called on Inkatha to control any rogue elements.

IFP Transvaal leader Themba Khoza denied knowledge of such plans and accused Cosatu of trying to "distort" the issues surrounding the march and to undermine the Zulu king's dignity.

"These people (Zulus) want to pay respect to the Zulu king. The IFP will condemn any acts of violence and would like to distance itself of any outcome of the activities on Monday," he said.

Mr Khoza countered with his own allegations. Inkatha had received information that Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and members of African National Congress self-defence units were planning to attack IFP supporters departing for Pretoria at Tembisa's Leralla railway station, he said.

Inkatha had informed the police and asked the ANC to stop any such plotters, Mr Khoza said.

Both organisations said they had contacted the National Peace Secretariat with their claims.

Police spokesman Captain Evan Johnson said yesterday the South African Police would escort marchers to and from the Pretoria railway station along Bosman and Vermeulen Street.

Crowd control at the Union Buildings would be provided by the Kwazulu Police, with the Internal Stability Division as back-up if needed.

"While the carrying of traditional weapons is to be anticipated, it has been agreed that no illegal firearms be carried, nor will the display of licensed firearms or replicas of firearms be permitted," a joint SAP/Transvaal Zulu Headman statement said.

Mr Khoza said yesterday the IFP had not formally called for a work stay-away on Monday, but added: "if people decide to stay away it is their right to do so."

The IFP national leadership on Thursday dissociated itself from calls for a stay-away by Mr Khoza and IFP Johannesburg chairman Humphrey Ndlovu.

Cosatu yesterday said IFP supporters had every right to march or to stay away from work, "even though it is not clear to us what the purpose of the stay-away is". — Sapa.

*Proposal viewed as 'treason'*

# IFP rejects ISU cut for E Rand

IFP opposition to plans to reduce the number of Internal Stability Unit members in East Rand flashpoints — and replace them with SADF troops — grew yesterday with two senior IFP Transvaal leaders strongly criticising the move.

IFP MP and Transvaal chief co-ordinator Hennie Bekker went so far as to say the proposal to reduce the ISU's East Rand presence would be viewed by his party as treason (*verraad*) and the "final abdication of the National Party and Government to the ANC-communist alliance".

He demanded a Government-IFP meeting to discuss the issue.

Another senior IFP Transvaal member, Themba Khoza, said: "The IFP has made numerous complaints about soldiers after losing 10 of its members in December, when 3 000 bullets were fired at civilians in a single incident (in Katlehong)."

People causing problems in Katlehong were well-known

*Star 17/11/94*  
**INKATHA expresses fury at the new policing plan, while the ANC says the move is a step in the right direction**

members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and its self-defence units, he charged. "Why they have not been arrested is not understandable."

Bekker said the IFP had already expressed serious reservations about one-sided talks between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on the East Rand violence.

If troops had to be used on the East Rand, the IFP's plea was that the unit responsible for last year's incident in which 3 000 rounds were fired at IFP supporters in their "so-called strongholds" in Katlehong would not be deployed there.

"It is already a known fact

that various members of MK make up parts of various SADF units." (118)

Bekker said the proposal to reduce the number of ISU members would be viewed by the IFP as the "final abdication of the National Party and Government".

The ANC, which has repeatedly called for the ISU's withdrawal from townships, said a pullout would be "a major victory for the people".

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said: "This is definitely a step in the right direction, a way to restore peace."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed speculation that police were considering plans to have "certain functions which are not normal policing" passed over to the SADF in East Rand flashpoints.

"In view of this, it is quite possible that the number of ISU members in these (East Rand) areas may be reduced," he said. — Sapa, Staff Reporter.

sial police units • ANCYL homes in on twin tasks

# ISU must not go, demands Inkatha

Sowetan 17/1/94  
■ APPORTIONING BLAME MK

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party will oppose the proposed withdrawal of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit from the East Rand townships and their replacement with SA Defence Force units, says Mr Themba Khoza, the organisation's Transvaal leader.

Khoza was reacting yesterday to a statement by the Ministry of Law and Order that, because of the continued instability in the area, the Ministry was considering reducing ISU members and replacing them with army units.

"The IFP has made numerous complaints about soldiers after losing 10 of its members in December last year, when 3 000 bullets were fired at civilians in a single incident," Khoza said.

People causing problems in Katlehong were well known members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and its Self-Defence Units, he said.

"Why they have not been arrested is not understandable."

is the troublemaker, says Khoza:

(11B)  
Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze announced on Saturday that the Government was considering deploying soldiers in place of the controversial Internal Stability Unit (ISU) in Katlehong and Tokoza.

Kotze said because the security situation in the belt of black townships continued to be unstable, the Government was considering alternative policing strategies.

## Reduced

"The possibility of assigning certain tasks not related to normal policing to the South African Defence Force is being considered," Kotze said.

"In view of this, it is quite possible that the number of ISU members in

these areas may be reduced."

The decision is thought to be part of a deal struck on Tuesday during a four-hour meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk.

## Proposals

Mandela went into the meeting armed with a list of proposals on ways of curbing political violence ahead of South Africa's first all-race elections on April 27 and warned the country would be a "crisis" if De Klerk rejected his offers.

But he emerged later to say that "encouraging progress" had been made and that "significant steps" had been discussed. — Sapa-AFP.

# 'Entrenchment of the monarchy assured'

**Political Staff**  
**PRETORIA.** — The government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini have agreed to establish a working group with immediate effect to urgently address ways in which the positions of the king, the Zulu monarchy and "the kingdom of KwaZulu" can be recognised in a new dispensation.

The agreement, reached in a three-hour meeting in which sources said tempers sometimes flared, will now be thrashed out further in open-ended bilateral talks which President De Klerk said would have to be concluded before the April 27 election.

President De Klerk, assisted by the four provincial leaders of the National Party, told a Press briefing that he had as-

ured King Goodwill of the high regard in which he holds him and the Zulu monarchy.

He said he had pointed out that adequate provision could be made for the entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy in the envisaged KwaZulu/Natal provincial constitution.

King Goodwill and President De Klerk expressed "deep regret" over the violence which accompanied the gathering outside the Union Buildings.

In a gesture apparently accepted by the king as adequate for now, President De Klerk said he would support "these institutions (of the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu) as strongly as he could".

The joint working group, to comprise Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer

and Inkatha Freedom Party chief executive Joe Matthews, will look at various ways of addressing the king's concerns.

This, said a joint statement at the end of the meeting, could include "constitutional options and/or multiparty agreements".

General constitutional issues — including the question of one ballot versus two ballots in the forthcoming election — were also discussed, but these were left for the continuing trilateral negotiations including the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance.

According to government sources, a meeting involving the three groups could take place as early as tomorrow.

President De Klerk said last night that the meeting was con-

structive and had cleared some misunderstandings from both sides. King Goodwill said he saw the formation of the working group as a way of solving the problems.

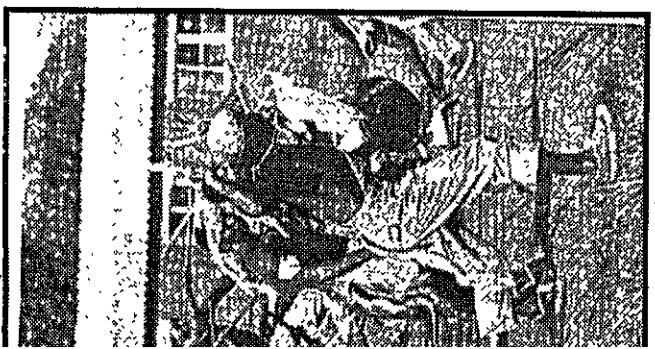
In his opening remarks at the meeting, King Goodwill made a passionate plea to President De Klerk for the accommodation of Zulu self-determination in the new dispensation and the extension of two ballots to South Africans in the April 27 election. He warned that he and his people would not recognise the 1993 interim constitution unless this was done.

The king said he had come to the talks to lay a claim to the Zulus' right of self-determination, without which "the Zulu nation would

be so offended that it would not comply with a dictate of anyone who would wish to dictate to us".

King Goodwill, whose delegation included IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accused President De Klerk of allowing him and his subjects to be humiliated "by people who never once conquered us in any way, people who could never conquer us if we are engaged in any such conflict".

The Zulu King, some of whose subjects waited for hours outside the Union Buildings during the meeting, said the single ballot system agreed upon in multiparty negotiations made it impossible for him to bless the new political dispensation.



west of Johannesburg.

# Train costs taxpayers R101 000

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu Government spent R101 000 to hire a train to ferry Zulus from Durban to Pretoria to stand vigil in the gardens of the Union Building while King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu met President De Klerk.

Political opponents are likely to raise this at next week's meeting of the Transitional Executive Council.

An estimated 14 people died around the country yesterday after Zulus were

called upon to stay away from work in support of their king and an estimated 35 000 people gathered at the Union Buildings.

King Goodwill bluntly told Mr De Klerk that the Zulu people wanted nothing to do with the new constitution as it now stood.

Mr S Sibisi, an official in the Ulundi office of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, hired the train from Spoornet for R101 000.

As the Inkatha Freedom Party distanced itself from the stayaway and the gathering at the Union Buildings, this money presumably came from the KwaZulu government's R6,1-billion budget, which is financed by taxpayers.

Attempts to get the KwaZulu government to give its side of the train hiring story have been unsuccessful.

Three people were forced at spearpoint to board the train and had to miss work.

The 18-coach train left Durban on Sunday evening at 7.45pm. Thomas Shabalala, a well-known figure in IFP circles, was on the platform helping to organise the journey. The train had place for 1 712 passengers but was only three-quarters full when it left Durban.

It was due back in Durban early today.

Jeff Radebe, chairman of the African National Congress's Southern Natal region, strongly condemned the hiring of the train and said it was totally out of order "for the IFP to use our money to ferry people to such an event".

Mr Radebe said the IFP was "using our own money" to bolster its political objectives.

Mr Radebe said the TEC had to decide to close the tap of resources to the KwaZulu government because as long as nothing was done KwaZulu would "continue to abuse taxpayers' money".

Meanwhile two people are reported to have been killed in Natal in violence that began on Sunday night.

But violence in townships surrounding Durban was quickly brought under control and no further incidents of violence were reported during the night in southern townships such as Umlazi.

118  
ARC 18/1/94

# Zulu march: 80 spent cartridges found

Union Buildings and surrounding areas sprayed with bullets in shooting frenzy

AKr 18/11/94  
453  
(115)

**The Argus Correspondent**  
**PRETORIA.** — Police combing the lawns of the Union Buildings here today picked up more than 80 spent cartridges — including at least 56 AK-47 cartridges — which littered the lawns after a Zulu firing frenzy.

As clean-up operations began at first light today police were hard at work marking every cartridge left behind after 40 000 Zulus descended on the city — leaving at least two people dead and 11 wounded. In the shooting incident hundreds of Zulus fired wildly into the air for nearly five minutes with pistols and AK-47s, spraying the Union Buildings and surrounding areas with bullets. Three people were reported injured, including a woman who was hit in the chest in Retondale, about 10 kilometres north of the Union Buildings.

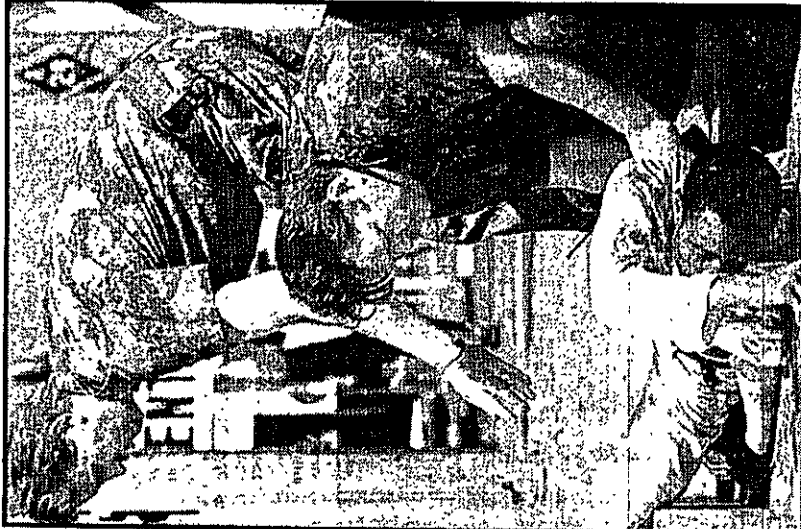
Stunned policemen, soldiers and spectators dived for cover when several of the Zulu warriors fired into the air in response to a fiery oration by one of the speakers. Stray rounds ricocheted off the Union Buildings as more and more people fired into the air.

Police spokesman Dave Harrington said a 45-year-old woman was hit in the forearm by a stray bullet in Retondale. But the worst violence flared up around town as the crowds made their way to and from the Union Buildings. A bystander was slightly injured when he was attacked, apparently by marchers, in the

The scene — with members



**HEAVILY ARMED:** Some of the 40 000 Zulus armed with shields, sticks and spears march through Pretoria yesterday to the Union Buildings where King Goodwill Zwelithini met President De Klerk.



**ATTACK:** An unidentified man is treated by members of the stability unit after he was attacked by a group of Zulus in the centre of Johannesburg.

of the Internal Stability Unit

combating the Union Buildings and the incidents of violence — contrasted starkly with the views of white city residents, who gave the marchers full marks for discipline and organisation.

This emerged in a snap survey by The Pretoria News yesterday afternoon.

Cor Haak said: "They are disciplined. I never thought there would be trouble."

His view was shared by Carel van Dyk: "They were very organised but I wouldn't like it very much if they came to the city every day."

Piet Badenhorst said he was

impressed by the behaviour of the Zulus.

"They were very peaceful and well organised, but the way they behaved is what impressed me the most," he said. Remyette van Rensburg said supporters of the ANC could learn a thing or two from the thousands of Zulu impis had

But shop owners and businessmen were not as appreciative. They said the influx of thousands of Zulu impis had

had a negative impact on business in the city centre.

Pretoria Chamber of Business chief executive Alec de Beer said cafes, bottle stores and eating places along the route taken by the Zulus to the Union Buildings had experienced a large increase in turnover and had done well.

But he said the influx of Zulus had been detrimental to the traditional type of businesses near the Union Buildings — because people had kept clear of those areas.

People knew what was going to happen and stayed away from the central business district, said Mr De Beer.

# ANC: Inkatha using Zulu king as front

ET20/1/94 (11B)

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was abusing the Zulu king as a front to promote its own objectives, the ANC and the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) said yesterday.

King Goodwill Zwelethini told President F W de Klerk this week that KwaZulu and the IFP would not accept the interim constitution as it stood because it was deeply offensive to Zulus.

An ANC statement said that Monday's march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria was part of the "continued abuse" of King Goodwill Zwelethini.

"Zulus are not a monolithic en-

tity and the people who marched to Pretoria on Monday were IFP members and not the Zulu nation," the statement said.

A Sanco statement claimed that the march led to the death of 11 innocent people, scores of injuries and the destruction of property in Soweto, the East Rand and on trains taking commuters to work.

"Sanco wishes to state very clearly that we hold Inkatha responsible, and not the king, for the deliberate murder of residents and workers."

But the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr George Bartlett, said South Africa's new constitution could not be introduced

without the agreement of the Zulu nation.

He said: "You cannot ignore the reality of the Zulu nation".

"You cannot hold a peaceful election unless the position of the Zulu king is sorted out and you cannot go into an election without the Zulus." Mr Bartlett said.

● Sanco also called on the Democratic Party to disband, saying the DP should redirect its financial resources towards the ANC's reconstruction and development programme "instead of continuing with useless press and poster propaganda in the vain hope of destabilising the ANC and its allies"



CT 21/1/94  
**KwaZulu paid  
for train ride**

(115) (124)  
DURBAN. — The Kwa-Zulu government funded the Zulu train ride to Pretoria on Monday from a budget for national functions, it emerged yesterday.

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Mr Robert Mzimela said R101 000 was paid for the train to transport the Zulus in support of King Goodwill Zwelethini, who met President F W de Klerk. — Sapa

# Surprise IFP 'yes' to reform

Star 2/11/94

■ BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday surprised about 2 000 delegates to the national summit for local government by announcing that the party intended to take part in local government reform and elections.

Reacting to cheers and applause from the delegates, IFP local government spokesman Peter Miller said this was nothing new and that Inkatha had always been involved in the third tier of government.

The fact that the IFP had never been officially invited to attend yesterday's summit reflected that most people had simply assumed the IFP was not

taking part.

The IFP was "satisfied" with the nature of negotiations at local government level.

He said the IFP "is demonstrating at third tier level that we are not part of the problem, we want to be part of the solution". (18)

Although it is generally accepted that nonracial local government elections should take place towards the end of this year, he does not believe they will be practically possible before the end of next year.

And while the IFP was fully committed to negotiations at the local government level, he could not state categorically that the party would take part in such elections in two years' time.

# Parties strive to beat talks deadline

Billy Paddock  
21/1/94  
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, government and the Freedom Alliance worked hard to find an agreement yesterday as Monday's deadline loomed to amend the constitution to the alliance's satisfaction.

The parties will continue talks today.

The committee was set up on Wednesday following a round of successful talks between chief negotiators on how to tackle the six demands of the alliance.

These are the provisions relating to the autonomy of regions, the double ballot and self-determination.

Sources said yesterday that the four issues relating to regional autonomy could "probably be resolved". But there were strong question marks over the double ballot and self-determination, particularly in the form that the CP wanted.

A government spokesman said the chief negotiators might meet again tonight to look at the progress of the trilateral technical committee, set up this week to deal with the matter. They would meet again on Monday.

At the same time Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi poured cold water over the negotiators' optimism, saying that he had little faith in the last-ditch negotiations.

Addressing KwaZulu Police recruits at a graduation ceremony in Ulundi, he said: "We may as well brace ourselves for the long and hard road ahead of us."

He said he held out little hope that anything concrete would come from Wednesday's talks.

He repeated his threat that if the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) tried to move into KwaZulu territory without the police commissioner's permission, it would be regarded as an invasion that would be resisted.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi said the TEC would be able to implement rulings in KwaZulu territory only by force.

The KwaZulu government would not safeguard the lives of SA security forces if they were deployed in the territory without permission from the KwaZulu Police commissioner.

KwaZulu did not recognise the TEC's authority. The TEC could make "as many rulings on KwaZulu as it likes" but it will not be able to implement those rulings, except by force", he said.

Buthelezi said the TEC's request for the deployment of SA forces in KwaZulu amounted to "interfering in our internal affairs and compromising the sovereignty of KwaZulu".

Last year the TEC requested that the SAP be deployed in four violence-ridden areas of northern Natal/KwaZulu which were policed by the KwaZulu Police.

● See Page 8

# Does Buthelezi want an out?

By Day 21/1/94

BILLY PADDOCK

118

IS IT possible that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is engineering his retirement from politics so that he can go down in history as never having suffered a poor showing at the polls?

He would boycott the election and then quietly withdraw because of the "unfair treatment" he received at the hand of the ANC and NP.

This is a question a significant body of analysts, observers and political rivals is pondering.

What does Buthelezi really want? A negotiated settlement, a camouflaged surrender or a declaration of war?

Buthelezi this week told French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe there was "absolutely no chance of the IFP participating in the April elections" if its six demands were not met.

Essentially, these are provisions for greater regional autonomy and to levy taxes, a double ballot and "self-determination" for KwaZulu.

It is possible Buthelezi is still engaging in brinkmanship with a view to accepting the best deal on offer in the end.

Perhaps, because the ANC and government keep courting him as a result of the warnings of violent resistance, Buthelezi has been encouraged to continue issuing warnings and taking a hard line in talks.

There is no substantial basis for the optimism emanating from the latest round of talks. But negotiators are hoping for a deal on "self-determination" and, perhaps, national and regional ballots.

It is generally true that one speaks of Buthelezi and Inkatha interchangeably. He rules the party with an iron grip. There is no recorded instance of the central committee or the general council contradicting him.

But Inkatha is sharply divided over the strategy of boycotting elections. Some senior central committee members disagree with Buthelezi's stand.

Some close advisers to Buthelezi, such as Rowley Arenstein, admit this and say there is a threat of a split. But Arenstein concludes that Inkatha will not join the process.

This leaves Buthelezi the choice of carrying out the threat to wage a bitter struggle from the outside, or of retiring somewhat gracefully.

The latter theory is unlikely. Buthelezi is absolutely dedicated to his cause. He zealously believes in his leadership of KwaZulu.

A key factor in determining his strategy will be Inkatha's chances at the polls. Recent opinion polls give him 4.5% support nationally and only 23% in Natal/KwaZulu.

He has always said that he takes no notice of opinion polls, but one suspects he realised quite early on in the process that he did not command the support that he would like.

This could militate against Buthelezi wanting a negotiated settlement. Rather, he may be looking to secession.

Having made a dual ballot a key issue, he may be gambling on the ANC rejecting the demand.

Buthelezi will then be able to argue that he cannot possibly contest the elections.

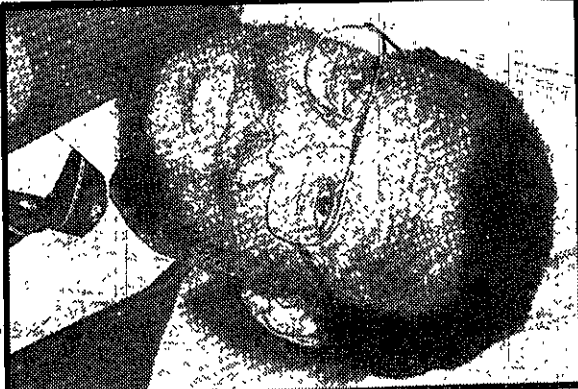
Perhaps that is why one of the Freedom Alliance negotiators told a Sapa reporter on Wednesday that "the chances of a deal are zero. The parties are just going through the motions of negotiations." The alliance was presenting a bottom-line document which, he was sure, the NP and the ANC would reject.

King Goodwill Zwelithini took the same stand as Buthelezi on Monday, saying that the ballot box was not the final arbiter. The Zulus, all of whom he claims to speak for, would resist if there was not a double ballot.

Buthelezi and Zwelithini also appear to be demanding a more confederal rather than federal status for KwaZulu.

Taken together, and adding Buthelezi's threat in the face of attempts by government and the ANC to incorporate KwaZulu and Natal by force, this completes the circle begun in December 1992 when Buthelezi unveiled the KwaZulu "federal" constitution. Secession could still be in the air. Arenstein's dark analysis also indicates this might be in the offing.

In an interview with Reuter Arenstein said: "Any attempt to undermine the right to self-determination is going to lead to serious trouble. If the worst came to the worst, KwaZulu could declare itself an independent state."



BUTHELEZI

The double ballot is a major sticking point for the ANC, but if this is the only issue keeping Inkatha out, the ANC could concede it. This would call Buthelezi's bluff.

□ Mary Rórich yesterday referred to International Music Competition bronze medalist Marcin Bronikowski as a Bulgarian. He is, in fact, Polish.

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# Inkatha 'will take part in local govt'

BIDA 21/11/94

GAVIN DU VENAGE

INKATHA will take part in all aspects of local government and wants other parties in third-tier government "to extend a hand of welcome", says Inkatha Freedom Party local government spokesman Peter Miller.

Miller told a summit on local government in Johannesburg yesterday that Inkatha would take part in local authorities in co-operation with other parties and organisations who made up transitional councils.

He said the announcement was not new policy but merely the reaffirmation of Inkatha's long-standing participation. Inkatha representatives already sat on various local negotiation forums such as the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

Miller said his statement had the full backing of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with whom he had held discussions 10 days ago.

But Reuter reports Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the party would not take part in any elections at any level until its demands were met.

Miller was satisfied with the local government deal although Inkatha had not been party to its negotiation.

However, he said this did not necessarily mean Inkatha would take part in local

elections. It was possible that circumstances could change in the run-up to elections, which he predicted would not be held before late 1995. Negotiators have said elections will take place in October.

Miller denied there was any contradiction between Inkatha's position on national talks and its participation in third-tier government.

Inkatha was able to take part because the agreements were reasonable. It was therefore possible for Inkatha to rejoin the national talks if "given a fair hearing".

Inkatha's participation where its views were accommodated was proof that it was part of the solution, and not part of the problem, he said.

Miller's statement took the summit by surprise, and the 1 500 delegates broke into applause. Deputy Local Government Minister Yakoob Makda said it was unexpected but welcome news.

Initially Inkatha had not been invited but Miller had demanded an invitation earlier this week.

Jiyane said Miller's remarks could have reflected his personal opinion. Inkatha's position was unchanged: "The Inkatha position is that we are not going to contest elections unless our demands are taken into consideration."

# Govt to ban import of toxic waste

SUSAN RUSSELL

DETAILS of a comprehensive environmental policy for SA, including a ban on the dumping of imported hazardous waste, were released by the Environment and Water Affairs Department yesterday.

Environment Affairs Minister Japie van Wyk said although any realistic policy had to take factors unique to SA into account, the document also reflected many international trends.

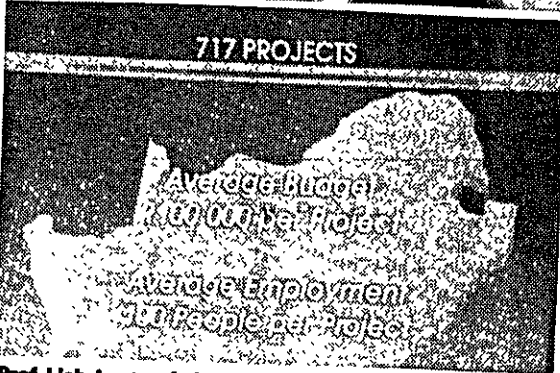
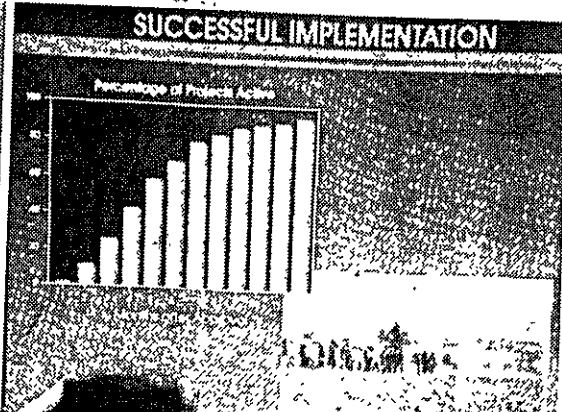
It recognised that environmental goals had to be pursued collectively through a partnership between the state and the community as a whole. This included developers, commerce and industry, agriculture, community organisations, non-

governmental organisations and the international community.

Environmental matters were primarily the responsibility of central government. However, executive responsibilities should be devolved to regional and provincial governments and local authorities as far as possible.

No hazardous waste would be imported into SA. Waste disposal into the environment would have to be limited to acceptable levels and standards.

According to the document, the increased use of solar energy would be encouraged.



Prof Lleb Loots of the University of the Western Cape and IDT development director Shoito-Cross address a news briefing in Johannesburg yesterday on the progress of IDT rural development projects and future plans.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## NP roadshow heads northwest

THE second of the NP's election roadshows began last night with President F W de Klerk's whistle-stop bus tour of what will become the northwest region.

The "bands and balloons bus bonanza" is expected to visit everything from mining communities to township community halls in three days.

De Klerk is planning to meet a range of community leaders and to address several public meetings.

His first stop was the mining town of Fochville and neighbouring Kokosi township. He was also to address students at Potchefstroom University last night and to meet Ikageng community leaders in the Potchefstroom banquet hall.

He was accompanied by NP regional leader and State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter and MP Andries Beyers, who won a critical election for the CP in Pot-

### TIM COHEN

chefstroom in 1991 before defecting to the NP late last year. <sup>BIDOM</sup>

The loss of the Potchefstroom election is widely believed to have inspired the calling of the 1992 referendum. <sup>211194</sup>

It was also during that election campaign that De Klerk's public meeting in Ventersdorp resulted in chaos after shooting broke out between security force members and right-wingers. <sup>(SAPA)</sup>

The full itinerary for the trip has not been released by the NP for security reasons, but organisers say it will include visits to fresh produce markets and township halls.

It is the second of about two dozen bus trips by De Klerk, and emphasises the extent to which the NP campaign will be relying on the President's popular appeal.

## Parties strive to beat talks deadline

BILLY PADDOCK <sup>211194</sup>

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● See Page 8

FW 21/1/94 (11B) (S047)

de Klerk officially proclaims the election in the first week of February. Parliament is unlikely to sit again after the proclamation.

Buthelezi's memorandum to Juppe sets out Inkatha's and the alliance's reasons for staying out of the transitional process.

Government spokesman Izak Retief expresses surprise at Buthelezi's comments, particularly as they came ahead of the tripartite summit involving the alliance, ANC and government later this week.

The same day, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told Johannesburg businessmen government still intends, even at this late hour, to see whether an inclusive agreement on the constitution can be reached. Meyer concedes that the process is complicated by differences within the alliance — especially on self-determination.

The difficulty government and the ANC seem to have is establishing clearly the alliance's bottom line for participation. Its list of demands appears to fluctuate with every meeting.

Meyer says issues on this week's agenda include: the powers, functions and taxing powers of provincial government; provision for regional constitutions; the integrity of the provincial structures; self-determination; and the question of separate ballot papers for national and regional elections.

Another issue popped up after Monday's meeting between De Klerk and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini in Pretoria. Though the king stressed that his stance is apolitical, it chimes remarkably with Inkatha's. Zwelith-

ini, who was accompanied by Buthelezi, attacked the single ballot system, which will prevent a regional voice from emerging.

He also stressed that majorities in the rest of SA have no right to decide the future of the Zulus and that the new constitution is unacceptable as it offends Zulu sensibilities by expunging the name KwaZulu.

The king concluded with a veiled threat: "The ballot box is a real instrument for testing the will of the people, but it is not the

final test. That will always be found in their ability or inability to resist that which they reject as fundamentally wrong. It is my fervent hope that we will not finally face a competition between the ballot box and the ability of the Zulu people to resist and finalise the matters I have raised."

Backing these sentiments was a gathering of about 45 000 Zulus bearing traditional (and some modern) weapons — in clear contravention of the Peace Accord.

Meyer appears unfazed. He believes satisfying Zulus'

desire to uphold their kingdom will not be "too difficult" as there is consensus across the political spectrum. He adds: "Government's approach is to convince the alliance that the interim constitution already addresses their concerns."

That presupposes that Buthelezi and the alliance intend to participate in the election. Most analysts believe they will and that they are still engaged in a game of brinkmanship which will continue to the last moment. If not, SA faces an even rougher ride before and after the election.



King Goodwill

NEGOTIATIONS  
FW 21/1/94  
**Head to head**

**Inkatha president** Mangosuthu Buthelezi has again cast doubt on the chances that his party and others in the Freedom Alliance will contest the April election (11B) (S047)

The alliance recently appeared to be optimistic about closing the gap between itself and government and the ANC — especially after Ciskei's announcement that it would, in principle, take part in the Transitional Executive Council and make troops available for the National Peacekeeping Force.

However, Buthelezi poured cold water on the outlook when, on Monday, he conveyed to French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe his doubts that a constitutional agreement will emerge by the January 24 deadline.

The deadline is crucial as it gives parliament time to amend the constitution to accommodate the demands and interests of all representative groups before President F W

Fun 21/1/94

# Party divisions not set in stone

A likely future split in the ANC could spark a new centrist alliance

(SFF) (FF) (IB)

*When one of the factions is extinguished, the remainder subdivideth* — Francis Bacon.

**Winnie Mandela's** dramatic political resurrection is a sharp and timely reminder that the ANC is far from homogeneous — if any reminder is needed in the light of all the contradictory policy statements by major figures. These contradictions won't be reconciled before the election. On the contrary, the ANC is engaged in the classic political exercise of a divided party ahead of an election: trying to be all things to all men.

Latest opinion polls (see *Current Affairs*) indicate that the ANC — divided or not — is heading for a big victory on April 27. Positive factors include its status as a liberation movement, the great (and deserved) charisma of its president Nelson Mandela and grave, maybe irretrievable, tactical errors by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The NP is showing no great political dynamism or unity of purpose and talk of transforming the party into "Christian socialists" with wide multi-ethnic drawing power has faded. The DP, despite its political integrity and sound policies, has been unable to break

out of its narrow constituency.

SA must brace itself for a spell of ANC triumphalism. Once this emotion is spent, the ANC-dominated interim government will have to address the business of govern-



**ANC's Nelson Mandela** ... great and deserved charisma

ment. This is when internal strains will come to the fore. To govern is to choose and the choice is between irresponsible populism and conciliatory centrism with an ear cocked to local business sentiment and — perhaps more important — to Western governments, international business and the IMF.

The new government's first need will be to restore law and order, an unpleasant task which can only be undertaken when the security forces are Mandela's police and Defence Force, not De Klerk's. Footloose elements in the townships will not be brought to heel without resentment.

Then there will be the distasteful task of telling the masses that there is indeed no Santa Claus, that facile redistributionism cannot provide instant redress for its deprivations and resentments. There will have to be a period of self-discipline and hard work, coupled with an understanding that private capital has to be made to feel secure if it is to invest and help build the new SA. When these perceptions percolate down to the rank and file, the ANC will face its real moment of truth in defining political loyalties.

To judge by the rumblings to date, this



Fm 21/1/94

(30/1/94) (18)

will be a nasty show-down. Two questions present themselves: what form will the inevitable disaffection take and what proportion of the ANC's constituency will be driven to rebellion against the new-found pragmatism of the senior leadership?

The main factor holding the disparate elements together is Mandela's personal prestige. Were he to be removed from the scene soon, there could be an open split. If he lasts the five years of the interim government (by no means unlikely for an amazingly fit 75-year-old), the chances of containing the forces of dissent are not bad — given reasonable economic growth and job creation.

It would be wrong for the remaining parties to base their strategies on hopes of a split in the ANC. This would be negative, self-destructive defeatism. They should aim to mobilise the greatest collective electoral support, as the chances that pragmatism will prevail within the ANC are surely better if it obtains only a modest majority instead of 60% or even the two-thirds that would allow it to amend the constitution on its own.

This tough reality should concentrate the minds of other parties, not least Inkatha, which should be mobilising as much as possible of its potential constituency of conservative Zulus to become a major factor in the constituent assembly, instead of playing the Ulster option — a sure loser. This redirection of political energies appears incapable of achievement under Buthelezi.

The NP should reconsider the Christian socialist option, which has much to offer as a new image. A large coloured constituency may look on an ANC victory as little more than a Xhosa hegemony, but may still flinch at voting for a party which treated it so shabbily. The Nats should also address themselves with a lot more vigour to the Afrikaner Right.

If Buthelezi is an Ulster loyalist, Constand Viljoen and his motley army are mere Jacobites, fighting for the most lost of lost causes. They also need to be told that their purposes are best served by mobilising every last vote in April rather than indulging in political romanticism of the worst sort, most calculated to inflame anti-white feelings.

What the DP needs to emphasise most is not policies, but the absolute secrecy of the ballot. There must be a constituency — however indeterminate its size — of middle-class blacks who mistrust the populist trend within the ANC and might want to exercise a countervailing influence through voting for a genuinely nonracial party, provided there is no risk of retaliation.



Rightwinger Constand Viljoen ... a motley Jacobite army

The stronger other parties are, the better the chance that they can influence events if or when tensions within the ANC reach breaking point. Certainly it would be wrong to take for granted that current divisions in party politics will endure even for the first five years of the new era.

Some years ago, Conor Cruise O'Brien, in a prescient article in *Harper's Magazine*, foreshadowed the evolution of a post-apartheid SA. He postulated that post-apartheid politics would reflect a coalition of the haves of all races against the

have-nots: in more pedantic terms, the substitution of class for race as the major aligning factor.

This must be correct in principle and the guide to predicting any long-term party realignment. In the short run, other loyalties may survive, obscuring the long-term trend. For some time, politics will reflect a combination of class and ethnic forces — a constellation which is true of many countries.

The possible retention of Finance Minister Derek Keys and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals will reinforce the new government's centrist character. The failure of the Marxist model and the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a sponsor of Marxist policies all but dictate this outcome.

Only the Western-style free enterprise industrial nations can provide money and technical skills, not to mention a largely free-enterprise model for economic development. The retention of white skills as a major policy goal must also tilt the machine of government to moderation and pragmatism.

These are factors and arguments which could appeal to a large block of African

urban opinion, increasingly middle-class and to an extent middle-aged. Equally, the interests of the Cosatu element of the ANC — who, by definition, are employed — will increasingly diverge from those of the unemployed (and, some would say, unemployable) radical urban youth.

When or how the split in the ANC will come about, no-one can tell. When it does, the chances are good for the formation of a genuinely centrist party comprising ANC moderates, the rump of the Nats and the DP, as there would then be a genuine convergence of policies on basic support for the free market with a strong element of welfare, and for nonracialism.

This outcome would also create a powerful opposition to the Left, through an accretion of support for the PAC or in other ways. This need not be a bad thing under proportional representation, provided the Left could be contained to, say, a quarter or even 30% of representation. Coalition politics would then operate as it did in western Europe in the days when communist parties were Stalinist and politically untouchable and condemned to permanent opposition.

The worst case, of course, would be if the



Keys



Stals

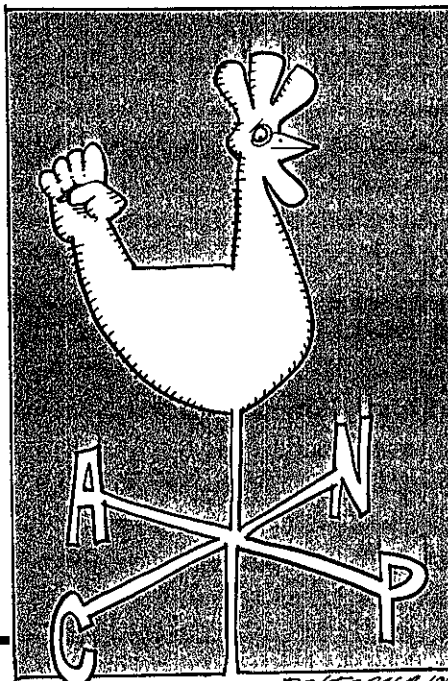
economy falls so far short of satisfying expectations as to trigger either a radical takeover of the ANC, or defections to the PAC on such a scale as to endanger the ANC's grip on power. This may sound far-fetched, but the capacity of urban youth for disillusionment cannot be dismissed.

It is because of this danger that Western-style liberal free market values could be more at risk in the second election, scheduled for 1999, than they will be this April.

One of the regrettable authoritarian aspects of the new constitution is its entrenchment of party machines and failure to allow parliament to reflect the factional realignments that must surely develop over the next five years.

Come the 1999 election, though, and this straitjacket will be loosened. The line-up of contenders could look very different. With an eye to survival, parties and individuals elected to the 1994 parliament will be using the next five years not only to advance their causes but to prepare for this realignment.

It may look as though we're on the eve of an era of politics as monolithic as the era we're just leaving. But as so often in politics, appearances will surely be misleading. ■



DOV FEDLER '94

P.T.O

## Media workers, IFP to hold Press workshops

ARC 24/1/94

### The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A series of workshops will be held between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa to discuss the role of the media.

This follows a 90-minute meeting between about 60 members of the IFP's central committee and a Mwasa delegation of 12 in Ulundi at the weekend.

In a joint statement the IFP and Mwasa said they had openly and frankly discussed the increasing number of attacks on media workers.

They decided to hold workshops "that will deal with mass media education and the role of media workers".

The statement said it was suggested that political parties act as conduits between media workers and communities.

Media workers should be given the same respect and protection as Red Cross Workers, the two sides said.

The meeting was part of Mwasa's programme to meet various political parties and organisations "to highlight violence and intimidation against its members".

~~IB~~ IB ~~IB~~

# IFP rethink on negotiations

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has recommitted itself to a negotiated settlement in South Africa and decided to pursue the objectives of the Freedom Alliance, in a bid to amend the interim constitution.

A statement, issued after a central committee meeting at the weekend, said the IFP would decide whether or not to contest the April 27 elections at a spe-

cial general conference on January 29 and 30.

The conference would also "determine what action would be appropriate to remedy that which could not be remedied through negotiations", the statement said.

The IFP statement came as the government, the African National Congress and the Alliance met yesterday to try to resolve outstanding constitutional

issues. (11B) CT 25/1/94

Among the issues are a double ballot system and demands for Zulu and Afrikaner self-determination.

At its central committee meeting earlier this month, the IFP threatened not to contest elections under a single ballot, and said the current two-thirds deadlock-breaking mechanism for writing a new constitution was also unacceptable. — Sapa

Jan, 1994

FM 28/1194  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

## Inkatha inches forward

Though the countdown to local government restructuring began with a positive message from Inkatha, euphoria over the party's participation in the process may be short-lived.

About 1 500 delegates, at the World Trade Centre for the public signing of the Local Government Transition Act last week, burst into applause when Inkatha local government negotiator Peter Miller surprised the gathering by announcing that his party would participate fully in third-tier government. (11B)

In its first phase, the new Act gives local communities (city and town councils) 90 days to establish transitional local or metropolitan forums. They must have equal representation from existing statutory councils and nonstatutory civic organisations; they must replace racially based local authorities. The transitional councils will function until municipal elections are held, probably next year. The 90-day period may be extended at the discretion of provincial administrators.

However, Inkatha stresses that Miller's statement should not be taken to mean it will participate in elections at either a local or national level.

Miller's statement was particularly surprising as he has been consistently critical of the Local Government Negotiating Forum, which was largely responsible for shaping the new Act. But he points out that local government elections are a long way off.

At this stage Inkatha is only participating in the appointment of the new local government transitional structures.

"Presupposing that whole process goes well, the end result will be local elections. We are participating in the fervent hope that solutions will be found which will enable us to participate in the process at all levels," says Miller.

"However, the issue at this stage is not whether we participate in local elections. They are nine to 18 months off and a lot can happen in that time. Obviously we have started in the process and would like to see that through to its logical conclusion."

He refuses to speculate on how this participation would be affected by an Inkatha boycott of the national and provincial polls on April 27. "The point is we are here right now, totally participating in the local government setup. By April 27, or soon after it,

FM 28/1194  
every local government structure in SA will have appointed councils on which Inkatha people will, where appropriate, be serving. The April election is a separate thing and one cannot say what sort of constitutional crisis, or effect on local government, participation only at one level will have."

As Inkatha's communications chief Ziba Jiyane points out, it would give Inkatha a post-election voice in statutory bodies — though only at a local level — if it chooses not to participate on April 27.

"That would, at least to some extent, avert the problem some people see of the party being sidelined," says Jiyane.

While Miller and Jiyane are both keen to play it down, the local government decision is perhaps the best indication yet that Inkatha is fearful of straying too far from the corridors of power — and that the recommendation from the central committee to its followers in Ulundi this weekend will be to vote for participation in the April election.

Meanwhile, slow progress was being made late on Tuesday in last-ditch talks between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance in search of an agreement that would secure the alliance's inclusion in the constitutional settlement and the general election. (11B)

It was the last day on which any agreement with the alliance could be translated into constitutional amendments by parliament, prior to the issue of the election proclamation, which is expected next week.

Constitutional Development spokesman Izak Retief tells the *FM* that talks are continuing at technical committee level, but it was hoped that a full meeting would be held later in the day.

"The negotiators are still struggling to find areas of agreement, so there doesn't seem to be a major chance of a satisfactory conclusion within the time limit. They are inching forward, but without a great deal of optimism."

## IFP 'supports local govt act'

76/11/92  
DURBAN. — The Kwa-Zulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party were totally committed to full participation in new local government structures, senior IFP official Mr Peter Miller repeated yesterday.

(11B)  
Speaking at a local government seminar here, Mr Miller said there should be "no question" about Kwa-Zulu and the IFP's commitment to the Local Government Transition Act, which was signed into law last week.

"Let's go into this process together," he said.

# Buthelezi memo sets final terms

CT 26/1/94 (1B)

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party will take part in the election only if the delegation of power from central to regional governments is legislated into a final constitution, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

In a memorandum for discussion with members of the Commonwealth Observer Mission, he said the IFP feared an ANC dictatorship after the election.

A dominant ANC, he said, would have enough power in an elected Constituent Assembly to rewrite the interim constitution and to arbitrate the powers and boundaries of regional governments.

"It is therefore of vital importance to the IFP to entrench devolved power now in a final constitution, before elections take place," he repeated.

## Revolutionary

Chief Buthelezi said that without the future constitution of South Africa firmly legislated into place, the IFP could never take the risk of leading its supporters into the election.

"Without these critical checks and balances against abusive state powers," he said, "we all know that once the ANC has a chance of getting into power, they will transform the dictatorship of the apartheid government into a revolutionary dictatorship — and rule our region through force and intimidation."

Chief Buthelezi reiterated his belief that despite the presence of international observers, violence in KwaZulu and other regions would make a free and fair election impossible.

Violence was a growing concern among leaders committed to a democratic outcome of the election, he said. — Sapa

Hope fades for deal with Alliance

# Volksfront,

# CP set to take

# part in poll

B/Dorj 25/11/94

(118)

THE CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront were prepared to participate in the April elections even though a Volksfront was not guaranteed. Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen indicated last night.

But chances of a political settlement being reached in talks between the Freedom Alliance, the ANC and government looked slim, even though the parties decided to push the deadline forward by two days.

At a news conference after talks ended last night, alliance leaders said individual parties would make their own independent decisions at the end of the week on whether they would take part in the elections.

Viljoen said he could not state the bottom line on the Volksfront's demand for a Volksraad. A senior CP source reinforced the view that it was conceding ground on this issue, saying the CP would probably be happy with an added constitutional principle on self-determination. This had been offered by the ANC and negotiations could continue after the elections.

They alliance's leaders attacked the ANC, singling it out as the major stumbling block to reaching agreement, even when government was prepared to compromise.

Chairman Rowan Cronje said: "We have exhausted all possible attempts at reaching a compromise and by this afternoon we said there was no point in continuing with negotiations as there was no chance of a

BILLY PADDOCK

settlement after the ANC reneged on last week's gains. But then (ANC foreign affairs director) Thabo Mbeki said he believed there was a basis for agreement and promised us that the ANC would put forward, in writing, their compromise position."

The alliance would study the document on Thursday and make a final decision. Cronje said there was little hope "and we feel there is no real sense in going on... we are being held on a string. But Thursday is the last chance."

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi also did an about-turn on his recent statements that Inkatha would "not participate in the elections if our six demands are not met". Referring to this weekend's conference where a decision on the elections is due to be taken, he said: "I would not call a conference if I was not prepared to listen to the people." He said he would not even make a recommendation to the conference.

He indicated that the decision was likely to be a conditional "yes" to taking part in the elections, as negotiations between government and the Zulu king were still in progress and would not be resolved by the weekend.

Inkatha negotiator at last night's talks, Walker Felgate, said: "The ANC called the shots and were reluctant to make concessions even when government put forward

□ To Page 2

compromises on the powers and functions of provinces."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was also totally uncompromising on the double ballot demand, stating that it was non-negotiable. Cronje and Felgate said.

"Both government and the ANC admitted and acknowledged that this was not democratic and that it did prejudice smaller parties and those that wanted to contest the elections on a regional basis only, but they would not budge," Cronje said.

They admitted there had been progress on the powers and functions of regions, the autonomy of regions to levy taxes, and regional constitutions.

TIM COHEN reports that negotiators have effectively removed the deadline on talks, saying agreed changes to the constitution could take the form of "binding party agreements" rather than legislation.

At a news conference yesterday, President F W de Klerk said there was still a possibility that an agreement with the Freedom Alliance could be achieved before legislating the changes became impossible.

But even if this were not the case, any agreement forged with the alliance could still take the form of binding party agreements and the constitution could be

amended after the election.

This decision was taken at an extraordinary Cabinet meeting yesterday, which was considered the last possible date for agreements to be achieved and still allow time for a short parliamentary session next week to pass legislation on the changes.

ANC, government and alliance negotiators agreed last year that Monday would be a deadline for the end of their negotiations, but De Klerk's decision yesterday effectively removes that deadline.

The decision places a question mark over whether the scheduled short session of Parliament, due to take place next week, will go ahead.

De Klerk said if a situation was reached where it would be impossible to arrive at agreements which could result in amendments to the constitution before the election, negotiations would still not come to an end.

He said he understood the promulgation of the election had to take place between 60 and 90 days before the election, and once this had taken place no further changes to the constitution would be possible until after the election.

The election is due to take place in 91 days.

De Klerk undertook to promulgate the election as soon as negotiations made it possible.

□ From Page 1

## PAC, IFP agreement.

JOHANNESBURG. (113) ARG 27/1/94 The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress agreed to canvass white and black parties for two ballot papers in the April elections.

PAC and IFP presidents Clarence Makwetu and Mangosuthu Buthelezi met here today and discussed the ballot system and violence.

"The PAC and the IFP decided to contact the Democratic Party, Dikwankwetla Party and others in favour of the two-ballot system to develop joint strategies to ensure that the fraudulent undemocratic one-ballot system does not take place," PAC president Clarence Makwetu told a Press conference afterwards. — Sapa.



IFP split <sup>(11B)</sup>  
on taking  
part in poll

**Political Staff**

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party members were split today on whether to take part in the April election or not.

About 8 000 party delegates meet in Ulundi this weekend to make a decision that has enormous implications for Natal and KwaZulu specifically and South Africa in general.

One grouping in the party wants to take part in the elections, campaigning around the shortcomings of the new constitution. They would seek a mandate from a majority of voters in Natal and KwaZulu to write a constitution for the new Natal-KwaZulu province.

This constitution would incorporate all the provisions for provincial autonomy and tax-raising powers that the IFP is unable to convince the government and the African National Congress to accept in the present three-way talks.

Another grouping in the IFP feels the party should not take part in the election, but warned grimly that without the IFP, no election would take place in Natal.

NATIONAL

(113)  
APR 27/1994  
**'IFP schools drive' probe**

The Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN. — An investigation has been launched into the veracity of a letter purported to have been written by top Inkatha Freedom Party members to headmasters in the Nongoma area, urging them to use teachers to recruit possible members of the IFP Youth Brigade among pupils.

The IFP said this week it would discipline any IFP official found to be using schools or government employees for political ends.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said his organisation did not rule out the possibility that the document could be a forgery by the African National Congress and viewed the letter with "healthy scepticism".

However, the matter would be investigated and disciplinary measures taken if necessary.

The letter appears to have been written by IFP regional organiser S B Mdlalose and co-signed by KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture LP Mtshali, the IFP Youth Brigade's national organiser.

It states that because of problems experienced with recruiting members for the Youth Brigade in schools last year, there should be a renewed campaign this year and efforts should be made to encourage all students eligible to vote in the April 27 election to obtain identity documents.

As part of a campaign to launch Youth Brigade branches wherever possible, teachers should forward details of how many old and new members have paid subscription fees, according to the letter.

Teachers could collect receipt books for the R3 subscription fees from the Circuit Offices on January 12.

The letter also stated that a meeting would be held at the Bhekuzulu Hall, Nongoma, on January 21 during which an office would be opened to co-ordinate the operation.

The Southern Natal region of the ANC condemned the use of civil servants and government buildings for party political ends.

# Buthelezi serious about poll boycott

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave his clearest indication yet yesterday that he was serious about an IFP boycott of the April election. He said he was prepared to suffer the consequences of

my convictions. Opening a crucial and ten- sion-filled IFP central commit- tee meeting in Ulundi, Buthele- zi said he was not optimistic about the last round of talks involv- ing the Government, the ANC

and the Freedom Alliance (FA) in Pretoria, today would bear fruit, and the IFP leadership now had to give serious consid- eration to the party's future. He accused the Government and the ANC of negotiating

with the FA in bad faith. Buthelezi said that, with the IFP special congress to decide on the party's final position on the election scheduled for the weekend, he was now more convinced that his stand was

a correct one. Esther Waugh reports that the deadline for constitutional negotiations was postponed until today after the ANC indi- cated on Tuesday that it would present proposals to FA nego-

tiators. But today is the final day for agreeing to amendments to the Interim Constitution as the election will be proclaimed to- morrow.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that should a multiparty agreement be reached after tomorrow, ► To Page 3

## Star 27/1/94 Buthelezi serious about poll boycott

◀ From Page 1

amendments could be made to the Constitution after the April election.

FA members have until February 7 to register their parties to take part in the election. In terms of the Electoral Act, registration is to take place 10 days after the procla- mation of the election.

Separate talks are also continuing between the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), ANC and Govern- ment. Meyer said yester- day good progress was being made with the AVF, and negotiators were considering a mech- anism which would ad- dress the right wing's de- mands even after the election.

In Ulundi, Buthelezi re- ferred to Sunday Times editor Ken Owen's vi- cious criticism of him at the weekend, describing it as vilification.

Under the heading "Buthelezi teeters on the brink of extinction", Owen said Buthelezi — whom he had known as a friend from the days when they both looked up to the late Alan Paton for inspiration and courage — had "turned out to be

a rotten politician" who had alienated his friends

Buthelezi told IFP cen- tral committee members: "The vilification cam- paigns that are waged in the Sunday Times and other newspapers, and plots to drive wedges be- tween myself and His Majesty the King (Good- will Zwelithini), have hardened my convictions that my stand is correct and that I must, for my- self, be prepared to suffer the consequences of my convictions.

"I will let the people have their say on Satur- day and Sunday but I, in the final analysis, after listening to all that the majority of our delegates want us to do, have to deal with what are the best dictates of my own conscience. It is on the basis of that that I will have to account before my maker on the day of judgment."

He said if he accepted the 1993 Interim Consti- tution and agreed to work within it, he would be "betraying the sacred charge history has bes- towed on me as a democ- rat and traditional prime minister of the Zulu kingdom".

(118)

# Parties within a whisker of a constitutional agreement,

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance were within a whisker of reaching agreement on constitutional changes, and it was possible that this could happen today, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He held out the hope that the alliance would meet government and the ANC today and agree to compromise proposals drafted by the ANC.

Today is the alliance's last opportunity to amend the constitution before the election, as President F W de Klerk is to gazette the constitution and promulgate the

election dates tomorrow.

Meyer said there was a greater chance of reaching a deal on a volkstaat than on meeting the alliance's demands.

Alliance leaders' attitude after Tuesday's talks had surprised him because an agreement was so close "and the differences are not insurmountable, and certainly not big enough to hold the country to ransom". The parties were on the verge of agreement on provincial powers and functions, and fiscal and tax arrangements.

"The only problem is that the alliance insists on the word 'exclusive' being inserted

in the text of the constitution. The ANC agrees but wants to add that these powers be regulated by framework legislation."

Government believed the powers already stated in the constitution were exclusive, so adding the word was unnecessary. The ANC's demand was rejected as it would have diminished regional autonomy.

While the parties had agreed on taxation, the alliance would not adopt the agreement as there was no resolution on regions' powers and functions.

BILLY PADDOCK  
Biday 27/11/94

says Meyer

Good progress was being made on self-determination for Afrikaners and the issue of the Zulu kingdom. A mechanism that would allow the Volksfront and CP to take part in elections and continue negotiations afterwards was being sought.

On the issue of the balloting system, Meyer said that whether voters cast one ballot or two would depend on "how strong the ANC is and how strong the alliance is in their insistence on this issue".

Meyer's deputy, Fanus Schöeman, who was on the technical committee working out the compromises, said: "Some of the

parties (in the alliance) and some individuals in these parties are not serious about finding a settlement.

"There were many occasions when compromises were on the cards but then certain actions by individuals blowing hot and cold wrecked these." The alliance, refusing to compromise, wanted all or nothing.

Meyer was holding out for a package of agreements on the four constitutional issues, but was not prepared to speculate about the ballot being changed.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Ulundi  To Page 2

## Talks

Biday 27/11/94

From Page 1

that Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was not optimistic that today's talks would lead to an inclusive constitutional settlement.

He warned of civil war, saying: "We will never have peace, stability and prosperity if we repeat the failure of Russia and east Europe to recognise that centrist constitutions imposed over a plural society, in which there are competing demands for self-determination, can only give rise to disruption, violence and finally civil war."

Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen told a White Mineworkers' Union conference in Midrand that the boer people had to ensure their survival by cementing their power in organised agriculture, industry and the military. This would ensure their existence better than any constitution, but if one of these three "pillars" was lost there was a danger of losing all.

"We are not, in this country we built up, prepared to be slaves," he said.

# focus on transition

**E**VENTS of the past week up to yesterday dimmed all hopes of the Freedom Alliance, the Government and the African National Congress striking a last-minute constitutional deal.

All parties stuck firmly to their positions with no compromise in sight.

The Afrikaner Volksfront said it would proclaim its own transitional authority.

The ANC reiterated its rejection of two-vote ballot papers demanded by the Freedom Alliance. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela also rejected the AVF's demand for a *volkstaat*.

The Inkatha Freedom Party insisted on constitutional recognition of the Zulu monarchy — a demand which the ANC can hardly accept.

The Government apparently adopted a non-committal stance, leaving the ANC, IFP and AVF to fight the battle.

The IFP-cum-Zulu march and the CP rally in Pretoria, a few days before the January 24 deadline for them to commit themselves to transitional structures and elections, appeared to have been a well-timed show of strength and a bargaining tactic to exert pressure on the Government and ANC to concede to FA demands.

The events conjured up fears of a governability crisis, which will be the immediate concern of the Government of National Unity.

## Fortified defence

Firstly, the CP rally represented a build-up to a fortified defence and restoration of the old order by a clique of irredentist Afrikanerbittereinders.

Secondly, the Zulu march underpinned Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's resolve to boost his image after he lost hopelessly in national politics.

The CP's announcement that the Afrikaner Volksfront will declare its own interim authority on January 29 this month pre-empted any substantive resolution of the nitty gritty of their claim to self-determination.

Following closely on Mandela's outright rejection of an Afrikaner *volkstaat*, the mini-UDI pre-empts any attempts by the ANC to address Afrikaner fears instilled by years of racist indoctrination.

Likewise, the IFP's demand for constitutional recognition of the Zulu monarchy is a far cry, which the ANC is ill-prepared to concede, given the serious repercussions this will have within the ANC ranks.

The massive mobilisation of Zulus during King Goodwill Zwelithini's Pretoria visit was a veiled attempt to display the IFP's capacity to wreak havoc in the event of its demands not being met.

The show of strength, which left at least 15 people dead, signalled Buthelezi's readiness to fight tooth and nail for the acceptance of the IFP's demands.

One of these demands is for the exclusive powers of regional governments like KwaZulu-Natal — probably his residual political power

Sowetan 27/1/94

Recent actions of the Freedom Alliance are attempts to coerce the ANC and Government into acceding to its demands. These will pose problems for the future government, says **Mzimasi Ngudle** of the *Sowetan* Political Staff:



(SOPA) (118)



Chief Lucas Mangope



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

base after his fast-waning prominence in national politics.

Both events are a prelude to a two-pronged attack on the future government by the power bases of the Freedom Alliance — the Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha Freedom Party.

## Jingoism

Patently clear is the emergence of rabid Afrikaner patriotism, coupled with Inkatha jingoism draped in Zulu traditionalism.

Meanwhile, the Government is likely to be the main beneficiary should the talks fail.

The National Party can rely on rightwing and Inkatha dissidence as bargaining chips in its opposition to the ANC in the transitional government.

Unless the ANC attains effective control of command structures of the new national defence force, violent uprisings and civil strife are going to be the order of the day.

With the international community closely monitoring political developments here, an ANC-led government has to be careful not to suppress legitimate dissent.

At the same time a manacled government, riddled with dissension, will be too weak to

contain serious threats to stability.

At present, we are in an interregnum because of a crisis of legitimacy that is driving the National-controlled Government outside the corridors of power.

As such the Government is weak and shorn of all capacity to unleash repressive force.

The post-April 27 government will enjoy adequate legitimacy to quell any serious challenge to its power.

While brute force must be avoided as far as possible, the country will need a strong government after the elections — a strong government

able to act decisively against people who willfully spurn democratic forums in pursuit of narrow sectional interests.

## Liberation movements

Such a government will justifiably enforce compliance with law without arousing indignation at its law enforcement activities.

That is what the government liberation movements should be aiming for.

For a while they must eschew competition for power and look with greater urgency at what will save the country from another five years of civil strife: strong government

# Inkatha and PAC identify dual ballot as the crucial

PRETORIA — Last-ditch negotiations between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance were delayed for several hours yesterday by a flurry of talks which included discussions between government and the Zulu monarchy.

The main delay was caused by extended talks between government, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront, which began yesterday morning but failed to finish in time for talks with the alliance scheduled for 3pm, which were postponed until 7.30pm and continued into the night.

TIM COHEN reports Inkatha Freedom

Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said earlier that if government and the ANC dropped their insistence on a single ballot system, it would make a huge difference to his organisation's decision on whether to take part in the election.

After meeting PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Buthelezi said King Goodwill Zwelithini insisted on a two-ballot system in which voters would cast separate votes for regional and national parliaments.

The two leaders also discussed violence, which Makwetu said was caused by rivalry between political organisations "inspired

by dark forces".

It was understood, however, that the meeting focused on election strategies.

The leaders were not specific about the future relationship between the organisations, but said they had long had contact.

Observers do not think it inconceivable that the PAC and Inkatha might sign an election pact.

Buthelezi said that if Inkatha decided not to take part in the election, this would not necessarily mean the end of negotiations, because negotiated problem-solving was a fundamental principle to which In-

# election issue

katha subscribed. However, he said he could not imagine what the point of these negotiations would be.

The Volksfront's Gen Tienie Groenewald told Reuters a deal for his organisation had been possible, but it would not be separated from its allies. Had talks been between the ANC and the Volksfront alone, a deal could have been reached long ago. He repeated Gen Constand Viljoen's assertion that government was trying to avoid settling with the Volksfront as this would allow the right wing to poach NP votes.

Sapa reports that the talks were intend-

ed to find solutions in two areas. The ANC and the alliance were trying to resolve outstanding constitutional issues before President F. W. de Klerk promulgated the new constitution and an election date today, while a bid was being made to accommodate the Zulu monarchy and to see how right-wing demands for an Afrikaner volkstaat could be handled.

After meeting Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer met a delegation from the Zulu monarchy.

Picture: Page 3  
See Page 3

# IFP see-saw's on election

(11B)

WM 28/1-3/2/94

Farouk Chothia

**I**NKATHA Freedom Party hardliners—including president Mangosuthu Buthelezi—are expected to carry the day at a crucial conference in Ulundi tomorrow to decide the IFP's election stance.

At the same time, a silent struggle is being waged by the government and the ANC to break Buthelezi's political stranglehold on Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini.

Sources close to the IFP said that while the party's central committee had not taken a firm decision at a meeting on Wednesday, and negotiations with the ANC and the government were still in progress yesterday, hardliners would persuade delegates at the special general conference to endorse a boycott of the elections and the launch of a "Don't vote" campaign.

This would undoubtedly spark an exodus from the party of pro-election moderates.

Several factors pointed to a boycott decision, the sources said:

- The IFP's election commission—chaired by the moderate chief executive officer Joe Matthews—has not met in the past four weeks.

- The IFP has not drawn up its election lists for the national assembly and provincial legislatures.

- In an address to the Commonwealth Observer Mission, Buthelezi said the IFP wanted to "entrench devolved power now in a final constitution, before elections take place. Without the future constitution legislated into place, the IFP could

## Buthelezi says yes ... if

Stephen Lauer

**I**NKATHA chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week that acceptance of a two-ballot system should be sufficient to draw his party into the electoral process.

Speaking after a meeting with Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwethu in Johannesburg, Buthelezi said "it would really contribute a lot to us deciding to participate in the elections".

But it is understood that the dual ballot system, which would give each voter two choices—one for the regional assembly and one for the national legislature—is regarded as completely non-negotiable by the African National Con-

gress.

Buthelezi is well aware of the ANC position, as he made clear when he said ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa "would not even discuss" the issue of a double ballot.

Buthelezi's latest statement is being interpreted by observers as somewhat disingenuous and another attempt to portray himself as reasonable and the ANC as the blockers.

The ANC's principal objection to the double ballot is that it will confuse voters—particularly those who have no experience of the democratic process. And the organisation fears that this could lose it the election.

never take the risk of leading its supporters into elections."

Sources expect Buthelezi to send two signals when he opens the conference—"a strong signal encouraging a boycott and a weak signal suggesting participation" so as not to forfeit the moral high ground. They also expected the launch of a "Don't Vote" campaign.

Moderates, who allegedly include Matthews, national political director Ziba Jiyane and MPs Mike Tarr, Farouk Cassim and Jurie Mentz, are set to argue that a boycott would lead to the extinction of the IFP.

Sources said a trump card is a move by the ANC and the government to woo Zwelithini by offering

him the constitutional monarchy of kwaZulu and, possibly, of South Africa.

The moderates are also expected to point out to the conference that according to an opinion poll, most Natalians are eager to contest elections. And they may also argue that a boycott would scare off foreign backers and local businessmen.

Buthelezi may, however, back IFP participation in local government elections, as this would enable the party to maintain contact with its constituency and broaden its base. Still led by Buthelezi, sources said, the IFP could then contest national and local elections in 1999 with better prospects of success.

# IFP at the crossroads

Sowetan 28/11/94

## ENORMOUS IMPLICATIONS

Conference will point the way forward.

By Themba Molefe  
Political correspondent

**T**HE INKATHA Freedom Party stands at the crossroads and ponders the road ahead. About 8 000 IFP delegates meet in Ulundi this weekend to decide whether to participate in the April elections or not.

Whatever decision the party takes will have enormous implications for Natal and KwaZulu, and South Africa in general.

The tone of the conference has already been set by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which underscores the division in the party over the way forward.

In his address to the IFP's central committee meeting in Ulundi on Wednesday, Buthelezi hinted at how he wanted the outcome of the conference: to endorse a decision to boycott the election.

### Severe restrictions

"In facing the question of whether to enter elections or not, this parallel round of negotiations dealing with His Majesty's (King Zwelithini Goodwill kaBhekuzulu's) interests and Zulu interests, places severe restrictions on what we can accept and what we must reject in the national constitution..."

The Ulundi conference has to contend with input from three "groupings" in the IFP which differ over transition and democratic change and which will surface at the conference.

The first grouping is Buthelezi himself. What he says is the law around which his people — fellow IFP committee members or KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — must work.

Another grouping in the party wants to take part in the elections, campaigning around the shortcomings of the interim constitution.

They would seek a mandate from a majority of voters in Natal and KwaZulu to write a constitution for the new Natal-KwaZulu province.

This would incorporate in the constitution all the provisions for provincial autonomy and tax-raising powers that the IFP is unable to convince the Government and the African National Congress to accept in the present three-way talks.

The message from an IFP-governed Natal-KwaZulu to the ANC-controlled central Government would be: this is our new constitution, change it if you dare.

This group is obviously the IFP parliamentary caucus, members of which have everything to lose if they do not participate. Did they resign from their former tricameral Parliamentary parties to join the IFP only to be left out? No.

The IFP MPs are Mike Tarr, Farouk Cassim, Jurie Mentz, Michael Abraham, Hennie Bekker, Koos van der Merwe, Dr Kisten Rajoo and Cehill Pienaar and former Natal MEC Peter Miller. Dr Ben Ngubane, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ziba Jiyane and Joe Matthews would fall into this category.

The third grouping in the IFP feels the party should not take part in the election, but warns grimly that without the IFP, no election would take place in Natal.

This is the group that falls within easy reach of the IFP president and comprises mainly chiefs and traditionalists loyal to the Zulu monarch as well as white party officials with rightwing-conservative inclinations. One such name is that of Walter Felgate.

● Our correspondent reports that there are several last-minute events that will influence the IFP members' decision. A meeting was scheduled for 2 pm yesterday between Joe Matthews and Dr Ben Ngubane, representing King Zwelithini and the South African Government to try to find a place in the sun for the Zulu monarch.

IFP sources said yesterday that if the 200-year Zulu monarchy was officially recognised, this would go a long way to enticing the IFP into the election.

If no formal place could be found for King Goodwill, IFP sources said, they could not put the consequences better than Jacob Zuma, the ANC's candidate for Natal Premier, has done. IFP sources said Zuma had told them that unless the position



IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose ... to contemplate the future of the party at a meeting this weekend.

of the King was resolved, the ANC would not be able to campaign in Natal.

The three-way talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which the IFP is part, the Government and the ANC resumed yesterday under a cloud of pessimism on all sides.

The ANC was, however, poised to table its written proposals at the meeting, with observers hinting at compromise.



NEWS Pension fund fraudulently sold properties • Makwetu, Buthelezi link up

# PAC, IFP call for two ballots

Sowetan 28/1/94

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party joined ranks in calling for a one person, two votes election.

The two parties jointly voiced their preference for a two-ballot paper system — one for the national assembly and the other for provincial government.

The call arose out of a meeting between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Johannesburg yesterday.

It also came on the eve of a crucial IFP conference in Ulundi today where delegates are expected to make a final decision about participation in the general elections.

The IFP and PAC leaders dismissed the single ballot system as undemocratic and as "the product of wheeling and dealing between the African National Congress and the Government".

In a joint statement after the hour-long meeting, Makwetu and Buthelezi said they would contact the Democratic Party, the Dikwankwetla Party and others to consolidate this move.

They also expressed optimism that the ANC and the Government would accede to this demand.

"We hope that they will concede as we will not take this lying down," said Makwetu.

The parties rejected the deployment of SADF troops in violence-torn areas and instead moved for continued meetings between the warring organisations.

"There can't be anything more practical than to have the people involved in the violence meeting," said Makwetu.

Buthelezi said: "We've always been opposed to the deployment of SADF troops. They are trained to fight wars, and not on policing. They can only be called as backup for the police. It would be wrong to withdraw the police (from these areas)."



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu at the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday. Both leaders agreed on opposing the single ballot paper in favour of a "one-person-two-votes" poll in April.  
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Right, ANC, Inkatha to show their hands

# Next three days vital for peace

Star 29/1/94

(IB)

FROM PAGE 1.

the FA, the Government and the ANC on the constitutional changes demanded by the FA are set to continue — the deadline for settlement having been extended yet again (WA) (IB)

However, patience is wearing extremely thin on all sides and it now seems likely that if a deal is not made on Monday, the transition will go ahead without the dissenting FA parties. The implications for a peaceful election campaign and transition to the new order are highly disturbing (304A)

It is pointed out that while De Klerk has some leeway in declaring the election — it has to be done by February 27 —

such a delay would seriously hamper the work of the newly formed Independent Electoral Commission and hold up the installation of the Independent Media Commission.

Afrikaner Volkfront members are set to gather at the Pretoria Showgrounds today for a ceremony to "install" its "transitional volksraad" (people's council), signalling a turning up of the heat by the right-wing umbrella organisation.

At the same time the ANC will unveil its election manifesto, giving the country's citizens a clearer idea of what its policy will be if, as expected, it takes the lion's share of power in the

new dispensation. The ANC will reveal the manifesto today at Nasrec in Johannesburg, where Mandela is expected to arrive by train at 11 am.

CHRIS WHITFIELD  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa today enters a crunch 72-hour period that will determine whether the passage to its first non-racial democracy will be peaceful.

A spate of initiatives over the next three days marks this period as being particularly important.

Then South Africans should know:

- Whether the constitution agreed to in the World Trade Centre talks will be changed to accommodate the demands of the Freedom Alliance (FA).
- Whether the FA's most influential component, the Inkatha Freedom Party, will take part in elections.
- Just how serious the right wing is in its threats to destabilise the transition.
- What the ANC's formal policy for the future will be.

At the same time, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will forge ahead with their respective American-style "roadshow" election campaigns, with the National Party leader sweeping through the eastern Transvaal and his ANC counterpart wooing voters in the western Transvaal.

Others, however, believed the sentiment among IFP supporters was such that the boycotters might win the day. This could give rise to serious divisions in the IFP, with some of its younger members anxious to continue their political careers and not be left on the sidelines at the April poll.

On Monday, the trilateral discussions between

TO PAGE 2.

But most eyes will be on Durban, where a special general conference of the IFP called by Chief Mangosuthu Buthe will be asked to decide whether the organisation should contest the election.

He said this might lead to a "holding" resolution by the IFP special conference, effectively deferring a decision on participation in the election or passing the ball back to the IFP central committee.

IFP sources were divided yesterday on what the decision would be. There are two distinct factions in the party — those in favour of contesting the election even if agreement is not reached on changes to the new constitution, and those who feel it should be boycotted if the party does not get its way in last-minute talks with other players.

### Hamstrung

One senior IFP member predicted yesterday that the meeting would be hamstrung by the fact that talks between the FA — including the IFP — the Government and the ANC on the constitutional changes demanded by the FA were still to be completed.

# Inkatha vows to follow their leader

CIPress 30/11/94

By SEKOLA SELLO  
and Sapa

(11B)

INKATHA is likely to boycott the April elections and enter "resistance" politics after delegates to yesterday's special conference in Ulundi heard a fiery anti-election speech by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Inkatha president yesterday told several thousand delegates gathered to finalise the party's stance on the April poll that the present constitutional deal would lead to a future "violent clash between the people and an ANC government".

By late last night the pro-election lobby, which included prominent white and Indian MPs and also members of the central committee, had given up the fight to persuade delegates.

They conceded that following Buthelezi's speech it was a foregone conclusion that the party would opt for the boycott of the elections.

Earlier a defiant Buthelezi dared the ANC and the SA government to take military action against his homeland.

Referring to recent statements by SACP and ANC leader Joe Slovo that tanks would roll into KwaZulu, Buthelezi had a blunt and defiant response. "Let them roll in," he said amid thunderous applause.

Buthelezi said: "This is the region where we domi-

nate. No foreign forces shall come into it to rule over us.

"I do not see how we can enter elections under the provisions of the Interim Constitution. I say we must oppose the constitution itself, as a matter of principle."

Buthelezi stood firmly behind central committee hardliner Walter Felgate, who is also said to be opposed to participation in the coming elections.

"This conference must put an end to all the betraying that has occurred in the central committee by running to our enemies and to the press with the messages that it is I, Buthelezi, who is the problem."

While the final word from Inkatha will likely depend on the outcome of talks between the Freedom Alliance (to which Inkatha is a member), the government and the ANC, the general optimism before the start of the conference that the majority of delegates would endorse participation had evaporated by late last night.

Highly placed Inkatha officials told City Press that most central committee members and delegates wanted participation. They had caucused deep into the night to reach this conclusion.

One senior central committee member who asked not to be identified said most delegates were aware that the serious threat of civil war breaking out hinged on their decisions at this conference. He said most delegates were totally opposed to civil war.

# IFP to decide today on poll boycott

By RAY HARTLEY  
Political Reporter

A DIVIDED Inkatha was poised to decide today whether to boycott the April 27 election, following a hardline speech by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in which he described the interim constitution as "an instrument of Inkatha's destruction".

Opening an Inkatha special conference in Ulundi yesterday, he said: "I do not know how we can enter elections under the provisions of the interim constitution."

The conference was due to decide today whether to participate in the election after a week of intense debate which has divided party leaders into two opposing camps.

Among those most likely to consider splitting from Inkatha should it take an irreversible boycott stand are Information Chief Dr Ziba Jiyane, former National Party Natal MEC Peter Miller and former DP MP Mike Tarr.

Dr Jiyane, a former exile, was believed to have engineered this week's meeting between Chief Buthelezi and PAC leader Clarence Makwethu, at which the value of participating in the election was discussed.

The position of Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who was absent from the conference after breaking a leg in a car accident, was uncertain. While he is close to Chief Buthelezi, he is also believed to oppose a boycott.

Kwazulu Health Minister Ben Ngubane has also not spelt out his position on participation, but he was expected to publicly close ranks with Chief Buthelezi to preserve party unity.

The conflict within the party came to a head at the organisation's central committee meeting on Wednesday, where

senior officials, including Dr Jiyane, argued against Chief Buthelezi who wanted the committee to recommend a boycott to the conference.

Following hours of tense discussion, it was agreed that the central committee would make no recommendation to the conference, and on Friday night leading pro-election officials expressed confidence that Chief Buthelezi had been persuaded that a boycott would be "political suicide".

But yesterday morning Chief Buthelezi made his opposition to the ballot plain.

"What I am calling for is the courage to enter the politics of resistance knowing that in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand that which is rejected by the people," he said.

He said those who argued for participation to prevent an ANC take-over of the Kwazulu legislature were mistaken.

"I say there can be no governance of Kwazulu-Natal without the active acceptance and participation of Inkatha.

"This is a region where we dominate: No foreign forces shall come into it to rule over us. I am not declaring war, in what I am saying. I am not calling for revolution. I am not calling for violence," he said.

● Talks with the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which includes Inkatha, will continue tomorrow but negotiators are not optimistic that a settlement can be reached.

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W

# Inkatha education rumpus

By SIPHO KHUMALO

AN Inkatha circular sent to school principals in KwaZulu urging them to recruit pupils for the organisation has sparked a new political row.

The circular - leaked to City Press - aims to turn students in the Nongoma region into Inkatha supporters.

Headed "Programmes of Organising For Inkatha Freedom Party in Schools", it is addressed to all Nongoma principals.

## Problems

It bears the name of Nongoma Inkatha organiser SB Mdlalose, who says "problems" were experienced last year in organising pupils for Inkatha in Nongoma.

This year, says Mdlalose, the programme

## Principals told to recruit pupils 'a bit quicker'

should be started at the beginning of February.

The circular refers to a principals' meeting scheduled for January 21 at Bhekuzulu.

It advises principals that receipts for joining fees could be obtained from the circuit inspector's office on the second day of the school year, saying: "It is therefore important to know how many members have joined and those who have renewed their membership."

It also contains the

warning: "We remind teachers who are in charge of recruitment for the party that the joining fee is now R3. Those who pay R1, should not be given membership cards."

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said it was a "nefarious scheme to use KwaZulu-administered schools as Inkatha's exclusive recruitment ground".

The circular notes that copies have been sent to KwaZulu Education Minister Lionel Mtshali,

the Inkatha Youth Brigade national organiser and the Nongoma circuit inspector. (118)

A KwaZulu Education Department spokesman declined to comment, saying it was a political matter to be handled by the secretary for education.

The secretary could not be contacted.

## Contrary

But Inkatha political director and national spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said if principals were forced to organise for Inkatha it would be contrary to KwaZulu government policy - and that of Inkatha.

"But there are no indications that they were forced. As members of the public they have a right to decide whether they want to attend any meeting or not," he said.

# Natal businessmen leaders ditch Buthelezi and IFP

WJM 30/1/94 (116)  
 A new survey of businessmen in Natal shows support for Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dropped dramatically in the province. **Farouk Chothia** reports

**A** NEW survey of Natal business leaders has shown Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi commands minimal support in his own backyard. The survey's findings endorse those of a recent *Mail & Guardian* poll of national business leaders.

The Natal poll, of 47 business figures, was conducted by the Natal newspaper, the *Daily News*. It found that almost all would prefer Nelson Mandela above Buthelezi as president of South Africa after the April 27 elections — and some would choose Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer ahead of the Inkatha Freedom Party leader.

The survey found that a mere three percent of Natal businessmen support Buthelezi. The *Mail & Guardian* had polled 100 of the country's top businessmen, of whom none wanted to see the IFP leader at the country's helm.

Of the 47 Natal businessmen (43 whites and four Indians) polled by the *Daily News*, 43 percent support

Buthelezi for Natal/kwaZulu. The sources pointed out that South African Sugar Association vice-chairman Tony Ardington publicly opposed that constitution, saying it would lead to Natal/kwaZulu towards "penury".

Ardington was close to Dhlomo and had been chairman of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba's economic committee.

The sources added that, in a major blow to Buthelezi, even Chris Saunders of sugar giant Tongaat Huilets has distanced himself from the IFP leader. An influential figure, Saunders was one of Buthelezi's strongest supporters and a personal friend.

Still sticking with Buthelezi, the sources said, was the managing director of Beacon Sweets, Arnold Zubman. He is a personal friend of the IFP chief.

Buthelezi can find some comfort in *The Daily News* survey: 46 percent respondents backed an "autonomous" Natal/kwaZulu, though the majority — 54 percent — opposed the idea.

pled 16 managing directors; 13 directors, 17 managers/owners and a public relations officer.

Business sources told the *Mail & Guardian* that Buthelezi's support in Natal had been plummeting since the late 1980s when businessmen in the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce felt that the IFP was largely to blame for the collapse of peace talks with the United Democratic Front.

They said this trend continued in the 1990s when IFP secretary general Oscar Dhlomo quit the organisation and later when Buthelezi unveiled a secessionist-style consti-

tution. National Congress victory in the election, 22 percent a National Party victory and six percent a DP victory.

The poll spells doom for Buthelezi, indicating that even Natal businessmen — traditionally seen as most loyal to the IFP chief — have ditched him.

Significantly, the poll was not confined to businessmen in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas; but also covered the Richards Bay/Empaneni areas where backing for Buthelezi ought to be strongest.

Conducted two weeks ago, it sam-

pled 16 managing directors; 13 directors, 17 managers/owners and a public relations officer.

Business sources told the *Mail & Guardian* that Buthelezi's support in Natal had been plummeting since the late 1980s when businessmen in the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce felt that the IFP was largely to blame for the collapse of peace talks with the United Democratic Front.

They said this trend continued in the 1990s when IFP secretary general Oscar Dhlomo quit the organisation and later when Buthelezi unveiled a secessionist-style consti-

*A miracle is needed, Buthelezi tells Ulundi conference*

# IFP set for resistance

Star 31/1/94

**POLL boycott looms as Inkatha leaders despair of reaching a settlement with the Govt and ANC**

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ulundi — The Inkatha Freedom Party appears set for a boycott of the country's first all-race election and a campaign of resistance against the new order (IB)

The increasingly slim chance of a breakthrough in Freedom Alliance talks with the ANC and Government is now all that is preventing the IFP — an FA member — from finally taking the boycott and resistance route.

It was clear yesterday that the IFP leadership regards any

**More reports  
- Page 8**

settlement in the talks as highly unlikely, with party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi saying it would require "almost a miracle".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate bluntly predicted that progress would not be made unless the ANC and Government "come to their senses".

The IFP's special general conference at the Emandleni Matleng youth camp on a hill-top outside Ulundi stopped short of taking the boycott decision in spite of overwhelming support for such a move from delegates.

Instead it adopted a watered-down resolution which leaves the final decision in the

► To Page 3

◀ From Page 1

hands of the IFP central committee after the FA, ANC and Government talks, which resume today.

Felgate said that today amounted to the last chance for a breakthrough, but Buthelezi told delegates that once the election was promulgated by President de Klerk, another 10 days of negotiating could follow. It has been speculated that the promulgation would take place today.

Buthelezi also revealed that he had received a telephone call from a "worried" De Klerk at 3 am yesterday morning.

He told delegates that De Klerk had first "expressed his satisfaction" that talks with the FA were continuing (IB)

Buthelezi had explained to De Klerk that "because we are democrats" the IFP would not close any doors until all talks avenues had been explored.

The IFP leader claimed De Klerk had then committed himself to doing "everything he could" to reach an all-inclusive settlement.

The resolution adopted by the conference reiterated the IFP's rejection of the Interim Constitution and mandated the central committee to make a final deci-

star 31/1/94  
sion.

It is understood that Buthelezi proposed the compromise — backing off from an immediate boycott — during a marathon closed session of the conference on Saturday evening and running into the early hours of yesterday.

A party source said 34 speakers in the debate had come out in favour of a boycott and 11 against. Those who argued for participation in the election were mainly "newcomers", including chief spokesman Ziba Jiyane, MEC Peter Miller and MPs Mike Tarr, Jurie Mentz, Hennie Bekker, Farouk Cassim and Narend Singh.

Leading IFP negotiator and heir apparent to Buthelezi, Ben Ngubane did not commit himself either way although he is generally regarded as favouring competing in the election.

Although the final resolution did not refer directly to an election boycott, Buthelezi made it clear in yesterday's closing speech to delegates — enthusiastic in spite of oppressive heat in the massive tent which served as a conference centre — that this was how he interpreted his mandate from them.

In his opening address to the

conference Buthelezi had come out strongly in favour of an election boycott and added: "What I am calling for is the courage to enter the politics of resistance knowing that in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand that which is really rejected by the people."

"No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC-SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present Interim Constitution."

Buthelezi, when pressed during a media conference on what he meant by this, would only say that it would amount to "the same non-violent resistance politics" adopted by the IFP in its fight against apartheid.

It is also evident that the IFP has chosen the controversial decision to use only one ballot for both national and regional elections — which the ANC has bluntly described as non-negotiable — as the thrust of its resistance to the new constitution.

Buthelezi suggested that even if the ANC and Government did agree to two ballots, there were other issues that had to be resolved to the IFP's satisfaction, including the powers, functions and boundaries of regions.

**Inkatha set for boycott  
of first all-race election**

Civil disobedience on the cards

# Alliance holds options open until the last

Biday 31/1/94

BILLY PADDOCK  
and TIM COHEN

THE Freedom Alliance's decision on whether to boycott the election will go down to the wire with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the increasingly militant Afrikaner Volksfront putting their decisions on hold pending the conclusion of negotiations.

Inkatha and the Volksfront both put active resistance firmly on their agendas at weekend meetings. Volksfront leaders gained a mandate for "limited violence" while Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthezi called for "the courage to enter the politics of resistance".

Inkatha's special conference this weekend decided on a compromise between opposing factions and will leave to its central committee the crucial decision of whether to boycott the April election.

Sapa reports the conference rejected the 1993 interim constitution but resolved to "pursue every last opportunity to seek agreement in negotiations".

Buthelezi told the conference yesterday he had spoken earlier to President F W de Klerk, who had assured him he would do all he could to arrive at an all inclusive constitutional settlement.

Buthelezi had also told him he did not want to "shut the door" and negotiations should continue and "take their course".

In his speech on Saturday, Buthelezi said: "No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC/SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present interim constitution."

Asked for clarity, a source at the meeting said the Inkatha leader was probably looking to forms of civil disobedience and attempts by the civil service to make gov-

ernment unworkable.

This follows vigorous debate among delegates to the conference with a significant number, including a sizeable portion of the central committee, opposed to boycotting the election.

Buthelezi threw his weight behind those supporting a boycott, saying "in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand that which is rejected by the people".

Meanwhile, thousands of Volksfront supporters emphatically rejected participation in the election at a meeting on Saturday, making the front's participation highly unlikely.

The meeting rejected out of hand a "strategic alternative" to violence proposed by Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen, booing him off the stage.

The "strategic alternative" was substantially what is being offered at talks with government and the ANC, involving the establishment of a "Volksraad" which would negotiate the creation of a "volksstaat" with constitution makers.

Volksfront and Inkatha leaders called for government and the ANC to "come to their senses", with Inkatha's central committee member Walter Felgate saying today was the last opportunity for negotiators to realise the extent of the feeling among Inkatha members and grant the necessary concessions.

The Inkatha conference resolved that the central committee should not agree to participation in the election unless regions

## Alliance

were granted greater autonomy, and the ANC and NP agreed to a separate ballot for regional elections.

The conference was initially more in favour of boycotting the election. But as discussion progressed into Saturday night, the mood swung towards the pro-election faction. It then became increasingly clear that conference would not make a firm decision either way.

In his speech on Saturday morning, Buthelezi said that because negotiations were still in progress the conference could not decide, subject to clear conditions.

But he held out little hope of a settlement. It is a case of one step forward and two steps back, he said.

CP MP Pieter Mulder said the Volksfront's negotiations revolved around the establishment and inclusion of a "volksstaatraad" in the interim constitution

which would negotiate the creation of a "volksstaat" with the interim government.

The ANC was originally prepared to see a referendum take place on a separate ballot paper during the April 27 election to test support for a volksstaat, but the NP objected, favouring the participation of the Volksfront in the election.

The ANC's original proposal included a guarantee that the right of self-determination could be exercised in a territorial entity, which front members describe as "boer cantons" or "mini-boer republics".

But this suggestion was effectively rejected by the ANC's NEC last week and substituted with a clause which would place the decision on whether to create "boer cantons" in the hands of the constitution makers. "They are trying to sell us a process without any guarantees that a volksstaat will be established at the end of it," Mulder said.

Biday 31/1/94

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## NEWS Pastors urge political delegates at Ulundi gathering to 'fight on'

# Spirit of festivity as IFP meet to decide

Sowetan

31/1/94

118

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff

**W**ITH ALMOST a month before the end of summer, the mountainous areas of KwaZulu are at their most beautiful. Ulundi is no exception.

While negotiating one's way along the route leading to the heart of Zululand - for that is how Ulundi is aptly referred to - one cannot help but marvel at the wonder of nature.

The lush green veld, flora and fauna in abundance, livestock grazing and wandering about, a clear blue sky, all formed part of the spirit of festivity in the air on this Saturday morning. About five kilometres from Ulundi, when travelling along the Melmoth/Nongoma road, is the Matleng/Emandleni Training Camp.

It is built almost on top of a hill. The view from the camp itself is no less admirable and there is no doubting that this must form part of the tourist attraction in this part of Zululand.

The camp is also situated along the banks of the Umfolozi River running in an easterly direction from Ulundi's Unit A township. The area is beautiful. As are the Zulu maidens clad in their traditional

## ■ GENERAL CONFERENCE

### Beautiful Zulu maidens dance as warriors sing on banks of river:

colourful regalia present today. They dance and ululate in unison while Zulu warriors leap up and down in song.

On the grounds of the camp site, stand two huge tents abuzz with hundreds of delegates and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. They are gathered here for the organisation's "Special General Conference".

The walls of the tents are bedecked with pictures of Umtwana ka Phindangene, the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The heat inside is unbearable, outside there is a scorching sun. Occasionally the crowds burst out in full cry and declare "Shenge! Ndabezitha!" - in respect to their leader. The tone of the conference had been set.

It was set a long time ago - when two pastors scheduled to deliver the sermon and prayer respectively, instead gave political speeches while urging del-

egates to "fight on".

Buthelezi declared to delegates that he would not lead conference in its deliberations and that his was only to present conference with facts - facts that would help them arrive at an informed decision.

However, the hundreds of people attending the conference burst out in laughter when, during his address, Buthelezi left the podium to demonstrate his understanding of the "compromise" proposal offered by the African National Congress at the tripartite talks last week.

He took one step forward and two backwards, much to the delight of delegates - who by now, had gotten the message. He had left very little room in which his supporters could manoeuvre.

Finally, when conference ended and the decision not to take part in the elections announced, it was not as if this was not anticipated.



**NO WAY ...** IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi makes his feelings known at the organisation's special general conference in Ulundi. The conference resolved not to take part in the April elections under the present Interim constitution.  
 PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

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# IFP no to elections

*Sawetani 31/1/94*

By Mathatha Tsedu and Lulama Luti

**IFP would not be thrown into the political wilderness**

**T**HE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY yesterday rejected participation in the elections under the present interim constitution.

The decision, taken at a special conference at Ulundi in KwaZulu, however, leaves room for a rethink should today's negotiations with the Government, the African National Congress and Freedom Alliance produce acceptable results.

The IFP, as part of the Freedom Alliance, has tabled six demands which include powers and boundaries of regions, the double ballot, the recognition of the Zulu monarch, the powers of regions to raise own taxes and the entrenchment of these powers in the constitution.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other senior party officials said yesterday all the six conditions would have to be met for the IFP to take part in the April 27 elections.

This stance is seen as a virtual no vote decision by the IFP as it is inconceivable that the ANC and Government would capitulate to that extent.

The conference gave a full mandate to the central committee to implement decisions based on the outcome of the trilateral talks.

Speaking during a Press briefing after the conference, Buthelezi said it was inconceivable that a

solution to South Africa's problems could be reached without the involvement of the IFP.

Responding to a question, Buthelezi said he did not believe the IFP would be thrown into a 'political wilderness' following its decision. "In fact Mr J W de Klerk telephoned me at 3am this morning sounding very worried. However, he expressed his satisfaction that the talks were continuing and that he was relieved the IFP had not withdrawn from the talks," he said.

More than 5 000 delegates attended the conference where heated debate raged in a closed session about participation and non participation in the elections.

IFP senior official Mr Walter Felgate said 60 people had taken part in the deliberations, with about 80 percent speaking against participation.

It is understood the white members of parliament and a few blacks were for participation.

The conference also supported Buthelezi's endeavours to seek common cause with the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetha, on the question of the acceptability of the single ballot system.

See Page 6

# Buthelezi: Double ballot could bring IFP in

JOHANNESBURG. — Agreement on a double ballot system for the April election could bring his party into the election race, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on national television last night.

The IFP and the Democratic Party, among others, argue that the public must be allowed to vote for separate regional and national re-

presentatives. Negotiations will go into political "injury time" this morning in Pretoria after the announcements by the wavering IFP and the increasingly militant Afrikaner Volksfront to delay their final decision on whether to participate in the elections pending the conclusion of negotiations today.

IFP negotiator Mr. Walter Felgate has poured cold water on the latest ANC proposals aimed at breaking the constitutional deadlock with the Freedom Alliance.

Addressing several thousand delegates at the IFP's special general conference in Umtata on Saturday, Mr. Felgate said the latest proposals were "a total insult to our intelligence".

The proposals were tabled on Thursday and observers hoped they would go some way to addressing Freedom Alliance demands. They will be discussed today.

Mr. Felgate strongly opposed elections under the interim constitution and urged delegates to take a final decision on the IFP's stance on the April poll at the conference.

The three-day April election is due to be declared today, having been postponed from Friday and all parties that want to take part will have to register within 10 days of an announcement.

This deadline can be delayed until 60 days before the poll, effectively giving the IFP until early March to join in. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

CT 31/1/94

# focus on Inkatha

Sowetan 11/2/94

Clouds of doom gather over Natal as Buthelezi presents demands to the ANC and the Government which he knows they cannot meet, says Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu:**



**T**HE special conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend has placed the organisation on a war footing.

As chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told delegates in Ulundi, the IFP has gone full circle. Started as an organisation based on participation in the system to advance the cause by peaceful means, it now finds itself preparing to go into resistance politics.

The arguments Buthelezi has advanced over the years for his involvement in bantustan politics have now been rejected by his organisation, with his prodding and support, against those who argued for involvement.

And today, as Government, ANC and the Freedom Alliance negotiators sit down to try to reach compromises to eliminate possible bloodshed if the IFP in particular is excluded, to many of the delegates that were at the conference the matter is closed.

There will be no elections in Natal, or KwaZulu as they now call it.

## Compromise

Only a miracle, Buthelezi said, could save the situation, as the reasons for the decision to stay out of the elections are founded on fundamental principles on which the IFP cannot compromise.

These are:

- The recognition of the Zulu monarchy and its sovereignty over the whole of Natal;

- The renaming of the province to KwaZulu;

- The scrapping of the one ballot system to be used in the April elections in favour of a double ballot, to give voters a choice to vote differently in regional elections;

- The powers and boundaries of regions to be exclusive and not concurrent with central government power;

- The power of regions to raise and control own taxes and other financial matters; and

- The entrenchment of these clauses in the interim constitution, thus ensuring that the constituent assembly that will draft the final constitution will not be able to tamper with these clauses.

These demands are a package, Buthelezi said, and they have to be accepted as a whole. It is possible that the province will be renamed KwaZulu, after all the process of decolonisation that the reform programme is part of, necessitates such a move.

The king's authority could also be recognised, thus leaving him with no legitimate "monarchy issue", save for those political points that the IFP has added to the king's demands. It is improbable the ANC will budge on the single ballot issue, Buthelezi conceded. All the ANC plans around the elections centre on one ballot.

For the IFP to reverse its position, the Government as well as the ANC would have to agree to the six points.

If they do not, which is most likely, the IFP will not take part in the elections. In that case,



**Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

according to senior IFP officials *Sowetan* spoke to, the following scenario may unfold:

The Zulu monarchy, in the person of King Zwelithini, would declare the whole of Natal a sovereign monarchy under him and known as KwaZulu.

He would then decree that no elections will take place in his territory, which would put him on a war footing with the rest of South Africa or, specifically, the Transitional Executive Council.

## Resistance

IFP officials we spoke to said any attempt to invade KwaZulu would unleash resistance by all Zulus, for it would be the king's decision that would be trampled on, not just the IFP's.

Members of the SA Defence Force, on whom such an operation against the kingdom would rely, are mostly supportive of the Afrikaner Volksfront which has joined the IFP in the FA, and would resist taking part in such a move.

But, even if the TEC was able to muster such a force, Buthelezi said they would face those

tanks.

"I hear arguments that if we do not enter the elections, the ANC-SACP will take charge of the KwaZulu legislature and that will be the end of KwaZulu and the IFP. I do not share that view.

"In fact I reject it outright. I say there can be no governance of KwaZulu-Natal without the active acceptance and participation of the IFP.

"This is a region where we dominate. No foreign forces will come into it to rule over us. I am not declaring war ... what I am calling for is the courage to enter the politics of resistance, knowing that in the final analysis, no government and no constitution can stand that which really is rejected by the people.

"No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC-SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present constitution.

"But Mr Joe Slovo has said that if we refuse, the tanks must roll into KwaZulu. And I say, let them roll," Buthelezi said.

He has called for resistance that should give birth to "plans of action, and out of opposition to that action will be born winning strategies".

The call to defy the TEC is no joke. Buthelezi has so far rejected the authority of the TEC and humiliated them. And he was boasting about that: "The Transitional Executive Council has already moved against KwaZulu. The very first thing they did was to demand information, which incidentally does not exist, from our commissioner of police about so-called hit squads in the KwaZulu police.

"We defied that demand and said no to it. When the TEC passed a resolution calling for the SAP and SADF to enter areas in which the KwaZulu police have jurisdiction, I issued a statement saying that if they do so we would regard it as an invasion.

"I will have nothing to do with the TEC. I do not recognise it. I will not obey it," he said.

It was in this type of war talk atmosphere that the decision to reject the 1993 interim constitution was taken. As the talks and report-backs go on today, it is inconceivable that an agreement can be reached which would be able to accommodate Buthelezi and his people, without the ANC and Government being seen as capitulating to the IFP.

And so, the clouds of doom gather over Natal or KwaZulu, and, effectively, also the Witwatersrand.

# Another

Sowetan 11/21/94

# deadlock

~~11B~~

11B

## Sowetan Correspondent

**A** FINAL ATTEMPT to reach an agreement between the Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance came to nought last night as the fourth deadline to reach an inclusive settlement passed.

No progress was made in the three-way talks after the FA rejected a constitutional proposal tabled last week by the ANC.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said the talks were not yet at the "breakdown stage, which is the next item on the agenda". He said the FA had tabled a new set of proposals at last night's meeting.

These proposals are to be discussed at a specially-convened ANC national executive committee today.

Felgate told journalists that ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had said in the meeting that chances of the ANC's national executive committee agreeing to these new proposals were "very slim".

ANC negotiator Mr Valli Moosa said the NEC would discuss the powers of provinces, including the powers to raise taxes; the principle of self-determination and the powers of provinces to draft their own constitutions.

Felgate said the FA had been told that its demand for a two-ballot system and the entrenchment of regional constitutions were not negotiable.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer cautioned: "Unless the parties (the ANC and IFP) come up with new positions, I'm afraid there is no sense in trying to find a further solution."

He said the ANC and FA would consult their leaders to see whether the non-negotiable positions could be changed.

Speaking in Potchefstroom yesterday, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said the single ballot paper, agreed to at the World Trade Centre, was not negotiable.

### Do not take part

Meyer said the election would be proclaimed tomorrow. The Government's view was that no changes could be made to the interim constitution after the proclamation.

He stressed that all parties should take part in the elections in order to gain sufficient support to enable them to "improve" the constitution after the elections.

"There is no way they can play a role after the election if they do not take part."

There was also no progress made yesterday in talks between the Government, ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront, Meyer said. These talks are expected to continue today.

1994 FEB 17

# Freedom Alliance talks founder as parties give up hope of agreement

TALKS between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance to break the deadlock over objections to the interim constitution ended inconclusively last night with little hope of a future settlement.

The meeting between the parties' chief negotiators broke down after less than an hour with no further meetings scheduled.

After a day of discussions by technical committees, negotiators decided it was the end of the road and called it a day as the deadlock, primarily between the ANC and the alliance, could not be resolved.

The SACP's Joe Slovo, responding to re-

porters' questions of whether there was any light at the end of the tunnel, shrugged and said: "That would be an exaggeration."

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government had tried to facilitate agreement and engineer a breakthrough by putting forward proposals it had thought were reasonable and sufficient for both the alliance and the ANC to accept.

But they found these proposals unacceptable and said it would require a change in their mandates and they could not agree to these at the meeting, he said.

BILLY PADDOCK

Sapa reports that Meyer said the elections would probably be promulgated tomorrow, allowing two days for the resolution of differences.

The ANC would take the matter to its national working committee meeting today, while the alliance would consult its respective principals to see if their bottom lines could be changed. Should this happen, further meetings could be organised.

However it seems that negotiators have given up hope of reaching a settlement.

This implies that the Inkatha Freedom Party will boycott the April elections, in terms of the mandate it got from the special general conference last weekend.

The key sticking points shifted yesterday as the alliance focused on its demands for a double ballot. It also wants regions to be able to draft their own constitutions.

The ANC insisted the single ballot was not negotiable, but its national committee would discuss the alliance's proposals.

Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said an all-inclusive solution had to be found, but the alliance had "moved

mountains and compromised a great deal to get here, but it seems it is not enough". Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said the alliance would wait for the ANC's response to its proposals.

Meyer said the elections would go ahead without the parties that wanted to boycott them. Government was satisfied it had moved sufficiently over the past 10 days and believed the issues could be resolved.

"The ANC and the Freedom Alliance can't find each other. Unless they change their positions in the next 48 hours, there's not going to be much progress."

# Double ballot or bust

118

The door to Inkatha participating in April's election is still open, but only by a whisker.

Though deadlines for resolving the constitutional issues barring its participation have passed with monotonous regularity, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at last weekend's two-day special consultation conference in Ulundi that the final window of opportunity had shrunk to just 10 days.

If differences between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC can't be resolved by then, it will be too late. He emphasised his keenness to participate in an election. Inkatha, he claims, has more to lose than most by staying out. But it will abstain if issues of principle cannot be resolved.

There seemed little likelihood of that after Monday's "last ditch" trilateral talks collapsed in less than an hour. The one, faint hope as the *FM* went to press was that the ANC's national executive committee was sitting in emergency session to discuss the Freedom Alliance's proposals.

Inkatha's Walter Felgate says there are two fundamental sticking points in its five-point package: the objection to a single ballot and the autonomy and sovereignty of regional constitutions. Inkatha wants regions to have the right to write their own constitutions which can't be altered by central government without regional approval.

"ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told us the two principles were absolutely non-negotiable and refused to discuss them," says Felgate.

However, there are those in the ANC who reckon that the election is the strategic objective and ask what will be lost should the ANC indeed acquiesce in the demand for two ballots.

The weekend message from Inkatha and the alliance was that they were not bluffing about boycotting the election.

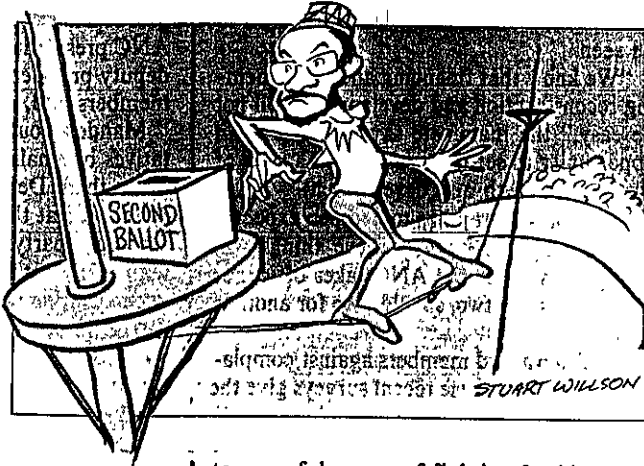
"It's all or nothing," was the comment from a grim-faced Inkatha central committee member after a mammoth closed debate on whether to participate. That pretty well summed up the atmosphere at Ulundi.

The atmosphere of resigned determination was in sharp contrast to a simultaneous, exuberant ANC Durban gathering to launch its manifesto in the province — a celebration of the fact that the election countdown is under way in earnest.

On the face of it, little may have changed

as a result of the Inkatha meeting (attended by about 10 000 delegates from around SA) other than that the central committee will now make the final decision on participation.

Interestingly, though there has been speculation about civil war if Inkatha stays away from the polls, Buthelezi says that, though he has the blood of his warrior forefathers coursing through his veins, he is committed



to peaceful means of fighting for his cause.

Felgate elaborates: "We're looking at the future where principles and democracy are at stake and must oppose a constitution which will damage SA's economic, social and political development and impair the process towards real democracy."

If the party stays out of the election, it won't have a blueprint of revolutionary activity, violence or insurrection. It is looking at a wide, almost infinite, range of democratic ways of opposing what is happening.

But the how is less clear. Felgate simply says Inkatha is in the mainstream of politics and "plays the balls as they bounce."

It will, as in its fight against apartheid and then the tricameral parliamentary system, play the whole political field, adopting a "multi-strategy approach," part of which hinges on what others do to it.

"We will claim our right to democratic protest. If that is impaired, the party will be radicalised," he warns.



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## Double ballot may split alliance

THE ANC's decision to offer the Freedom Alliance a double election ballot is bound to put unbearable pressure on the fickle unity of the member parties.

The offer — tied to a firm undertaking by the alliance to participate in the April elections — was, by late Thursday, not expected to break the deadlock. The Inkatha Freedom Party's media spokesman, Dr Ziba Jiyane, said that all minimum demands still had to be met.

In a television broadcast on Sunday Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated that the two ballot system was the IFP's "one final demand". If the two ballot system was agreed to, he said he could persuade his central committee to participate in the elections.

Jiyane, a moderate, was not sure the ANC offer would convince Buthelezi to

compromise. "But your guess is as good as mine," he said.

Moderates in the IFP are insisting on the party's participation in the elections. The ANC's offer was just what they needed to strengthen their case.

If the offer is not accepted by the IFP leadership, a breakaway by moderates becomes a possibility. Many of them may join the National Party which, according to opinion polls, enjoys more support in Natal than the IFP.

The Conservative Party will also come under severe pressure. Opinion polls show that 80 percent of its supporters plan to vote in April, even if their party does not stand in the elections.

The ANC, the government and the Freedom Alliance were still locked in discussions at the time of going to press.



# Alliance dithers over two-ballot carrot

Star 4/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Crucial trilateral talks at which the ANC was scheduled to table its major concessions — including an acceptance of the double ballot system — to the Freedom Alliance ended inconclusively yesterday when FA negotiators could not guarantee flexibility in the discussions.

When the FA negotiators failed to give this undertaking, they were asked to consult with their leaders and return to the ANC and the Government by Sunday evening or Monday morning.

"The process of negotiating becomes impossible if what you are confronted with are demands," ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said after the talks.

Knowledgeable ANC sources had earlier told The Star the organisation's proposals included acceptance of a double ballot system in the April election as well as an extension of some exclusive powers to regional governments.

FA chief negotiator Rowan

Cronje told the press that although the ANC would not unveil its proposals until it was assured of the FA's flexibility, Constitutional Development Minister and Government negotiator Roelf Meyer had dangled a two-ballot system before the FA in exchange for the alliance's acceptance of the present Interim Constitution.

In a separate briefing, Meyer said the Government's proposal was "comprehensive enough to bring about a settlement". (2012) (113)

Although Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on TV1's *Agenda* on Sunday that a concession to the FA's demand for a two-ballot system could make "a big difference", observers yesterday said it now appeared the FA wanted to shift the goalposts yet again.

Speaking after the trilateral meeting, Cronje said progress would be difficult unless there was movement on the FA's other demands, notably on the powers and functions of provincial governments.

He said the single-ballot

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Star 4/2/94  
**No guarantees from alliance**

◀ From Page 1

agreement had been reached in the twilight of multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and had not until then been one of the FA's key concerns about the Constitution.

In Ulundi, Buthelezi was quoted as having said a double-ballot concession would not address his party's bottom-line demands (113)

He reportedly said he hoped the ANC and the Government would also agree to the IFP's remaining demands (113)

Meyer said the Government would try "again and again to seek a settlement until the time has run out".

Sources said the ANC had also agreed to the extension of exclusive powers to regional governments, provided the present deadlock-breaking mechanism agreed upon at the World Trade Centre would be dispensed with. Instead, all decisions would have to be taken with a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly.

# IFP will join April election at the last minute, say top insiders

ARGUS 2/94  
DAVID BREIER  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

INSIDERS in the hierarchy of the Inkatha Freedom Party predict that the party will definitely stand in the April election, even though another negotiation deadlock looms on Monday.

IFP sources said the party would stand under its own banner, not that of the Freedom Alliance.

They also said the Freedom Alliance would almost certainly reject the government's latest negotiation offer: a double ballot for national and provincial elections.

But alliance sources said late this week this would not mean the end of negotiations — an elaborate game of brinkmanship would continue.

Some alliance parties, notably the IFP, plan to announce their participation in the election in a wave of publicity as close as possible to the April 27-28 polling dates.

The alliance's official response to the latest offer is due on Monday, after its negotiators consult their leadership.

Alliance sources said it was a foregone conclusion that they would reject the package, on grounds that it did not go far enough in addressing the alliance's other demands.

However, alliance parties are likely to apply to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for registration before next Saturday's deadline to keep their options open.

So far, no parties have registered, according to the IEC.

The participation announcement is expected at the 11th hour. Parties have until March 4 — 30 days after this week's promulgation of the election — to submit their lists of candidates.

The prospects of participation by the other major alliance partner, the Afrikaner right wing (including the Afrikaner Volkfront and the Conservative Party), are less clear.

However, alliance sources believe the chances are good that the right wing will participate even if the far-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rejects the decision, as it did at last week's Pretoria rally.

Parting from AWB leader Eugene Ter-

■ To page 3

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## IFP 'to join election at 11th hour'

From page 1  
re'Blanche could help the rightwing election effort, as he is regarded as an embarrassment.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the government's offer of a double ballot for national and provincial elections removed only one of five stumbling blocks.

"In the end any one stumbling block makes our entry into the election impossible."

The four remaining demands were:

■ That provincial constitutions not be changed without the permission of provincial parliaments;

■ Greater provincial autonomy, including exclusive powers, not merely concurrent powers;

■ Provincial financing including taxation (the government has offered a concession here); and

■ Self-determination — the main demand of the rightwing parties.

Government sources said the alliance would lose whatever moral high ground it had if it continued to stonewall despite the offer of a double ballot, which it had demanded.

The double ballot this week received support from business leaders, including the SA Chamber of Business.

The IFP would be the main beneficiary as many Natal voters may prefer to vote for the National Party at national level and for the IFP at provincial level.

A government spokesman said if the alliance continued to stonewall after this offer, they would be exposed as spoilers.

# Coetsee won't meet us — IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee has refused to meet the IFP to discuss the actions of SADF units on the East Rand, the IFP claimed yesterday. (11B) CTB/2/94

The IFP's East Rand region said bodies were lying in the streets in the IFP-controlled region and SADF units were refusing to take them to the mortuary.

Witwatersrand Command spokesman Major Christo Visser

said he had been to the East Rand and no one had reported bodies lying in the streets.

Regarding IFP claims that residents had laid charges of harassment and assault against soldiers, Major Visser said they could file charges which would be investigated by the SADF.

Other IFP claims included the hijacking of cars by members of the ANC-aligned self-defence units and the SADF's reluctance

to act against the perpetrators of these crimes.

The IFP had invited Mr Coetsee to discuss these incidents and his refusal to honour the invitation showed "there is no care or interest in our desperate plight", the IFP said.

The SADF units were deployed there recently as part of a comprehensive peace plan to stem violence and restore the social fabric of East Rand townships

# Double ballot now hangs on SITimes 6/2/94 Freedom Alliance response

By EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY

THE Freedom Alliance's response to the ANC tomorrow will determine whether South African voters will be allowed to exercise separate regional and national ballots in the April elections.

The Freedom Alliance, composed of Inkatha, the CP and Bophuthatswana, was told on Thursday by ANC negotiators that it had until tomorrow to decide whether it was prepared to be flexible in negotiations (IB) ~~(SITimes 6/2/94)~~

If it gave this commitment, concessions by the ANC would be presented to the alliance. However, the ANC insisted that the "package deal" be accepted by all three alliance parties — and accepted in its entirety.

"One of the problems we have had in talks over the past three weeks is that just when we think we are getting somewhere on one aspect, one of the parties in the FA takes a different position," an ANC negotiator said.

He said the ANC's package would satisfy some, but not all, of the demands of each party in the alliance.

Unless each party was prepared to give and take, he said, none of the concessions would be made and all three parties would lose out.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Friday the ANC was prepared to concede separate regional and national ballots for April's general election.

The ANC was also prepared to concede stronger fiscal powers to the regional governments and a clause in the constitution which does not preclude self-determination.

In return, the alliance would have to give an undertaking that it would participate in the elections and the Transitional Executive Council.

The ANC negotiator said he doubted that alliance negotiators would come back with a mandate for flexibility and that talks aimed at amending the constitution would grind to a halt.

## It's still wait and see for Inkatha and elections

CIP News 6/2/94  
INKATHA will decide on whether it will contest the April elections only after negotiations with the government and the ANC have failed, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi said yesterday. (118) (118)  
Inkatha had set four amendments to the interim constitution which had to be accepted before the party would contest the elections, he said at the Lebowa funeral of murdered Inkatha member Mabulenyawe Madiba - Sapa

NKATHA could find itself out on a limb and facing an uncertain political future if it persists in boycotting the April elections.

There is a widespread belief among political observers that last week-end's decision by Inkatha to boycott the election if certain conditions are not met by the government and the ANC could be political harakiri.

Even among the party's leading lights - particularly its parliamentary representatives and central committee members - the special general conference's decision was received with alarm.

The conference, held at the Mandleni-Matlong camp in Umundl deep in the heart of KwaZulu, was called specifically to address the issue of participation in the elections and the future of the party.

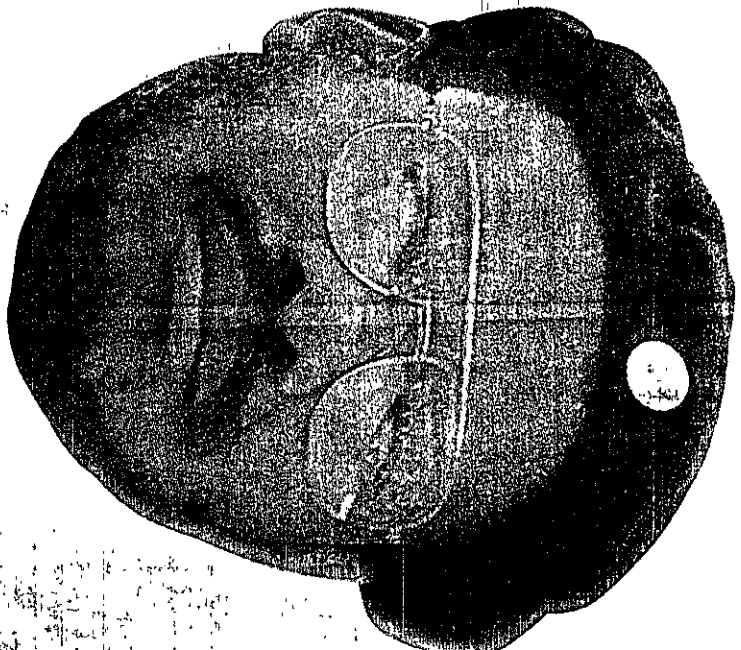
Before the start of the conference there was optimism among some leading delegates that their colleagues would see the dangers of an anti-elections stance.

Their hopes were dashed soon after Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened the conference. In his presidential address, Buthelezi left little doubt that he was opposed to the April elections. He also shot down any suggestion that boycotting elections was suicidal.

"I hear arguments and pleas that if we do not enter elections in the ANC/SACP will take charge of the KwaZulu Legislature and that that will be the end of KwaZulu and Inkatha. I do not share that view. In fact I reject it outright," Buthelezi told his audience.

He did not tell them how KwaZulu and Inkatha could survive if they opposed the government of national unity

IN spite of the ANC and the government's backdown on the issue of double ballots, KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still threatening to boycott the elections in April - vowing to keep control of KwaZulu even if a new government decides to "send in the tanks". But for all his strong talk he has offered his followers no inkling of how he hopes to make KwaZulu - at present totally dependent on Pretoria for funding - survive if it has to defy the government of national unity which will be installed after the elections. It seems as if Buthelezi is determined to commit political suicide - to the dismay of many of his own followers, writes assistant editor SEKOLA SELLO.



# BYE BUTHELEZI?

which will be installed after the elections. He also did not say how they were going to oppose such a government.

Perhaps Buthelezi, shrewd politician that he is, was once more playing brinkmanship with his opponents and is using the threat of boycotting elections to extract more concessions from the government and the ANC.

It would have been tactically unwise to have expected the conference to endorse participation in the elections while multi-

lateral discussions involving Inkatha, the government, the ANC, the Freedom Alliance and the KwaZulu monarch are still going on.

It is possible that Buthelezi will await the outcome of these talks before making an unconditional declaration about the participation or otherwise of Inkatha.

Since the conference decision Inkatha has already extracted a major concession from the ANC by forcing them to agree to double ballot elections.

This was one of Inkatha's major demands and the ANC had initially said the single ballot issue was not negotiable.

In spite of the ANC backing down, Buthelezi said this was not enough to make Inkatha take part in the elections. Addressing businessmen in Durban, Buthelezi said constitutional issues surrounding regional powers were crucial to Inkatha's participation.

Last week the ANC offered the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha

is a member, a "compromise" document in a last ditch effort to woo them back - but Inkatha rejected this as a "one step forward and two backwards" solution.

If, on the other hand, Buthelezi is determined to boycott the elections, the implications could be serious for his party. KwaZulu and its administration lack resources of their own and are totally dependent on Pretoria.

Like most homelands, KwaZulu could not survive for long without financial support from the central government.

Inkatha, some analysts argue, has used the homeland's resources to strengthen itself politically. Civil servants, teachers and nurses in KwaZulu find it in their interest to take out Inkatha membership.

Students too are said to have become Inkatha Youth Brigade members out of expediency or involuntarily.

A defiant Inkatha would be faced with harsh economic realities.

But instead of offering his followers concrete alternatives and answering the crucial question of how the party would survive the financial difficulties, Buthelezi neatly sidestepped the issue.

He indulged in telling how he had defied strongmen like former State President John Vorster and PW Botha - a clear message that he is prepared to follow the same route against the new government.

Inkatha survived the

Vorster-Botha years simply because no matter what differences Buthelezi had with these leaders, they could not act against him and his party while he was operating from the KwaZulu homeland platform which was created by the National Party.

In spite of the differences, the Vorster-Botha administrations continued to bankroll KwaZulu. A recalled Buthelezi, apart from being regarded as a nuisance, also served a good political purpose. It showed that Pretoria did not dictate to the homeland leaders.

Buthelezi talks about entering politics of resistance - but does not specify how this will be done, save to say he is calling for "the courage to enter the politics of resistance knowing that in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand by which really is rejected by the people. No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC/SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present interim constitution".

While he claimed that this was not war talk, he said "no foreign forces shall come into (KwaZulu) to rule over us". He dared the ANC and the government to send tanks into KwaZulu.

Buthelezi may have successfully defied Vorster and Botha. But, to contemplate defying the government that will be installed after the April elections and still survive politically defies logic.

To survive, Inkatha must take part in the elections - even if they are likely to fare badly, as most surveys indicate.

Boycotting the elections and trying to defy the new government can spell only one thing for Inkatha - self-destruction.

# Inkatha youth warn of traitors in Ulundi

By SIPHO KHUMALO

TENSION and fears of a purge gripped Ulundi this week as toyi-toying Inkatha youth distributed pamphlets warning of traitors living in Ulundi.

The pamphlets, written in highly inflammatory language, warned of "a danger that could leave Ulundi in ashes" and urged residents to observe utter vigilance.

The target of the message seemed to be civil ser-

vants who recently demanded to know from KwaZulu authorities what would happen to them and their pensions after the elections.

KwaZulu officials failed to address the fears of the civil servants about their future but the Youth Brigade leaders are understood to have been angered by the impatience of the civil servants.

There are people in all sections of Ulundi who

SPRESS

6/2/94

are sowing seeds of violence and mayhem which will leave our community and surrounding areas without leaders, men and residents," warned the pamphlet.

The youth brigade also fired a broadside at the civil servants for not attending Inkatha meetings. It has been observed that most of the civil servants invariably leave for their homes when Inkatha calls for meetings or holds gatherings in Ul-

community events," complained the youth.

The youth urged residents to attend meetings at different venues which were not mentioned in the pamphlets.

City Press sources within the KwaZulu public sector in Ulundi said civil servants were taking these threats "very seriously" after four houses were burned down in Ulundi last year following the distribution of similar pamphlets.

"What is painful is that these people are within the community, they live with it, they work in government buildings, but when community events are organised they pack up and leave for their homes. (116)

"Some do not associate themselves with things done by the community. Instead of attending such events, they organise gigs and parties, thus drawing people away from com-

F, AS seems increasingly likely, an inclusive constitutional settlement can not be reached and the three components of the Freedom Alliance — Inkatha, the CP/Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana — resolve to boycott the election, the question that arises is: What then?

Bophuthatswana appears to be the easiest "problem" to resolve, but even then it is not simple. The homeland government's position as a key negotiating partner is curious. Unlike its alliance allies which have a measurable base of support, polls consistently fail to register support for President Lucas Mangope's party equivalent to the 0,25% necessary to win a single parliamentary seat.

In that light, the Bophuthatswana government's vigorous struggle for enhanced and protected regional powers, while perhaps inherently worthy, is fairly meaningless given that it would not be represented at all in a national legislature and would have minimal representation in the relevant regional ones.

It does, however, have a full-scale administration including security forces. And as has been demonstrated during ANC attempts to elect oneer in Bophuthatswana, those forces are able to block those activities and, presumably, voting, in April. Unless the administration simply concedes defeat, overcoming those problems could be a complicated, even bloody, exercise.

The Inkatha/KwaZulu situation is far more complex, though. As a poorer region, and a self-governing rather than an independent homeland, KwaZulu's physical resources are more limited than Bophuthatswana's. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to the latest polls, can claim the support of about 23% of the voters of KwaZulu/Natal — or less than 5% of the national total.

However, this is a solid constituency, made more potent by the factor of Zulu nationalism which he exploits, not least by his close identification with Zulu king Goodwill Zw-

# Zwelithini is now the kingpin in talks impasse

ALAN FINE

*Essex* 10/21/94

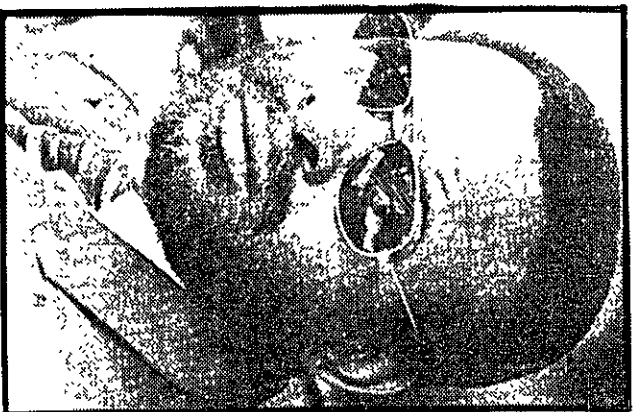
ithini. Nevertheless, his support is significantly down on earlier polls, which gave him real hope of controlling Natal. An election which confirms the latest polls may be too great a humiliation for Buthelezi to bear, and probably explains his resistance to any deal.

His problems, though, may increase. Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman says there is talk out of Natal that the NP and ANC's patient work with Zwelithini may yet bear fruit.

Parallel to the inconclusive trilateral talks, the two parties, and President F W de Klerk in particular, have been holding intensive discussions with the king, and some say the king's advisers are suggesting that he accept a deal on offer which formalises his status and that of his kingdom at a level no worse than exists now.

As important, it would guarantee the income he currently receives from the KwaZulu administration — funds which originate in the central treasury but which would in future be channelled through the new KwaZulu/Natal region established by the new constitution and dominated, in Inkatha's absence, by the ANC.

Would Zwelithini forsake Buthelezi? It may seem unlikely. But the



ZWELITHINI

pair's relationship has not always been a happy one. In the 1970s it was particularly tense when Buthelezi accused the king of using state funds

to establish an opposition party to Inkatha. And in December two incidents hinted at tension between them. First, Zwelithini criticised the alliance's withdrawal from talks, and then he appeared to set himself up for a clash with Buthelezi over the appointments of certain chiefs.

Both incidents were quietly smoothed over, but doubts about the relationship remain. And the NP/ANC offer to the king may just be sufficient to wean him away from Buthelezi. This would be close to a death blow to the Inkatha leader who has depended on ethnic politics to maintain his position.

And that may not be the end of Buthelezi's problems. Friedman surmises a further drain on his support base would occur if those lieutenants, like Joe Matthews and Ben Ngubane, who have consistently fought within Inkatha for a constitutional settlement, then felt sufficiently confident to contest the election under another banner. They would be joined by most of the DP and NP MPs and others who deserted their parties in the hope of fighting the election in Inkatha colours.

The polls point to a drop in Inkatha's national support of three to five percentage points in the past year, coinciding with the party's

toughening negotiating stance. It is feasible that those votes, plus some which a participating Inkatha would otherwise receive, would go to those candidates.

And the party for which they would stand? There is no real evidence so far. But Friedman suggests that the new African Christian Democratic Party, which currently seems merely a new project by elements of the defunct Afrikaner Volksunie and assorted conservative black politicians, may provide a home for them.

And they may have natural allies among the more moderate sections of the white right wing — which has suffered, like Inkatha, a pattern of lost electoral support in the period. A constitutional settlement with the neo-Nazi right is, and probably always has been, impossible. Their guerrilla war has begun, as shown by the rash of bombings. Countering it is a law and order function.

What Friedman calls the "conciliatory right" — which includes Gen Constand Viljoen and parts of the Afrikaner Volksfront — is probably not yet ready for a deal. Although there were claims that Viljoen and some of his colleagues were close to a settlement with the ANC, involving a new constitutional principle which fudged until later the issue of a volkstaat, it seems he cannot sell a strategic compromise to the more militant and impatient Volksfront constituents. His rejection at a rally 11 days ago is evidence of that.

A deal with Viljoen and his allies may have to wait until some time in the post-election future, until (and if) sufficient numbers of their constituents discover that life under an ANC government, while not ideal, is tolerable — allowing them to reduce their sights from a full-scale volkstaat to something less.

Painting scenarios about SA's medium-term future is a tricky, probably foolish, task. The only certainty, perhaps, is uncertainty. But while the country faces a further period of uncertainty and possibly instability, it need not necessarily be unmanageable.



# focus on rightwing

Sowetan 10/2/94

**A**LREADY THE merry-go-round over negotiations with the conservative Freedom Alliance has undoubtedly left most voters at least perplexed, at worst bored. There is some comfort in knowing that by the end of this week we will know whether we are poised for civil war — or whether we can engage in the conventional political game of electioneering in peace, with all major parties taking part.

On Sunday, all parties standing in the April 26 to 28 election must register with the chief director of home affairs (at a cost of R25 000 to stand for national assembly and R5 000 for each regional assembly).

It will then be known whether the Freedom Alliance parties will be playing the game or not. What we can be sure of is that we can brace ourselves for heavy doses of politics.

Since the Concerned South Africans Group (forerunner of the Freedom Alliance) left formal negotiations in July last year, the Government and the ANC have been engaged in an endless charade of talks going nowhere, signifying nothing.

While the alliance parties have been inflexible at times, it is hard to understand why the unholy government-ANC partnership is unable to accede to all of the rightwing group's demands.

One major sticking point has been the right of regions to write their own constitutions — without central government interference.

If the ANC and Government are so sure of their combined support base of more than 70 percent of the electorate nationally — and at least 60 percent in Natal — one can't fathom why they don't give in to the alliance demand.

After all, Inkatha is most unlikely to win a majority in Natal and therefore won't be able to dictate the terms of the provincial constitution.

In the other eight regions, the likelihood of any of the alliance parties winning a majority of votes is extremely remote.

Only the NP, based on recent opinion polls, has any hope of beating the ANC — in the Western and Northern Cape.

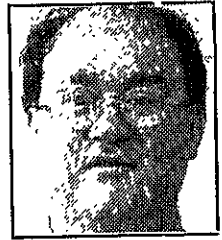
## Support

One suspects that the FA recognises its limited support base — probably under 10 percent of the electorate — and is desperately seeking media attention by continuing talks with the ANC-NP partnership.

After all, they would have no problem participating in an election — even under a flawed interim constitution — if they knew they were going to win enough votes to dictate the terms of a final constitution.

The hoo-ha over the double ballot means little if one isn't going to participate in the election. The sudden moral high-ground which

If you are suffering from *politikverdrossenheit* (German for: absolutely sick of politics), wear ear-mufflers, reports **Donwald Pressly** of Sowetan's political staff:



Freedom Alliance leader Ferdie Harzenberg and Constand Viljoen brace up for an endless round of talks.

Inkatha has taken — by insisting it can't take part in flawed structures — represents a rather remarkable reverse of its previous political behaviour.

After years of participation in apartheid structures, notably the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and discredited Bantu Local Authorities, it now insists that its hands can't be dirtied by participating in bodies agreed upon by representatives of parties representing about 80 to 90 percent of the populace.

## Negotiations process

At the start of the negotiations process, the Democratic Party's Dr Denis Worrall suggested that deliberations should be guided by Supreme Court judges.

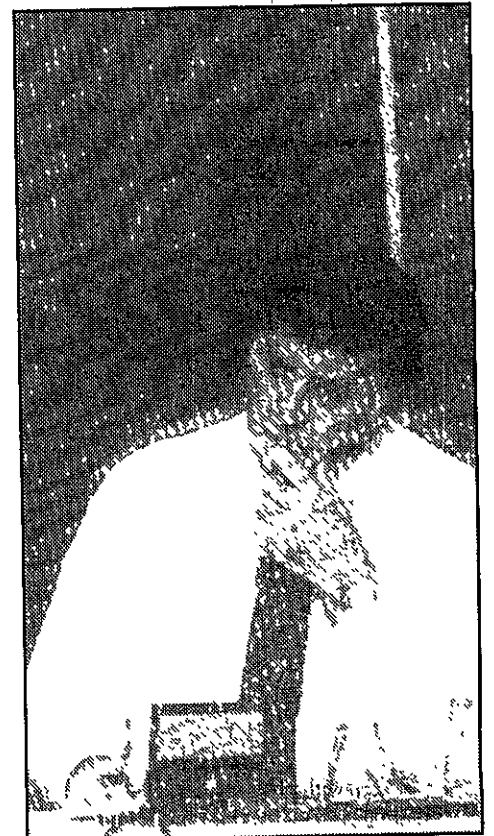
This happened at Codesa but they disappeared at the multiparty negotiations forum.

The talks between the ANC, Government and alliance have meant that they have had to be players and referees.

It is, therefore, not surprising that they have been a complete failure.

By Sunday we will know whether or not to just ignore the Freedom Alliance (or avoid its bullets) and get on with the election campaign, or whether we can consider voting for it.

At least the political charade will be at an end. And we can get on with *realpolitik*.  
(D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)



Pensive Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronjé during a break in exhaustive negotiations.

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

Continued from page 45

In the ANC-AVF talks, by contrast, in which ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki is involved, there is agreement on continuing a process of addressing the concerns of the Volksfront, including the concept of a *volkstaat*. This, it is said, could include a consolidated territory for rightwing Afrikaners. Also entailed is an agreement that the concept of a *volkstaat* will be defined.

According to the *FM's* information, the sovereignty of such a *volkstaat* has never been put on the table by the Volksfront; nor has the idea been racially defined.

The jury is apparently still out on all this, however, informed sources believe there's a chance of a breakthrough before tomorrow — the Independent Electoral Commission's deadline for parties wishing to contest the general election to register.

The difference with Bophuthatswana's and Inkatha's positions is that they already have territorial power bases to defend. The key to any breakthrough in their case lies in the extent to which proposed constitutional amendments put forward in the government's six-point package are seen as guaranteeing those territorial bases.

Government's plan, which the ANC basically accepts, includes: changing the name of Natal to include the word KwaZulu; a double ballot (both unequivocally accepted); the tax base of provinces — which could be agreed depending on whether Inkatha can live with government's proposed redrafting of clause 155 of the constitution; the issue of provincial powers (over which the ANC is prepared to relent); self-determination — Inkatha and Bophuthatswana are looking at a proposal which looks good to the AVF and which may mean drafting a new constitutional principle; and, lastly, provincial constitutions.

For his part, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje insists on an undertaking that provincial powers now agreed to will not be removed from provinces "as the SA government did to the four provinces in 1986."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer suspects that the question of entrenching provincial constitutions could be the issue on which the talks finally break down. In any case, the lack of homogeneity in the alliance, he says, causes problems, as each time there seems to be agreement on a particular issue, one alliance partner will say he has to consult his principal.

Meyer urged the alliance to accept the package, which, he believes, materially satisfies their demands. But he says the alliance decided to go for the jugular following the ANC's acceptance last week of a two-ballot election.

Be that as it may, the quid pro quo being sought from the alliance consists of four points: A commitment to take part in the election and transitional structures, forswearing violence and Bophuthatswana's reincorporation.

There are snags over the second and last points. Alliance leaders were meeting on

Tuesday to consider their response, and another trilateral meeting is possible this week.

Today is for all practical purposes the last chance to amend the constitution; and if the alliance parties do not register for the election tomorrow they can't participate. ■

## NEGOTIATIONS

*FM* 11/2/93  
**Finding each other**

Despite Monday's ill-tempered deadlock between Inkatha/Bophuthatswana and government/ANC negotiators, hopes of a breakthrough could just emerge out of separate talks with Constand Viljoen's rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront. (2077A) (11B) (11A) (11B)

It is a faint hope, but there exists a "considerable basis," a source close to the talks says, for a compromise to be struck between the ANC and the AVF regarding the idea of a *volkstaat*. (11A) (11B)

Assuming this is pulled off, the question is whether such a deal will be imperilled by the impasse between Bophuthatswana, Inkatha, government and the ANC, or whether the AVF will take its concession and effectively break with the alliance. Splitting the alliance has always been an ANC objective.

Oddly enough, it appears that the chemistry among the main personalities involved in the one set of talks — the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, Inkatha's Walter Felgate and Bop's Rowan Cronje — is simply "not right." An undercurrent of mutual suspicion seems pervasive, according to the *FM's* source, who likens it to "trying to buy a used car from someone you don't trust." Felgate accuses the ANC of intransigence; Ramaphosa accuses Inkatha of shifting the goal posts.

Continued on page 48

FINANCIAL MAIL • FEBRUARY • 11 • 1994 • 45

# IFP decides tomorrow on election policy

ARC 11/2/94 (11B)  
□ Buthelezi faces his biggest test as statesman

WITH the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront having decided to boycott the April election, and the KwaZulu legislature having voted to do as well, attention is now focused on the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is the only major element of the Freedom Alliance that has not yet announced its position, and it gathers in Ulundi tomorrow to decide.

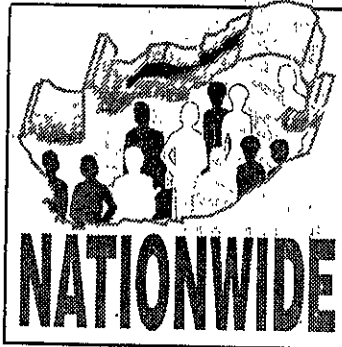
Attention has also focused on a secret document, drawn up by the alliance last month, which outlines a strategy to make the election impossible.

Martin Challenor of the Political Staff reports from Ulundi that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has never faced a more testing decision than the one he will have to make with the 80 members of the IFP central committee tomorrow.

Many have told Chief Buthelezi that his best option would be to prove at the polls what support he has, and use this to re-shape the constitution to his favour.

● This was a taste of things to come, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu warned at Masunkazane, in KwaZulu, yesterday when he joined grieving families in memory of the 12 people slain in a weekend attack, writes Vasantha Angamuthu in Durban.

● ANC leader Nelson Mandela met Bophuthatswana president Chief Lucas Mangope on Monday, the Bophuthatswana government



has confirmed.

The Bophuthatswana government is a member of the Freedom Alliance, but since the territory is constitutionally independent it will not take part in the election formally, although its citizens would be allowed to vote.

● After 82 years of being a liberation movement trying to overturn the state by every means, including bullets, the ANC yesterday registered to overturn President De Klerk's government through the ballot.

Nelson Mandela closed an era and began a new one when he handed in a 17-page registration form and a R70 000 cheque to register the ANC as a party to contest elections for the national assembly and the nine new provinces.

The ANC president, accompanied by, among others, Popo Molefe, head of the ANC election department, and SA Community Party chairman Joe Slovo, said

the registration would not change the character of the ANC.

"We're still a broad national liberation movement whose task is to ensure that the policy and manifestation of apartheid is eradicated. That goal has not been achieved. We are here to register in terms of the existing laws," Mr Mandela said.

● Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commander Sabelo Phama was only a few weeks away from returning to a glorious welcome in South Africa when he died in Tanzania on Wednesday, according to PAC spokesman Peter Mayende.

Mr Phama, 45, the PAC defence secretary, was driving from Tanzania to Zimbabwe for a meeting today with a high-ranking Organisation of African Unity official when his car collided with a lorry.

● The PAC will register for the election today, according to national executive council member and negotiator Patricia de Lille. She said the PAC decided against registering yesterday because of Mr Phama's death.

● The ANC's mineral rights policy will destabilise the gold mining industry, President De Klerk told a meeting in Welkom on the first day of a three-day National Party election blitz in the Free State.

The policy was "casting the biggest shadow over your assets," Mr De Klerk said.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

**B**USINESS DAY is putting a series of questions to the country's main political parties. These are their replies to the first question: Do you support nationalisation? If so, which privately owned companies or utilities should be in the state sector? If not, which parastatals or government services should be privatised?

### **African National Congress**

THE ANC has never considered nationalisation to be the panacea for our country's serious economic problems. The ANC is committed to a mixed economy, which will create opportunities for economic development and growth. In line with the interim constitution that protects private property, a whole range of policies will be at the disposal of the future ANC-led government.

While we have no intention of nationalising any corporation, it must be pointed out that some publicly owned companies such as Eskom are extremely profitable. Public ownership of a company does not at all imply that it is badly run. Nor does the privatisation of an enterprise necessarily mean that it would be more efficiently run. For example Iscor, which was very profitable when it was a publicly run company, made huge losses during the last few years since it was privatised. It is only recently that Iscor is being turned around and is becoming more profitable.

Before any attempts are made to privatise publicly owned companies, thorough research must be done, measured against the need for general growth and development that will serve the majority of South Africans.

Even when minor nationalisation is contemplated, such as the nationalisation of private land that may prohibit the construction of a road, such measures will be taken in consultation with affected groups.

### **Democratic Party**

THE primary goals of economic policy should be to eliminate poverty and provide adequate and rising living standards for all. The DP's approach is designed to bring about the sustained long-term growth necessary to achieve these goals, stability and economic prosperity.

Before wealth can be consumed or redistributed, it must be created — and governments are seldom effective creators of wealth. The aim therefore should be to hold the public sector share of the economy as low as possible to allow the productive private sector to develop optimally.

Government is an important player — regulating direction and not detail; ensuring fair play; redressing

# To nationalise or not to nationalise: that is the question

Biday

11/21/94

(11B)

imbalances and creating infrastructure where private enterprise cannot do so; as well as providing for those incapacitated in one or another form, and the unemployed. It will have to find the balance between social justice, economic efficiency and environmental protection.

Nationalisation plays no useful role in any of this, and the DP is totally opposed to it. The DP supports privatisation of undertakings where appropriate, and where government can do so without avoiding its social responsibilities, bearing in mind that monopolies do not become acceptable by being privatised.

The DP would ensure transparency and accountability in the process of commercialisation and privatisation, and believes that such a policy should be vigorously pursued to promote greater efficiency and revenues for the state. Broad private ownership should be encouraged and the proceeds and benefits of privatisation should be used for capital projects of a developmental nature.

All government services and parastatals should be evaluated against these criteria. Prime candidates for privatisation include SAA, Foskor, Alekor and Telkom.

### **Conservative Party**

THE CP does not support nationalisation. All over the world it has been proved that nationalisation does not improve productive efficiency.

There are no privately owned companies or utilities which should be in the state sector. On the other hand, parastatals and government services which do not assist people in improving their quality of life should be discontinued or privatised.

A mistake commonly made by political and other decision-makers is to link economic and political systems solely with material well-being. The Afrikaner's spiritual and psychological desires are just as important as their standard of living.

While people are debating the nationalisation issue, attention is

drawn away from the fact that SA is staggering under the tremendous weight of a government apparatus that absorbs more than 30% of GNP and distorts the workings of our economic progress with its irrational policies. Now, even without any pressure for nationalisation, there will be pressure for even bigger government. In a unitary SA, it will be impossible to resist those pressures because the objectives of welfare activities are "noble" and regarded as a right. It will also flow from election promises.

What is needed is a dispensation in which groups of people decide for themselves what will serve their economic and non-material needs the best, for example, a Boere-Afrikaner state for the Afrikaner. In this state the government will provide services which cannot be rendered at a profit by the private sector. Businesses will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of efficiency. If they become big as a result of that it would pose no problem. They would, however, not be allowed to acquire a monopoly by anti-competitive strategies. Industries will be protected against unfair competition from abroad if they are of a strategic nature.

### **Inkatha Freedom Party**

IN LINE with its staunch belief in free enterprise, Inkatha is emphatically opposed to nationalisation.

Nationalisation is not an effective tool in bringing about a redistribution of income and wealth and is inimical to wealth creation. Although nationalisation might improve the wages and working conditions of workers within state corporations, it fails to reach other sections of society which are perhaps in greater need. They would include the unemployed, informal sector workers, employees of small firms and rural inhabitants. Inkatha believes in the privatisation of burdensome public corporations and the redistribution of equity ownership to

the disadvantaged sections of SA's community.

Far from bringing about improving levels of general welfare, nationalisation is inimical to economic growth. It frightens away investment. The management approach adopted by state nominees is often one of survival rather than expansion and growth. Coupled with this is the fact that the nominees entrusted with running the nationalised corporations are not necessarily the most capable for the job. Their choice is usually the outcome of a policy of political patronage rather than the adoption of the best-man-for-the-job criterion.

It is the privatisation of state corporations rather than nationalisation which will bring about economic growth and an improvement in the standard of living of the poor.

Since the private sector is able to utilise scarce resources far more efficiently than the public sector, we believe that economic growth can be maximised by placing as little in the hands of the public sector as is possible. However, since privatisation does bring with it price hikes as prices adjust to the market clearing rate, those corporations or sectors which cater largely for the needs of poor would remain in state hands.

Since the placing of roads, railways, airports and telecommunications in the hands of the private sector would assist in boosting economic growth these would be considered for privatisation. On the other hand, since the health, education and welfare sectors cater most fully for the needs of the poor, organisations operating within these sectors would not be considered for privatisation. Here, the state and the private sector can together cater for the needs of SA's population.

### **National Party**

DEBATES on nationalisation continue, following ANC threats directed at the business community. The

severity of these threats has been tempered by an understanding of the factors which create growth and that this cannot be achieved through nationalisation. Growth is brought about by an economy based on free enterprise and effective competition. To achieve this government interference must be minimal.

Improved management techniques have led to the more efficient utilisation of resources with resultant higher productivity. This in turn has produced greater wealth for employers, employees and shareholders, and provided the incentive for further investment and growth.

Privatisation has been the basis for growth in most developing countries. State-owned enterprises have failed to generate high growth. This has resulted in stagnation and a lack of competition.

Privatisation has the benefits of generating cash for the government, eliminating subsidies and increasing taxation. The decision to privatise must be based on factors such as spreading share ownership, demonstrating managerial decision-making, benefits to consumers and avoiding transferring a monopoly from the public to the private sector. The provision of services can provide great opportunities for private-hour-intensive and provide much needed employment opportunities.

### **Pan Africanist Congress**

THE experience of nationalisation in many countries, both capitalist and socialist, has not been a happy one. Witness the bloated bureaucracy, wastage of resources and lack of commitment to making these enterprises profitable. Witness the huge amounts of taxpayers' money spent to keep nationalised industries solvent.

We will not nationalise for doctrinaire reasons. We will not nationalise to service a black elite. It does not make economic sense to take from a white elite to empower economically a black elite.

We have to generate wealth in partnership with business. We need to activate savings and investments to create new jobs. With between 5-million and 7-million unemployed, and only one in every 100 school-leavers able to secure jobs, the situation is critical.

The PAC believes business must be far more oriented to community needs. Our workers need to be much more involved in decision-making. We would advocate a law on co-determination. We would encourage policies designed to make our workers stakeholders in private enterprises through equity holdings.

In our view there will always be a good case for advocating public ownership of essential services — transport, water, electricity, and so on.

# Harry O and the Sun King woo Buthelezi

SM 11-17/2/94 (11B)

Business heavyweights have been enlisted to get Inkatha to participate in elections, reports **Stephen Laufer**

**H**ARRY OPPENHEIMER and Sol Kerzner are among the corporate big hitters who have personally visited kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a bid to persuade him to enter the election process.

They, and other business leaders, have been to Ulundi in recent months at the request of ANC president Nelson Mandela. It has been learned that a high-level delegation from Natal business was in the kwaZulu capital last

weekend to meet Buthelezi. However, all efforts to persuade the Inkatha chief that his political future lies within the constitutional process have been unsuccessful, say sources.

Several Western ambassadors have also met Buthelezi after being asked to intervene by Mandela.

Oppenheimer and Kerzner had separate meetings with the Inkatha chief in Ulundi late last year. Aware of their long-standing personal relationships with Buthelezi, Mandela apparently

asked them to use their good offices in an attempt to reach an accommodation.

Mandela and Oppenheimer met in London last year, said Oppenheimer's aide Clifford Elphick, and the idea of a mission to Ulundi was born during a wide-ranging discussion on the South African political situation.

Oppenheimer flew to Ulundi in October. "He was pleased to go because it was his view too that Inkatha should come back into the process," said Elphick.

Explaining the background to his visit, Oppenheimer told Buthelezi he had been encouraged by Mandela.

who was anxious for Inkatha to return to the constitutional process. But the meeting ended inconclusively, with Buthelezi expressing his frustration at what he perceived to be the determination of some members of the ANC's national executive to block Mandela's attempts at accommodating Inkatha's demands.

Sun International chief Kerzner was also in Ulundi late last year, and had "about an hour's discussion" with Buthelezi, he confirmed this week. "As a South African I felt I should use my long-standing contacts with the chief minister in an effort to encourage him," he said.

Asked whether he felt his journey had been worthwhile, Kerzner said "Even if the impact is only marginal, that kind of trip is always worth making. It can do no harm."

First reports of Mandela's high-level business emissaries to Ulundi emerged two weeks ago when he was asked at a Foreign Correspondents Association lunch why he had not done more to persuade Buthelezi back into the elections. Detailing the Oppenheimer and Kerzner missions, he asked rhetorically: "What else would you suggest I do?"

"Send the Pope," replied one reporter.

# IFP keeps SA guessing

Sowetan 11/2/94

## POKER GAME Inkatha to meet

as deadline for registration looms:

**I**NKATHA FREEDOM PARTY YESTERDAY ruled out the possibility that it would take a decision this weekend on whether to participate in the April poll — although midnight tomorrow is the deadline for registration.

(112)  
The constitutional poker game between the Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance is, however, set to continue this weekend. While no formal trilateral talks are planned before the deadline, they have not been ruled out.

IFP chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said the IFP central committee meeting tomorrow was "merely a routine update on the state of negotiations".

However, he said this did not mean the FA parties could not enter the election fray later as President FW de Klerk had the power to change the provisions of the Electoral Act "in consultation with other parties, like the ANC".

An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman, however, said parties which had not registered by tomorrow "are out of the elections".

Parliament would have to change the

Electoral Act to allow any late registrations, he said.

Constitutional Development spokesman Mr Izak Retief said if the three parties reached broad agreement on constitutional amendments, they would have to be passed by Parliament.

"Technically Parliament can at the same time extend the registration period, but only if agreement can be reached before the end of the weekend.

"The situation is open-ended, but one can assume that if there is still a deadlock on Sunday night, then it is all over," he said.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he was still keen to participate in the election "providing all demands are met".

He told a SA Chamber of Commerce delegation in Ulundi he was still hopeful that an inclusive settlement could be reached "at this eleventh hour".

Meanwhile, Ngubane said the alliance was awaiting a Government constitutional package before more talks were held.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

## Buthlezi calls for Sacob's support

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has urged business in SA to support his party's constitutional demands and has warned against the ANC's economic policy.

The Inkatha president met a SA Chamber of Business delegation in Ulundi yesterday and told them business should support Inkatha's demands if it was serious about federalism.

"We in the IFP are not asking for the perpetuation of apartheid under another guise.

"We are not asking for confederalism. Nor are we asking for secession.

"We are asking that the region of KwaZulu/Natal be given an acceptable degree of autonomy to rule itself," he said. *BIDAY*

Commenting on optimism about the economy, he warned business that "it could be to your detriment should you conveniently ignore what the ANC is really about. 1112,194

"It is therefore in your interests to stand up to the ANC now and to support the IFP in our demands for federalism. (118)

"If you, the business community, have the strength of your convictions in fighting for federalism as you have declared in the past,

you will join in the call to have our demands met."

While he appreciated Sacob's support for a double ballot system of voting, a much louder voice was needed before the ANC could be exposed for the power-hungry, anti-democratic organisation it was, said Buthelezi.

The Inkatha president slammed the ANC's reconstruction and development programme as "pie in the sky" economics, predicting future state intervention with a resultant stunt in growth and continuing poverty. — Sapa

Report by C Doonan, 141 Commissioner Street, Jhb.



# FW gives alliance one last chance

Star 12/2/94

ESTHER WAUGH  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

**PRESIDENT de Klerk has offered the Freedom Alliance (FA) a last chance to become part of the country's historic political settlement.**

Speaking in Clarence on his Free State election roadshow, he said it was "technically possible" to change today's midnight deadline for parties to register for the April election.

Government sources indicated last night that the deadline could be shifted only by amending the Electoral Act, which would require Parliament to be called for a brief sitting.

De Klerk said that if agreement was reached soon between the FA, Government and ANC, the deadline could be shifted.

### Divisions

But he warned that his comments did not create an "open door" situation, and that agreement would have to be reached soon.

There have been clear indications in recent days of divisions within the alliance. A substantial group of Conservative Party moderates were this week set to force a caucus vote on participation in the election, arguing that the party should not hand a two-thirds majority to the ANC "on a plate".

But a senior CP source revealed that the group had "the wind taken out of our sails" when the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus took its decision on Wednesday night to resist the election. He explained that members of the CP's pro-election grouping felt that they did not want to destroy the alliance with KwaZulu by taking a conflicting decision.

Today the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee meets to take its decision on the election, and dissenting voices are bound to be raised. At the IFP's recent special general conference, some significant figures in the party were outspoken in calling for participation.

However, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi appears to have set his mind against the polls and will have the backing of the conference resolution, which called for a boycott if its demands were not met in negotiations.

Government sources were last night pessimistic about any breakthrough before the existing midnight deadline for registration.

John Soderlund reports that 10 political parties, including the DP, ANC and NP, had registered for the election by late yesterday.

First at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday was the centrist African Christian Democratic Party, which

TO PAGE 2.



2 Saturday Star February 12 1994

## Star 12/2/94 Alliance

FROM PAGE 1.

plied to stand in all regions.

The ANC, NP and DP followed with applications for all regions, and the Dikwankwella Party in the Orange Free State and PWV regions.

The tiny Merit People's Party applied to stand only in the Western Cape and last night Amichand Rajbansi's newly named Minority Party (formerly National People's Party) submitted an application to stand in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

The PAC is expected to apply for registration this morning.

The signals this week have all pointed to a boycott of the election by all members of the FA, with the possible exception of Bophuthatswana.

Besides the hardline KwaZulu resolution, the Afrikaner Volksfront also resolved on Thursday not to take part in the election.

Yesterday De Klerk said the Government still had to get clarity from the AVF on whether its decision also meant that the CP would not be contesting the April poll.

He warned that if the AVF's boycott meant a move to violence or attempts to prevent the election, the Government would act "firmly".

De Klerk told a press conference that the Government would continue negotiations until the "very last possible moment". It had put a "concrete and well-constructed" proposal to the FA, but the alliance's response had not been satisfactory.

47 Sauer St, Johannesburg

but the ANC leader also sadly re emotional and physical hardships

## own - Mai

### JOHNSON

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polices". Mandela said: "Beacu leadership, I agonised r government without disc colleagues. I felt I had a t approaching the authoritl did, they would reject it."

Nevertheless, he was was right" for such negot Pollsmoor, he had had the with visiting VIPs. Cabine "I had overcome my ov them (the National Party) He then arranged to se

TO PAGE

## Bos

LONDON — Western allies Serbs of Bosnia

This would 1991 Gulf War a fight, Weste

limited their involvement to selective air strikes against targets.

A war would be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations, but against the wishes of Russia and without the endorsement of China.

In the countdown to midnight on Febru-

and the interpretations that foreign governments choose to place on those events. If Western governments accept that the Bosnian Serbs have honoured the ceasefire on Wednesday, there will be no war. — The Independent/Sapa-Reute.

## Reilly still sho

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day, taking a majority stake in a London press group.

Independent News- papers, Ireland's biggest media company

### JUDE WEBBER

was buying nearly 67 percent of Capital News- papers from British publishing company EMAP and Stantonmill Ltd for £4.8 million (£24.2 million).

See Pages 4, 12

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# Elections in grave danger



A BLANKET APPROVAL... Nelson Mandela gets dressed up in traditional garb to attract votes. ■ Pic: TRUANI STIMOLE

By CP Correspondent

**T**HE country's first nonracial elections are now under grave threat following the decision by the Afrikaner Volksfront to boycott them and the growing possibility that Inkatha and Bophuthatswana's Christian Democratic Party will also give them a wide berth.

At the time of going to press Inkatha and the CDP had not finally decided. Both parties had until yesterday to register.

During the past three weeks the ANC and the government have offered the Freedom Alliance—the AVF, Inkatha and the CDP—several packages to break the deadlock.

It appears that whatever key ANC concessions to the Alliance, the latter still demands the same assurance which caused the feud about the one- and two-phase approach which has been raging for over a year.

The Alliance demands the assurance that powers and functions which have now been allocated to the provinces won't be removed when the final constitution is drawn up.

But time is running out. Yesterday was the final date for parties to register with the Independent Electoral Commission for participation in the election.

The government believes the Alliance's insistence on more guarantees is unnecessary. It is

## Civil war

### threat if deadlock

### continues

Time is running out fast for the possibility of a peaceful settlement between the parties fighting over the country's future. The Afrikaner Volksfront has decided to boycott the elections and this week it was still uncertain whether the Freedom Alliance would take part. If they don't, it could mean war.

satisfied that the constitution offers sufficient protection to prevent the provinces' powers being substantially reduced in the final constitution.

According to government negotiators and the ANC's Valli Moolammed Moosa, the senate has been allocated a special role in the constitution to protect the powers of the provinces.

Constitutional Development Minister Koel Meyer this week drew up a "balance sheet" of concessions offered to the Alliance and the counter-achievements expected from the Alliance. The concessions are:

- Amendments to the transitional constitution which strengthen the ability of provinces to levy taxes.
- The name of Natal can be changed to KwaZulu/Natal.
- An additional constitutional principle can be included which will make self-determination in a specific area possible.
- If an agreement could be reached on the package, two ballot papers will be used in the election.
- Article 160 of the constitution can be amended to enable provinces to claim more powers than have been provided in articles 157 to 159.
- Meyer said this means provision could be made in the constitution of KwaZulu/Natal for the Zulu monarchy.
- The other side of the

balance sheet, said Meyer, appears to be:

- The Alliance must take part in the election.
- The Alliance must take part in the transitional process and structures. But the Alliance refuses to agree on this.
- The Alliance must reject threats of violence.
- Bophuthatswana must participate and be reincorporated.

Alliance negotiators this week persisted that the ANC must give the assurance that powers and functions allocated to the provinces may not be substantially reduced in the final constitution.

Alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje said this assurance should be contained in one of the constitutional principles.

The ANC is wary of this concession, as it will bind the constituent assembly to agreements on detail entered into before the election. The ANC is only in favour of frameworks of principle in which the constituent assembly will operate.

But the Alliance wants ironclad protection to the assurance. It's a Catch-22 situation — which threatens to plunge the country into civil war.

And there is the hidden danger that the Alliance's bottom line could be a Volksstaat for the Afrikaner farmers, self-determination for Bop and a KwaZulu monarchy.

The ANC as the dominant negotiating partner cannot accept this.

Report by Sibusiso Sibisi, 2 Herb St, New Doverton, Johannesburg.

# PLAN TO

## Signs of divisions in Alliance



MANGOPE



BUTHELEZI

# SPLIT THE RIGHT

CIPRESS 13 12 1974

THE ANC and the Nationalist government are beavering away behind the scenes on a master plan to split the right-wing Freedom Alliance down the middle.

Their aim is to minimise right-wing opposition to the April elections which is said to be at an advanced stage and could unfold in a matter of days - Afrikaner Volkfront leader General Constand Viljoen could form a breakaway party which supports participation in the elections.

According to reliable sources, about 10 members of the Conservative Party could also join Viljoen's breakaway bunch. Their identities are not known at this stage.

Relations between Viljoen - a popular figure among the military establishment - and rank-and-file AVF members, have been uneasy since he was booted off stage for proposing that the Afrikaner should consider taking part.

Apparently Viljoen's proposal was delivered with full approval of the AVF executive committee - yet not one of the committee defended Viljoen from the jeers of the right-wing crowd.

It is believed that most of those who jeered him are members of the ultra-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Meanwhile, a breakaway could also hit Inkatha. A number of Inkatha central committee members are said to be unhappy with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's aggressive rejection of the election.

**Resignations**

Although the party decided at its special general conference recently to boycott the elections unless certain conditions were met - largely at the instigation of Buthelezi - the decision did not lead to resignations or the formation of a new Inkatha party as many expected.

Among the names linked to the formation of a new party are the so-called moderates national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, Kwazulu government chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane, information chief Ziba Jiyane and parliamentarians Mike Tarr, Farouk Cassim and Peter Miller.

While rightwingers this week fought a rear-guard battle to maintain their unity, Dophuhtshwana President Lucas Mangope appeared to be showing signs that he would take part in the elections.

After separate meetings this week with ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk, Mangope's chief confidant and Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje hinted that Bop would participate in the election without the other Alliance members.

Report by Sekela Selis, 2 Feb St. New Doornfontein, Johannesburg

# IFP says 'no' to election

S1 Times 13/2/94  
By GEORGE MAHABEER

**IT'S FINAL!** The Inkatha Freedom Party will not participate in the April 26-28 election.

The decision was taken yesterday at a crucial IFP central committee meeting in Ulundi, the IFP stronghold in Kwazulu.

The IFP rejected the new constitution, saying it was "fatally flawed" and hammered out by the parties that continued with the multi-party negotiations.

Instead of pitting its forces at the poll, the IFP asked for international mediation to resolve the political log-jam.

It further accused the government and the ANC of having "dominated the negotiations" through "secret bilateral undertakings to secure their own party political interests".

Together with its allies in the Freedom Alliance — the Bophuthatswana government, the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Conservative Party — the IFP will launch another bold initiative, called the Freedom Alliance Pact, to campaign against the constitution. (113)

It said it was determined to force the government and the ANC to abandon the election for the "sake of peace, stability and democracy".

The IFP urged the two major players to withdraw from the "brink of disaster", warning that the government and the ANC would not succeed in forcing a constitution on the people.

As another option, the IFP said it planned to call on its supporters to boycott the election.

The IFP expressed its concern that the failure of negotiations to bring about a comprehensive multi-party settlement that would unite South Africa would result in increased violence and deepen polarisation.

The delegates said it was imperative that the IFP did not allow the intransigence of the government and the ANC, which led to the failure of negotiations, to wreck the prospects of a peaceful transition to democracy.

The IFP said that it was committed to a negotiated settlement of South Africa's constitutional crisis. (News by G Mahabeer, 18 Osborne Road, Greyville)

*Election goes ahead as scheduled despite threats, Govt and ANC vow*

# IFP'S dire warning

Star 14/2/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and ANC have vowed that the election will go ahead on April 27, despite continued threats from the right wing and a warning yesterday by the Inkatha Freedom Party of an "escalation of violence and perhaps even civil war".

President de Klerk warned at the weekend that any attempts to disrupt the election would not be tolerated.

And Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee announced SADF contingency plans to deal with right-wing threats to disrupt the election.

Sapa reports that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told followers in Empangeni yesterday: "It is impossible for me to lie to you and reassure you that the IFP's opposition to fighting the election under the present constitution will not bring casualties and even death."

The IFP central committee decided on Saturday to boycott the election, and said the Interim Constitution laid "the basis for continued polarisation of our country, the continuing escalation of violence and perhaps even civil war".

Its Freedom Alliance (FA) allies — the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana government — have also decided to boycott the poll.

Although it reaffirmed a commitment to negotiations, the IFP proposed an FA pact to oppose the Interim Constitution and the election.

But, Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said yesterday the pact was an IFP proposal and had not been agreed on by other FA mem-

## SADF formulates contingency plans to deal with right-wing threats to disrupt April poll

bers.

Speaking to journalists in Bloemfontein on Saturday, Coetsee said the SADF was continually making contingency plans, and had therefore already drafted such plans in the case of the right wing.

Security around SADF bases and installations had been tightened, and its armaments safeguarded, he said.

These contingency plans did not imply that the Government was "panic-stricken", but it would be irresponsible to ignore the verbal threats made by the right wing, Coetsee said.

At this stage no further meetings are scheduled between the Government, ANC and FA in an effort to pin down an inclusive settlement.

De Klerk has confirmed that he would be meeting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini again today in Durban.

Cronje also confirmed that Bophuthatswana would meet the ANC on Friday to discuss the homeland's position in relation to the new constitutional dispensation.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman yesterday confirmed that the Government and ANC met on Friday to discuss ways of accommodating the FA's demands. No firm proposal emanated from these talks, he said.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# Join us in poll snub says IFP

Sowetan 4/2/96

## ■ DIFFICULT TIMES Buthelezi says

### opposing elections may lead to casualties:

**Z**ULU, Tswanas, Afrikaners and others opposed to the African National Congress-South African Communist Party alliance should stand together and fight for freedom, justice and democracy, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Sunday.

"If we are going to defeat the ANC/Cosatu/SA Communist Party alliance, then the people of South Africa will need to stand together," he told several thousand supporters at an IFP Youth Brigade rally in Empangeni's Ngwelezane township on Natal's North Coast. (113)

Buthelezi warned of difficult times ahead: "It is impossible for me to lie to you and reassure you that the IFP's opposition to fighting the election under the present constitution will not bring casualties and even death".

The rally came after Inkatha's central committee on Saturday night took a final

decision to boycott South Africa's first all-race poll in April. But the IFP said it would explore all avenues to seek a multi-party constitutional settlement through international mediation.

The central committee further called on Buthelezi to lead a united national rejection of the 1993 constitution and to oppose it in every possible legal way.

Buthelezi yesterday stressed that his party would only contest the election if the Government and ANC "give in to our five reasonable demands".

These included the recognition of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini as constitutional monarch of KwaZulu/Natal, a double-ballot voting system, regional taxation powers, entrenched regional constitutions and a federal form of government.

Contesting the poll under the current constitution would be tantamount to "hanging yourselves", he told his supporters. — Sapa.

# focus on Buthelezi

Sowetan 14/2/94

**I**NKATHA FREEDOM PARTY president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a buoyant and happy man when his organisation's special conference ended in Ulundi on January 30. He even said so.

It was not difficult to understand. Buthelezi had gone to the conference prepared to argue for a boycott of the elections under the present interim constitution.

While some opposition to this position emerged, mainly from the white IFP parliamentary recruits who however lack mass appeal, his position was endorsed, with overwhelming support.

He said then that he was not threatening war, but left no doubt that without IFP participation, elections would not be welcome in KwaZulu, which in his new definition encompasses the whole of Natal.

His organisation listed six points, which, he emphasised, had to be treated as a package: in other words, they have to be met in totality, Buthelezi was quizzed by newsmen about marginalising himself and his IFP from the political scenario, and about deadlines to re-enter the process.

His answers were telling and revealed his present strategy. He referred to a call he had received at 3am that morning from State President Mr FW de Klerk.

"The man had heard that the conference was rejecting participation. He could not sleep. The man could not sleep. He was worried, and I could tell from his voice.

"If I was marginalising myself, why would he not just let things go on?" Buthelezi asked.

On the deadlines, he laughed and asked: "What deadline? How many other deadlines have passed? I do not work under deadlines. If they think they can go ahead without the IFP let them do so. We will only participate when our bottom lines have been met."

Fifteen days later, Buthelezi has been able to get from the Government and the ANC the two ballots that he wanted, fiscal control for the regions, ongoing negotiations on the position of the Zulu King, and the inclusion of KwaZulu in the name of the Natal region.

Of the six demands, only the borders and powers of regions, and the entrenchment of these clauses in the interim constitution to make them inviolable by the constitution-making body to be elected in April, remain unresolved.

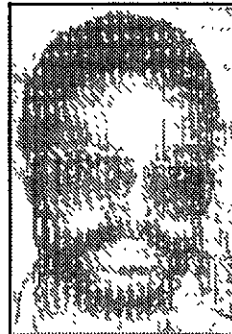
## Defiant and buoyant

Buthelezi said from Ulundi this past weekend that the IFP was not going into the election. He was defiant and buoyant.

He has done well in the past two weeks, as he gained sufficient concessions that he would not have been able to get past the sufficient consensus mechanism that drove his party out of Kempton Park and the multiparty talks.

But he is not relenting. If the ANC, in particular, is to get him into the election to safeguard the process, they must humble themselves before

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is fast becoming SA's own rubber man with the amount of elasticity he has exhibited as he extracts concession after concession from his adversaries. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** reports:



(112)



**Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... what deadline?**

Buthelezi and agree to all his dictates.

And it is really the ANC that must do this, although the National Party as the Government is supposed to be its partner.

The NP role must be understood. As the architect of apartheid, the reform process was brought about by the resistance of black people, contrary to claims by De Klerk notwithstanding. When negotiations started, the NP was forced by the ANC to move to the left of its own position. The Freedom Alliance is rolling the ANC gains back, in a direction that the NP had always wanted.

The NP is not giving away anything that they would rather hold, not even the single ballot which they had initially opposed but later traded for agreement with the ANC on a five-year term of the government of national unity.

So, it is really the ANC that has its back to the wall as bombs go off in a rightwing propaganda campaign to force concessions, a campaign that must remind the ANC of their own missions of yesteryear.

The ANC has agreed to a double ballot, has now accepted the postponement of the registration date for parties to participate in elections, and has also accepted in principle the idea of a volkstaat or boerestaat, with a few provisos.

In return they have nothing to show, not even the all important entry into the elections

by the FA. It is a slippery road the organisation is on, one which Buthelezi is exploiting with devastating results.

Hence his standpoint last week that the deadline meant nothing to him. Other deadlines have come and gone — and so would this one. He has been proved right.

The confidence with which the ANC delegation at the multiparty talks passed the constitution with sufficient consensus, despite protests by parties such as the PAC and Afrikaner Volksunie, is gone.

Spokesmen and negotiators work round the clock to find ways of undoing what they did at Kempton Park.

And, in the process, ignore the multiparty nature of the process that brought about the constitution that they are now amending.

The only parties doing well are the rightwing, which includes the NP. Buthelezi and his FA friends are getting what they are getting because the ANC is convinced that they have the military might, or at least the capacity and resolve to make voting unstable.

Buthelezi feels sufficiently confident to reject the deadlines, and has now called for international involvement to help him get his way. He is leaving the door to negotiations open, but dragging the thing out to such an extent that the idea of postponing the election date itself might soon become plausible.

In the process, he has kept his organisation together, with no obvious public outburst of dissent, because he can point at gains rolling in.

As this week starts, a week which was to have seen finally who was in and who was out, the nation stands confused, as one more final deadline acquires enough elasticity to give Buthelezi another day to wring yet another concession from his adversaries.

(M Tsedu, 61 Commando Rd, Industria West, Johannesburg)

**I do not work under deadlines. If they think they can go ahead without the IFP let them do so. We will only participate when our bottom lines have been met**

# Zulus must fight, says Buthelezi

EMPANGENI. — Zulus, Tswana, Afrikaners and others opposed to the African National Congress alliance should stand together and fight for freedom, justice and democracy, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"We Zulus must stand with our Tswana and Afrikaner brothers, and brothers of other ethnic groups, to fight for freedom, justice and democracy," he told thousands of supporters at an IFP Youth Brigade rally in Empangeni's Ngwelezane township.

"We must stand together and fight the evil which is lurking in the midst. If we do not then we will fail," he said, adding that the IFP was not prepared to let the ANC/SACP alliance kill six million Zulus.

"But if you look at the ethnic cleansing that is taking place on the East Rand, they seem to have started on this kind of genocide." — Sapa.

# Zulu king's bombshell

Sowetan 15/2/94

**Z**ULU KING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI yesterday hinted strongly at secession, saying he was preparing to promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal to establish an autonomous monarchy.

Zwelithini said in a memorandum delivered to State President FW de Klerk in Durban that with the adoption of the national interim constitution, and after failed negotiations to amend it, "a situation has emerged which brings back into existence the Kingdom of KwaZulu and its full sovereignty".

"I am preparing myself to promulgate the Constitution of KwaZulu and Natal, which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralistic monarchies in the world," he said.

The current national constitution "is not the

constitution of the Zulu nation, which will neither now — nor at any time in the future — be bound by this constitution".

He said the Zulu nation retained its inalienable right to self-determination and "if the society expressed by the Zulu nation cannot co-exist with other societies in a united South Africa, then it becomes necessary and ineluctable that the society expressed by the Zulu nation exists on its own, with its own territorial bases and with its own government".

Zwelithini said the Zulu nation had always been a sovereign one. Although his nation had been conquered, its sovereignty had not been eliminated.

"Those who conquered us, namely the white nations of Afrikaner and British, are now relin-

quishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa.

"The nation which was exercising sovereignty over the land is abdicating its power to open the door for new nations to exercise their sovereignty over the land. Under this set of circumstances, I take the position that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is revived, and I am advised that this position is also supported by the international law of decolonisation."

The Zulu monarch charged the interim constitution did not offer space for his nation's survival.

Referring to the rewriting of the interim constitution by a constituent assembly after the April elections, King Zwelithini said the Zulu monarchy and nation "cannot walk this road".

The king rejected the notion of a referendum in

Natal-KwaZulu on the future of the region, saying it would become an intensely fought party political contest between those who wanted to "subjugate KwaZulu to Pretoria, and those who want the expression of sovereignty in KwaZulu to be a healing of the divisions in KwaZulu".

Earlier, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told about 20 000 Zulus packed into King's Park Stadium that he wanted peace and for that the issues raised by the king would have to be addressed. Crowds gathering outside the Durban City Hall dived for cover and scattered when a volley of shots was fired.

The crowd was in a state of confusion as shots rang out for over three minutes. — *Sapa*.

(Report by C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban.)



# IFP will take part in local government transition

Municipal Reporter

ARC 15/2/94

THE Freedom Alliance decision to boycott the April election will not stop the Inkatha Freedom Party taking part in transitional local government, says Western Cape IFP spokesman Malcolm Bagley.

Mr Bagley said the Freedom Alliance "does not operate at local level".

He said the refusal by the Afrikaner Volkfront and Conservative Party to take part in interim local government was "their indaba".

Mr Bagley confirmed that Inkatha's role in the Western Cape would extend as far as taking part in local government elections, expected to be held in October at the earliest.

● There are fears that opposition to local government reform by the rightwing Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) could hamper progress.

Democratic Party local government spokesman Jasper Walsh said the withdrawal of the TMA from an agreement to take part in interim local government could prejudice the process.

This raised the possibility of local government elections being held in some parts of the country before others. He said it was time "to get our heads down and get things resolved, to get new councils in place".

● Several proposals for the outer boundaries for the Cape metropole were sent to the negotiating forum by yesterday's deadline.

Those who have sent submissions include the Cape Town City Council, the Bellville City Council, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, the Paarl Business Forum, the Milnerton, Simon's Town, Wellington and Kuils River town councils, the Western Cape Regional Services Council, the Mfuleni Council, the Good Hope Alliance, Firgrove-Silwood Park Ratepayers' Association, Strand Ratepayers' Association, Matroosfontein Management Committee and Melton Rose Management Committee.

(News by C Sawyer, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Man killed as shots fired in crowd

# Zulu king's demands can be met — FW

Biday 15/2/94

DURBAN — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for an independent sovereign Natal/KwaZulu could be accommodated within the interim constitution, President FW de Klerk said after meeting the king and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban's City Hall yesterday.

The meeting was marred by the death of a man in the 50 000-strong crowd of Zulu supporters that gathered outside the city hall in West Street. Our Durban correspondent reports the man was killed and another injured when gunshots were fired. Pandemonium broke out and Zwelithini and Buthelezi interrupted the talks to urge the crowd to stop firing, sit down and sing.

Sapa reports that in a joint news conference after three hours of talks, De Klerk said the constitution could be amended to address the king's further concerns.

The waiting crowd booed De Klerk when he emerged from the talks, and also booed the joint statement. But Zwelithini, who was met with thunderous applause, urged the crowd to exercise restraint.

Zwelithini claimed Natal/KwaZulu as a sovereign entity, but stopped short of seceding. "I'm asking for something that belongs to me and my people — no one else."

De Klerk said he would respond fully to the king's "new position" on Thursday, but it could be accommodated within the

framework of the transitional constitution and was negotiable. (SAPA) (113)

Earlier, Zwelithini stressed the interim constitution "is not the constitution of the Zulu nation which will neither now nor at any time in the future be bound by it".

He was preparing to promulgate a constitution for Natal/KwaZulu but had not yet decided when to do this.

He said his demands had to be met soon and scoffed at a suggestion that he should be discussing these with the ANC. "I'm speaking to the head of state," he said tersely.

De Klerk said he did not regard the king's position as a "unilateral act", adding that both parties were "solution orientated, otherwise we wouldn't be here".

"I'm not in favour of secession of any part of SA. I don't think that is really what his majesty and KwaZulu are looking for."

He stressed the importance of negotiating an acceptable solution and "in that way the risk of secession and balkanisation can be avoided".

Earlier, an emotional Zwelithini told a crowd at King's Park stadium that he was not prepared to discuss the reality of a KwaZulu kingdom and would negotiate only on how it would be governed.

He said his claim to sovereignty rested in the hands of Buthelezi, his "first adviser" and the "most bold and true" Zulu.

□ To Page 2

## Zulu king

Biday 15/2/94

□ From Page 1

"The sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom is a reality and I do not have to persuade anybody that the kingdom of KwaZulu is sovereign, nor do I have to negotiate about the acceptance of its sovereignty.

"What I am prepared to negotiate about is how that sovereignty is expressed in terms of a government, a public service, a police force, a defence force and all the other structures of government which must be put in place to give the sovereignty which is our expression in a workable government for the people. (113)

Zwelithini admitted his claim to independence would "give rise to very complex negotiations and will throw up many thorny issues". He mentioned as an example that the fate of Durban's harbour and the prosperity of Durban's people "will hinge on how a sovereign kingdom of KwaZulu relates to the rest of SA". (SAPA)

The Zulu nation did not want to be ruled by a central government and would be ruled only by its own government.

Many city centre businesses closed early and streets were cordoned off. There was a strong security force presence, with members of the SAP, SADF, City Police and KwaZulu government marshalls trying to control the crowd. After the talks ended the crowd dispersed quickly.

SAP spokesman Maj Hamilton Ngidi confirmed two people had been shot. He said police had battled to get through the crowd to the victims. A policeman was assaulted and robbed of his shotgun.

There were reports of buses being stoned in Umlazi, Ntuzuma and Kwa-Mashu.

Report by C Doonan and C Govender, Sapa, 330 West St, Dbn; and G Malherbe and S Steins, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St, Dbn

● See Page 4

## Mike Tarr criticises Inkatha's boycott

13/2/94  
E/204  
BILLY PADDOCK

NATAL politician Mike Tarr, who last year crossed the floor from the DP to the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee, yesterday criticised the committee's decision to boycott the elections and said he was thinking of retiring from politics.

The "incredibly despondent" Tarr said in an interview: "The Inkatha central committee has essentially decided on my behalf that I must retire from politics."

He was not present at Saturday's crucial meeting where the decision was taken.

"It is naive for (Inkatha president Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and the committee to think that being set on a course to stop the elections would not lead to violence."

He had joined Inkatha because the DP was too narrowly based and Inkatha offered a broad spectrum of "new SA politics under a very charismatic leader."

He was still contemplating his Inkatha membership, but he would not change parties again, or risk his credibility. (13)

Tarr said Inkatha's decision saddened him: "I am not available to embark on the politics of mass action and civil disobedience that will definitely lead to violence."

The committee was not playing the political game as shrewdly as it should. "The Inkatha objections to the new constitution are extremely valid. Its constitutional proposals are very sound, but politically they have handled the whole thing badly."

"We could have taken our objections and proposals . . . and built our election campaign around the issue. We could then have come out much stronger and attained our objectives in the final constitution."

Yesterday he said all he could do was return to being an agricultural consultant.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

# ANC's 'no' to

# king's demand

Soubhan 16/2/94

~~1028~~ ~~118~~ 118

By Mathatha Tsedu and Sapa

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS yesterday shot down the demand by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for a Zulu state.

This comes as the country holds its collective breath in anticipation of State President Mr FW de Klerk's reply to the demand tomorrow.

The demand, made by the Zulu king at a meeting with De Klerk in Durban on Monday, amounts to a secession from South Africa.

It has raised political temperatures and fears that violence may erupt in the run-up to April elections.

Political organisations reacted sharply and differently to the move, with the ANC rejecting the demand outright, and the Conservative Party supporting it.

Shooting down the demand, ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Mr S'bu Ndebele said Zwelithini had singled out IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "God's gift to the Zulu people", which was an "inconceivable position" since royalty was not supposed to be politically aligned.

"The majority of the king's subjects do not belong to the IFP. The Zulu nation is not a single, monolithic bloc united in its support for a partisan political policy," he said.

He charged that Buthelezi had used the king for party political purposes.

However, in a statement from Johannesburg, the ANC extended a hand and said it was willing to send an emissary to see Zwelithini immediately to discuss his fears.

The CP said Zwelithini's demand was a "justifiable claim giving expression to the aspirations of his people."

## Afrikaner's demand justifiable

CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg added that the Afrikaner nation's demand for freedom and self-determination in its own republic was also a justifiable claim which needed to be addressed.

De Klerk said yesterday a negotiated solution with Zwelithini and the far right was still possible before the election date, but would require them to move from their fixed positions on certain issues.

He told a Press conference in Pretoria that parties had at most a week to reach agreements which would pave the way for their participation in the April elections.

Asked whether the election could be postponed, De Klerk said: "Anything is possible but we are very determined not to allow such a situation to develop".

(Report by M Tsedu, 61 Commando Rd, Industria West, Johannesburg, and G Ardé, 330 West Street, Durban.)



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# In the footsteps of Shaka . . .

118  
ART 16/2/94



King Goodwill Zwelithini

## Zulu claim to Natal based on 'mightiest kingdom' is suspect, say historians

ANTON FERREIRA of Sapa-Reuter reports from Johannesburg.

**K**ING Goodwill Zwelithini's claim to an independent monarchy in Natal based on the kingdom founded there by the Zulu warrior hero Shaka in the 19th century is open to dispute, according to historians.

King Goodwill and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, demanded of President De Klerk on Monday that present-day Natal including KwaZulu be hived off from the post-apartheid South Africa.

"A lot of people have family histories and they know what really happened," Mary de Haas, an anthropologist at the University of Natal in Durban, said. "They would certainly dispute the king's version."

Along with right-wing Afrikaners seeking a white homeland, the king and Chief Buthelezi have rejected the interim constitution and plan to boycott the election in April.

They in their submission to Mr De Klerk that the Zulu kingdom had existed since its creation by Shaka, who reigned for 12 years before his assassination in 1828.

"There was a great period of history in which our great founding father King Shaka . . . founded the mightiest kingdom and empire the whole of southern and central Africa had ever seen," Chief Buthelezi said.

But Ms De Haas said the Zulu kingdom fell apart after the death of Shaka. While it existed, its core was in the northern half of what is now Natal.

"To say the kingdom encompasses all of the province



Shaka . . . the warrior king



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

is a weak historical claim," she said.

An authority on Shaka at the University of the Witwatersrand, Carolyn Hamilton, said the Zulu kingdom disintegrated in civil wars after a

decisive defeat by British troops in 1879.

"There is no evidence to suggest that in the kingdom's lifetime a broad identity as 'Zulu' ever developed," she said. "The kingdom was not, as is commonly thought, a cohesive and united polity."

She said it was only in the 1920s, when blacks in Natal began to feel the effects of the white-dominated political and economic order, that a broad Zulu identity took root.

"Large numbers of Africans in Natal and Zululand became receptive to the idea that they needed to draw closer together to protect their own interests," she said.

In the past decade, there has been a high level of violence between Zulus supporting Inkatha Freedom Party and those backing the African National Congress, the party tipped to win the April election.

Natal was the site of the outbreak of hostilities 10 years ago between Inkatha and the ANC. Since then about 18 000 blacks have died in political violence throughout the country.

Ms Hamilton said the memory of Shaka was invoked by those who wanted to mobilise Zulus along ethnic lines because he symbolised the creation of order out of chaos.

Ms De Haas, in a recent academic paper written with fellow-researcher Paulus Zulu, said Chief Buthelezi's plans for a highly autonomous Zulu state were unrealistic.

"While Natal is ethnically homogenous, rifts in political culture are so serious that it has become the Lebanon of South Africa," their paper said.

# Buthelezi: Zulu

# state or nothing

□ 'We've come to end of the road . . . there is nothing I can say'

AKG 16/2/94

(11B)

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
and **JOHN YELD**  
Staff Reporters

**MANGOSUTHU** Buthelezi today declared his opposition to the secession of KwaZulu, but warned that the break-away proposed by the Zulu King appeared irreversible unless the Inkatha Freedom Party's federal demands were accommodated.

Speaking at the International Press Institute conference, Chief Buthelezi said: "I do not support secession," but added: "It is quite true that if there is no accommodation, the thing (secession) would not be reversible, to my regret."

He indicated that he was not prepared to make any further concessions, saying the IFP had already reduced its demands. He would not accept anything less than regional autonomy.

"There is no way I am going to subject my people to being under-funded, on a punitive basis, by a central government."

The government had repeatedly tried to cajole him into accepting self-rule but he had always refused, saying "we are South Africans".

He had always believed there could only be one South Africa, but he had failed to deliver through demands for federalism and he doubted that the new demands, as put forward recently by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, were reversible.

"Now we've come to the end of the road, there's nothing I can say to the king."

During question time, it was suggested to Chief Buthelezi that the ANC had moved "very far" from its original position during negotiations, and appeared to the outside world to have made compromises.

Asked how far the IFP had moved from its original position, Chief Buthelezi described the question as ANC propaganda which had met with "great success".



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

# Zulus' demands now 'nationalistic'

B/Dom 16/2/94

CAPE TOWN — The Zulu people's demands no longer centred on federalism, but now focused on group interests and nationalism, Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Ben Ngubane said yesterday.

Speaking during a panel discussion at the International Press Institute conference, he said Zulus had a deep and vested interest in territory.

Zulus had hoped for a federal dispensation but the interim constitution did not make provision for true federalism.

"The whole situation has now deteriorated. It is no longer about federalism, but about group interests and the nationalism issue is strongly coming to the forefront."

NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers said the interim constitution was the result of a fair compromise between all parties and provided a solid basis on which to build a future society.

He said the NP regretted that the constitutional settlement was not all-inclusive but negotiations would continue with parties still outside the process.

"It has been very difficult to come to an agreement with the Freedom Alliance because they do not have a unified position."

Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen said a volkstaat would have to be demarcated close to where the majority of Afrikaners presently lived. Afrikaners would then voluntarily settle there.

"The areas which we have in mind are perfectly viable for the establishment of a volkstaat."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said every opinion poll showed that Inkatha did not "have a snowball's chance of winning an election in Natal".

"Buthelezi will not be the leader of Natal after the election. The Volksfront also does not have a majority in any province. That is the core of the conflict. Those outside the settlement represent a minority in SA."

Moosa said even if the ANC won a two-

thirds majority in the election, it would do everything in its power to obtain consensus in the National Assembly on the country's new constitution. (113)

He said the ANC supported the scrapping of all remaining statutes which restricted the media, including section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"Never again should an editor be imprisoned, a newspaper banned or a foreign correspondent refused entry."

PAC chief negotiator Patricia de Lille said there had never been Press freedom in SA because four conglomerates controlled the mass media and the alternative press was funded mainly by foreign backers.

She said there would never be peace until there was true liberation. The PAC was concentrating on the black majority because the country would only be free when they were free.

DP MP Colin Eglin said there would be a very real temptation for an ANC-dominated government to abuse power in many of the ways the NP government had done during its 46-year reign.

He said the new government would not go into office with any intention to abuse power but power abuse was always a risk — "a risk which is greatest when parties have been in power too long, or, conversely, when parties have been kept out of power for too long".

Eglin said the nature of SA society and the extent of its problems would result in the next government's tolerance being severely tested.

"I have a very real concern that at times individuals, organs of civil society and more particularly the Press are going to come under pressure from the government which is itself under pressure."

He suggested the TEC would do well to take steps to expunge from the statute book those Press restrictions which were "relics of the bad old SA".

Report by E Kamp, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb and D van Zyl, Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament.

# On-off poll deal is on again but Buthelezi digs in

11B

ARG 17/2/94

**TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff**

THE on-off negotiations with the Freedom Alliance appear to be on again, although Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has shot down the latest moves to bring all parties into the April election.

After a stunning compromise to which the African National Congress agreed last night, the onus to respond is now on the Freedom Alliance — but Chief Buthelezi's initial response suggests that there may be little progress.

In Ulundi, he accused ANC leader Nelson Mandela of merely having placed before the public the same proposals which had led to deadlock in the past and of having dressed these up as a breakthrough.

He said Mr Mandela's statement had been "cheap politicking on life and death issues".

Another member of the alliance, the Conservative Party, said it was waiting for details.

The executive of the provisional rightwing volksraad is meeting in Pretoria today and CP deputy leader Willie Snyman said the matter would be raised there.

But regardless of the alliance's reaction, the government will go ahead with changes to the interim constitution in a special session of parliament next month.

Concessions the ANC has now agreed to include a double ballot — one for national government and one for regional

government — the principle of self-determination, a greater financial say for provincial governments and the right of regions to draw up their own constitutions.

Provincial powers will be protected so that they cannot be substantially changed by a future government. Provincial governments will be able to decide on their own names and Natal could be renamed Kwa-Zulu-Natal.

The principle of self-determination will be formally recognised and this opens the way for the concept of a "volksstaat" to be considered.

Mr Mandela and President De Klerk made separate announcements on the offer, which is essentially the same as one the government made to the alliance on February 2.

But ANC agreement — after consultations with the government — to the two-ballot system came as a surprise. On Monday Mr Mandela, in an interview with *The Argus*, firmly rejected the two-ballot plan as being too complicated.

Meanwhile, as one government spokesman in Pretoria put it today, the alliance is now in a "catch 22" situation. If its members now decided not to take part in the election it would lose credibility and sympathy, but if it did take part it was not likely to do well.

The date for party registrations to contest the election will be extended by a few days.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)



Special session of Parliament likely

# ANC unveils

# concessions

BDAy 1712194

# to Alliance

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night unveiled a package of far-reaching constitutional concessions aimed at securing the Freedom Alliance's participation in the April elections.

The proposals include provisions for the consideration of a voters' list, new constituencies, changing Natal's name to Kwa-Zulu/Natal and extending the registration date for the elections.

"We are firmly of the view that these proposals remove all the remaining obstacles" for those parties that have not yet registered, Mandela told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving on a two-day fundraising trip to Holland.

"This is our mark of good faith," he said. BILLY PADDOCK reports that the Freedom Alliance's initial reaction was positive, with chairman Rowan Cronje saying: "This is most interesting, but we will have to look at it more closely, look at the exact wording and assess the implications before we can give a more carefully considered response."

Another alliance source said Mandela's announcement was a major step forward in meeting the Alliance's demands. However the Inkatha Freedom Party said it would reserve judgment until it had seen a copy of the text of the proposed constitutional changes. Inkatha negotiator Walter Feigate said he suspected the ANC was only "engaging in hot air".

Mandela said the ANC would recommend that the TEC convene as early as next week a special session of the multi-party negotiating forum to discuss and propose amendments to the

DAVID GREYBE

constitution.

The forum could then convene a special session of Parliament to adopt the agreed constitutional amendments, as well as extend the registration date "by a few days".

The package of ANC concessions could be implemented only if it did not result in the postponement of the April 27 elections, Mandela stressed. Furthermore, they could be adopted only if SA's integrity and sovereignty, as defined in the interim constitution, was not tampered with.

President F W de Klerk told a hastily convened news conference in Pretoria that the ANC proposals offered all parties, including the Freedom Alliance, the opportunity to take part in the elections.

"The road to peaceful participation in the election is, in our opinion, now open to all parties and government expresses its hope that the Freedom Alliance will now place the interests of SA and of its own voters first," he said. ~~He said~~ The ANC's concessions included:

- A constitutional principle on self-determination, and mechanisms for the consideration of a voters' list;
- Acceptance of demands for two ballot papers at national and regional levels in the election;
- A constitutional provision for separate regional finances, such as raising own taxes, based on agreements reached in negotiations with the alliance;
- A constitutional provision allowing regions to draft their own constitutions, to determine their own legislative and executive powers.

To Page 2

## Concessions

BDAy

1712194 From Page 1

live structures. Amendments to the interim constitution to ensure powers are not "substantially diminished" when the final constitution is drafted after the elections; and

Regional legislatures will decide on names for their regions, with Natal being renamed KwaZulu/Natal in the interim.

The package of concessions had been adopted by the ANC's national working committee which had "reaffirmed" decisions of the organisation's national executive committee. ~~He said~~ Mandela said the ANC was prepared "to bend over backwards" to try to find an inclusive political solution. However it hoped the alliance parties would act as all ANC had "and make compromises so all can participate in the election".

If the ANC did not take the threats of civil war seriously "we wouldn't have made such far-reaching concessions". Asked whether this was the last chance

for the alliance to join the process, Mandela said it depended on the parties themselves. "But we are making every effort that those outside the process come in." He reiterated the ANC's readiness to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini "on issues of concern to the monarch and other traditional leaders".

The ANC recognised the right of parties not to take part in the election, "but no one has the right to disrupt the elections. No one should be allowed to do so," he warned. Mandela issued a reminder "to those who think they can use force to disrupt the democratic process. The people of this country have both the capacity and the will to use their power to defeat these attempts. History and future generations would judge the current SA leadership harshly if we failed to take all the necessary measures to resolve SA's problems peacefully and through dialogue."

Comment Page 8

Report by D Greybe and W Paddock, TEL, 11 Dargavel St, Jhb.

# 'Shaka card' not credible

Star 17/2/94

**LOOPHOLES** abound in King Zwelithini's Natal land claim, reports Anton Ferreira

**K**ing Goodwill Zwelithini's claim to an independent monarchy in Natal based on the kingdom founded there by the Zulu warrior hero Shaka in the 19th century is open to dispute, according to historians.

King Goodwill and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, demanded of President de Klerk on Monday that present-day Natal, including KwaZulu, be hived off from the post-apartheid South Africa. (11B)

"A lot of people have family histories and they know what really happened," Mary de Haas, an anthropologist at the University of Natal, in Durban, said on Tuesday. "They would certainly dispute the king's version."

The king and Buthelezi argued in their submission to De Klerk that the Zulu kingdom had existed since its creation by Shaka, who reigned for 12 years before his assassination in 1828.

But De Haas said the Zulu kingdom fell apart after the death of Shaka. While it existed, its core remained in the northern half of what is now Natal. "To say the kingdom encompasses all of the province is a weak historical claim," she said.

An authority on Shaka at Wits University, Carolyn Hamilton, said the kingdom disintegrated in civil wars following a decisive defeat by British troops in 1879.

## Broad identity

Hamilton said it was only in the 1920s, when blacks in Natal began to feel the effects of the white-dominated political and economic order, that a broad Zulu identity took root.

"Large numbers of Africans in Natal and Zululand became receptive to the idea that they needed to draw closer together."

In the past decade, there has been a high level of violence between Zulus supporting the IFP and those backing the ANC.

Natal was the site of the outbreak of hostilities 10 years ago between Inkatha and the ANC. Since then about 18 000 blacks have died in political violence countrywide.

Hamilton said the memory of Shaka was invoked by those who wanted to mobilise Zulus along ethnic lines because he symbolised the creation of order out of chaos.

De Haas, in a paper written with fellow-researcher Paulus Zulu, said plans for a highly autonomous Zulu state were unrealistic. "Rifts in political culture are so serious it has become the Lebanon of South Africa," the paper said. — Sapa-Reuters.

# focus on Zulu king

Sowetan 17/2/94

**T**ODAY President FW de Klerk is to give a response to the Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for an independent sovereign Zulu kingdom.

At a meeting with De Klerk on Monday in Durban Zwelithini adopted a hardline this-is-a-new-start approach and called for an "exclusive independent sovereignty over territory as per 1834 boundaries".

This essentially means the whole of Natal stretching from Port Shepstone in the south to Ingwavuma on the northern border.

The king went further to reject De Klerk's assertion that his demand could be accommodated in the interim constitution with some amendments.

For political observers the king's demand has actually demystified the question of whether the IFP will in fact participate in the forthcoming election.

## Clear message

For, couched in the king's demand is a clear message that the IFP is in fact not interested in going to the polls.

Through the king, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is demanding that Natal be delivered to him on a platter without going through the process of an election.

Buthelezi has used Zulu "nationalism" and thousands of belligerent Zulus to back up his demand.

The message that the forthcoming election was no more an issue also came through various speakers, including Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza and a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Blessed Gwala.

The two addressed the 60 000-strong crowd waiting outside the Durban city hall for the king to give them a report-back on his talks with De Klerk.

The speakers essentially said the Zulus had no reason to vote on April 27 because they already have their king and the land.

"Only people who have nothing will go and vote on April 27," they said.

In having the king demand an independent Zulu monarchy, the IFP (Chief Buthelezi) has in fact shifted their goal posts (hopefully) without facing the wrath of being called spoilers.

IFP chief negotiator Ben Ngubane confirmed this yesterday at a conference in Cape Town, saying his party's demand no longer centred on federalism but on Zulu nationalism.

This in fact is an indication that the IFP has withdrawn from the race of national politics and is fighting to retain Natal, its only stronghold — without an election.

The king, on the other hand, has threatened to use his position and proclaim an independent Zulu monarchy, a move which even President De Klerk perceives as secessionist.

Responding to the king's demand on Monday, De Klerk said while attention should be given to the uniqueness of different people's

Couched in King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for a sovereign kingdom is a clear message that the Inkatha Freedom Party is not interested in going to the polls; in fact, through the king Chief Buthelezi is demanding Natal be delivered to him on a platter, writes *Sowetan* Durban correspondent **Ido Lekota**:



FW de Klerk and King Goodwill

needs for self-determination, secession was not a viable option.

Currently, of most concern is what would happen if the king's demand is not met and he goes ahead with his proclamation.

Firstly, especially in Natal, the level of violence will rise as such a proclamation would eventually be a test of political strength between those who ascribe to the notion of an independent Zulu monarchy and those who call for a nonracial united South Africa.

Already the ANC has expressed its rejection of the king's intended proclamation.

## No effect

The ANC Southern Natal regional secretary said such a proclamation was unconstitutional even in terms of the KwaZulu constitution as well as in terms of the constitution of South Africa.

"Such a declaration will have no effect whatsoever," he said.

What this means in real terms is that the ANC, for example, will continue campaigning in all areas in Natal for the forthcoming election.

As matters stand, the question of free political activity in areas under KwaZulu is a sore point for the ANC, with claims that its supporters are being intimidated.

Signs of the level of political intolerance already existing were seen when some of the marchers in Durban ripped off ANC posters in the city.

An unbelievable sight was when a group of armed men violently attacked a poster with a picture of ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela, stabbing the picture, trampling on it and spitting while calling the ANC leader *Mgodoyi* — a dog.

Nationally the implication can be read from Tuesday's announcement by the IFP youth brigade to launch a nationwide anti-TEC campaign "until our demand for a Zulu kingdom is met".

The level of support for the IFP in Johannesburg and Vaal hostels also threaten the heart of the country's industrial concerns.

Already, the East Rand is stuck in a rut as the vicious circle of violence goes on and on. The decision by the king would exacerbate the situation in such areas and undermine all ongoing efforts to stabilise the situation.

All these point to an escalation of tension, hardly the recipe for free and fair elections.

However, also of interest is the fact that Chief Buthelezi might be banking on the Natal English business to back him in case of a secession.

"For ages the English-speaking Natalians have regarded their province as the last outpost of the British empire and resented control by the Afrikaner National Party," said one observer.

(Report by Ido Lekota, 16 Osborne Street, Greyville, Durban)

# Buthelezi opposed to KwaZulu break

Sowetan 17/2/94

Sowetan Correspondents

## ■ END OF ROAD IFP not willing to make further concessions:

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday declared his opposition to the secession of KwaZulu but warned that the break-away proposed by the Zulu king appeared irreversible unless Inkatha's federal demands were accommodated.

Speaking at the International Press Institute conference in Cape Town, Buthelezi said: "I do not support secession," but added: "It is quite true that if there is no accommodation, the thing (secession) would not be reversible, to my regret."

Buthelezi was speaking on the eve of today's much awaited response by State President FW de Klerk to King Zwelithini's demands.

Buthelezi indicated that he was not prepared to make any further concessions, saying the IFP had already reduced its demands.

He would not accept anything less than regional autonomy.

"There is no way I am going to subject my people to being underfunded on a punitive basis by a central government."

**Deliver**

He had always believed there could only be one South Africa but he had failed to deliver through demands for federalism, and he doubted that the new demands, as put forward recently by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, were reversible.

"Now we've come to the end of the road, there's nothing I can say to the

king."

Asked how far the IFP had moved from its original position, Buthelezi described the question as ANC propaganda which had met with "great success".

Buthelezi lambasted the media for ignoring IFP statements and arguments and giving "excessive attention to propaganda from the Government and the ANC".

"Why had the public not been informed that all proposals for federalism had been barred from discussion at the multiparty negotiations forum?"

(Michael Morris and John Yeld, Press Gallery, CT)

Star 17/2/94

# 'I don't want to secede'

BY SHAUN JOHNSON  
and MICHAEL MORRIS

Cape Town — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he does not want secession and that he accepts that ballot boxes can legally be set up in KwaZulu for the April election, even if his Inkatha Freedom Party and the homeland government

continue to stick to their proclaimed boycott of the historic election. (113) (123)

But the KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president left no doubt that unless his party's bottom lines were met by the Government and the ANC, there would be fierce resistance to the election.

He was addressing an inter-

national media conference shortly after a major address to the general assembly of the International Press Institute yesterday.

Asked whether his declared intention to boycott would not lead to intensified violence, he said: "I think my stand might

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Star 17/2/94

## Defiant Buthelezi states objection to secession

(113) (123)

◀ From Page 1

avoid worse violence, if it means we sort out the problem now rather than leave it until after the election, as happened in Angola. We do not want an election, then a bloodbath."

While this stance suggested that the IFP had not yet given up all hope of a last-minute accommodation which could draw it into the transitional process, Buthelezi made clear the seriousness of the deadlock and his determination not to soften his hardline position.

Pressed to reveal Inkatha's precise plans to convince voters to stay away in the event of a boycott of the April election, he said bluntly: "I am not prepared to discuss that here."

However, he stressed that he would not consider it his responsibility to control supporters given the position that they are in now. But he added: "I have no intention of getting into any civil war."

He disclosed that KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly would meet on March 17 to discuss the implications of the post-election repeal of legislation which underpins its very existence.

The removal of this legislation could strip KwaZulu of its physical and financial powers.

Buthelezi said he was not in favour of secession, but indicated that, as prime minister to King Goodwill Zwelithini, his



Zwelithini... insisting on the restoration of sovereignty.

failure to achieve a satisfactory federal solution meant he found it difficult to dissuade the king from his latest insistence on the restoration of sovereignty.

"I do not think it is reversible, judging by the mood of the Zulu people on the ground, and I hope a solution will be found. Nothing can reverse what he has started, at the drop of a hat."

Buthelezi repeated the four basic demands that would have to be met:

- Recognition of regional powers
- Greater fiscal powers for regions
- A guarantee that the constituent assembly cannot later undercut regional powers.
- A double ballot.

(122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

► More reports

► Pages 9 and 14

Surprise ANC compromise aims to bring FA parties into settlement

# NO deal, says BUTHELEZI

Star 17/2/94

becoming almost impossible result of large-scale dumping on the roads in Lombardy. The eastern suburb of Jolani is about 5 km from the municipal dumping ground. With the smell of rubbish hanging in the air, motorists in the area told that the piles of refuse were forcing them to close their businesses to Midway. And a city council official has pointed this out to small businessmen in the area.

PROPOSALS made by Nelson Mandela are 'utter hypocrisy', says the IFP, but FA may be interested

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH  
The Inkatha Freedom Party appears set to continue its boycott of the April election, with the party's president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejecting the latest compromise proposals as "cheap politicking on life and death issues".  
Last night the ANC offered the surprise compromise which will see the interim Constitution amended by Parliament within weeks in an effort to bring the Freedom Alliance (FA) parties into a political settlement.

Buthelezi this morning issued a statement saying the proposals were the same as those which had led to a deadlock in negotiations. He accused ANC president Nelson Mandela of "utter hypocrisy" in introducing them as "breakthrough proposals".  
He said the IFP would oppose the constitution and election "with every available democratic means at our disposal".

Temping  
However, there were indications that other elements of the FA may be tempted by the offer, with the organisation's chairman Rowan Cronje describing it as "most interesting and important".  
The proposal outlined by ANC president Nelson Mandela at Jan Smuts Airport last night before he left for the Netherlands — and immediately welcomed by President de Klerk — made provision for the consideration of a "volkstaat" and will almost certainly ensure that South Africa gets a double ballot in the election.  
It was also designed to address the FA fear that powers could be stripped of their powers by a new government.  
Mandela described the move as "our mark of good faith" that we are committed to bending backwards in order to find a solution.

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## No deal, says Chief Buthelezi

From Page 1

In a strongly worded statement, Buthelezi categorically rejected each element of the compromise proposals and lashed out at comments by Mandela, particularly the ANC president's warning of strong action against those who use force to disrupt the election.  
He said it was the IFP's democratic right to oppose the constitution, but did not elaborate on how this could be done.  
Bophuthatswana's Cronje was more upbeat, saying the statement needed careful consideration before a formal response.

Last night De Klerk said the ANC had effectively adopted a Government proposal of February 2 "which, in our opinion, could resolve the deadlock".  
De Klerk also announced that

Parliament would be recalled in the first week of March to ratify amendments to the constitution.  
The development "offers the opportunity to all parties to participate in the elections".  
In terms of the ANC plan, it would recommend to the Transitional Executive Council that "in a matter of days" the multi-party Negotiating Forum should convene to discuss the amendments, and Parliament would sit to adopt them. At the same sitting, the date for party registration to contest the election would be extended by a few days.

In substance the ANC's proposals are similar to those on the negotiating table during the recent, unsuccessful talks with the FA, but contain some important concessions.  
The Afrikaner Volksfront might be tempted by Mandela's

direct reference to the volkstaat.  
In an effort to placate those charging that the constitution undermined a federal dispensation, amendments would be made:

- A provision would be included to provide for "provincial finances based on agreements reached with the FA".
  - Provinces would be able to determine their own legislative and executive structures.
  - Powers at present given to provinces would be protected.
  - Provinces would be able to decide on their own names, and Natal, for instance, could be renamed Kwa-Zulu/Natal.
- Mandela also extended an olive branch to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, saying the ANC would confer with him on issues of concern to the monarch.

(47 Sauer St., Johannesburg)

21/12/94  
**IFP warns  
of breakaway**

Political Staff

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would live under NP/ANC "collusion" even though he could never accept it and he was opposed to the secession of KwaZulu.

But he warned a breakaway, led by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, would be irreversible unless the IFP's demands, particularly on federalism, were met.

"I do not support secession. I have always believed history made us South Africans," he said at the International Press Institute conference in the city.

"If there is no accommodation, the thing (referring to secession) would not be reversible."

(118)

## Buthlezi 'does not want secession'

Biday 17/2/94

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he does not want secession for KwaZulu.

Sapa reports that he told the International Press Institute congress yesterday: "I do not support secession. I've always believed history made us South Africans."

But he would not subject his people to another 40 years of punitive underfunding by a central government. Inkatha stood by its four demands relating to fiscal autonomy for regions and an inviolate regional constitution. (113)

Replying to a question on KwaZulu's chances of going it alone and the prospects of civil war, he said the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had himself decided to jettison federalism and seek sovereignty for the Zulu people. The king wanted his own domain and his kingdom returned.

Zulus had contributed to SA and did not want to become its poor cousin. The Zulu nation was prepared to accept self-determination through a federal formula, but "I have failed to deliver the federation for which I struggled for so long."

Asked about Inkatha's answer to constitutional compromises offered by the ANC, he said the question was ANC propaganda. Inkatha had reduced more than 30 conditions to four.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that Buthelezi, commenting on media coverage of the negotiations process and alleging connivance of the media with the ANC and NP

□ To Page 2.

## Buthlezi

Biday

17/2/94

□ From Page 1

government, said that Business Day's editor "may feel he has the right to judge the Freedom Alliance's fight for federalism as a 'desperate, but hopeless, wish to retain the power and privilege they have enjoyed in the previous era'.

"But if it were not for the Freedom Alliance the whole issue of genuine regional autonomy, and the justice of a double ballot voting system, would have been swept under the carpet." (113)

He added that it was only when the alliance divorced itself from the process that the media was forced to take notice of its proposals, and expose the serious flaws in the interim constitution.

TIM COHEN reports that the DP condemned "secession talk" by some Natal leaders but expressed its support for a constitutional, although not absolute, monarchy in the province.

It also supported a referendum, or the acceptance of the results of a legitimate election involving all voters in the pro-

vince, before any major restructuring proposal was implemented.

Natal DP leader Roger Burrows said the DP believed it was entirely appropriate to debate and consider the participation of a constitutional monarchy in the province.

He stressed that an elected Natal and KwaZulu legislature should eventually govern the federal province areas and ministers should be selected in a cabinet of national unity from the elected legislature.

The DP would never accept that a single party had the power to dictate to all 8-million people in the province.

The right-wing transitional Volksraad said an independent Afrikaner Boer republic would recognise and enter into treaties with a sovereign Zulu monarchy in areas of security and the economy.

Constitutional committee chairman Fanie Jacobs said the Zulus' struggle for self-determination was virtually the same as that of Afrikaners.

Report by C de Villiers and E van Wyk, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb; and W Paddock and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb



# Inkatha pledge on election campaign

Political Staff

(11B) ARG 18/2/94

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi assured the Independent Electoral Commission that free election campaigning could take place in KwaZulu in spite of the IFP's non-participation, said IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler.

Judge Kriegler said he won the pledge at talks yesterday with Chief Buthelezi and the IFP central committee.

Other political leaders who have already committed themselves to non-interference in their rivals' campaigns are F W De Klerk (National Party), Zac de Beer (Democratic Party), Clarence Makwetu (Pan African-

ist Congress), Nelson Mandela (African National Congress), Daan van der Merwe (Conservative Party) and Johan van der Westhuizen (African Christian Democratic Party).

Judge Kriegler said talks with each of the leaders had been conducted in a spirit of "cordial co-operation".

"Each of the leaders undertook on behalf of his party to give the scheme unqualified moral and actual support," he said.

The IEC's scheme was to give each party an IEC-sponsored platform. Parties had to promise to allow different views to be expressed in their areas of influence.

(News by H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

# Hope of drawing Bophuthatswana and Volksfront into election

ALTHOUGH the latest package of constitutional concessions was dismissed out of hand by Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday, the ANC and government remained hopeful that they would be able to persuade Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksfront to take part in the elections.

In the Netherlands, ANC president Nelson Mandela hinted that there was still a possibility of further ANC concessions.

A TEC-convened multiparty meeting is being planned for Monday or Tuesday to discuss the proposals for changes to the constitution.

Inkatha's senior negotiator Walter Fel-

gate said his party would definitely not attend. But it was unclear what the other Freedom Alliance parties' plans were. Felgate said the alliance was still waiting for details of the latest proposals. "There ain't nothing to tell you," he said.

He denied reports that the Inkatha central committee had met in Ulundi to discuss the proposals yesterday.

No arrangements have yet been made for a trilateral meeting, but government and the ANC plan to meet individual alliance members today.

The ANC is to meet a Bophuthatswana delegation, and government and the ANC will meet the Volksfront.

"We're in there to find a solution," Bophuthatswana negotiator and alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said.

The ANC and government met last night. Negotiators from both sides said they were not confident of securing the participation in the elections of Inkatha, the CP and the AWR.

A government source said President F.W. de Klerk's response to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demands had been conveyed to the king yesterday. He said that the essence of the king's demands

were contained in the latest proposals. "Along with the changes that allow for self-determination, government believes this satisfies the king's concerns and shows him that he can be accommodated adequately within the bounds of the constitution," he said.

But a KwaZulu source said the king would not find this acceptable. "The king wants his kingdom inviolate."

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said he was not yet in a position to determine whether the proposals could provide adequately for Afrikaner self-determination as he did not yet have any details.

Government negotiator Fanus Schoe-

man said volksstaat supporters' participation "will depend on whether (Volksfront leader) Gen Constand Viljoen realises there are elements within the right wing alliance who are not interested in a negotiated settlement, and he then takes the initiative and accepts the proposal and participates in the election".

There was no other way for the Volksfront to test Viljoen's claims that 75% of Afrikaners favoured a volksstaat, he said. The "beauty of the situation" now was a special parliamentary session would be held and the constitution amended in space of further negotiations with the alliance.

□ To Page 2

## Election

Schoeman said. However, any party that still wanted to enter the election race would be able to do so after the registration date had been extended.

Buthelezi, criticising the ANC proposals for being the same as those that had led to the deadlock in negotiations, accused Mandela of "utter hypocrisy" and "cheap politicking on life and death issues".

He vowed that he, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would oppose the changed constitution and elections.

Mandela had failed to state that the national assembly could "scrap the best structures that a region proposed", desp-

granting greater regional powers. Buthelezi rejected out of hand that there had been any agreement on regional taxation and revenue powers.

A government source said Mr Buthelezi had wanted a face-saving mechanism, the ANC's latest offer would have been it, "but he obviously never wanted to participate in the elections".

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the latest proposals "are very close indeed to the amendments which Inkatha itself put on the order paper when Parliament was debating the Interim Constitution Bill".

Report by W Paddock and D Graybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

From Page 1

INKATHA/KWAZULU

Fm 18/2/94

# Rallying around the king

**Inkatha president** Mangosuthu Buthelezi's trump card was always going to be his king and he played him this week with dramatic effect. However, it is debatable whether this will be the trick he needs to achieve his ambitions of KwaZulu sovereignty.

Buthelezi seems to have moved his political campaign beyond the realms of mere federalism into the sometimes murky world of sheer ethnic mobilisation.

Together with the boycott of April's general election by Inkatha and its Freedom Alliance partners, this suggests the process of arriving at a post-election constitution could be as much a parliamentary as an extraparliamentary affair. On the other hand, should alliance leaders press ahead with plans to disrupt the election, some, like UCT's Robert Schrire, suggest that strong action — possibly the incarceration of the ring leaders — should be seriously considered (see page 53). Then again others, like Finance Minister Derek Keys, are confident President F W de Klerk's "political genius" will find a way to break the impasse.

Political observers are at odds over the implications and repercussions of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's "memorandum," which demands that De Klerk must "give the Zulu nation, as defined in 1834 (embracing the whole of Natal), the opportunity to become free again and choose its own destiny."

Asked if he should not be discussing his demands with the ANC, Zwelithini replied simply that he was talking to the Head of State.

One thing it does establish is that the Zulu monarch is no longer above politics. He is down from the fence right in the heart of the Inkatha camp and placing his destiny in the hands of his uncle and adviser, Buthelezi.

There has been some speculation that Buthelezi's main hold over the king is financial. Monday's events tend to dispel that. It was also thought that the ANC's selection of its deputy secretary-general, Jacob Zuma (who has stressed the importance of the monarchy in the region's politics) as its Natal prime minister-designate, might divide the king and Buthelezi. If that was the strategy, the plan never worked.

Natal University's Sandy Johnston believes Zwelithini's demands and his siding with Inkatha are a sad and backward step

plunging the negotiating process back to a hardline position when Inkatha and the KwaZulu government launched their draft confederal constitution. "The difference this time is that it tries to put the authority and prestige of the monarchy behind it," says Johnston.

De Klerk, however, after his four-hour meeting with Zwelithini in Durban (his third this year to discuss the future of the monarchy) was adamant that the king's demands do not amount to secession and are negotiable.

Stellenbosch Africa studies specialist Willie Breytenbach concurs: "Linking greater autonomy for the whole of Natal and the monarchy puts it outside the realms of possible secession." The political significance of Monday's meeting, he adds, is that it signifies a shift by Buthelezi from his original, focused federal design for a new SA, to embracing ethnic mobilisation.

"Zwelithini's and Buthelezi's appearance on platforms with similar agendas means Inkatha in future will be even more ethnically orientated. Ethnic mobilisation, as seen in Afrikaner nationalism, is a growing international phenomenon, so what is happening in Natal is not that inconsistent with political trends," says Breytenbach.

He doubts, though, that the issue of Zulu sovereignty will be resolved before the election; it will join the growing list of post-election problems that will make the ANC government's task an unenviable one. The list includes: the Afrikaner *volkstaat* issue, militant black youth, possible opposition from the labour front where there is growing debate about the formation of a workers' party, and meeting the high expectations of ANC supporters.

"It would be foolish of the ANC to think that because the alliance partners excluded themselves from the election, this meant they should be excluded from the final design of the constitution," says Breytenbach.

Johnston reckons Zwelithini's endorsement of the Inkatha cause illustrates the party's ambivalence and ambiguity. One aspect of its appeal is its deep attachment to Zulu tradition — often resorted to in times of stress. Others relate to issues such as free enterprise and federalism which appeal to a broader audience. "Their strategy seems to

oscillate between the traditional core of Zulu followers and the broader spectrum of anti-ANC opinion. Just how compatible they are is difficult to gauge," says Johnston.

The king's stand combined with other rightwing defiance sends a message to the new dispensation that it faces a hard task.

Johnston says both sides want their own way at minimal cost.

"The trouble is they don't greatly respect their opponents' capabilities, but are, at the same time, unsure of their own ability to press home advantage. The Freedom Alliance thinks the new dispensation may collapse under its own contradictions if enough menace is applied, but is unsure of its own ability to fight a war."

Government and the ANC believe the alliance is bluffing and doesn't really want to fight, but they are also conscious of the fragility of their own power," he says.

The result is a strange stalemate with negotiations stumbling on and almost crowding out the election campaign.



THE BIAFRAN OPTION

Fri 18/2/94

# Is this where the Zulus are headed?

If so, they must be made to realise how disastrous the consequences would be

**Reasonable** as the constitutional demands of Mangosuthu Buthelezi may be, Inkatha's withdrawal from the election process and King Goodwill Zwelethini's threat to promulgate an independent constitution for Natal/KwaZulu — however "independent" may be defined — remind one of an ominous precedent in the only sub-Saharan state whose size and prosperity in any way match SA's — Nigeria and Biafra's UDI in 1967.

History, it has been said, is the science consisting entirely of special cases. Amen. But the comparison between Biafra in 1967 and KwaZulu in 1994 is so close that only a political idiot can misread the warning. Inkatha stands uncannily in the same position as the powerful Ibo minority in the Nigeria of the Sixties.

Nigeria's democratic federal constitution, negotiated with much care before independence in 1960, was derailed by a military coup led mostly by Ibo officers. The coup generated much hostility among non-Ibo peoples, especially Muslim northerners. Coup leader General Ironsi was in turn overthrown and murdered by Muslim-led military men.

The Ibos by this time felt themselves victimised and persecuted within Nigeria, despite being one of its two most sophisticated ethnic groups. The discovery of oil in their south-eastern coastal homeland may well have further promoted their national aspirations.

The Ibos' eventual response to the failure of their political ambitions within Nigeria was to announce independence, calling their state Biafra. But hopes of international recognition and protection were idle. The army of the rest of Nigeria promptly invaded Biafra. After a war involving the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians by hunger and massacre, Ibo independence was crushed and Nigeria's unity restored.

It is vital to understand how the Biafran conflict was seen by sub-Saharan Africa. At independence, the leaders of black Africa arrived at an important understanding: to preserve the often perverse and irrational borders bequeathed by the colonial powers.

Perverse and irrational, because those borders were merely a consequence of the late 19th and early 20th Century partition of

Africa. More often than not, they cut across linguistic boundaries. Most African states were, and are, a miscellany of tribal groupings rather than homogeneous ethnic states like most in western Europe.

African politicians feared that any concession to demands from individual linguistic groupings for separate statehood would cause such fragmentation of the post-independence political structures that all hope of bringing sub-Saharan Africa into modern industrial life would be lost. This fear was anything but irrational.

Its influence is powerfully visible in the approach of the ANC to any move that might remotely signal the fragmentation of SA. Correctly, it perceived and still perceives the Nationalist policy of establishing independent homelands in this context, as well as in the further context of racial exclusion. That the ANC also wants a centralised constitution to give it the power to impose radical economic policies is also plausible, but not so relevant.

Let us examine the dark resentments and feelings of Buthelezi and Inkatha which have brought them to their present pass as political near-outcasts and even outright separatists. They have — as forcibly as possible — to be referred to the tragic Biafran precedent and the fate of the Ibos — like the Zulus, a proud people who resented what they saw as domination by outsiders.

Can anyone doubt that the Ibos would have avoided enormous suffering and loss of life if they had not rebelled? What's

more, they would have achieved a more powerful position within Nigeria than they did as defeated rebels dragged back into the fold — like the defeated southern states after the US Civil War.

Inkatha, Buthelezi and the King must be told that they cannot hope for mercy from an ANC-dominated government — or support from the international community — if they embark on this reckless course.

This is for the historical reasons set out above as well as for others — such as the ANC's feeling that Buthelezi became a puppet of the Nationalists by assuming leadership of KwaZulu. That this judgment may be unfair is not relevant.

To extend the argument — even if a future government did not make war on an independent KwaZulu, its exclusion from the rand monetary area and the imposition of tariffs (not to mention the end to central government subventions) would break its economy sooner rather than later.

If this analysis is faulty and the ultimate threat is not a Zulu UDI, then Inkatha's spoiling tactics have to be regarded as petulant sulking in its tent and worse than useless into the bargain. Opinion polls — to the extent that they can be relied upon — indicate that Inkatha is already paying a heavy if not lethal electoral price for these tactics.

Loss of support has been heightened by shrewd ANC electoral tactics. Inkatha's indicated overall support has dropped from around 10% to 5% among all voters. There is no reason to suppose that this trend has run its course, though one must assume that it will remain far less damaging to Inkatha among conservative Zulus within KwaZulu itself than in the cities.

Inkatha should consider more closely how its irrational political course is handing overwhelming electoral power to its perceived arch-enemy, the ANC. If Inkatha yet decides to contest the election as a democratic party, it might be able even at this 11th hour to deliver an extra 5% or more of votes to an anti-ANC alliance.

This bloc could well deprive the ANC of the right to dictate the terms of the final constitution. In these circumstances, any action more self-defeating than to boycott the election is hard to imagine.

It is not difficult to imagine Buthelezi's bitterness at being effectively sidelined at national level. But he ought to be capable of enough political detachment to understand that in politics the race is not always to the swift and the battle to the strong, but that time and chance happen to all men.

There can be more greatness and personal heroism in renunciation than in stubborn egotism. This is the choice that confronts him. If he could bring himself to the right choice, the people of SA would be ever grateful. He would become an important member of the future anti-ANC political alliance, while his party's votes in the constituent assembly will play a vital role in restraining the ANC's hunger for centralised power.

If he pursues the Biafran option to the bitter end, he will face loss of all political respect, as well as condemnation for recklessness and folly in his stewardship of his conservative Zulu following, whose suffering could match the Ibos'. Moreover, he and the King stand the risk of ending up as political refugees — the price of total miscalculation. ■



# FA ponders response

Star 18/2/94

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen last night poured cold water on the ANC compromise proposals designed to draw dissenting parties into the election, describing them as a possible publicly stunt.

And earlier yesterday, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed any possibility that the proposals would bring the IFP into the election.

Viljoen said the proposals would need to be looked at closely to establish whether they were not simply an effort by the ANC to capture the high moral ground. By late last night the IFP was the only Freedom Alliance member to have rejected outright the proposed changes to the Interim Constitution.

The Government and the ANC have agreed on the proposals and will present them to Parliament for inclusion in the Interim Constitution.

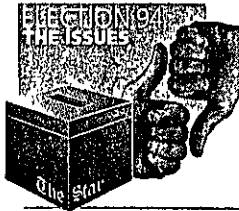
The Bophuthatswana government, the Conservative Party and the AVF said they were giving careful consideration to the proposals, released by ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Wednesday night.

The ANC and Government believe the proposals remove all obstacles to the FA's participation in the April election.

But Buthelezi dismissed the proposals as "cheap politicking on life-and-death issues".

AVF spokesman Stephen Maninger said the right-wing front would be discussing the surprise offer with its FA allies. It was expected that the AVF would formally respond today when it meets the ANC and the Government for talks.

CP negotiator Dr Pieter Mulder said the question was



## GOVERNMENT invites alliance members to sitting of the Negotiating Council as they consider proposals

whether the ANC wanted to negotiate through the media by forcing it to answer publicly to the proposals.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said the compromise proposals merited careful consideration. A delegation from the homeland is scheduled to meet the ANC today.

It has been widely speculated lately that Bophuthatswana might abandon the FA.

Democratic Party chairman Colin Egin described the proposals as "very close indeed" to amendments put to Parliament by the IFP in December.

In terms of the ANC proposals, it would be recommended to the Transitional Executive Council that the multiparty Negotiating Forum should convene "in a matter of days" to discuss the amendments, and that Parliament would sit to adopt them. At the same sitting, the date for party registration to contest the election would be extended.

The proposals are not linked to the FA's acceptance  
(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Splashing out... the game between Australia and the President's XI was rained out yesterday. ▶ See Back 7

BY JOHN MILLER

## Strict rules for one-day fans

Clouds hang over tomorrow's first appearance of the Australian national cricket team at the Wanderers stadium in more than two decades.

Yet more rain is forecast for today, and showers threaten tomorrow's sell-out showdown. Apart from the weather

issue, cricket officials yesterday issued some warnings.

Spectators who take to the field during or after the Wanderers one-day international, and Sunday's clash at Centurion Park in Pretoria, risk being

arrested for trespassing.

Liquor, firearms, fireworks and glass containers will not be allowed into the grounds and all bags will be searched.

People who arrive drunk will be refused entry and those

who got drunk and disorderly during the match will be removed from the grounds.

A theft charge could await souvenir hunters who sneak off with the balls, stumps or ball, officials said.

## The offers and responses

Just before 6 pm on Wednesday, ANC president Nelson Mandela announced compromises to bring the Freedom Alliance into a political settlement. At about 3.30 am yesterday IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's response was faxed to news-papers. Here are the key points.

**Mandela proposes:** "Inclusion in the Interim Constitution of a proposal on self-determination, based on the negotiations conducted with the AVF."

**Buthelezi responds:** "Until we have a wording of the principle which is different to that agreed to by the ANC but rejected by the AVF and FA, there is no way forward on this issue."

**Mandela:** "Provision for voters to cast two votes: one each for national and provincial representatives."

**Buthelezi:** No reaction.

**Mandela:** "A constitutional provision for provincial finances based on agreements reached in negotiations with the FA."

**Buthelezi:** "No such agreement exists. It was one of the issues on which there were repeated deadlocks."

**Mandela:** "A constitutional provision allowing provinces, in drafting provincial constitutions, to determine their own legislative and executive structures."

**Buthelezi:** "Mr Mandela... fails to tell the world that the new constitutional text adopted by a constitutional assembly could scrap the best that a region could produce in making these decisions."

**Mandela:** "In order to grant greater security to the newly elected democratic provincial governments, amend provisions of the Interim Constitution to ensure that powers presently granted are not substantially diminished when the constitutional assembly drafts the new constitution."

**Buthelezi:** "What earthly use is it to be guaranteed less than the powers you have, when what is proposed is ridiculously inadequate."

**Mandela:** "Provincial legislatures will decide on names for their provinces, and, in the Interim Constitution, the province of Natal can be renamed KwaZulu/Natal."

**Buthelezi:** No reaction.

## Ire over 'ANC handover' poll

BY GIEN ELSAS  
WEST RAND BUREAU

Randfontein residents are angry over a survey asking if they are "prepared to hand over everything in the town to the ANC/communists".

The form, distributed under the auspices of the town council, requires "yes" respondents to return the form with their name, address and identity number. A non-return of the form is considered a "no".

If the sheet is returned without a name and address, it is regarded as a spoilt vote.

The Randfontein Town Council held a special meeting on Monday to discuss a demand from a November public meeting for a referendum concerning the amalgamation of the Randfontein, Mohlakeng and Toekomsrus councils.

All but one of the councillors voted for the survey.

Yesterday a councillor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said they had been forced to vote for the poll as they had

been threatened by aggressive ratepayers hinting at reprisals.

The Afrikaner Volksfront, which played a key role in initiating the survey, drew up the form in Afrikaans. Some 9 000 copies were distributed.

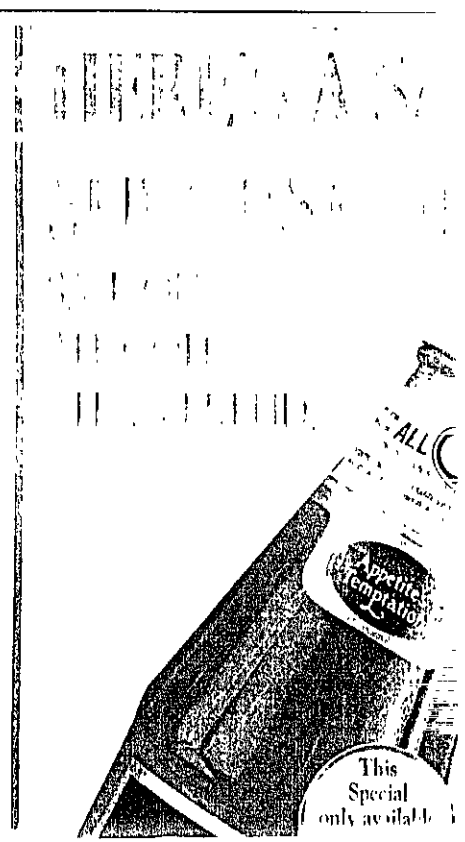
The accompanying notes explain that, according to transitional laws on local government, the white council of Randfontein must be disbanded and a multiracial council established.

Half the appointed councillors will be from the present white, black and coloured council and other political bodies. The rest will come from informal political groups.

Residents are asked: "Are you prepared to give everything in the town to the ANC/communists using the above recipe?"

One Afrikaans-speaking man, who asked not to be named, said angrily: "I suppose they will come and burn down my house if I were brazen enough to vote 'yes'".

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Dire warning on concessions to IFP

Sowetan 18/2/94

By Mzimazi Ngudle and  
Donwald Pressly

THE African National Congress' concessions to the Freedom Alliance would lead to a hamstrung Government of National Unity, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

But the Democratic Party says it was shocked that Inkatha president Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had blithely rejected the proposals "without conceding in any way that they were a step in the right direction".

DP MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, said the steps appeared to cover most of the demands made by the Freedom Alliance.

"If they now stay out, it would be for ulterior motives, suggesting the country is seriously under threat."

## No way forward

The acceptance of the self-determination principle "was a significant shift by the ANC".

But Buthelezi said until there was different wording on the constitutional principle of self-determination agreed to by the ANC but rejected by the alliance, "there's no way forward on this issue".

He also said no agreement had been reached in talks on provincial finances, as suggested by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He also poured scorn on Mandela's mooted constitutional provision which allowed provinces to adopt their own legislative and executive structures.

Mandela had failed to tell the world that the new constitutional text adopted by the constitutional assembly could scrap the best that a region could produce, said Buthelezi.

The protection of provincial government powers was meaningless if they were "ridiculously inadequate".

But Azapo spokesman Mr Don Nkadameng said too much had been conceded even before the latest concessions were announced. (SOPA)

"Their (ANC) hands will be tied by these agreements," Nkadameng said.

"This is the last straw. The concessions would effectively restore the old homeland system," he said.

"It's no use giving away political power because there will be no power to exercise when you get into government."

"Constitutional recognition of the concessions will give the right wing and Inkatha a legitimate right to revolt against the Government of National Unity."

Nkadameng said the concessions were likely to spark similar demands from other political groupings throughout the country.

Both the DP and PAC welcomed the double ballot concession, but the PAC

said the ANC had no mandate to make the other concessions.

PAC spokesman Jaki Seroke said it had no right to Balkanise the country.

"Self-determination can only be given to people who are colonised. The Afrikaners have never been colonised," Seroke said.

Johannesburg's Centre for Policy Studies senior researcher Mr Richard Humphreys said the concessions might have come too late to break the deadlock in talks with the Freedom Alliance.

It appeared that Inkatha's position had shifted from federalism to nationalism. (SOPA) (IB)

However, Humphreys said there would be tremendous international pressure on FA members to take part in elections, particularly Inkatha.

Had the proposals been made before Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's demands for secession, they would have been much more powerful, he said.

The ANC's "substantial shift" on self-determination, if accepted by the Afrikaner Volksfront, would mean negotiations on a *volkstaat* could begin after the election.

It was a recognition that a distinctive arrangement for rightwing Afrikaners had to be made. However, this could only be done after the support for a *volkstaat* had been established, he said.

(M Ngudle and D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

Star 18/2/94

## KwaZulu Minister quits party politics

Ulundi — Senior KwaZulu Cabinet Minister and top Inkatha Freedom Party official Chief Simon Gumede has resigned from active party politics and has left the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

He was Minister of Works and deputy secretary-general of the IFP. He was also a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the IFP central committee as well as president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa.

Gumede's name appeared on a pamphlet listing 21 alleged ANC activists in the KwaZulu administration. Nongoma

College registrar Thabiso Ngubane, whose name also appeared on the list, was shot dead at the weekend.

Gumede said his decision had not been influenced by the pamphlet. He had instead decided to serve his Gumede clan in the Ubombo area in northern Zululand and would remain a member of the IFP (118)

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was sheer coincidence that Gumede's resignation had come at the time of the pamphlet's distribution. He had not suspected Gumede of being disloyal. — Sapa.

# IFP promises free campaigning

BY HELEN GRANGE

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday assured the Independent Electoral Commission that free election-campaigning could take place in KwaZulu — despite the IFP's current position of non-participation in the election, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler told a media conference last night.

He had received this undertaking after the commission met Buthelezi and the IFP central committee yesterday.

Discussion was held over a "particular scheme" involving an undertaking by each political party to commit itself to giving

access to different political campaigns. This had met with the IFP's approval, the judge said.

The IEC's scheme already has the approval of National Party leader President de Klerk, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Conservative Party MP Daan van der Merwe, and Johan van der Westhuizen of the African Christian Democratic Party. (113)

Discussions have also been held with SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie.

"Each discussion was conducted in a spirit of cordial co-operation, and each of the leaders un-

dertook on behalf of his party to give the scheme unqualified moral and actual support," Judge Kriegler said.

The scheme required each party to commit itself to affording access to different views in its area of influence.

He added that discussions had not taken place with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and there were no plans to do so as the territory was not under the IEC's jurisdiction. A political development might change this.

Judge Kriegler pointed out that if the election was delayed, the IEC would be ready to accommodate this.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



**T**HE ANC and its lady-in-waiting on this issue, the NP government, have executed a masterful strategy of winning the moral high ground by deciding to change the constitution regardless of the Freedom Alliance's participation.

At the same time this could be the key thrust that opens up the defence of the opponent and prepares the ground for a split in the alliance's ranks.

Credit has to be given to the ANC. Its "concessions" are the first sign from any of the parties demonstrating a real political will in this phase of talks. Reaping the benefits, however, will depend on the detail of the concessions, not yet released — and the willingness and ability of ANC negotiators to convince their national executive colleagues to grant regions greater autonomy and have this entrenched in the constitution. ANC president Nelson Mandela, in announcing the package, indicated that there was room for negotiating broader regional powers for the interim constitution that the Constitutional Assembly would not "substantially diminish" in the final one.

**S**enior negotiator Joe Slovo gives an insight into the ANC's overriding desire to avoid federalism. He says he is happy to grant regions further powers and have these entrenched "for a period". It could indicate another sunset clause, like that establishing the government of national unity. But Slovo is not saying how long this period will be.

Concerning a volkstaat, the ANC wants to win time by fudging the issue.

The ANC concessions are fundamentally the same as those it got government to fight two weeks ago. The alliance rejected the package but its negotiators were divided on it. It has become evident that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's "balance sheet" of the state of play when talks broke down was very accurate.

Substantial agreement had been reached on greater powers of taxation and revenue for regions; a

# ANC seeks to win high ground and divide the Alliance

BANCY 18/12/94

**BILLY PADDOCK**

double ballot, the inclusion of the name KwaZulu with the Natal region; and self-determination with the concept of a territorial area being a possibility. Problems areas were still the powers and functions allocated to regions and the "integrity" of regional constitutions, although there was room for compromise agreements here.

DP negotiator Colin Egin says an examination of the ANC's concessions shows they are extremely close to the amendments Inkatha put on the Parliamentary Order Paper for debate last December. He believes the changes to the constitution promise a "reasonable basis for the interim government and for drawing up the federal constitution".

Depending on the detail, the package does get very close to the agreements reached between government and the Freedom Alliance negotiators and contained in the "yellow paper" of December 19, which the ANC subsequently rejected.

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected it out of hand as "an ANC bluff of trying to pull the wool over my eyes". He said it was clear the package was no different from that rejected by his negotiators two weeks ago.

There are sharp divisions within the ANC and in the Cabinet over



□ MANDELA

strategy for dealing with Buthelezi. One powerful group in the ANC argues that "we have gone far enough". Another says "we have got to go a little further".

The Cabinet is similarly split, particularly following the meeting be-

Bophuthatswana are progressing well, ANC sources say, and Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje agrees. Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope has had two meetings with Mandela in as many weeks and today a six-a-side meeting takes place in Bophuthatswana where the ANC's package will be discussed.

Sources say that Cronje has consistently distanced himself from Inkatha in negotiations and that he has "really been trying to find a settlement". One source says the package was acceptable to Cronje but he could not break ranks. Cronje has responded positively to the ANC's announcement and there are grounds for believing that this nominally independent homeland will soon be joining the mainstream and will contest the election.

It is understood that Mangope is looking at "a best case scenario for himself and guarantees for his major constituency, the public service" in talks with Mandela.

Sections of the public service have been getting very restless about their future after the elections, with many on strike demanding that their pensions be paid out before elections. The Bophuthatswana government refuses to do this, quoting former Cosatu boss Jay Naidoo as saying that workers must not cash in their pensions.

**T**he Gen Constand Viljoen faction in the Volksfront, regarded as more moderate, is also apparently on side with the agreement on self-determination, which was negotiated and agreed to by him.

A government source says the problem is that Viljoen is not a politician and is being outmanoeuvred by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg. "But there is a good chance that Viljoen will walk away from the alliance taking his moderate supporters with him into a deal," he says.

SA's politicians can pull the country from the brink even at this late stage. The latest package provides a good basis for doing so as long as the ANC is not too rigid in working out the details and sections of the alliance demonstrate a desire to settle in return.

tween President F W de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelithini which nearly collapsed several times in the three hours. "The king was definitely demanding independence and secession, despite Buthelezi's and De Klerk's statements to the contrary," one top source says. He argues that De Klerk was merely trying to avert a breakdown.

Because of the internal conflict in the two parties, and the predominance of the "so far and no further" lobby, both government and ANC sources say in private that, apart from a few details that can be renegotiated, this is it.

Buthelezi and the king, having stated in December 1992 when the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly passed the KwaZulu/Natal federal constitution that they wanted a referendum to legitimise it, now reject this notion, saying a referendum will cause division in the Zulu nation.

They are correct. ANC Zulu supporters would reject it and recent opinion polls suggest that if such a referendum were conducted today Buthelezi would lose.

ANC and NP strategy is now focused on dividing the Freedom Alliance — portraying Inkatha and the CP/AWB faction of the Afrikaner Volksfront as the fringe right wing. Discussions between the ANC and

**INCREASINGLY ISOLATED:** The fact that talks continued without the IFP angered Buthelezi, who appears unlikely to win an election in Natal

# Election spoiler gets testy

**COULD Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi have up his sleeve a way to entrench his power without facing an election? Could the IFP win Kwazulu/Natal? Or the Afrikaner Volksfront win majority support, even among Afrikaners? Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD ponders these questions.**

**I**N THE early hours of Thursday, telephones attached to fax machines in newspaper offices around the country began ringing. About nine hours earlier, at Jan Smuts Airport, ANC president Nelson Mandela had blown a breath of fresh air into the negotiations stalemate with an initiative his organisation said was designed to address the Freedom Alliance's demands.

In essence he had put forward a government proposal made two weeks earlier in talks with the alliance, a proposal the ANC had apparently been reluctant to endorse.

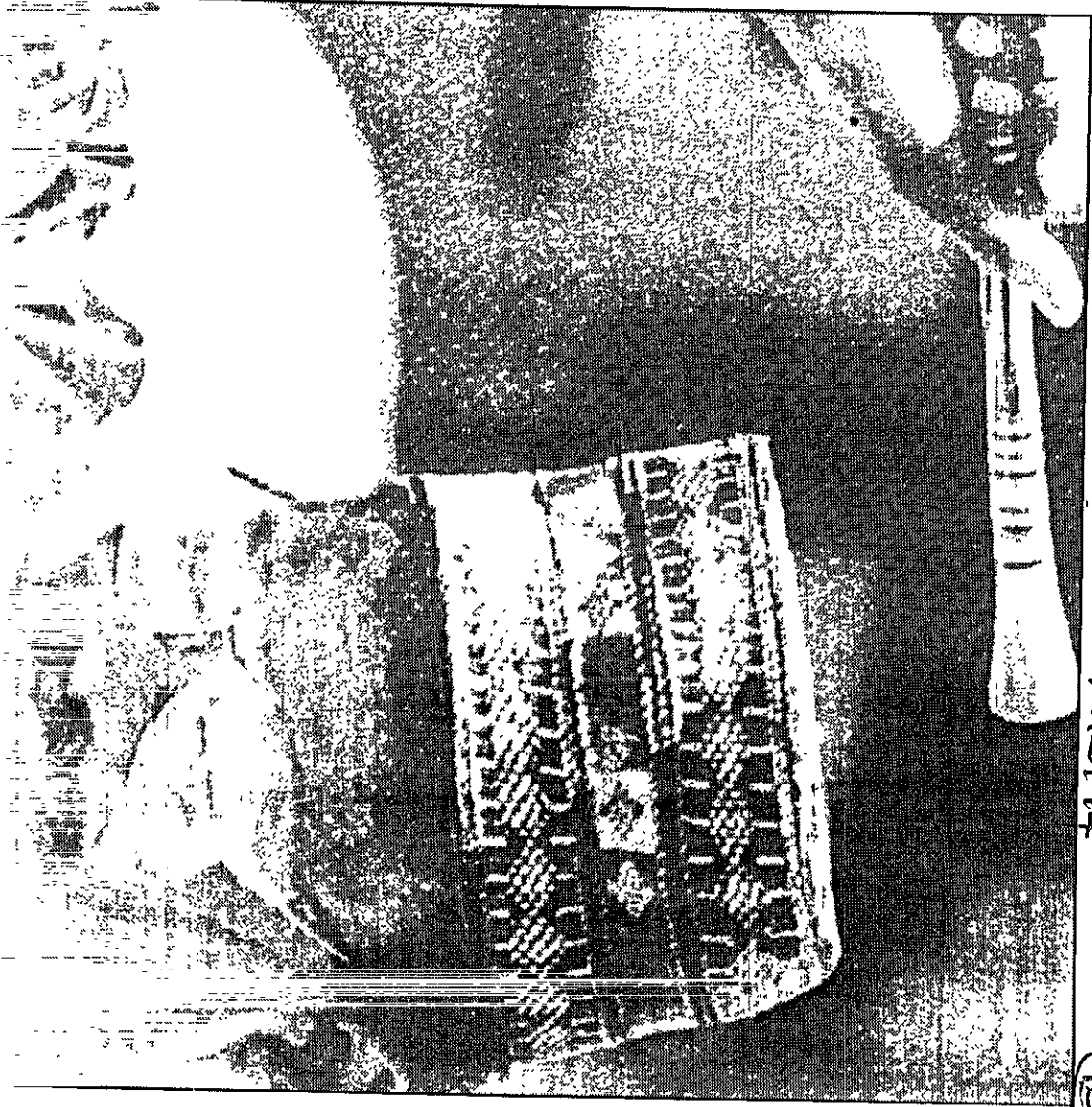
The faxes pouring into newspaper offices on Thursday were from Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They amounted to a blunt rejection of the Mandela document which, Buthelezi said, amounted to "cheap politicking on life-and-death issues".

Irrespective of the merits or otherwise of Mandela's proposals — which will see Parliament sitting within weeks to pass amendments to the Interim Constitution — the nature and timing of Buthelezi's response might have been illustrative.

Some observers believe it added force to the theory that Buthelezi could not now be drawn into a settlement. They see his response — made in the early hours of the morning after, presumably, a session with his advisers — as something of a pre-emptive strike designed to point the way for other alliance members.

They pointed out that a potential split in the Conservative Party — or at least a caucus vote in favour of proposing the FA's participation in elections — had only a week earlier been defused by a Kwazulu Legislative Assembly resolution ruling out participation in elections.

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ation similar to that in Angola and Mozambique will then be present in South Africa."

However, it adds: "Should the alliance become a force feared by the ANC and the Government and should they believe that the alliance could not be (subdued) by means of military force, peaceful secession is possible. This occurred in some European countries."

Inherent in this comment is an acknowledgement that the grouping's power lies in the fact that, as an alliance, it amounts to a threat.

In spite of the dismissive attitude of some in the ANC and the Government, there is little doubt that the military experience of the white Right, coupled with the militance of Zulu traditionalists, has the potential to wreak havoc.

Individual members of the alliance could well be rendered impotent if the grouping breaks.

Could the IFP win Kwazulu/Natal? Or the Afrikaner Volksfront win majority support, even among Afrikaners, for its highly impractical volksstaat plan?

**I**T WAS no doubt with all this in mind that Mandela, emerging from an ANC national working committee meeting, made the dramatic announcement and offer at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday evening.

It is evident that some in the alliance might take the bait. The Bophuthatswana government, for one, is expected to

hours of the morning after, presumably, a session with his advisers — as something of a pre-emptive strike designed to point the way for other alliance members.

They pointed out that a potential split in the Conservative Party — or at least a caucus vote in favour of proposing the F.A's participation in elections — had only a week earlier been denounced by a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly resolution ruling out participation in elections.

**A**CCORDING to a senior CP source, the Kwa-Zulu decision on the eve of the scheduled caucus briefing "took the wind out of the sails of those who felt the election should be contested... they felt a decision to go in would split the alliance".

By yesterday afternoon no other alliance members had come out in direct opposition to Mandela's proposals, all opting to have a closer look at them or asking for more details.

The angry phrasing of the faxed response might also indicate that Buthelezi is becoming increasingly jumpy. Certainly, the testimony of businessmen and diplomats who have travelled to Umtata recently would appear to point to this.

Responding to Mandela's warning of strong action against those who "use force to disrupt" elections, Buthelezi said: "I and the IFP and the KwaZulu government will oppose the constitution and the proposed election under it, and we will do so with every available democratic means at our disposal. That is our democratic right and we will do so."

So what is Buthelezi's game plan? In Umtata it is evident that a siege mentality has begun to set in. The IFP's recent special general conference on a hillside outside the town was marked by vociferous attacks on the media, which brought to mind the National Party in its halcyon days.

Other targets were the ANC in general and President de Klerk in particular.

There appeared to be a sense among those at the gathering of having been abandoned by friends, as if enemies lay in wait beyond the rugged horizon.

In this environment, the Chief Minister has found himself largely isolated in negotiations and unable to secure much of what he wanted — hence the walkout.

The fact that the talks went on without the IFP clearly angered Buthelezi and fuelled resistance to the Interim Constitution being forged at the World Trade Centre.

At the same time opinion polls were bringing bad news — the IFP's support appeared to be considerably less than



**CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: "I and the IFP... will oppose... the proposed election and we will do so with every available democratic means at our disposal."**

# In Umtata a siege mentality has set in

**Even Buthelezi's most vociferous critics acknowledge that he is a clever strategist. Inside his own organisation, the admiration borders on blind faith.**

creasingly impatient — and sometimes hostile — media. One foreign newspaper dubbed KwaZulu's Chief Minister South Africa's most dangerous man.

In these circumstances the alliance with rightwingers was not surprising, as difficult as it must have been for many in the IFP leadership to join a group with members who are overtly racist.

Even Buthelezi's most vociferous critics in the ANC acknowledge that he is a clever strategist.

Inside his own organisation the admiration borders on blind faith. It is extraordinary how many IFP supporters who see no way out of the impasse are simply content to believe that Buthelezi has something up his sleeve.

There is a growing belief that what Buthelezi might have up that sleeve is a way of entrenching his power and the jobs of much of his administration without facing an election.

Supporters of this theory believe he showed his hand, so to speak, when Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini made his demand for an independent kingdom of Natal/KwaZulu. In terms of this theory the king would have a constitutionally entrenched prime minister — a position Buthelezi would fill without having to be elected.

Although this has again raised the old secessionist bogey in Natal — this time with black people leading the clamour — it seems unlikely that Buthelezi or the king would contemplate doing this unilaterally.

**There is little doubt that the military expertise of the white Right, coupled with the militance of the Zulu traditionalists, has the potential to wreak havoc.**

However, Freedom Alliance discussion document compiled earlier this year contemplated secession.

It warned that this could be an option only if South Africa became ungovernable. "A situ-

It was no doubt with all this in mind that Mandela, emerging from an ANC national working committee meeting, made the dramatic announcement and offer at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday evening.

It is evident that some in the alliance might take the bait. The Bophuthatswana government, for one, is expected to come on board the Transitional Executive Council.

Moderates in the AVF and CP will surely be tempted (as they reportedly were by the offer made by Constitutional Development Minister Rolf Meyer on February 2 and in effect regurgitated by the ANC this week).

Besides this, the ANC move has the potential of gaining support for the Interim Constitution from those on the ground who might have opposed it and drifted into the alliance's camp.

The Negotiating Council, after two months of inactivity, is scheduled to meet again on Monday to give the go-ahead for a parliamentary session which will adopt the amendments put forward in Mandela's document this week.

For once it is probably accurate to say South Africa is entering a critical few weeks.

It is highly unlikely that the ANC and the Government — although they might say otherwise — will be prepared to make further concessions after amending the Interim Constitution.

The die will almost certainly be cast following the parliamentary session early next month.

The future might then become a little clearer. If the ANC-Government move fails, and elements of the alliance opt for "resistance politics" — which inevitably will involve violence — the portents are gloomy.

But if it succeeds, the new South Africa will be born amid limited disruption, with intran-sigent alliance members isolated and rendered largely ineffectual. And — should he stay out, as is now widely expected — Buthelezi's long career could well be headed for its toughest crisis.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# Goldstone rejects IFP allegation

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party had not furnished the Goldstone Commission with any facts or evidence on the killing of its leaders since 1985, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

He was responding to an IFP statement on Thursday that charged the Goldstone Commission's apparent lack of interest in the party had led to serious discrepancies in its investigation brief and had diminished its credibility. (115)

Included in the IFP's submissions were appeals for the commission to investigate "the serial killing of 323 IFP leaders since 1985 and at least 14 massacres of IFP supporters since 1992". 2/19/2/194

Mr Justice Goldstone said: "All of those murders have been and are the subject of investigation by the SA Police and Kwazulu Police."

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mands were met — because there was insufficient time for it to campaign for votes.

He later claimed he had been misquoted.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, however, was not prepared to reject the possibility of an agreement. He said on Friday ANC president Nelson Mandela's concessions had given him some hope.

"However, I must see it on paper and see the big print and the small print. Right now, I am not prepared to say that it is wonderful or rubbish."

Talks with the Afrikaner Volksfront continued yesterday over a constitutional principle dealing with self-determination and an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The ANC has offered a principle which would allow all parties that sup-

Mr Gumede was considered one of Mr Buthelezi's right-hand men and frequently accompanied him on overseas trips. In addition to his IFP portfolio, he was also a Kwazulu cabinet minister and head of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa.

An Inkatha central committee member said this week Mr Gumede resigned because he felt Inkatha should contest the April elections.

But Mr Gumede, who remains a member of Inkatha, would not confirm this.

He was vague about his relationship with Mr Buthelezi. "If I was still in a cabinet, I would say it's good, but I'm out now. I'm very far away," he said.

Mr Buthelezi was reported to have said at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg, after meeting Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas, that Inkatha would not participate in the poll — even if every single one of its de-

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE** leaders yesterday poured fresh scorn on the latest government and ANC offer for a constitutional settlement, despite growing signs that their supporters are wavering.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed the latest government concessions as "nothing new" adding that they were vague and embarrassing. And, in a hard-hitting speech yesterday, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope vowed he would fight attempts to topple his government to the bitter end.

But, even as the leaders were speaking, there were indications that their supporters did not share their enthusiasm for battle.

In Bophuthatswana, the cabinet has split and the public service has been hit by a series of strikes by civil servants worried about their future.

In Kwazulu, the IFP has been rocked by the resignation of one of Mr Buthelezi's most senior ministers and Inkatha deputy secretary general Simon Gumede. "If they think they can carry on with the (Kwazulu) legislative assembly, that's their business," he said.

Mr Mangope was warned by Ambassador Tjaart van der Walt this week that a new government might not be as willing to subsidise Bophuthatswana's R5-billion budget. At present, 26 percent is generated by Bophuthatswana, 29 percent comes in the form of development aid and 45 percent is made up of transfer payments.

Sources at the meeting said Mr Mangope was adamant he would prefer to be "a lean and hungry dog than a fat dog on a leash".

In the south-eastern Odi region of Bophuthatswana this week, workers from the telephone exchange, the Odi Hospital and 19 clinics embarked on strikes and sit-in action, demanding their pension money before the homeland is reincorporated into South Africa. There were similar rumblings of discontent in the security forces.

Bophuthatswana teachers this week dissolved their homeland-based teachers' union in preparation for joining South African structures.

More than 19 000 workers at the Babelgi industrial site also joined the action this week, disrupting the homeland's bus service.

Talks between the ANC and a Bophuthatswana delegation on Friday ended without agreement after the homeland demanded its independence be retained.

"There was no real advance. They are demanding the retention of old apartheid structures, their independence in a confederation, and they will not take part in the elections. Their proposals are totally unacceptable to us," said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ranks of the other major Freedom Alliance partner, the IFP, also felt ripples of dissent.

Mr Gumede's resignation from active politics followed that of IFP central committee member and MP Mike Tarr, who had repeatedly argued against the IFP boycotting the elections.

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ort a volkstaat to form a volkstaatsraad and argue for a homeland in the Constitutional Assembly. While the clause gives no guarantees, it puts the question of a volkstaat on the agenda for the future. It also means right-wing parties would have to fight the elections.

This principle was accepted by AVF leader General Constand Viljoen three weeks ago, but was rejected at a mass meeting at the Pretoria Showgrounds.

The tensions within the AVF over participation in the elections were reflected at last week's meeting of its general council.

Five CP members — Jorne and Pieter Mulder, Joseph Chiole, Frank Le Roux and Tom Langley — argued with General Viljoen that the AVF should participate in the elections. This was rejected.

Mr Pieter Mulder said yesterday that, if they could, they would secure better guarantees for a volkstaat. It would be easier to persuade the AVF to participate in the elections.

Other sources said that, should talks fail to produce this, it would mean General Viljoen would have to decide whether to lead a faction into the elections or stick with a war-hungry right wing.

Meanwhile, the government and the ANC yesterday finalised amendments to the constitution which will be put to the negotiating council at Kempton Park tomorrow.

Mr Ramaphosa said Parliament would implement the concessions announced by Mr Mandela despite their rejection by the Freedom Alliance parties, of whom he said: "If they maintain their positions, it deepens the crisis for them."

In an interview with the Sunday Times, President F W de Klerk said an IFP election boycott, even if it was supported by King Goodwill Zwelithini, "would not invalidate the elections and would not stop the present Kwazulu legislative assembly set-up from being replaced by a newly-elected democratic second-tier structure with its own premier".

(News by Edyth Bulbring, Claire Robertson, Ray Hartley, Mpho Koboe, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg, and Norman West, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

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POLITICAL STAFF

to waver SITimes 20/2/92 SITime

# ALLIANCE BOEISINS



# IFP chief threatens to quit over death list

By RYAN CRESSWELL

**FORMER** top Inkatha official and senior Kwazulu Minister Chief Simon Gumede has threatened to resign from the party if he discovers a death list containing his name was an inside job.

The 50-year-old former Minister of Works, Inkatha central committee member and deputy secretary-general has already resigned from active party politics and left Ulundi.

Mr Gumede was a staunch supporter of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for 25 years and was considered one of his most trusted colleagues. He often accompanied the IFP leader on overseas trips.

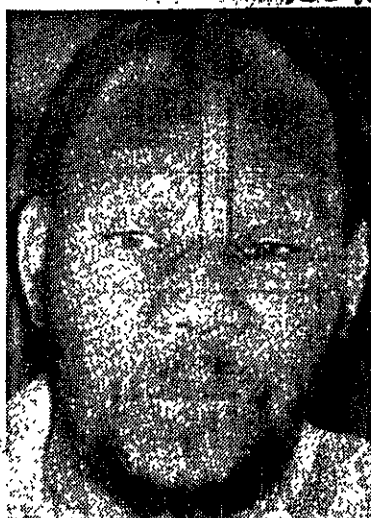
Speaking from his fortified home in Ubombo, Zululand, Mr Gumede said he would resign from the party if it was proved a death list naming more than 20 IFP leaders as ANC supporters was an "inside job", as he suspected.

Last weekend, one of the men on the list, Nongoma College registrar Thabiso Ngubane, was shot dead.

Said Mr Gumede: "If it is ever proved that the pamphlet was an inside job it would confirm that all I have done for the IFP over the years was not appreciated by members who have worked with me and know I have never had any connection with any party, except Inkatha."

It has been claimed the ANC had written the pamphlet but the organisation has vociferously distanced itself from the document.

"I have already told the central committee it would be very surprising if the ANC was so naive as to publicise the names of people who



**SUSPICIOUS ...** Simon Gumede believes list was an inside job

have infiltrated another organisation," said Mr Gumede.

The former president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa said he told Chief Buthelezi early in the month that he intended to resign from active politics so he could take better care of his "tribe".

"I do not know whether my detractors found out about the resignation then placed me on the list to hamper my leaving," he said.

Mr Gumede is known to be staunchly pro-elections, but he said he decided to resign well before he was certain the IFP would boycott the poll.

"People here have never had a chief who left the land. Everybody knew I would resign one day to look after the affairs of my people."

Mr Gumede has a reputation for caring about the people who live in his chieftom. He has watched over the construction of new tribal offices, a large community centre and a new school in his area.

He would not say whether his retirement from active politics was permanent and he was wary about discussing claims that some IFP leaders could be preparing to form a breakaway party.

Mr Gumede first drew attention in Ulundi as a young man in his 20s. In the early 70s, he became a member of the Ulundi territorial authority. He quickly proved his worth and, in 1983, was given the difficult post of Kwazulu Minister of Works.

He was also one of the first blacks appointed to the controlling body of the Natal Parks Board. Much of the land in northern Zululand that has become part of reserves belonging to the Parks Board and private concerns was once ruled by his late father, Chief Masageni Gumede.

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# Buthelezi says no ... for now

CIPRESS 2012/194

By SEKOLA SELLO  
and Sapa

INKATHA' leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday softened his stance on the April elections and said his party will participate only if the elections were postponed.

Speaking to the Johannesburg based Radio 702, Buthelezi said even if all of Inkatha's demands were met, his party would still need time to prepare.

According to the station, Buthelezi told Swedish Foreign Minister Margareth af Ugglas during their meeting at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday evening that "it's not really fair (that) if our concerns are met now, they don't consider giving us space to campaign and to electioneer".

This has been interpreted as a softening of his previous attitude of outright rejection of the elections. It is also seen as indicating a willingness to take part in the elections if they are postponed.

However, at this stage prospects of postponing the elections to a later date in order to accommodate Inkatha do not look bright.

On Friday, ANC president Nelson Mandela told Dutch businessmen: "April 27 is sacrosanct. We cannot and will not move that date. The risk of violence is far greater if the elections are postponed."

Buthelezi reiterated that government/ANC concessions on interim constitution amendments designed to bring the FA into the election were "nothing new", and said

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# 'Postpone elections'

CIPRESS 2012/194

■ From Page 1

they were "vague and embarrassing".

Buthelezi said the aim of his meeting with Ugglas had been to push for international mediation to break the constitutional deadlock.

The Swedish Foreign Minister said South African role-players needed to solve the situation among themselves, but that international involvement should be considered if it could help the process towards breaking the deadlock.

While Buthelezi seemed to be softening his attitude, another FA member, Chief Lucas Mangope, was sending conflicting messages about the possible participation of his Christian Democratic Party.

Addressing the party's national congress in Mmabatho, Mangope castigated unnamed people (most likely the ANC) of trying to topple him. He threatened to fight "fire with fire" if attempts to destabilise Bophuthatswana continue.

At the same time he told his audience that a negotiated settlement between Bophuthatswana and the ANC was still possible.

Mangope accused the ANC of trying to negotiate through the media and of ensuring by "timing and clever manipulation" that they held the moral high ground.

He said his homeland would, however, approach the bilateral talks, which began with the ANC on Friday, with a genuine desire that they should produce "meaningful results".

If, however, no solution was reached, the territory would remain "the independent Republic of Bophuthatswana", which would fight any attempt to destabilise it.

Talks between the ANC, government and the Afrikaner Volksfront, which ended inconclusively after an hour on Friday, are likely to continue next week, although no date has yet been set.

An AVF spokesman said there was still no clarity on their demand for a *volkstaat*.

The ANC this week agreed to discuss with the rightwingers the principle of an own homeland if they agreed to take part in the election.

The Negotiating Council meets tomorrow at the World Trade Centre to decide on changes to be made to the interim constitution.

# Buthelezi: We'll go on negotiating

(118) # CT 21/2/94  
MARITZBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party will continue to negotiate despite the fact that it won't participate in elections under the present interim constitution.

Addressing tens of thousands of supporters at a rally at Taylor's Halt about 20km out of Maritzburg, Chief Buthelezi came out strongly in support of peace, saying his party did not want war.

He said the government and the ANC were trying to intimidate the IFP into fighting elections.

"While we know that we will defeat the plans of the ANC alliance, we also know that victory will come at a great cost to all."

"That is why we want to negotiate. That is why we want peace."

He said: "We know that in the end war will pit brother against brother, sister against sister, mother against daughter, father against son."

"We in our field therefore do not want war. No one wants peace more than the IFP."

But Chief Buthelezi reiterated his opposition to the interim constitution, adding that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had warned he would write his own constitution for KwaZulu/Natal.

Chief Buthelezi referred to continuing talks with the ANC and the government, but accused the two of an "appalling" style of negotiations. — Sapa





**WE have gone much, much further than we believe we ought to have done.**  
**— Ramaphosa**

**■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and ESTHER WAUGH**

Last night's last-minute decision by the ANC and the Government to add to the list of powers for regional governments and effectively make them exclusive to regions has yet again taken the Freedom Alliance by surprise.

The concession, which now comprehensively addresses the core of the FA's demands, was pushed through the multi-party Negotiating Council late last night in a clear effort to woo the FA back into the transitional process and secure its participation in the April poll.

Although FA chairman and Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje cautiously welcomed the latest concession this morning, he would not say whether the alliance would now reconsider its decision — announced after a meeting in Pretoria yesterday — to continue with a boycott of the election.

"I have not seen the actual proposal and I don't want to react negatively," he said. "However, it appears that many of the powers added to

► **To Page 3**

*New major concession goes to heart of Right's demands*

# FA taken by surprise

Star 22/2/94

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*'Mood on ground very ugly and could get worse'*  
*Star 22/2/94*

# Struggle goes on - Buthelezi

## ■ POLITICAL STAFF

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu says he is not dismayed by the prospect of losing office by staying out of the April election.

Interviewed at Ulundi, he said he would continue the political struggle using his traditional power base as chief adviser to King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"My leadership was not built up by the homelands policy. I'll be part of the struggle — my king, myself and my people."

He was not prepared to speculate as to tactics. But he said the outlook was bleak.

The mood of people on the ground was ugly — "I've never known it like this before" — and it could get worse and become difficult to control.

He said he was not responsible for keeping the IFP out of the election — it had been forced on him by the Government and the ANC, which refused to con-



**Buthelezi . . . not worried if he loses office.**

sider federation as an option.

The logical next phase was the king's demand for the restoration of the Zulu sovereignty of 1834.

"When they rejected the federal option and could not accept our amendments, I was disarmed in my relationship with

the king.

"There was nothing I could say to him. I had not delivered on self-rule."

He said it was pointless to participate in elections for a non-federal dispensation, something he had worked for for 20 years.

The Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba had been rejected.

And the IFP's contribution to constitutional negotiations had been rejected.

"In 1910 the whites were fooled. They were bluffed by Smuts that they were going to get a federation, but in the end there was no federation.

"We're not prepared to walk that road.

"I can understand that whites are concerned at us staying out of elections but they have to appreciate that for my people it is nothing new.

"We never had the vote before. Nothing much has changed.

"I don't know why the Government and the ANC reject federalism. It is a democratic way to protect the interests of regions and minorities.

"What's wrong with the system in countries like the United States, Germany, Canada and Australia?"

He denied being a secessionist. "I refused to take independence because although we went into Union kicking and screaming, history has made us South Africans. We don't want to be deprived of that."

The king's stand had been forced by events, he said. It was now out of his own hands as chief minister.

Asked whether it was feasible for elections to be held in Natal/KwaZulu without IFP participation, and whether a subsequent government could be effective, Buthelezi declined to speculate. "That is their problem, not mine."

(Report by G R Linscott, 18 Osborne St, Durban)

# New offer takes FA by surprise

◀ From Page 1

the list are at present exercised by municipalities. It is a pity this was not done yesterday."

Responding to a question, he said he did not know "whether there will be a need for a meeting of the FA or the individual parties will decide for themselves" what course of action to take in light of the concessions.

Bophuthatswana, which has recently held a series of meetings with the ANC — with the latest two last Friday and on Sunday evening — has been rumoured to be on the verge of agreeing to reincorporation and participation in the election.

At the end of the FA meeting yesterday, Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate said all its demands were equally important and the concessions would have to be considered as a package.

Reconvened for a special sitting at the World Trade Centre last night, the Negotiating Council

agreed that provincial legislation would in certain circumstances be competent to draw up laws for provinces.

The concession is additional to the compromise package on Wednesday.

The council also agreed that parties could apply to register until March 4 to take part in the elections.

It further agreed on a double ballot which means voters will cast separate votes for the national and provincial legislatures.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposals — handed to the council last night by the ANC and the Government — went "a long way" towards addressing the FA's concerns. "We have gone much, much further than we believe we ought to have done."

The series of amendments, agreed to by sufficient consensus at the Negotiating Council's special sitting, will now be put to a special sitting of Parliament next week.

Efforts by the multi-party Negotiating Council

to get the FA to come on board continued throughout yesterday.

The Negotiating Council sent a written invitation to the FA meeting inviting it to attend the World Trade Centre talks before 6 pm.

But FA sources said last night that the letter arrived when their meeting had already closed.

Among the items the Negotiating Council agreed on were:

- A two-ballot system.
- Changing all references to Natal in the Interim Constitution to KwaZulu/Natal.
- The right of provinces to draft their own constitutions, and to create their own legislative and executive structures.
- Increased fiscal powers for the regions.
- Inclusion of a constitutional principle on self-determination that would be binding.
- The establishment of a volkstaat council, consisting of 20 members elected by MPs who support the setting up of a white homeland.

(47 Sauer Street)

# Urgent fax sent to Buthelezi

From LINDA ENSOR CT 22/2/94

LONDON. — An urgent fax was sent to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week by the 140 delegates of the joint assembly of European Parliament and the African/Caribbean/Pacific (ACP) countries, urging him to participate in the forthcoming general election.

The message followed an in-depth debate on South Africa and the Southern African region but had not been replied to by yesterday, an ACP spokesman said.

The assembly condemned the daily massacres of innocent civilians in South Africa and called on the South African government to bring to justice those responsible.

The European Union and its member states were called upon to commit financial, technical and economic resources to assist South Africa's transition to democracy. They were also urged to set up a special fund to provide aid for health care and education for the poorest section of the population.

The delegates stressed the importance of close economic and commercial relations between the EU, South Africa and the existing Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries.

NEWS: Government 'ANC' to blame for IFP position • SADF sells equipment

Sowetan 22/2/94

# News in brief

## Mokaleng's case put off

THE case against former policeman Johnny Mokaleng (30) was postponed to July 4 when he appeared in the Rustenburg Regional Court yesterday. Bail of R1 000 was extended. Mokaleng is charged with perjury, fraud and

# Buthelezi: struggle goes on

Sowetan Correspondent

## NOT DISMAYED 20 years' work for federal state 'will not be in vain':

**C**HIEF Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu says he is not dismayed by the prospect of losing office by staying out of the April elections.

Speaking at Ulundi, he said he would continue the political struggle using his traditional power base as chief adviser to King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"My leadership was not built up by the homelands policy. I'll be part of the struggle — my king, myself and my people." He was not prepared to speculate as to tactics. But he said the outlook was bleak. The mood of people on the ground was ugly

— "I've never known it like this before" — and it could get worse and become difficult to control. He maintained he was not responsible for keeping the IFP out of the elections — it had been forced on him by the Govern-

ment and the ANC who refused to consider federation as an option. The logical next phase was the king's demand for a restoration of the Zulu sovereignty of 1834.

He said it was pointless to participate in elections for a non-federal dispensation. He had worked for federalism for 20 years. The Buthelezi Commission had been rejected, the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba had been rejected. And the IFP's contribution to constitutional negotiations had been rejected. GR Linscott, 18 Osborne Street, Durban

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# It's not enough — FA

Sowetan 22/2/94

■ ALLIANCE 'APPALLED' Old

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff

**T**HE Freedom Alliance yesterday accepted the concessions made by the Government and the African National Congress, but insisted they did not go far enough to draw the FA into the elections.

This was despite an invitation by the multiparty negotiating forum late yesterday afternoon for the alliance to take part in a debate at the World Trade Centre.

FA spokesman Mr Rowan Cronjé said while the invitation came long after most of the alliance's members had left, they could not, however, accept it because the issues that the FA would have liked to raise did not form part of the forum's agenda.

Cronjé said the alliance was appalled by the fact that its demands for exclusive provincial powers were not even dealt

demands not even dealt with:

with in the concessions as announced last week by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. (30/11) (118)

He said the issue of the granting of exclusive powers and functions to the provinces formed the main thrust of their demands and they were surprised that these were left out when the package of concessions was announced.

## Meaningful powers

"The establishment of provinces is one thing, but if they are without meaningful powers to administer them, then (those provinces) are meaningless," said Cronjé.

Speaking at a news briefing after a meeting of FA members in Pretoria, spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said the "so-called concessions amount to no

more than the corruption of FA demands made during trilateral negotiations earlier on. They are not concessions at all."

While the FA welcomed concessions on the two-ballot system, the retention of the name KwaZulu/Natal in the constitution and the granting of fiscal and financial autonomy for the provinces, the alliance, however, said it was surprised that no concessions were made with regard to the powers of the provinces.

According to Cronjé the FA's demand for exclusive powers to provinces is contained in the December 19 document that formed the crux of the alliance's assertions.

Lulama Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria

## Appeal sent to Buthelezi

LINDA ENSOR

LONDON — An urgent fax was sent to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week by the 140 delegates of the joint assembly of European Parliament and the African/Caribbean/Pacific (ACP) countries, urging him to take part in the elections.

It had not been replied to by yesterday, an ACP spokesman said.

The appeal followed an in-depth joint assembly debate on SA and southern Africa. The joint assembly condemned the daily massacres of innocent civilians in SA and called on government to bring those responsible to justice.

The European Union and its member states were called upon to commit adequate financial, technical and economic resources to assist SA in its transition to democracy.

They were also urged to set up a special fund to provide health care and education for the poorest section of SA's population.

The joint assembly stressed the importance of close economic relations between the EU, SA and southern Africa.

Report by L. Ensor, TML, 32 Hatton Gdn, London.

**I**N 1879, impis of Zulu king Cetshwayo inflicted on imperial Britain its most catastrophic defeat, wiping out 1 600 of Lord Chelmsford's invading army at Isandlwana. A century later he was portrayed in a movie by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the uncle of his successor, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

For most modern South Africans, the demands for an autonomous KwaZulu put forward by Zwelithini in negotiations with government seem as other-worldly as that movie time unreal, almost fictional.

Opinion polls show not much more than a quarter of SA's 9-million Zulus claim unequivocal allegiance to the Zulu monarchy. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny the huge historical legacy that Zwelithini bears.

Cetshwayo was the last king of independent Zululand. He was a nephew of Shaka, who a century before revolutionised the Zulu state, developing an army so powerful that it became pre-eminent among the kingdoms of southern Africa.

This proud history laid the foundations for the profound identity crisis faced by what nationalists are fond of calling "the Zulu nation".

**T**he identity crisis is at the root of current negotiations between Zwelithini and government; its tentacles bedevil a settlement and the consequences of its failure could threaten every aspect of SA life for decades.

These negotiations have for some time been overshadowed by the more engrossing and immediate negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the parties "inside the process", but there are good grounds for arguing that the "Zwelithini track" could be more consequential in the long term.

All over Africa, and the world for that matter, there is precedent for the proposition that discounting a legitimate monarch is a most dangerous course of action. But most South Africans, including many in the ANC, ridicule this suggestion, seemingly sneering under their breath: "Send him a tank."

# Creativity needed to stave off another Isandlwana

Biday 24/2/1994

TIM COHEN

Although every Zulu heart does not pound "bayete" at the king's approach, there is undoubtedly more sympathy for Zwelithini's contribution to negotiations than there is for Inkatha's politics of malice and doom, even, or especially, among Zulus. Ironically, some argue Inkatha's contribution has been significant despite its contrariness, and now that many of its suggestions will be incorporated in the new constitution, SA will be a better country for Inkatha's uncompromising stance. However irreconcilable Inkatha's and the ANC's positions might have been, this pales into insignificance compared with the differences between the ANC and the Zulu king.

Zwelithini's demand for an autonomous Zulu nation seems quite unreal, more like a negotiating position than a bottom-line demand, but he is apparently in deadly earnest. Neither the puppet of Buthelezi nor his uncle's adversary, he has put forward his case with unerring zeal, developing in his four meetings with President F W de Klerk an ever greater determination.

Many observers consider Zwelithini's all too recent arrival in the negotiations as a Buthelezi ploy to add a string to Inkatha's bow. The truth is slightly different. In the king's eyes the unlikelyhood of Inkatha's taking part in the election has raised the spectre that the Zulu nation, undefeated by any Afri-

accompanied the king on three of his four encounters with De Klerk.

Government's response to the king's demand for an autonomous kingdom has so far been that this would be tantamount to a unilateral declaration of independence, which would not be within De Klerk's constitutional power and which he would not anyway contemplate without holding a plethora of plebiscites. Government negotiators argue that what the king really means when he calls for a Zulu state is that he should have more status and power in Natal — in modern terminology, "federation". Hence the real way to satisfy the king's demands would be through the creation of greater regional powers, which just happens to be exactly what government and the Freedom Alliance have been negotiating.

But this argument is dismissed with contempt. The reality of black politics is that tribal groups do not and will not brook opposition. Western notions of the division of powers and parliamentary democracy just do not enter the picture, the king's delegation argues.

Hence, if the ANC — which the king regards as essentially a Xhosa tribal group — were to gain power, it would annihilate the Zulu. Government's protestations about constitutional guarantees are plain naive. The ANC would naturally tear up any agreements it makes now,



□ ZWELITHINI

can tribe, could be ruled by default from Pretoria by its inferiors, the amaXhosa, by whom it was never defeated in battle. This would be unconscionable.

Zwelithini and Buthelezi's history has been a fraught one, with the king warned to stay out of politics and forced to scamp out of the KwaZulu legislative assembly for fear of his life some time ago. But now, in the face of this new threat, that is all water under the bridge. Zwelithini describes Buthelezi as "my most trusted lieutenant" and Buthelezi has

should it gain power, and use all means at its disposal to subjugate the Zulu nation, in the same way all dominant tribal groups have dealt with opponents in Africa. This is why the king argues for an autonomous region, believing Xhosa domination of a new government will in effect mean the end of his rule.

The World Trade Centre negotiations took place between people, although political opponents, who had comparable frames of reference. The discussions between the king and government are taking place between people on completely different wavelengths. Government speaks the language of a constitutional state while the king's delegation is seemingly caught up in a bizarre time warp, speaking as if it were negotiating peace after the British empire's revenge for Isandlwana at the battle of Ulundi. No wrangle at the World Trade Centre is even remotely comparable.

Furthermore, there is no confidence between the king's delegation and the ANC. When Zwelithini speaks of the negotiations, he talks of the discussions between government and "that Venda" (ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa).

**W**hether anything can be achieved in the discussions between government and the king is a moot point. The prospects are bleak. Although they have agreed to continue their discussions, the sides are so far apart talks seem almost senseless other than to postpone the possibility of war until after or as close as possible to the election.

The widespread belief that all Zulus will follow the instructions of their king might be overstated, but the consequences of his opposition to the election are serious enough for the ANC to give more attention to them that has been the case.

The stage may be set for intervention by the ANC's most senior Zulu representative, Jacob Zuma, despite the king's apparent distaste for the organisation. Zuma will be called on to use all the wizardry at his disposal to make a constructive and creative contribution. The alternative will be something akin to a re-enactment of Isandlwana in which the blood will not be a stage prop.



WORLD NEWS  
TRANSITION

## Concessions 'an insult'

UTENDI. — Describing the approved amendments to the constitution as a concession to the Freedom Alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party was an insult not only to his intelligence but to the IFP and all South Africans, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday. CT 24/2/94 (11B)

He was commenting on amendments to Section 126 of the interim constitution adopted by the multi-party Negotiating Council on Mon-

day. These were described by the ANC as a major concession to the federalistic demands of the Alliance.

"All they did was to delete the word 'concurrent' and add language which unequivocally ensures that powers of the provinces can only be concurrent rather than exclusive. The normative value of Section 126 before the amendment is exactly the same as after the amendment," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

# KwaZulu public service plans for new SA

THE KwaZulu public service was "going full-steam ahead" making arrangements for incorporation into the regional and national bureaucracy despite politicians' threat to boycott the elections.

Thembinkosi Memela, assistant secretary in the Chief Minister's department, said yesterday KwaZulu's public service was holding meetings with the Commission for Administration in Pretoria.

Asked how this fitted in with the Inkatha Freedom Party's threatened boycott of the elections, he said: "Things are a bit fluid right now, but the fact that there is a special relationship between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government does not matter.

**BILLY PADDOCK**

"Whether it is the PAC, the ANC or the NP that will rule KwaZulu/Natal, it must not affect the public servants. Their job is just to provide good welfare and services to the people in the region. 25/2/94

"We have been planning and preparing for a rationalised public service as part of the greater SA and we are moving full-steam ahead with these plans."

After a meeting with the commission, KwaZulu's public servants were notified last week that "their jobs are safe". It was explained that "some members may be taken into a rationalised KwaZulu/Natal

administration, while others may be moved to the national administration".

Memela was aware that some public servants might be moved because of their relationship with Inkatha. "But this always happens when politicians are changed at the top and is part of being a democracy."

He hoped there would be a peaceful resolution to the impasse "fairly soon within the next few days" (107) (113)

Inkatha was opposed to secession. "All along, in the Buthelezi commission and the joint KwaZulu/Natal Indaba we have advocated a coherent region."

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

See Pages 6 and 10

Fm 25/2/94

# Doing it by degrees

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The multiparty negotiating council on Monday failed to bridge the divide between the Freedom Alliance and a common government/ANC position on provincial powers.

The problem, it seems, is that though some gains have been made, the Alliance view is that its package of demands must be taken in toto. The clauses are integral to one another and if one clause is not acceptable it damages the integrity of the remainder.

But Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate says his party is committed to negotiating to the bitter end to resolve differences. However, he questions the ANC's commitment to finding an all-inclusive settlement.

"Cyril Ramaphosa told the council that Monday night's meeting finished formal negotiations. They decided unilaterally to end trilateral discussions and rush inadequate proposals through the negotiating council, hoping an Alliance boycott will mean our supporters voting for them," claims Felgate.

He says that in spite of the Alliance's resolve to pursue a negotiated settlement, time is becoming a factor which will have to be addressed. The parties maintain that as they have not yet campaigned for the election, they are at a distinct disadvantage.

Responding to claims that Monday's amendments to the interim constitution, which confer additional exclusive powers to regions, should be sufficient to draw the Alliance partners in, Felgate says: "The concessions don't meet our requirements. In constitutional negotiations the various stumbling blocks are individually negotiated. While each concession may be interpreted as a gain, all progress is meaningless until the differences which fatally flaw the constitution are removed."

For example, he says that the renegotiated clause 160 — which safeguards provincial constitutions and provides for their own structures (so that KwaZulu/Natal, for example, could make special arrangements for the Zulu monarch) — could be regarded as an Alliance gain. But because there are no powers worth having as defined in schedule 6, the safeguards are worthless. "It's rather like a jewel safe without any gems to keep in it. The powers, even as redefined, are fewer than the pre-1986 provincial system."

The Alliance rejection seems to have come as no surprise to the negotiating council. In private, ANC and supporting delegations expressed a lack of conviction that the amendments would be enough to bring the Alliance into the elections. Ramaphosa said it was not clear whether the Alliance parties actually wanted to reach a solution.

The council felt the amendment to Section 126 dealing with provincial powers could serve as the basis for further negotiation

until March 4 — the extended deadline in terms of the Electoral Act, which will go through parliament next week, to allow Alliance parties to register for the election.

The amended Act also provides for separate ballots to be used in the election — one for the national assembly and one for provin-



cial legislatures — and it adds the word KwaZulu to the name Natal and another constitutional principle on self-determination.

Ramaphosa has also hinted that the schedule of powers to be exercised exclusively could be extended to meet Alliance demands. And, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer claims provincial laws will now prevail over national legislation. "The negotiating council has now addressed all the concerns that were raised in negotiations with the Freedom Alliance," Felgate, however, remains sceptical. He says these issues have already been negotiated and talked about. "Meyer and Ramaphosa know full well that they have been rejected for sound constitutional reasons and yet they are presenting them as meeting our demands. It's total hypocrisy."

Meyer's claim that provincial laws will now prevail over national legislation, since the word "concurrency" has been deleted, is not the whole story. For while provincial laws now "shall prevail over an Act of Parliament dealing with a matter falling within the functional area specified," this applies only if the Act deals with a matter that cannot be regulated effectively by provincial legislation; or needs uniform norms and standards, is necessary to maintain economic unity, protect the environment, promote inter-state commerce; or if the provincial law materially prejudices the interests of another province or impedes the implementation of national economic policies.

However, Meyer points out that the overrides were already provided for and were previously accepted by the Alliance. Among the 29 areas in which provinces have exclusive powers under schedule 6, are agriculture, local airports, casinos and gambling, cultural affairs, education at all levels excluding tertiary level, environment, health services, housing, language policy, local government, police (subject to national standards), public transport, regional planning and development, roads, tourism, trade and industrial promotion, traditional authorities and welfare services.

There are also amendments to sections 155-159 which strengthen provincial taxing powers. Section 156, for example, says provinces "shall be competent to raise taxes, levies and duties other than income tax or value-added or other sales tax, and to impose surcharges on taxes."

A new chapter is inserted into the constitution establishing a Volkstaat Council consisting of 20 members elected by MPs who support the establishment of a volkstaat. The council will serve as a constitutional mechanism enabling the proponents of a volkstaat to pursue their objective.

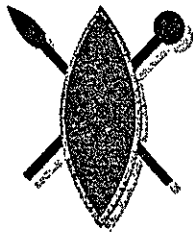
The new constitutional principle provides for the right of self-determination by "any community sharing a common culture and language heritage whether in a territorial entity or any other recognised way." It will require substantial proven support

Fun 25/2/94

# Coming up for the crunch

Zulus will decide for civil war or ersatz federalism

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**KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi** is at the crossroads. His choice of direction in the next 10 days could determine SA's destiny for years to come. He must decide whether to continue his intransigence in the

hope that it will win further federal constitutional concessions — but risk what could amount to civil war. Or he could return to negotiations in the hope of getting more mileage and enhancing what is left of his popular political image.

If he chooses the talks, his chances of gaining much more are probably limited. He will not have achieved the federal constitution he wants but he will be able to rest assured that the constitution envisaged will have federal intimations that could be annealed over the next five years into material regional autonomy. Not everything, but something.

Moreover, by re-entering negotiations and taking part in the election, he would be in a position to regain some of the moral high ground he occupied in the past, whence he may again find himself able to play a pivotal role in SA's future.

The concessions don't meet all the demands made by Buthelezi and his Freedom Alliance partners in the so-called yellow paper presented to government and the ANC in December. But they concede some of the key principles underlying the demands and as such provide at least the basis for further negotiation.

If Buthelezi and a significant element of the alliance can now re-engage government and the ANC, fight the election on a federal platform and use whatever muscle they may have in a new parliament to strengthen the federal elements in the final constitution, history may yet judge them as heroes of the struggle for democracy in SA.

Any other course will inevitably lead to a confrontation. And that could be a gamble. It is true that intransigence has paid off. But the trick is to judge when the ANC-Nat league will become so exhausted of patience that it cries enough and digs in its heels. Buthelezi is the only man on the Freedom Alliance side capable of that judgment.

Notwithstanding the initial rejection of the concessions by Buthelezi and the alliance's Rowan Cronje, they represent a significant departure from previous government-ANC positions. In addition, efforts to draw the alliance into discussion of the proposals by the multiparty negotiating council in Kempton Park this week indicate a genu-

ine desire to settle with the alliance before the election.

The concessions (see *Current Affairs*) were approved by the negotiating council and will be endorsed by a special session of parliament next week. They provide for: a double ballot; additional powers for provinces; a 20-member council to be chosen after the election to investigate the possible establishment of a *volkstaat*; an additional constitutional principle guaranteeing the right to self-determination; and guarantees that provincial powers granted in the interim constitution will not be changed substantially in the final one.

The Electoral Act will also be changed to allow parties that did not register for the election by the February 13 cut-off date to do so by March 7.

Some of the concessions are similar in essence to proposed amendments to the interim constitution tabled in parliament in December by Inkatha MP Jurie Mentz but rejected by government. Mentz, a member of Inkatha's head committee, says that if the latest package covers the issues of sufficient powers for provinces, the authority to raise taxes, a double ballot and the permanence of provincial powers, it could be a basis for further negotiation.

"In my view, the outstanding problems

fanatics, will undoubtedly follow his lead. And though recalcitrant and imperious, too often irascible, careless of friendship and contemptuous of support, he has done more for federalism in this country than any other politician. He has certainly withstood the siren voices of the appeasers.

Even DP negotiator Colin Eglin, who believes the new package is well worth Buthelezi's serious consideration, says that while the latest concessions will not make the constitution federal "in the true sense of the word," it is a further step towards federalism. "I am surprised the ANC has gone this far."

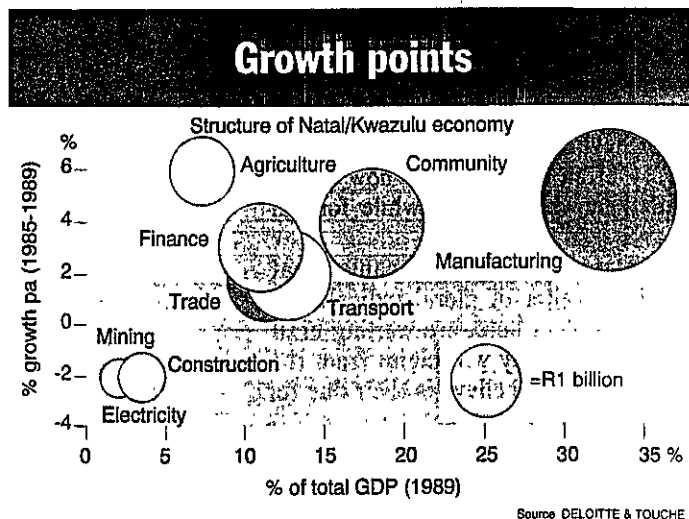
Eglin says he is now less apprehensive about the transition. "The package adds credibility to the negotiation process. The alliance had created a perception that the process was rushed and one-sided. The concessions show that the allegation is not correct. They are a pragmatic and generous compromise that will lower the political temperature and lessen the threat of confrontation."

Cape Town University's David Welsh agrees that the concessions give the constitution "federal potential." But will they attract the alliance back to the process? Maybe some elements will do so, says Welsh. "Neither the alliance nor its components are in any sense monolithic blocks. There seems to

be enough in the concessions to draw in people like General Constand Viljoen, (Inkatha's) Joe Mathews and Frank Mdlalose, but they may not be able to persuade others to come in."

But Welsh has reservations about Buthelezi, especially his willingness to re-join the process. "I believe he has decided that under no circumstances will he participate in the election. Twiddling constitutional knobs will therefore have little effect on his attitude. The same goes for the Afrikaner Volksfront hardliners."

SA Chamber of Business parliamentary lobbyist Peter Duminy says Sacob welcomes any additional move towards a federal structure. The organisation believes a federal system will create certainty about the foundations of future economic activity and bring government closer to the people. "We like to think that these proposals improve the situation."



can be resolved within the next 10 days," he suggests.

Buthelezi is the key player in this game. Alliance leaders' claims of massive support are untested and probably unfounded. Most Batswana do not support Lucas Mangope and most Afrikaners do not insist on an apartheid-based *volkstaat*. Only Buthelezi, with 2,5m paid-up Inkatha members, has a proven following of any real significance.

The rest of the alliance, except for racist

could → p26

But the disposition that has won these concessions does not necessarily endear Buthelezi to liberal democrats, especially those who have little understanding of or sympathy for free enterprise, Christian values and political consistency.

Buthelezi will not opt out. He is determined that KwaZulu should remain part of SA despite King Goodwill Zwelithini's threats of secession.

Nevertheless, he is apparently determined not to be sucked into a new political structure that relegates his region to the same Cinderella status it suffered under successive Nat administrations.

Indeed, his fears are not unfounded. The KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration commissioned consultancy Deloitte & Touche to probe the extent to which the region received a less-than-proportional share of public funding relative to its population and tax contribution — as well as the negative impact of such underfunding.

The conclusion, published at the end of 1992, was that prolonged gross underfunding had severely impaired the region's ability to provide for its population, especially the poor.

The consultants pointed out, for example, that though Natal/KwaZulu is relatively underdeveloped with a virtually equal population, it receives government consumption spending of less than 33% of the PWV. And it pays 17.4% of total SA taxes, which is consistently more than the region's share of gross domestic product.

Natal University economist Guisepe Lenta points out that though government is a net contributor to economic growth, per capita expenditure in 1989, for example, was nearly 50% lower than that for the national average — R381 for the region, against R569 nationally.

"This suggests," says Lenta, "that taxation flows out of the region relative to central government expenditure (excluding government grants to KwaZulu)."

That is not to say Natal doesn't have a sound economy which Buthelezi, or whoever takes over after April 27, will want to build on. Durban regional Chamber of Business economist Barry Poulson points out the gross national product of Natal, with 7.5m people, is R45m a year, compared with R85m for 90m in SADCC countries (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland and Tanzania).

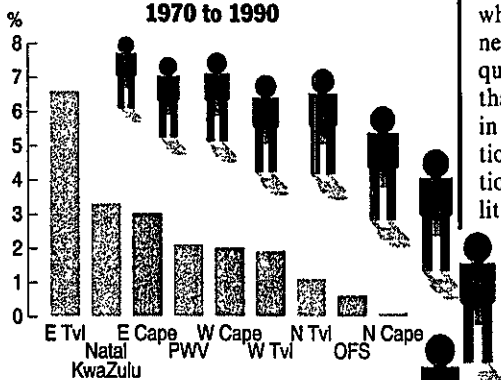
He says inherent strengths of the region include infrastructure, transport (road, rail, oil pipeline), electricity, water (net exporters), education and communication. The industries have sophisticated professional and technical support systems. A sound agricultural sector includes sugar, livestock (cattle and poultry), forestry, and tropical fruit (providing 16% of the nation's commercially sold agricultural production from 8% of the land mass). The two main ports serve the Transvaal and PWV. Industries account for

FW 25/2/94

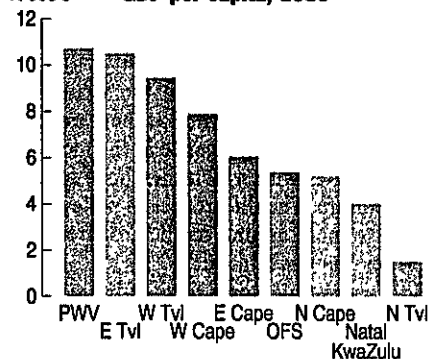
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## Growth with poverty

Regional economic growth 1970 to 1990



GDP per capita, 1989



Source: DELOITTE & TOUCHE

24% of SA's manufacturing output and the potential for tourism is said to be tremendous.

So the argument follows that, given reasonable autonomy and an economy more committed to the market than that of Pretoria, the region could attract investors, especially foreign ones.

Durban regional Chamber of Business chairman John Dickson says that, though apolitical, the chamber strongly supports constitutionally entrenched federalism in which people have a say in developing objectives in their regions.

He says devolved power under a federal system promotes economic efficiency. "There is no doubt that, with people directly involved in a region, resulting shorter lines of communication to decision-makers, benefits of good planning and increased administrative efficiency promote far better use of available resources. And local knowledge improves the likelihood of identifying the correct economic development priorities," says Dickson.

However, he points out that regional autonomy is meaningless unless it has a reasonable degree of financial independence. This requires two-tier taxation, on federal and regional levels, to avoid central government dominance.

Another complication is Zwelithini's deci-

sion to enter the political fray as a free agent. He bluntly demanded of President F W de Klerk at their meeting in Durban last week an independent Zulu kingdom.

Though his nation was conquered by the whites, the king argues, its sovereignty was never eliminated. Now that whites are relinquishing their sovereignty, it is only logical that it reverts to the Zulu nation as defined in 1834 (embracing all of Natal) — a position he claims is supported by the international law of decolonisation. In short, Zwelithini says there's no way he will accept the current constitution or be ruled by a unitary state.

But ANC southern Natal secretary Sbu Ndebele points out that reverting to 19th Century status would eliminate private property ownership since all land would be owned by the crown. Allocations would depend on the benevolence of the monarch.

Wits international affairs expert Sara Pienaar says countries fear nothing more than secession. "Civil war would be inevitable and they are the hardest wars, once started, to end. One need look no further than Bosnia, Angola and Mozambique for proof of their capacity to endure, inflict human suffering and result in economic devastation."

Natal University Economic Research Unit director Gavin Maasdorp says that though there's little

doubt as to Pretoria's ability to quell a Natal/KwaZulu rebellion, significant force might be needed to maintain law and order in the region. He says that even if an independent kingdom resulted from a long conflict

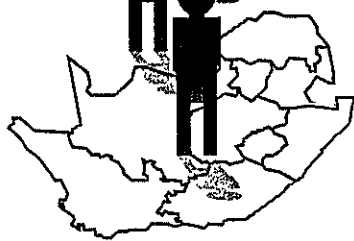
with Pretoria, "relations would be soured to the point where Natal was virtually on its own — probably outside the customs union and common monetary area."

This would imply considerable dislocation of the area's economy, infrastructure and social fabric. It would take a long time to rebuild Natal/KwaZulu and regain the confidence of investors.

"Nevertheless, the region could survive at least at the level of countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe."

That's not what Buthelezi really wants. But the relatively robust economy, as homelands go, and strategic deep water ports could provide him with some bargaining chips that might pay off.

The next 10 days will be exceptionally tense, not least so for Buthelezi. Our guess is that there is too much at stake for him to go for all or nothing. For we believe the shrewdness of his political judgment will outweigh the volatility of his often unfortunate public persona.



# IFP considers fresh formula

CT25/2/94 (115)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

IN a last ditch effort to draw Inkatha into the elections, government negotiators yesterday proposed a fresh formula to secure recognition of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini in a new constitution.

The proposal, decried by Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte as "eminently reasonable", was last night being considered by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his advisers.

Should Inkatha decide that the proposal could serve as a basis for ending its election boycott, another round of negotiations will be held early this morning before the parliamentary standing committee meets in Cape

## New offer affects Zulu king

Town to discuss amendments to the interim constitution.

Mr Schutte said last night that the government was "committed to ensuring the recognition of the Zulu King" in a new dispensation and that the latest proposals were designed to bring certainty about the position of the king "within South Africa".

However, he insisted that any new arrangement concerning the

status of the king would have to be "democratic".

Government and Inkatha negotiators who yesterday ended two days of talks outside Cape Town indicated that the Zulu King might "tone down" his demands of sovereignty.

However, one source emphasized that the clause of the constitution dealing with the powers of regions remained the single most important stumbling block.

Chief Buthelezi said measures taken earlier this week by the government and the ANC to accommodate the Freedom Alliance failed to guarantee sovereign powers of regional governments.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called the constitutional amendments meaningless.



MANDELA



BUTHELEZI

# FINALLY

CIP 2-12/94

# FACE TO FACE

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

## Hope Inkatha may at last join elections

HOPES are rising that the current constitutional impasse could be resolved following the announcement that ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to meet on Tuesday in Durban.

It is significant that this meeting comes on Mandela's initiative - and that he has agreed to hold it in Buthelezi's "backyard". This indicates the ANC could be willing to make further concessions to Inkatha which would be sufficient to make them participate in the April elections.

The Mandela-Buthelezi summit - the fourth since Mandela's release from jail four years ago - comes in the wake of a flurry of meetings involving the government, Inkatha, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront aimed at creating an inclusive constitutional dispensation.

The summit also follows increased bloodletting in Natal which some observers believe seriously threatens the likelihood of elections taking place in the province.

Yesterday, Buthelezi and King Goodwill met for three hours in Ulundi with government negotiators trying to persuade the Zulu leaders to take part in the elections - but Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said afterwards they had failed to break new ground.

After previous talks on Thursday, Home Affairs spokesman Niel du Bois said Buthelezi had accepted the government's proposals on the King's future "and further matters as a basis for further talks". The proposals have not yet been made public.

### King must decide

After yesterday's meeting Buthelezi said he and his Inkatha followers were subjects of the King. "Even if all the amendments of the Freedom Alliance go through, subjects of the King cannot take part if the King says no," Buthelezi said. He did not elaborate.

Yesterday's meeting came barely two days before parliament sits in Cape Town to legislate last-minute changes to the constitution that were offered by the ANC and the government to Buthelezi and his black and white conservative allies in the Freedom Alliance. Talks between the government, the ANC and the Alliance broke down earlier this month and the federal guarantees, which included stronger changes to the constitution, were rejected.

But Tuesday's summit with Mandela holds a glimmer of hope that Buthelezi may be enticed to split with the Alliance and rejoin the democracy process he abandoned last year.

Buthelezi is fighting for increased regional powers for his Natal/KwaZulu-based Inkatha and sovereignty in the area for the Zulu King, his closest ally.

Mandela said on Friday that he had urged Buthelezi to meet him because he wanted peace in SA. "I am going to meet Chief Buthelezi in that spirit, in the spirit of exploring or seeing whether we can't bring him on board to take part in the elections."

Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said they "will discuss the constitutional impasse".

"It's apparent at last that the ANC realises its future of the country, contrary to their earlier beliefs that we are an insignificant force," said Jiyane.

11B

# Mandela-Buthelezi talks seen as last hope

B/Dav 2812194

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party see tomorrow's meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as the last hope for a constitutional settlement.

However, key negotiators on both sides were not optimistic yesterday that a breakthrough could be achieved.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said he was "sceptically hopeful".

"I am not very optimistic, but there is a chance that Mandela can persuade Buthelezi that the constitution caters adequately to his demands and he should not fear an ANC government."

He said both sides were seeing the meet-

ing as very important "because we are running up against a time problem. The deadline for registration is the end of the week and there is no time to conduct further meetings and negotiations. If Buthelezi does not come in this week, it will be too late." (11B)

However, he ruled out any chance of Mandela offering further tangible concessions. "By the time they meet, the constitution, with the proposed changes, will have been fixed and passed by Parliament."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate also said he was not very hopeful that the meet-

ing would make substantial progress, but said he did not want to pre-empt a meeting "as important as Mandela and Buthelezi discussing our future".

He said it was obvious Mandela would want to convince Buthelezi that the constitution was adequate and that there were sufficient guarantees to enable Inkatha to take part in the election.

"But we put forward our absolute compromise position in December and these bottom lines have not been addressed by the concessions the ANC have made."

"The constitution is fatally flawed and does not allow for any form of federalism,"

To Page 2

## Last hope

B/Dav 2812194

From Page 1

he said.

DAVID GREYBE reports from Kimberley that Mandela called a news conference during his two-day electioneering drive through the northern Cape at the weekend. (11B)

"I want peace in this country and those who do not appear to be enthusiastic about April 27 must be convinced they have noth-

ing to fear from a future democratic government," he said.

"I am going to meet Chief Buthelezi in that spirit of exploring whether I can bring him on board to take part in the elections and to co-operate with us in facing the problems that will arise after April 27."

See Page 5

Report by B Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



# 'Leave us out' says KwaZulu

CT 28/2/94

113

~~114~~

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have called for a moratorium on elections in KwaZulu/Natal as a possible way through the impasse over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's demand for an independent Zulu kingdom.

The proposal that has been put to the government and which was tabled at the joint parliamentary standing committee on Friday by Inkatha called for the region to be left out of this election.

The proposal is that the whole of KwaZulu/Natal should not take part in April's election but rather that it be governed by an administrator while negotiations take place with all parties to draft a regional constitution.

In this constitution, provision

## Attempt to avert deadlock

would then be made for the position of the Zulu king and a Zulu kingdom. Once this regional constitution had been finalised elections would be held in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, both Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and ANC negotiator Mr Joe Slovo yesterday reacted unfavourably to this proposal.

Mr Schoeman said other parties were wanting to contest the election. Mr Slovo described the

idea as "a very doubtful starter". President FW de Klerk said yesterday he continued to hold out some hope that ongoing talks between the government and Inkatha on the status of King Goodwill, as well as Mr Nelson Mandela's planned meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow, would "even at this late hour deliver some constructive developments."

Mr De Klerk also held out an olive branch to AVF leader General Constand Viljoen after an angry exchange of letters towards the end of last week, saying his door remained open and that Gen Viljoen was welcome to meet with him today.

Mr De Klerk said he still had "some hope" that the flurry of "last gasp" efforts to draw Freedom Alliance parties into the election would bear fruit. — Own Correspondent, Political Correspondent

# No more concessions — Gwala

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC had made enough concessions to Inkatha and the Freedom Alliance and there would never be a sovereign Zulu kingdom or a volkstaat in Natal, ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala warned yesterday.

He was speaking at a mass funeral for 14 of the young members of an ANC voter education

team slaughtered near Creighton in southern Natal last week.

The coffins, covered in ANC flags, were arranged on a hillside close to the house where the victims, aged 13 to 26, were shot as they slept.

Three IFP members have been arrested in connection with the dawn attack.

"We have made enough conces-

sions," Mr Gwala said.

"Some say they want a (Zulu) kingdom with a monarch who can appoint ministers. Such a thing will never happen."

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu urged restraint and said such acts would never stop the ANC delivering the final blow for freedom in the elections.

# Mandela

# won't

(118)

# coax me

CT 13/94

# — Chief

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he would not be cajoled or coaxed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at today's meeting to get the IFP to enter the elections.

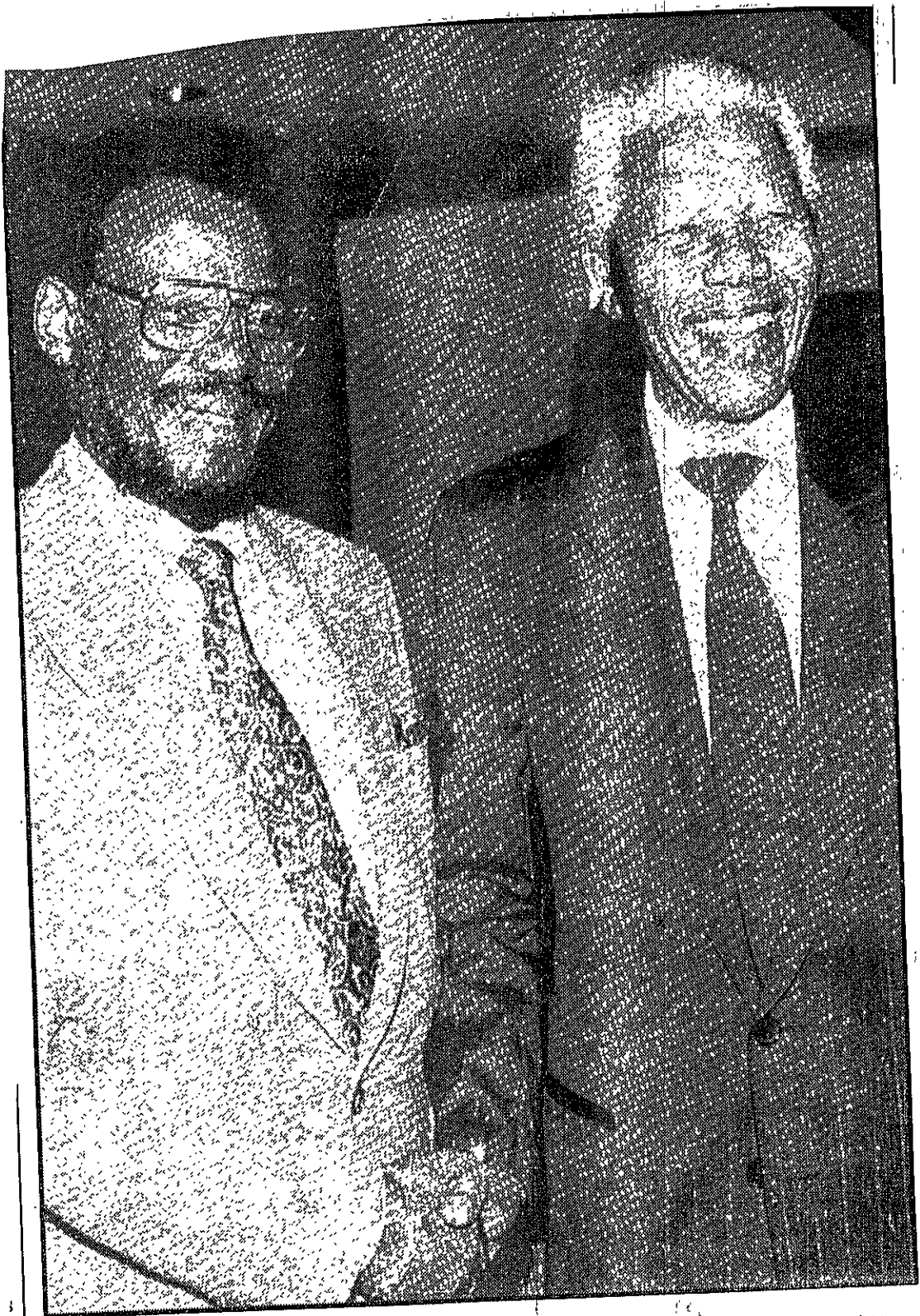
"I want to say that I am prepared to co-operate with Mr. Mandela in any efforts that we agree can end or reduce the levels of violence.

"But I hope he does not waste my time trying to persuade me to accept this fatally flawed constitution," he said.

## Bloodshed

He said there was no question of him being persuaded by Mr. Mandela to participate in the elections. "That is an issue on which my party has spoken. Just as Mr. Mandela describes himself as the servant of the ANC, I am the IFP's servant.

Commenting on reported statements by Mr. Mandela that he was prepared to go on his knees to Chief Buthelezi if that would prevent bloodshed, he said: "The insinuation that I am responsible for the bloodshed, I throw at him with the contempt that it deserves."



**ALL SMILES:** Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, left, and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela shake hands before the start of their crucial talks in Durban today.

Picture: Agence France Presse

## Mandela, Buthelezi start vital talks

DURBAN — African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party delegations, headed by Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today started talks behind closed doors at a Durban hotel.

Officials said the talks could last several hours.

The ANC and IFP leaders arrived separately, shook hands and posed for photographers.

The ANC's delegation included Natal premier candidate Jacob Zuma, southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe, Midlands, southern, and northern Natal ANC secretaries, Sibusiso Nkabinde, Sbu Ndebele, and Senzo Mchunu, and NEC member Sydney Mufamadi.

Among the IFP representatives were national chairman Frank Mdlalose, national spokesman Ziba Jiyane, Women's Brigade chairperson Faith Gasa, KwaZulu Minister of Education Lionel Mtshali, his deputy V.T. Zulu, and Zulu royal family member Prince Gideon Zulu.

United States President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister John Major yesterday sent a joint message to Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi urging a successful outcome to their crucial meeting.

Mr Major, who is on an official visit to the US, said yesterday: "We sent a joint message to Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi that might have great importance to South Africans as they move towards their first multiracial elections."

The US and UK leaders pledged that they would continue to support the transition process. — Sapa.

(News by G Arde, 330 West Street, Durban)

• See page 4.

# De Klerk pleads with right wing

Sowetan 11/3/94

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Staff

■ NOT ENOUGH IFP, CP say Nat

concessions an inadequate package:

**P**resident FW de Klerk yesterday implored the right wing to get on board the election process, now that the concerns of the Freedom Alliance were being met by Parliament.

But both the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party remained committed to their rejection of an "inadequate" package.

While the Government now believes that the present phase of negotiations which had failed to get the right wing into the process — was at an end, the door is still open to further talks after the April election.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said while there were improvements to the constitution through the amendments, political power would be concentrated

in a unitary state "dominated by communists".

The double ballot for the remaining of Natal as KwaZulu-Natal, the inclusion of a self-determination clause and the setting up of a *volksraad* (national council) are "a step in the right direction", but they did not guarantee Afrikaner self-determination.

## Delighted by the inclusion

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Mr Farouk Cassim said while the party was delighted by the inclusion of a double ballot, which allows the electorate to vote separately for both regional and central assemblies, the regional powers

did not go far enough.

Shortly before addressing Parliament, which met in the old white House of Assembly, De Klerk said, however, if the right wing wanted to be reasonable, it would take the interests of its supporters into account and participate in the April poll.

But he said one could take a horse to water but "one can't make it drink".

While the session marked the end of the recent phase of negotiations, they would continue in earnest after the election, said De Klerk.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

# Bid to resolve Sowetan 11/3/94 crisis

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet in Durban today in a last-ditch attempt to resolve what the Inkatha Freedom Party calls a constitutional impasse.

Mandela meets the IFP leader against a background of behind-the-scenes negotiations to find common ground.

However, Mandela last night warned that the ANC would not allow for a postponement of the April election.

Speaking at the opening of the ANC Media Centre at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, Mandela said the organisation wanted South Africa to become a united country.

"We will not compromise on any demand for secession," he said.

He was highly critical of Buthelezi's stance to remain outside the transitional process and said: "I will spend the rest of my life persuading my colleagues (including those outside the ANC) who fear democracy to join in this process," he said.

## On his knees

In Bishopscaster on Sunday, Mandela said he would go down on his knees to Buthelezi if that would bring peace.

Meanwhile, the central committee of the IFP met in Durban last night to finalise strategy for the meeting. It is expected Mandela and Buthelezi will spend some time alone either before or after the meeting of their delegations.

Central to the meeting will be the IFP proposal that the interim constitution should have no force in KwaZulu-Natal until the province has adopted a constitution of its own and that the election in KwaZulu-Natal should take place no less than 90 days after the adoption of the constitution.

IFP information director Dr Ziba Jiyane said last night's preparatory meeting would debate Buthelezi's demand that the April election be postponed for 12 months in KwaZulu-Natal to allow for the adoption of a new constitution for the province.

The Freedom Alliance parties, of which the IFP is an important member, have until midnight on Friday to formally register for the election.

(Report by T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

Wednesday, March 2 1994

# Inkatha threat to quit peace forum

8/Day 2/3/94

WILSON ZWANE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it would withdraw from all Transvaal peace structures within a few weeks because they had been hijacked by the ANC.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat official Con Roux said Inkatha's announcement was staggering.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said his organisation, a signatory to the national peace accord, had for months been a member of peace structures in name only.

Ndlovu said his organisation would inform the Wits-Vaal peace secretariat officially that it would be withdrawing from the peace structures in the next few weeks.

He said it had become increasingly clear that peace monitors, who were aligned to the ANC, were using the resources of the peace structures to further their party's objectives.

He said his organisation had information that ANC members, disguised

as peace monitors, spied on Inkatha and used cars belonging to the secretariat to ferry weapons.

Ndlovu said these allegations had been brought to the attention of the peace secretariat, which had done nothing about them.

Roux said Inkatha had not responded to the secretariat's request for evidence to back up the allegations.

He lamented Inkatha's decision, saying the move was a tragedy. He said the success of the peace structures hinged on the full participation of all the signatories to the accord.

Inkatha was an important component of the peace structures and its participation was crucial, he said.

Sources said last month Inkatha was hampering the secretariat's ability to carry out its work by not attending implementation committee meetings. The source said administrative functions were affected by Inkatha's non-participation.

Report by W Zwane, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

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Buthlezi seeks foreign mediation

# Inkatha may register for the elections

B/Day 2/3/94

DAVID GREYBE

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night said his party could register for the elections before Friday's deadline if the ANC agreed to international mediation.

The decision followed yesterday's marathon meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

However, Buthelezi made it clear that Inkatha's central committee would consider merely a provisional registration to allow further time for negotiations. If he was not satisfied with the progress he would not take part in the elections.

Inkatha's shift in position took other Freedom Alliance members by surprise. Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said: "It is very interesting and Buthelezi must have got some hope of a settlement." Bophuthatswana would have to make its decision within the next two days. But Buthelezi's move is seen as a lead to the other partners and they could also register by Friday.

President FW de Klerk was due to meet Afrikaner Volkfront co-leader Gen. Constand Viljoen last night and it was hoped that progress would be made there as well.

After meeting Buthelezi, Mandela said: "I came here in high spirits and I leave in higher spirits."

The talks began at 11am and ended at 7pm. Early in the proceedings Mandela

and Buthelezi left the meeting for an hour-long private discussion. They returned holding hands and smiling, and remained positive throughout the day with Buthelezi saying at lunchtime: "Good progress is being made." (18)

"It always goes well when we are together. We may have political problems, (but) we are really fond of each other," he said.

Both leaders said they had laid the basis for a possible future constitutional breakthrough.

The two parties agreed that, notwithstanding constitutional differences, they recognised each other's right to participate or boycott the elections.

"The parties agreed to work together to ensure that canvassing for respective views should be able to take place without let or hindrance," Buthelezi and Mandela said in a joint statement.

"In an effort to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks, the parties agreed to explore with their principals the possibility of international mediation and in this regard Inkatha would consider provisional registration in terms of the Electoral Act."

Buthelezi said he would not have gone to the trouble of meeting Mandela and various government Ministers in the past

□ To Page 2

## Inkatha B/Day 2/3/94 □ From Page 1

few days "if we were not determined to take part in the elections". However, he stressed that the Inkatha leadership would decide finally whether to participate.

Earlier, Buthelezi took an uncompromising stand on participation and said in his opening statement to Mandela after their private meeting: "Our first option was for a federal future in which there would have been sufficient regional autonomy to accommodate self-determination.

"The cause of federalism has now failed and we must seek our destiny elsewhere." He said the ANC "of all organisations" knew the power of resistance politics.

Explaining the international mediation proposal, Inkatha central committee member Sue Vos said Inkatha did not envisage approaching high-profile politicians to mediate, but international constitutional experts such as the "Council of Venice".

"We are not talking arbitration here, you need mediation," she said. Such mediation could be the way to break the talks impasse. (18)

Buthelezi, defending his decision to negotiate independently with the ANC, said every Freedom Alliance member was at liberty to negotiate with the aim of meeting the needs of its own constituency.

The ANC's national working committee

is expected to discuss the mediation proposal today or tomorrow and, depending on the outcome, the Inkatha central committee will meet to decide whether to register provisionally for the election.

Both leaders said they would meet again. They also agreed that the present levels of violence were "totally unacceptable and were jeopardising the conditions for socio-economic reconstruction and development".

They resolved to increase their efforts to encourage their constituencies to participate in and support national peace accord structures and other peace initiatives.

"While recognising that members of the ANC and Inkatha are involved in violence, the parties are of the view that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order remains with the government of the day," they said.

The parties also explored the possibility of making greater use of international expertise in areas of conflict resolution and investigating political violence.

They agreed to establish a task group to strengthen the peace committees and deal with communication between the two parties.

Report by D Greybe, THL, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

● Picture: Page 4



# Breakthrough

**TEC allows for Act to be altered**

**Political Staff**

The TEC yesterday resolved to insert an amendment in the Electoral Act which will allow the State President to amend the legislation by proclamation.

This would have to be done in consultation with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

The TEC also proposed that the period within which party would be obliged to submit its lists of candidates be extended from 30 to 35 days after the date of proclamation of the election.

**Provide**

The resolution was proposed by government delegate Mr. Fanie van der Merwe following a unanimous decision by the council's management committee to provide for unforeseen circumstances.

Mr. Van der Merwe argued that although it would be unusual to provide for an act of such importance as the Electoral Act to be changed by proclamation, it had become necessary because of many unforeseen technical problems that might arise.

**Political Staff**

In a dramatic breakthrough yesterday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced that his Inkatha Freedom Party would consider provisional registration for next month's election.

International mediators may be called in to settle remaining constitutional differences between the IFP and the ANC.

The announcement came after an exhausting eight-hour summit between Chief Buthelezi and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela in Durban yesterday.

Within hours, Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator, Mr. Rowan Cronje, said the homeland would also consider registering for the election if there were international mediation to resolve its problems. He described the announcement as "most encouraging".

**Consultations**

Inkatha's decision rocked its Freedom Alliance partners and prompted urgent moves to convene an Alliance leadership summit by as early as tomorrow.

Some members of the government also seemed to have been caught off-guard by developments.

While President F. W. de Klerk was locked in urgent consultations at Waterkloof air base outside Pretoria last night, his Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr. Roelf Meyer, met members of the government's constitutional committee in Cape Town.

In Parliament, Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Dames Schutte, replying in debate on the Electoral Amendment Bill, described the IFP leader's decision as "monstrous".

At a press conference after the talks in Durban, Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi smiled and reaffirmed their friendship.

"I feel very warm inside," said Mr. Mandela. "We have made solid progress."

"I came here in high spirits and I am leaving in even higher spirits," said Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi added: "This was not just a diplomatic exercise. Fruitful discussions have taken place. Although there were only three days left for the IFP to register, Mr. Mandela said "in discussions such as this there can be no such things as deadlines — not even April 27".

"We will continue searching for solutions after April 27 if we don't reach them by then."



**FRIENDS, PROVISIONALLY . . .** IFP Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela break into laughter at a press conference in Durban yesterday where Inkatha's agreement to consider provisional registration for the election was announced.

Picture: AP

"It is only fair, though, that we be given a little space."

A joint statement released read: "In an effort to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks, the parties agreed to explore joint public platforms. The possibility of international mediation and in this regard the IFP would consider provisional registration in terms of the Electoral Act."

Mr. Mandela said it had not been decided who would be involved in mediation, but the individuals or nation chosen would have to "satisfy both of us and there must be a guarantee of impartiality."

Chief Buthelezi said they had discussed "the way negotiations had gone" but next would give details of specific constitutional differences that had been reached.

Both leaders recommitted themselves to seeking a "swift" end to the violence between their supporters and said they would fulfil the promise made at their last meeting in June 1993, to share joint public platforms.

He added it "at be would not take all this trouble" in continuing to negotiate with the ANC and the government "if we weren't determined to enter the elections".

However, the Freedom Alliance's bottom-line demands, presented in December, would have to be met before the IFP contested the election. Provisional registration is just that: it implies that there is no decision to participate but I will put it to the central committee that there should be provisional registration.

Chief Buthelezi said the mood at the beginning of the talks when Chief Buthelezi accused Mr. Mandela of negotiating in bad faith.

Conservative Party leader Dr. Fanie Hartzenberg did not want to be drawn on whether his party would follow suit. "This is something we will have to discuss."

# IFP, ANC in 'breakthrough'

Sowetan 2/3/94

**T**he Inkatha Freedom Party is to consider provisionally registering for the April 27 election.

This emerged after several hours of talks between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban yesterday.

Both the IFP and the ANC are also to explore possible international mediation to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks.

"We've laid a solid foundation for possible breakthroughs," said Mandela at a Press conference after the meeting. "We have laid the ground plan for future progress."

On his party's stance on elections, Buthelezi said: "Provisional (registration) means it leaves our options open. If a solution is found, it makes

it possible for us to participate."

He said the IFP was determined to contest the election, but added that his party's demands, as contained in the Freedom Alliance's proposals, had to be met. (118) (15)

The Zulu king's demands also affected the IFP's participation in the election, he said.

The question of provisional registration had to be taken to the IFP's central committee for ratification, he said.

Questioned on whether the IFP was closer to contesting the elections, Buthelezi replied: "Not at all."

On his party's proposals to have the election postponed, Buthelezi noted that Mandela and President FW de Klerk had made it clear this would not happen.

But, he said: "We have not even started campaigning ... It's only fair to give us a little space to campaign."

The deadline for registration is Friday. Both leaders resolved to redouble their ef-

forts to encourage their constituencies to participate in and support National Peace Accord structures and all peace initiatives.

"It's sufficient for us to say we're satisfied with the progress we've made," Mandela said.

In another development, the Transitional Executive Council management committee was yesterday directed to take effective political and security steps to ensure that the election went ahead unhindered in Natal.

A resolution adopted unanimously at a council meeting in Cape Town urged it to ensure that the people of Natal were freely able to exercise their right to vote.

Supporting the motion, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said Natal posed the greatest challenge to the TEC's authority.

He said: "The TEC cannot pussyfoot around this issue. We have to act firmly and demonstrate that the TEC's powers are enforceable." — Sapa.

(Report by Craig Doonan and Greg Arde, 330 West Street, Durban)



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shakes hands with African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban yesterday. The two met in a last-ditch attempt to persuade the IFP to join South Africa's first all-race election on April 27. PIC: Associated Press

Time is of the essence, says FW

# ANC agrees to foreign mediation

Biday 3/3/94

THE ANC yesterday accepted international mediation in negotiations with the Inkatha Freedom Party, and urged that it start soon, but there was not much optimism that this would lead to a breakthrough.

There was a flurry of activity as political leaders met to assess the implications of Tuesday's meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The ANC's national working committee agreed to the proposal that in return for international mediation, Inkatha would consider provisionally registering for the election. Inkatha's central committee meets tomorrow to evaluate this and decide on registration.

President FW de Klerk welcomed the progress made, but poured cold water on the feasibility of international mediation, citing time constraints. However, he had an open mind and would look at specific proposals.

Buthelezi, however, took a hardline stance in a speech to KwaZulu MPs, restating all Inkatha's demands as bottom-line positions that had to be met. He also demanded a separate Zulu kingdom.

He said the amendments to the constitution and the Electoral Act, passed yesterday in Parliament, were "totally inad-

TIM COHEN  
and BILLY PADDOCK

equated" and did not come near accommodating Inkatha or KwaZulu.

"In summary ... the position remains exactly the same as before. Mr Mandela's supposed concessions do not even begin to address our demands for exclusive provincial powers, autonomous taxing powers, and the protection and guarantee of provincial constitutions against the arbitrary decisions of the constituent assembly."

He said the problem of the king and the Zulu kingdom "is far from being resolved, and cannot be resolved through the amendments of certain existing sections of the (interim) constitution" (11B)

There also appeared to be divisions within the central committee, with hardliners claiming mediation was a waste of time and merely led to further delays while the ANC retained the moral high ground, and others indicating that it "should be given a chance".

On Tuesday night De Klerk met Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen and also discussed the matter in Cabinet. Yesterday Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje met foreign diplomats and the CP held a secret meeting.

It is understood that the ANC's national

□ To Page 2

## Mediation

working committee agreed to the proposal in principle, but needed to work out the terms of reference of the mediation and approve mediators. No list of possible mediators has been drafted yet (11B)

An ANC source said there was no need for the mediation to be protracted as Cronje and Inkatha negotiator Walter Fel-Cronje had said that the differences could be resolved within a "day or two if there was the will on all sides to find a settlement".

Meanwhile, De Klerk told Parliament that he foresaw "major difficulties" with international mediation. Time was of the essence for the parties that had registered

as well as for the Freedom Alliance. He suggested that other parties consider "provisional registration".

He claimed some of the credit for the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting, saying the groundwork had been laid during discussions between Buthelezi and government ministers. But he was extremely glad that the meeting had taken place, although it had been "very late in coming" as the ANC "did not play ball".

Reports by T Cohen and W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

● See Page 4  
● Comment: Page 8

Biday 3/3/94 □ From Page 1

# Joint rallies planned for ANC and Inkatha

Biday 3/3/94

DAVID GREYBE

DURBAN — The job of passing on the newfound political understanding between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their warring followers will be left to a joint task group.

Its most pressing task would be to organise joint rallies for Inkatha and ANC leaders, including Buthelezi and Mandela, officials and supporters in Natal said yesterday.

There were also calls for Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to inform chiefs that Zulus could belong to any political party.

Joint rallies would send the right message to supporters of the two camps, Durban Regional Chamber of Business president John Dickson said.

Many members of the region's business community had for too long felt there was not much evidence of goodwill between the two sides, and business had suffered, Dickson added.

"The leaders must come here and speak with one voice," ANC regional peace desk officer Cyril Shez said, standing in the deserted Inanda squatter settlement on the North Coast.

ANC supporters claimed residents had fled the area because of intimidation by Inkatha supporters.

ANC supporter Richard Cele, 38, said he had been on the verge of fleeing with his family but after the good news from Buthelezi and Mandela "I have decided to stay a bit longer in the hope

there will be peace".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillett accused government of turning a blind eye to huge MK arms caches, MK training camps and highly trained MK members in the region.

Only a mutual end to hostilities and mass disarmament could make the task group's job a success. "But how it will be achieved no one knows yet."

Shez called on government to stop issuing weapons such as automatic rifles to the KwaZulu government. He claimed the weapons ended up in Inkatha hands.

He also called for Zulu chiefs to be paid their salaries by the TEC and not the KwaZulu government "because some chiefs are scared that if they allow free political activity, Ulundi will cut off the money".

Mandela and Buthelezi said after their meeting in Durban on Tuesday that primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order remained with government.

A joint ANC-Inkatha task group was set up in 1991 after the two leaders met in Durban, but officials admitted yesterday it had not achieved much.

Tillett said joint rallies would go some way to defusing a volatile situation. "The problem is we are also in the throes of an election campaign."

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

## Inkatha confirms exit from peace groups

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu yesterday dashed hopes his organisation would reconsider withdrawing from peace accord structures.

Ndlovu, who on Tuesday said his organisation would withdraw from the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat in the next few weeks, said problems in the peace structures were serious and could not be solved in the foreseeable future. *BIDAY*

He stood by his statement that his organisation would withdraw from the secretariat, which he claimed had been hijacked by the ANC. *3/2/94*

Ndlovu was speaking a day after Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi resolved to increase their efforts towards encouraging support for the national peace accord. *(118)*

Inkatha official Ed Tillet said the withdrawal from the Wits/Vaal secretariat would mean Inkatha was taking part only in the peace committee in Umlazi near Durban. However, that committee also had problems.

Tillet said the national peace committee should meet urgently to discuss problems. These included the hijacking of the structures by some individuals for party political gain.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports discussions on how to open no-go areas in Katerhony and Thokoza on the East Rand are to take place this weekend.

The summit, confirmed by Inkatha and the ANC, would be hosted by the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat.

Mr Tony Guinness, of the Lenasia-based City Funerals, said he was "still trying to make arrangements for the 40 funerals I have to conduct on Saturday".

week-old strike.

Water is running in the streets from burst sewerage pipes and many street lights are out of order.

## IFP asks Kriel for help

By Joshua Raboroko

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel has been asked by the Inkatha Freedom Party to intervene in the ongoing violence in Bekkersdal. (118)

The request was made by the IFP's Transvaal chairman, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, who claimed the African National Congress was the main threat to peace and stability in the area.

Ndlovu alleged that ANC supporters disguised themselves as peace monitors and used cars belonging to the peace secretariat to transport weapons.

The claim was, however, dismissed by Bekkersdal Peace Committee spokesman Mr Themba Mazwane.

Mazwane said the IFP had failed to honour the agreement reached by all parties involved in keeping peace.

He denied ANC supporters had used the committee's cars at any stage.

The IFP withdrew from the committee following a handgrenade attack on its members during a funeral on Sunday.

Ndlovu said his organisation was a signatory to the national peace accord but had for months been a member of peace structures in name only.

# focus on transition

**T**HE WAVE of excitement that gripped the country on Tuesday night, when it was announced that the IFP had agreed to provisionally register for the elections, is indicative of the anxiety of many people.

For indeed it was not the substance of the outcome that generated the euphoria, it was rather the significance of the slight change of attitude by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi, who has come to represent the ultimate in resistance to the present constitution, did not agree to go into the election — he has only said yes to provisional registration.

The part of the joint communique that deals with this matter reads as follows: "In an effort to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks, the parties agreed to explore with their principals the possibility of international mediation and in this regard the IFP would consider provisional registration in terms of the Electoral Act."

The rest of the statement dealt with the problems of violence and agreement to form yet another task force to look into the matter.

But all commentators hooked into that paragraph and saw in it the hope that the IFP would register. Its principal, the IFP Central Committee, still has to sit, though, and endorse the decision.

This is believed to be a mere formality, especially as Buthelezi himself has agreed to this. But what is provisional registration?

According to an official of the Independent Electoral Commission, Mr Nico Botha, no such provision exists in the Registration Act. What the IFP could, however, do is to submit a registration form with all details except the list of candidates.

If by Wednesday next week, which is the deadline for registration, they have still not submitted the list, their application would automatically lapse and their deposit would be refunded, Botha said.

The IFP Central Committee will meet on Friday, according to sources in Ulundi, and if all things go well, the registration should happen over the weekend.

The eventual decision to go into the election will rest on progress made by international mediators who still have to be appointed. If the deadline of Wednesday is anything to go by, whoever the mediators are will have to move swiftly here and work nonstop.

The IFP, however, said yesterday the issue of deadlines was irrelevant as they did not recognise them. Spokesman Ed Tillet said the decision to campaign for seats in the election will depend on whether the mediators can resolve outstanding issues such as the scope of the entrenched clauses and regional powers.

And so the announcement for provisional registration amounts to only a slight turn, but a significant turn all the same.

For it sends a new signal to the IFP membership who had been put on an anti-election mode, and perhaps a confusing signal at that. Many an

*Sowetan 31/3/94*  
If the IFP does join the elections, it would make strange bedfellows of two diametrically opposed groups — the far right and the BCM — agreeing not to take part in the elections. **Mathatha Tsedu** considers some of the ironies:



Buthelezi and Mandela show their happiness on striking a deal.

IFP membership may just find the sophistications of the provisional registration too much to follow.

Which is why the issue is important, for Nelson Mandela may have had more reason to feel warm inside, as he said.

He went into the meeting prepared to kneel down and beg, but did not have to, at least in public. He met Buthelezi, who harangued him with a six-page speech.

But he kept his cool and eventually came out with Buthelezi saying he would register, albeit provisionally. It is a significant gain for Mandela, and one that could in the end break the Freedom Alliance, of which the IFP is a major component.

Buthelezi's decision, apparently taken without consultation with other FA members, may be the death knell of the alliance.

Bophuthatswana is expected also to follow suit, as it faces growing problems with the workforce. Spokesman Rowan Cronjé said Bophuthatswana would consider registering for the election if there was international mediation to resolve its problems.

He said the FA had always been prepared for international mediation in the event of a deadlock.

Ciskei decided long ago to ditch the alliance and has now been participating in TEC activities and the negotiations. Which leaves the

“The decision to campaign for seats in the election would depend on whether the mediators can resolve outstanding issues such as the scope of the entrenched clauses and regional powers”

white ultraright on its own.

And that may be the import of the Durban decision, denuding the white right of its black appendages. This would be important as the threat of the armed white far right was compounded by its mixture with the black numbers.

The dislocation of the black parties would leave the no vote fight in the hands of whites on the right, and the black militants in the Black Consciousness Movement on the left.

Embodied in the Azanian People's Organisation, the BCM is arguing the opposite of the rightwing cause. It maintains that the present settlement package is loaded in the interests of the white minority, and that economic power and the land are still vested and entrenched in white hands.

The BCM has called for a boycott of the election, but most parties have ignored them because they are not seen as possessing the capacity to derail the process, a capacity which the rightwing was able to project.

While the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the BCMA, has been involved in several bombing campaigns in the country lately, these have failed to shake the system to a noticeable extent.

And so the country may go into the elections faced with the ironic twist of two diametrically opposed views agreeing only in not taking part in the process.

# 'Free' Zulu Sowetan 3/3/94 kingdom call

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for a Zulu kingdom separate from the rest of South Africa. (113) (113)

He said the KwaZulu government could not be held responsible for the Zulu nation's anger if elections proceeded without this demand being met.

Addressing a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus meeting in Ulundi, Buthelezi said: "We need to separate the kingdom of KwaZulu from the rest of South Africa."

"If this can be done through a constitutional principle in the 1993 constitution, then we will entertain constitutional amendments to this effect."

If the African National Congress and the SA Government went ahead with the April poll without the Zulu king's demands being met, "the KwaZulu government cannot be held responsible for the anger of the Zulu nation".

Buthelezi made no mention of his talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Tuesday at which he agreed to consider registering the IFP for South Africa's first all-race elections in April. — Sapa.



NEWS Mixed reception for crucial D

# Appeal to FA to join polls

Sowetan 3/3/94

■ **SUMMIT REACTION** European

Union and OAU plead for inclusion:

**T**HE OUTCOME of the summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban on Tuesday was received with mixed reactions here and abroad. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said he doubted whether the IFP would in fact participate in the April election.

Reacting to the IFP's decision to provisionally register for the election, Terre'Blanche said that if the party did participate, it would probably only be on a regional level to prove its popularity in KwaZulu. He said the IFP and Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini could use a regional victory as leverage for their demands for self-determination.

The Organisation of African Unity Observer Mission in South Africa welcomed the outcome of the summit.

OAU mission spokesman Mr Sam Ibok said OAU Secretary-General Mr Salim Ahmed Salim would meet Mandela in Umtata tomorrow as a result of the latest

political developments. Ibok urged all parties involved in the negotiations to continue to seek common ground.

The European Union appealed to the Freedom Alliance to join the April elections. In a letter to alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronjé, the European Union said it welcomed the initiatives aimed at consolidating the democratic foundations of South Africa.

"The European Union is convinced that the only way to reflect their commitment to the process of democratic change in South Africa is for all parties to participate in the forthcoming elections. All South Africans must be allowed and encouraged to express their individual views on the country's future.

"At the same time, the European Union strongly urges all parties to refrain from threatening violence and from impeding the course of the elections and from delaying a solution on the outstanding constitutional issues." — Sapa.

(Report by Patrick Bulger, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

## Self-defence units parade

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 1 400 KwaZulu self-protection unit members have completed a four-week training course in Zululand and another 1 500 recruits will start training soon.

A passing-out parade at Ulundi's sports grounds yesterday was the culmination of a month's training at Mlaba camp, near Umfolozi, for 1 440 recruits — the third intake so far.

They were inspected by KwaZulu Justice Minister CJ Mtetwa. 4/12/94

Camp commander Philip Powell said the latest intake had seen a record number of 1 500 men from throughout KwaZulu/Natal registering for training, which had included physical training, drill, and lectures on firearms laws and the peace accord.

They had been taught marshalling and organisational skills as well as musketry and tactics.

"The philosophy behind the self-protection units is to continue the idea of community policing.

"There is a move away from the statutory police force to involve members of the community to help fight crime and stop the violence," Powell said.

# Inkatha will not quit peace bodies, says Vos

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has backed down on plans to pull out of all Transvaal peace structures.

"There is no question of Inkatha pulling out of the national peace accord structures in the Transvaal or anywhere else in SA," Inkatha representative on the national peace secretariat Suzanne Vos said yesterday, Sapa reports.

Her statement contradicted the one made by Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu on Wednesday.

Ndlovu said Inkatha was pulling out of the peace structures because they had been hijacked by the ANC.

He also said the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat was doing nothing because hundreds of Inkatha members and supporters had been killed in political violence in Thokoza and Phola Park on the East Rand. (118)

Vos said Ndlovu was expressing real problems experienced by Inkatha in relation to various peace committees.

Many Inkatha members who had been working in the peace structures in the past year had been killed or injured in attacks, she said. "While the leadership of Inkatha understands and appreciates the problems experienced by Mr Ndlovu, we are nevertheless fully committed to serving national peace accord structures to the best of our ability."

Asked why she was contradicting Ndlovu, Vos said: "He was clearly expressing the frustration he has. He has the democratic right to express his frustration."

A meeting would be held between the Inkatha leadership and the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat in a bid to resolve the problems and

achieve more constructive Inkatha participation in the peace structures, Vos added.

The secretariat has called on Inkatha to support its claims with evidence.

WILSON ZWANE reports Vos also suggested that the peace accord structure could be revitalised if participating political organisations seconded senior officials to it full-time.

The national peace committee's task group would meet today to discuss, among other issues, Inkatha's threat to withdraw from the peace structures, media spokesman Val Pauquet said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said he was trying to contact Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to seek direction on how to allay members' misgivings about taking part in peace structures in Natal. He said it was becoming increasingly clear that members in the province did not want to take part in the structures, a stance that was against party policy.

Buthelezi said on Tuesday, after his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, that efforts would be stepped up to encourage members to support and take part in peace accord structures and other peace initiatives.

Our Durban correspondent reports the strife-torn Mgendwa area in Umbumbulu received a welcome boost for peace on Wednesday when ANC and Inkatha local leaders agreed at a meeting to form a joint peace committee to end violence in the community.

The parties also agreed that ANC supporters who fled Mgendwa at the height of violence about four years ago should return.

## FW asks Inkatha people to vote NP

DAVID GREYBE

UMBUMBULU — President FW de Klerk yesterday appealed to Inkatha Freedom Party supporters to vote for the NP if Inkatha boycotted the elections.

He was speaking at the start of his election drive in Natal and KwaZulu.

He went out of his way to impress on voters the NP and Inkatha had similar policies on the future of the Zulu monarchy.

De Klerk said he did not understand how Inkatha could have fought for years for the right of everyone to vote and, now the time had come, it called for a boycott. "Other people will again decide on your behalf."

De Klerk warned Zulu secession from SA would not be allowed, saying the new constitution provided the necessary constitutional safeguards for the region's future.

"We cannot return to 1834," he said, referring to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for the return of the Zulu kingdom as it was at that time. 413194

"The people of this province will have self-determination, but secession is not an option." (3047) (113)

KwaZulu belonged to all its people and there could not be a return to any form of ethnicity, De Klerk said. The same applied to the Afrikaner Volksfront's demand for an ethnic homeland.

De Klerk said it was time the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) stopped "poking its nose" into matters in which it had no rights, and started doing something about intimidation.

He specifically criticised the TEC for its handling of the government's new housing project this week. "The TEC is not a government. It's there to fight intimidation."

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

CP and Volksfront deny split

# Alliance joins Inkatha push for mediation

Biday 4/13/94

Political Staff

THE Freedom Alliance, including the CP, yesterday backed the call for international mediation.

The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said a joint task group should be set up urgently to work out the terms of reference for mediation in SA's constitutional disputes.

After a Freedom Alliance crisis meeting in Cape Town, Buthelezi said that as soon as this was done, he would begin his election campaign.

But this would depend on the Inkatha central committee's decision today on provisional registration.

The leaders of other alliance parties indicated that should Inkatha decide to register, they would also provisionally register for the election, nipping in the bud suggestions by some CP members that they might break away and register another party to fight the election.

On a day of frantic political manoeuvring, the CP fiercely denied that a split in the party was imminent and ANC president Nelson Mandela announced that he would meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to discuss a separate Zulu kingdom.

"I indicated to Mr Buthelezi this was a matter we were prepared to discuss directly with the king and we requested Mr Buthelezi to arrange a meeting. We are awaiting a response," Mandela said.

Meanwhile, President FW de Klerk stood alone in pouring cold water on the idea of mediation. He indicated that he was upset about not being consulted before Mandela and Buthelezi's meeting.

"I have serious reservations about international mediation at this stage. Time is of

the essence," he said in Durban.

"This sudden lackadaisical approach does not impress me at all. I am not negative, I am ready to start negotiating tomorrow to strike an accord to be implemented after the election."

He was disappointed in the alliance's negative reaction to the constitutional amendments passed in Parliament this week. "Their reaction was inadequate because the amendments addressed the heart of the problems." (11B)

He accused the alliance of "playing games" and said: "Government has not been consulted at all about the proposal which is the product of Tuesday's summit." He said there has been "a lot of loose talk". He described the alliance's support for mediation as "a flyer, which had not been discussed in intense negotiations over the past weeks".

CP chief secretary Lem Theron said there was "absolute solidarity" in the ranks of his party.

The Afrikaner Volksfront also denied that there was "any talk" of a split in its ranks, saying the NP media was "usually inclined to reach new heights of the imagination shortly before the elections".

A variety of CP MPs, who had been reportedly considering participating in the election, also issued statements denying that a split was imminent.

Meanwhile, the ANC agreed to set up a task group with Inkatha to work out the terms of reference of international mediation and who the mediators should be.

□ To Page 2

## Alliance

Biday 4/13/94

□ From Page 1

Buthelezi also said Inkatha, the ANC and government would have to get together to work out the nuts and bolts and the brief to be given to international mediators.

Once the frame of reference had been set, he personally would be willing to start campaigning for the election.

He put no time limit on mediation but said it was urgent. "Only this international mediation might open a new chapter."

The substance of constitutional deadlocks, rather than deadlines, should determine their resolution.

"If the attitude is that it is deadlines rather than solutions, it means we can't make progress," Buthelezi told businessmen in Cape Town. (11B)

He said he would prefer international mediation to be conducted by constitutional law experts. "My demand for international mediation is based on my belief that the 1993 constitution will not be able to

stand up to any international scrutiny.

"We in Inkatha have always maintained that it represents nothing more than the outcome of the record of understanding signed between the ANC and government."

Buthelezi argued that there was no reason why the election could not be postponed but stressed that this was not a new condition he was putting forward.

"I dispute that the date cannot be changed. If there was fair play, the elections would be postponed," he said. He did not, however, want to make this an "emotional issue. The issue is mediation because there's a deadlock, and not the election."

The ANC's national working committee said it had received a full report of Tuesday's meeting and welcomed its outcome.

Report by T Cohen, D Graybe and E West TML, 11 Diagonal St Jhb, and B MacLennan and D van Zyl, Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town

● See Pages 4, 6 and 10

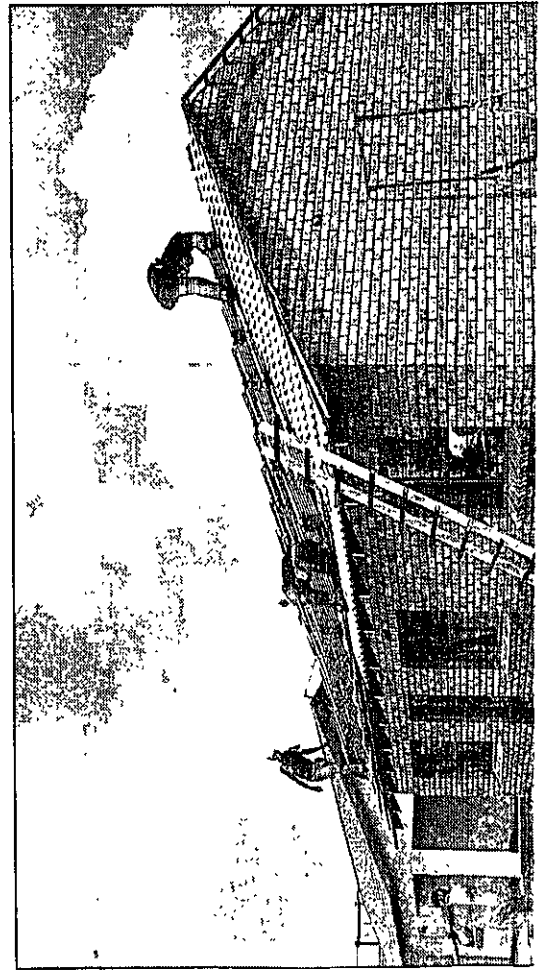


Together we can make it ... this was the mood during the launch of the Sowetan-Allied Bank Job Creation project this week. In the picture are (from left) Mr Zwell Ncube and Ms Sandra du Preez of Absa Bank, Mr Adu Owusu of Allied, Mr David Moloi of Bedcor, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Ms Lynda Greef of Allied and Mr James Motau of Get Ahead Foundation.

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# Tvl chief Ndllovu 'was frustrated'

Sowetan 4/3/94  
**REAL PROBLEMS** Party spokesman

Suzanne Vos puts the records straight.

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party has backed down on plans to pull out of all Transvaal peace structures.

"There is no question of the IFP pulling out of the National Peace Accord structures in the Transvaal or anywhere else in South Africa," IFP representative on the National Peace Secretariat Ms Suzanne Vos said yesterday.

Her statement contradicts one made by IFP Transvaal deputy chairman Mr Humphrey Ndllovu on Wednesday.

Ndllovu said the IFP was pulling out of the peace structures because they had been hijacked by the African National Congress.

He also said the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat was doing nothing because hundreds of IFP members and supporters had been killed in political violence in Tokoza and Phola Park on the East Rand.

Vos said Ndllovu was expressing real problems experienced by the IFP in relation to various peace committees.

"There is no doubt that the IFP has been experiencing considerable problems and that these have to be addressed."

Many IFP members who had been working actively in the peace structures in the past

**(He has the democratic right to express his frustration)**

year had either been killed or injured in numerous attacks, she said.

"While the leadership of the IFP understands and appreciates the problems experienced by Ndllovu, we are nevertheless fully committed to serving National Peace Accord structures to the best of our ability."

Asked why she was contradicting Ndllovu, Vos said: "He was clearly expressing the frustration he has. He has the democratic right to express his frustration."

A meeting would be held between the IFP leadership and the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat in a bid to resolve the problems and effect more constructive IFP participation in the peace structures, Vos added.

The Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat has called on the IFP to support its claims with evidence. — Sapa.

# AVF, IFP sure in Freedom to exercise our options — Viljoen

THE Atrikaner Volksfront and the Inkatha Freedom Party conditionally registered to contest the April election last night.

The AVF, which leader General Constant Viljoen registered as the Freedom Front, made the midnight cut-off with just 15 minutes to spare. In a statement Gen Viljoen said, "I realised that the Freedom Front to exercise the strategic options of the Atrikaner people would be severely restricted if we did not register provisionally. "Due to the limited time available, this decision could not be approved in advance by the Atrikaner Volksfront," the statement added.

"As the Inkatha Freedom Party has indicated, the registration does not imply that we are in any way recognising the 1983 constitution, but registers only in anticipation of possible results of negotiations or international mediation."

## Mediation

He hoped this international mediation would point out the flaws in the current constitutional process and help in achieving a Volksstaat.

"This decision leaves the Atrikaner nation with the option to prove substantial support if, and only if, there are sufficient concessions which indeed make our ultimate goal of an Atrikaner Volksstaat attainable."

Gen Viljoen said the decision would be submitted to AVF decision-making structures for approval at the first opportunity.

The IFP delegation, headed by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, arrived at the World Trade Centre at 9:05pm to register.

After a marathon seven-hour central committee meeting yesterday, the IFP said it would register to contest the poll — but only pending international mediation on amending the constitution and "rationalising" electoral timeables.

The IFP said it would "seek the agreement and co-operation" of its Alliance partners in "developing a satisfactory way forward".

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday it was not feasible to boycott the poll because it was impossible to get together all those involved at such short notice.

He said that recent constitutional

concessions on "self-determination" were in any case not enough to make the party reconsider its decision. Mr Bophuthatswana spokesman Mr Roman Cronje welcomed the IFP decision, but said his government would not be able to make the deadline as a crippling strike in the homeland had made it "physically impossible" to convene a cabinet to decide on registration.

After talks with AVF leaders yesterday Mr Thabo Mbeki indicated that the ANC would be prepared to accept an extension of the midnight deadline provided the election went ahead as planned on April 27.

Last night the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said that from a technical and "practical" point of view the late registrations of parties for the election could be accepted by the IEC until 4pm this afternoon.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Krieger said at the World Trade Centre from a legal point of view, however, the midnight cut-off remained in place. A 9pm cut-off was proposed by the IEC but this was rejected by the IEC. He said the IEC would be ready to handle the late registrations by this afternoon, to enable it to have the ballot papers printed and ready for the April 28-29 election. (See page 2)

Earlier IEC spokesman Mr Pieter Cronje said no grace period could be granted.

## Welcomed

The draw to determine the order of political parties on the ballot paper will be broadcast live today during the 7:30am news bulletin on TV1.

Parties have to lodge their lists of electoral candidates with the IEC by Wednesday.

President F V de Klerk welcomed the IFP's decision last night, saying it indicated the "strong possibility" of Inkatha's participation in the election.

After its central committee meeting yesterday, the IFP said it was not demanding a postponement of the April election, but wanted mediation on this deadline to ensure that all parties could contest the elections on an equal footing.

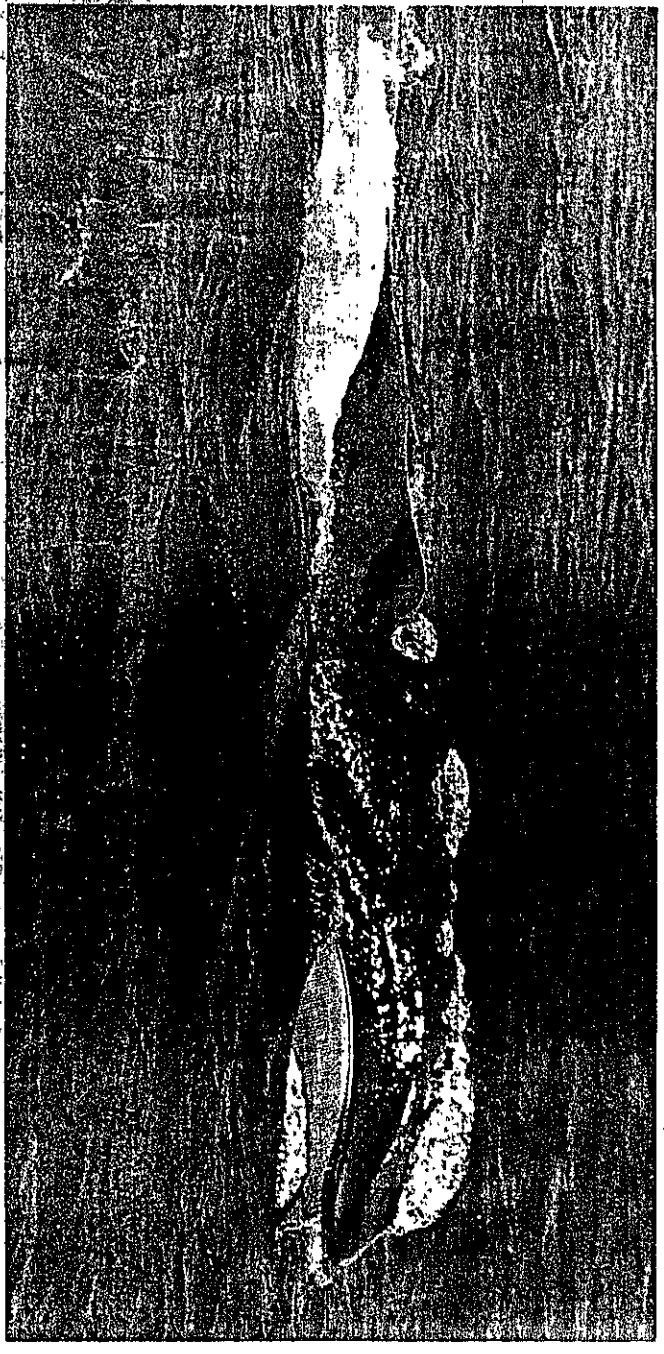
From page 1

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "mutually contradictory" to say that international mediation should take place and that the election should go ahead on April 27. Mediation was a good idea but there was no time for it, he said.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told reporters at a briefing he would only begin electioneering once there had been mediation, Sapa reports.

● In addition to the AVF (registered as the Freedom Front) and the IFP, six other parties registered last night, bringing the total number of parties which intend to contest the election to 29.

Two of these are the New Federal Party, led by Ms Frances Kendall, and the Africa Muslim Party led by Dr Imtiaz Sooliman. The other parties had not been named at the time of going to press. — Political Correspondent, Sapa



**BIG CHEESE** This southern-right whale flashed a grin at dolphins at Llandudno yesterday morning who watched for several hours while four whales rolled close to shore.

Picture: BENNY GOOL.

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itness



# Inkatha joins the

## IFP, Volksfront register provisionally, but Bop stays out

CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

HOPEs for a peaceful transition have risen dramatically with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront officially registering for next month's election.

The provisional registration — only three hours before the midnight deadline — ended months of speculation.

An IFP delegation headed by national chairman Frank Mdlalose arrived at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at 9:05pm yesterday to register.

In terms of registration procedures the IFP also bound itself to adhere to the Independent Electoral Act, which binds parties to a code of conduct. Dr Mdlalose said the issue of international mediation to help resolve outstanding constitutional differences remained a racial factor.

He said the IFP would meet the African National Congress on Tuesday to "compare notes" on the issue.

Dr Mdlalose denied his party's decision to register provisionally indicated a split between itself and its allies in the Freedom Alliance.

He said the IFP would meet its allies on Monday "to form a strategy to make this mediation come through".

Dr Mdlalose gave the assurance the IFP would have sufficient time to campaign for the election and said mechanisms were in place to deal with this.

President De Klerk welcomed the IFP's provisional registration.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Chatsworth, south of Durban, he said the IFP's decision indicated the "strong possibility" of participation in the elections.

"I would have preferred registration with no strings attached," Mr De Klerk said.

The ANC also announced that it was willing to enter into "political accords" with other parties in terms of which a new government would amend the Interim Constitution should changes be agreed on between now and the poll.

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki told journalists his organisation would also consider extending last night's deadline for registration of parties if the Independent Electoral Commission recommended such a step.

It was evident from a statement released by the IFP central committee yesterday that it would be pressing for the election date to be changed.

Weekend Argus has reliably learned that senior members of the government have in recent days been contemplating shifting the election date, but only in exceptional circumstances.

Last night Bophuthatswana indicated it would not register.

The IFP made it clear that its participation would be conditional on:

- Mediation to try to resolve outstanding constitutional differences,
- Mediation on amending the 1993 constitution, and
- Rationalising the electoral process and timetable to translate constitutional agreements into a fair and free election in which all parties can compete on an equal footing.

This appears to be a demand that the election date be shifted to allow latecomers to the campaign time to catch up.

The statement also said the mediation should address steps for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to secure the interests of the kingdom of KwaZulu.

The Independent Electoral Commission said that from a "technical" and "practical"

■ To page 3

## AVF registers as the Freedom

■ From page 1

point of view late registrations of parties could be accepted by the IEC until 4pm today.

IEC chairman Justice Johann Kriegler said that from a legal point of view, the midnight cut-off remained in place. He said that the only way the deadline could be extended was if "the law was changed".

Mr Justice Kriegler said it was imperative that the IEC finalise its registration list by this afternoon, to enable it to have ballot papers printed and ready in time.

Observers yesterday also noted that the in-principle agreement for international mediation was only concluded between the IFP and ANC. This agreement was later endorsed by the FA.

In a statement after the AVF had registered, Gen Viljoen said: "I realised that the freedom to exercise the strategic options of the Afrikaner people would be severely restricted if we did not register provisionally.

"Due to the limited time available, this decision could not be approved in advance by the Afrikaner Volksfront," the statement added.

Gen Viljoen said the AVF had been registered as the Freedom Front.

Gen Viljoen said this was the last opportunity with other members of the Freedom Alliance, to settle what he called this unacceptable situation in a peaceful manner.

"This decision leaves the Afrikaner nation with the option to prove substantial support if, and only if, there are sufficient concessions which in deed make our ultimate goal of an Afrikaner Volksstaat attainable."

Gen Viljoen said this was the last opportunity with other members of the Freedom Alliance, to settle what he called this unacceptable situation in a peaceful manner.

He hoped this international mediation would point out the

Front 30/4

(HB)

ARC 513/94

frey

new



# IFP supporters bar F W from their stronghold

CIA 613194

By SIPHO KHUMALO

INKATHA supporters in Pietermaritzburg on Thursday told NP organisers that State President FW de Klerk was not welcome to drive through Sweetwaters, an Inkatha's stronghold.

The NP organisers in the Natal Midlands had hoped De Klerk would be more acceptable in the Inkatha stronghold. They were visibly upset when the Inkatha supporters told them he was not welcome.

Farmworkers could not attend De Klerk's meeting after Inkatha leaders told the NP organisers to get permission from Inkatha's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi before visiting the area. (118)

This enraged NP organisers prompting the Minister of Home Affairs Dannie Schutte to threaten to report "this intimidation" to the Independent Electoral Commission.

Despite being rejected by the Inkatha supporters, De Klerk said the NP and Inkatha were not enemies.

He called on Inkatha supporters to vote for his NP if their party decided not to participate in the election rather than not voting at all.

But he also expressed disappointment with Inkatha for failing to accept the democratic challenge of the election.

De Klerk was also confronted by ANC Women's League members at Market Square who handed a memorandum to NP leaders complaining that Inkatha had confiscated people's identity documents in Vulindlela.

The memorandum for De Klerk's attention was received on his behalf by NP senior officials, Rudi Redinger and

Reinier Schoeman.

The league claimed in the document that Buthelezi, in his last visit to Taylor's Halt on February 20, had called on the people to submit their IDs to the local Inkatha strongman, David Ntombela.

Ntombela is the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Vulindlela.

According to the memorandum, the ANC members in Vulindlela had reported to the women's body that their IDs had been confiscated to stop them from voting.

This was, however, dismissed by Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane as "ridiculous".

He lashed out at the ANC for their "lies" and said Buthelezi had worked hard for people to have their IDs.

The memorandum also asked De Klerk to look into the issue of farmers refusing to allow the ANC to campaign among farm workers.

"It has been brought to our attention that farmers in the Midlands region are not allowing voter education programmes to be carried out on their farms.

"Given the level and intensity of violence and intimidation in the Midlands Region, which has a vast population of rural women, we are concerned that the Independent Electoral Commission is not visible in the region to act decisively on these issues," De Klerk was told.

De Klerk found the going easy in the Du ban coloured township of Auster-ville in Wentworth. Here, there were chants of "Viva De Klerk!" and a group of ANC protesters was less effective.

(Report by Siphon Khumalo, 65 The Rd, Rossburgh, Durban)



# Inkatha region to defy party policy

WILSON ZWANE

B/Day

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Transvaal region will go ahead this week with its decision to withdraw from national peace accord structures, although this will bring it into direct conflict with the organisation's official policy. 7/13/94

National peace chairman John Hall will meet Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu this afternoon to try to persuade him to remain. (11B)

Ndlovu said at the weekend it was easy for the Inkatha national leadership to order regions to remain in the peace structures because it did not know what was happening on the ground. National leaders were not in Bekkersdal (on the West Rand) or any other township when our members are attacked.

His organisation would send a letter of resignation to the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat by post this week.

Ndlovu said previously that his organisation was pulling out of the peace structures because they had been hijacked by the ANC.

Ndlovu did not expect his meeting with Hall to come to anything. He expected Hall to make promises that something would be done to address Inkatha's grievances.

"We have been made promises in the

□ To Page 2

## Inkatha

B/Day

7/13/94

□ From Page 1

past. Nothing has come out of them."

Last week Inkatha executive member Sue Vos said there was no question of Inkatha withdrawing from the peace structures. (11B)

Vos said: "While the leadership of Inkatha understands and appreciates the problems experienced by Ndlovu, we are nevertheless fully committed to serving national peace accord structures to the best of our ability."

It is also known that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi rededicated his organisation to the peace accord at his meeting with representatives of the national peace secretariat last Monday.

Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane has said he was seeking direction from Buthelezi on how to allay members' misgivings about the peace structures.

Jiyane said refusal by Inkatha's regions to take part in the peace structures went against the organisation's policy.

# Top IFP man under murder investigation

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha's Transvaal organiser Mr Themba Khoza is under investigation by the Goldstone Commission after a KwaZulu police lieutenant alleged that he (Mr Khoza) personally directed the massacre of 11 ANC supporters near Dundee last year.

In a report published in the London Sunday newspaper the Observer yesterday, it was alleged that KwaZulu police covered up the killings by Inkatha men in Nqutu. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday declined to comment.

But he confirmed that the inquiry into the Nqutu massacre

had been re-opened as a result of new evidence coming to light after KwaZulu policeman Lieutenant Westleigh Mbata had approached the commission.

## 11 DIE IN MASSACRE

See PAGE 2

Lt Mbata and his family were placed "in a witness protection programme" after he spoke to the newspaper.

Mr Khoza is alleged to have selected and armed four men before the attack on the kraal of ANC-supporting Nqutu chief Mr

Alpheus Molefe on November 7 last year.

The newspaper reported that 48 hours after the massacre, KwaZulu police arrested two members of the IFP. In confessions made to Lt Mbata, they claimed that Mr Khoza "personally selected" and armed them and two other men from a Kathlehong hostel. Lt Mbata claimed he was later taken off the case.

Mr Khoza said yesterday the allegations were a "complete fabrication".

Mr Khoza said he would not testify before the commission because he did not respect it, but "if it comes to the push I will stand in court".

Sowetan  
8/3/94  
11B

# IFP's Themba Khoza outraged

**T**HE INKATHA Freedom Party's Mr Themba Khoza has expressed outrage at allegations that he had armed assassins to murder 11 people in Nqutu, Northern Natal, last November.

The London-based *Observer* newspaper reported on Sunday that it had uncovered evidence suggesting Khoza, the IFP's political director in the Transvaal, had organised the massacre in Nqutu. The newspaper charged he had used assassins from the Kwesini hostel in Katsheing on the East Rand.

As a result of its investigations, the *Observer* said an inquiry had been opened by the Goldstone Commission. It added that the commission had put the newspaper's source, Mr Westleigh Mbata, of the KwaZulu homeland's police, and his family in a witness protection programme.

## ■ ARMED ASSASSINS 'Peacemaker'

responds to newspaper allegations:

The paper said Mbata had arrested two suspects belonging to the IFP who confessed their involvement in the massacre and also implicated Khoza. They said he had issued them with the AK-47 assault rifles used in the massacre.

But in an angry response on Sunday, Khoza said he had worked all his political life to bring about peace and reconciliation in South Africa.

Khoza said on Sunday night he had been deeply hurt by the allegations which, he said, were clearly part of politicking and electioneering by the newspaper on behalf of other political parties.

He added, however, he would not appear before the Goldstone Commission as it was "clearly biased against the IFP".

"I am willing to appear in court at any time. I will set time aside to avail myself to any court of law to be tried if the need arises. I am in fact keen to do that with one thing in mind — to clear the consciences of all those who lost their loved ones in that incident. Above that I cannot do more to prove that I am innocent.

"I want to state now that I am innocent before I appear in court and will be innocent after I have appeared in court," said Khoza. — *Sapa*.

## Manenberg MP leaves NP for Inkatha

CAPE TOWN — For coloureds to serve the NP was to consent after three centuries to digging their own grave, Inkatha Freedom Party's newest parliamentary recruit, James Kuiler, said yesterday.

Kuiler, MP for Manenberg in the Cape Flats since 1989, resigned from the NP yesterday to join Inkatha.

"I say to the coloured people: 'Wake up before it is too late. The Nats have nothing to offer you,'" he said.

He was leaving the NP to campaign vigorously for Inkatha's version of federalism, which would empower coloured people in the Cape.

The ANC was "just as power-hungry to govern" and coloured people should not allow it to "ride roughshod" over them,

he said.

Kuiler entered Parliament in 1989 as a Labour Party MP and joined the NP in 1991. His defection to Inkatha means it now has 14 MPs — five in the House of Assembly, seven in the House of Delegates and two in the House of Representatives.

Kuiler said that after the recent special short parliamentary session "it became absolutely clear to me that Inkatha's unabated criticism of the constitution was valid".

(118)  
Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been the only political leader in SA who had succeeded in stopping the ANC and the NP from dictating the terms en route to a new constitution. — Sapa.

Report by D van Zyl, Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament.

# Parties differ on mediation

DAVID GREYBE  
and TIM COHEN

EARLY indications suggest that the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party may not agree on the type of international mediation to resolve constitutional differences.

ANC and Inkatha negotiators met separately yesterday to decide on the mediation they would favour, prior to their meeting in Durban today, while government continued dismissing the proposal.

Some ANC members expressed a preference for high-profile facilitators to resolve a few outstanding issues quickly, while Inkatha apparently favoured a firmer form of mediation.

Government's position remained that SA's political parties were capable of resolving their problems without foreign involvement, which could drag out the tran-

sition process even further, government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said.

"I personally don't think it's a workable concept at all," he said. 813194

Government and ANC chief negotiators made clear, however, that the April elections would not be postponed as a result of mediation. (113)

The ANC would meet this morning to finalise its proposals, but it appeared the organisation was not prepared to accept Inkatha's bid for full-blown mediation as in the former Yugoslavia.

Freedom Alliance negotiators met for

To Page 2

## Mediation

most of yesterday to work out their mediation proposals, support for which was expressed by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday. (113)

But Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said even bodies like the UN were not the right organisations to deal with mediation. (113)

"I am sorry to say that even the fact that we registered last Friday for elections does not necessarily mean we are going to participate if mediation does not take place before (the elections)."

Natal ANC premier candidate Jacob Zuma suggested that the mediation effort might include aspects of negotiations cur-

rently under way with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. 813194

It was quite possible that the mediation could take place quickly, because the areas of dispute had already been substantially identified in negotiations.

SACP national chairman and ANC negotiator Joe Slovo expressly ruled out arbitration in favour of "facilitation".

"But in the end it depends upon the parties themselves," Slovo added.

Meyer said the parties were not talking about mediation but rather international involvement of a kind similar to that which followed the Boipatong massacre.

Report by T Cohen and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal Street Jhb

From Page 1



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# IFP likely to fight election

INKATHA will have extra time to compile its lists of election candidates, following a successful meeting yesterday between it and the ANC on the question of international mediation to break the deadlock.

The Independent Electoral Commission has extended the deadline for the submission of election candidate lists by a week.

However, provisional lists must still be submitted to the IEC by the 4.30pm deadline today.

Supplementary and amended lists will be accepted during the next week. This step comes after the Transitional Executive Council contacted the IEC earlier yesterday to ask for an extension.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is working round the clock to select candidates for the poll but the lists will not be ready by tonight's deadline. In terms of the current

## More time for parties to compile lists

legislation, the IFP's provisional registration will lapse if it does not submit its lists.

With the ANC agreement on international mediation, the IFP has indicated that it will almost certainly take part in the election if the timetable is changed.

And in Ulundi, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi urged President F W de Klerk to back international mediation.

Earlier Mr De Klerk said there was no time left for mediation.

CT9/3/94 (11B)

The IFP-ANC agreement came as exploratory talks aimed at forging an election pact between the ANC and the PAC flopped.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander yesterday confirmed that negotiations on the electoral alliance collapsed when the ANC insisted on the PAC making an upfront declaration of its assets.

Meanwhile, the row within right-wing ranks continued to rage yesterday with those supporting participation in the election refusing to give way to hardliners who are demanding a boycott.

The pro-participationists are to meet again in Pretoria today after talks with those advocating a boycott of the election failed to break the deadlock.

Today is being billed as the final day for a decision to be made, though it appears the date by which candidates lists have to be submitted may be extended. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

**H**OVERING malevolently over the new phase of talks between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party is the issue of the election date.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has repeatedly said a postponement cannot be contemplated. His Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi has stopped short of demanding that it must be. But he talks, as tirelessly, of a need for flexibility in the election timetable. If deadlines — rather than the constitutional questions in dispute — become the issue we are wasting our time, Buthelezi argues, not unreasonably.

Both Mandela and Buthelezi are, in their own way, correct. Neither can possibly take a different view at this stage.

The ANC has staked its reputation on an April 27 election, and if its supporters see it beginning to waver in response to Inkatha pressure — while Inkatha remains uncommitted to participation in the poll — the consequences would be unthinkable.

In the meantime, there continues a huge struggle within Inkatha. Frank Mdlalose is back in negotiations after an almost three-month absence due to injuries sustained in a motor accident. So is Joe Matthews, who was out of the limelight for a period. Both clearly favour a compromise settlement and participation. At the same time, Buthelezi's key adviser, Walter Felgate, appears to remain sceptical of, or even hostile to, the prospect of international mediation facilitating a settlement.

**N**one of this gives any indication whatsoever of which course Buthelezi is intent on. There is only one certainty: that mediation, should it occur, will produce an outcome which forces some further concessions from the ANC on regional powers; and that outcome will be something less than Inkatha's ideal.

This will pose for Buthelezi a political choice (and, in the end, it is Buthelezi's will that counts in Inkatha). Does he accept an imperfect compromise as the likes of Mdlalose would be inclined to do? This implies acceptance of the notion that, as under more or less pure federations the world over, regions and the centre

# Shhh . . . this is no time to talk about postponing the poll

Ridsey 10/3/94

ALAN FINE

there was never a chance of a deal. But the potential consequences of deadlock are a driving reason for pursuing a settlement until the last possible moment — up until the election and, if necessary, beyond.

Which returns us to the question of the election date.

One of the few reasons for hope that Inkatha may seriously be seeking a settlement has been Buthelezi's uncharacteristically delicate handling of the issue. He could easily have made it an early stumbling block,

which would have nipped the mediation process in the bud. Instead, he appears to have recognised and acknowledged the ANC's sensitive position on the matter.

And the ANC's position is, and must unavoidably be, that the election date is absolutely immovable and any amendment out of the question — for now at least.

There would seem to be only one, strictly defined, scenario under which that could change, and timing is still of the essence.

First, it would require sufficient progress to be made in mediation over the next few weeks for Inkatha to make an unconditional commitment to participation in the election, and acceptance of its outcome if the Independent Electoral Commission deems it to have been free and fair.

Second, Inkatha would have to provide a very good reason why a delay is necessary in the interests of fairness. After all, with its media advertisements and plethora of public meetings, it has been running an election campaign even before it has committed itself to participation. Alternatively, the timing of a settlement or near-settlement would have to be such that it would be logistically impossible to hold the election on time if Inkatha is to be able to carry out its undertaking to participate.

Even under these circumstances, it is difficult to contemplate a postponement of more than, say, a month.

Let there be no illusions about the costs of a postponement. It would delay a possible resurgence of business confidence. It could cost the tens of millions of rands. Ballot papers may have to be reprinted. It may even be necessary to add to the state fund on which parties are drawing, to enable them to stretch their campaigns into the extended electioneering period. It would certainly inconvenience hundreds of foreign journalists and dignitaries who have made plans to be in SA for the election and inauguration of the next government.

**B**ut these costs pale into insignificance next to the social and macro-economic costs over the next five or 10 years of a non-inclusive election which could have been avoided had there been a little more patience.

Nevertheless, the circumstances described here are the only ones under which an election postponement could be contemplated. And public contemplation can begin only once these events have occurred.

So, rather than acknowledge the possibility, it would be best, for now, for the ANC, the NP and everyone else involved to deny (as with changes to the constitutional court and the double ballot) that it could possibly happen. — I-Net



Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela

# Inkatha and Freedom Front fail to submit candidates' lists

CONFUSION reigned at the Independent Electoral Commission's offices in Johannesburg yesterday as the 4.30pm deadline for the submission of candidates' lists passed, and IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler conceded that his "final" deadline could be amended retrospectively if there was political agreement.

However, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Gen. Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front and the unknown Realist Party had failed to submit their lists three hours after the deadline. Twenty-six parties beat the deadline to confirm their participation in the April election.

Kriegler said the IEC was striving for

"inclusivity" and the law would be changed if all parties agreed. He was in "constant contact" with all the players.

"The deadline is a journalistic concept. We are not traffic inspectors trying to determine whether someone has exceeded the speed limit. We are trying to organise an election of national reconciliation."

Earlier yesterday Kriegler said the deadline was final. "Schlus aus. Kaput (Over, out. Finished)," he said.

Inkatha had tried to contact him but he had been in Bophuthatswana meeting President Lucas Mangope.

Last night the Inkatha central committee reaffirmed that it would not take any

further steps beyond provisional registration until sufficient progress had been made on international mediation.

Kriegler said none of the parties had requested an extension of the deadline.

It is understood the final proof of the ballot paper will be finalised today, before printing of 80-million ballot papers is scheduled to begin tomorrow in London.

However, three Freedom Front officials were locked in discussions with IEC officials last night. Kriegler confirmed the Freedom Front was considering participation, but had not submitted its lists.

The deadline passed with representatives of some parties still queuing in the corridors. The ANC and PAC were late. Inkatha's failure to arrive apparently led to the Freedom Front representatives deciding not to submit their lists.

Late last night Kriegler remained locked in discussions with parties objecting to procedure and other parties' registrations.

The ANC objected to the registration of the African Moderates Congress (AMC) because it claimed voters would be confused by the similarity in the names.

PAC spokesman Willie Seriti said senior party official Patricia de Lille had been

"slightly delayed" in the traffic and arrived late at the IEC offices. "They just have to accept our submission."

An Afrikaner Volksfront source said earlier the Freedom Front would submit its lists and participate in the poll. But Viljoen would not lead the party in the election because he wanted to avoid a split in the Volksfront.

Other "high-profile" Volksfront members would lead the Front and Viljoen would focus on security matters.

Parties have a week to alter their lists.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

See Page 14

to IEC



# No lists from a defiant IFP

(118) CT 10/3/94

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

A DEFIANT Inkatha placed the election timetable under renewed pressure by refusing last night to submit its election candidate lists until its bottom-line constitutional demands had been met.

And the right-wing Freedom Front arrived at the Independent Electoral Commission offices just minutes before yesterday's 4.30pm deadline — but then held back on lodging the lists required to endorse its earlier provisional registration.

And Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said last night President F W de Klerk's refusal to allow a plebiscite among whites was plunging South Africa into danger.

He said he met Mr De Klerk on Tuesday, but the president had again refused to allow a poll among whites.

Gen Viljoen also said the election should be postponed for at least two months to allow the Freedom Alliance time to prepare.

He said in South Africa, however, pieces of paper did not mean much, and in such an unsafe situation the Afrikaner should maintain his military capabilities.

## Freedom Front in new drama

Chaos reigned at the IEC's new headquarters yesterday.

Long queues formed inside the building as representatives for parties rushed to meet the deadline, while outside some parties got stuck in the rush-hour traffic or raced to the World Trade Centre without realising that the IEC had moved to the CBD.

Concerns were raised about a possible boycott of the poll by the PAC, which arrived a hour late. The ANC was also late.

By late last night the IEC had received the lists of candidates of 26 parties.

Yesterday's confusion at the IEC's office was compounded by renewed pressures for General Viljoen to step away from leadership of the Freedom Front in a bid to avoid a split with the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Conservative Party's fiery leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

An AVF source said other "high profile" Volksfront members would instead lead the Front in its election campaign for a volkstaat, with General Viljoen possibly taking a few steps back from the political limelight and shifting his attention to military matters such as farm security.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler told journalists: "The deadline is a journalistic concept. We are not traffic inspectors trying to determine whether somebody has exceeded the speed limit. We are trying to organise an election of national reconciliation."

In Ulundi, a special IFP central committee meeting insisted on a rationalisation of the electoral process and timetables "to translate constitutional agreements into a fair and free election in which all parties could compete on an equal footing".

Meanwhile, the Bophuthatswana cabinet yesterday "clarified" its position on participation in the election, saying its mind was still open on the question, contrary to a Monday statement suggesting the cabinet was opposed to participation.

It is understood the final proof of the ballot paper will be finalised today, before printing of 80 million ballot papers begins tomorrow in London.

help Mangope fight 'communists'

# Inkatha out of elections

Sowetan 10/3/94

■ **SERIOUS SPLIT** Freedom Front

and PAC beat the registration deadline:

By **Donwald Pressly**

Political Staff

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party failed to register candidates for the April election ahead of yesterday afternoon's deadline — effectively excluding it from the poll.

However, the registration of the newly formed rightwing Freedom Front headed by Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen, was met with surprise by AVF spokesman Mr Stephen Manning.

In a move which is expected to seriously split the Afrikaner rightwing a delegation of three, headed by Conservative Party Pretoria West MP Mr Joseph Chiole, handed in the front's lists.

Rumours flew that Inkatha Freedom Party MP Mr Koos Van der Merwe was in the IEC building yesterday waiting for a call from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to hand in provisional candidates' lists. (113) (209)

The IFP central committee met in Ulundi yesterday, apparently without

reaching any conclusion on the matter.

Just before the 4.30pm deadline, the FF group arrived at the party registration office in the IEC building.

But there was no sign of Inkatha.

According to an IEC spokesman 26 of the 29 parties registered for the election had submitted lists. These include the ANC, NP, PAC and DP.

It also appeared that the Pan Africanist Congress had missed the deadline, but its agent, Mrs Patricia de Lille, faxed her organisation's lists before arriving herself at the building at 5.30pm. Asked why she was late she said: "It has nothing to do with you."

The United Peoples Front of Lebowa Chief Minister Chief Nelson Ramodike and the fledging Realiste Party of Mr Daniel Bosman also failed to register.

Manning said the FF decision to forward candidates would have an effect on the Volksfront, but there was no difference between participants and non-participants in the elections on the viability of a *volkstaat*.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Rd, Industria, and P Bulger, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.)

## Thousands in IFP march

(113) Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — In a massive show of strength yesterday, 35 000 IFP supporters peacefully marched through Empangeni to protest against the "fatally flawed" constitution.

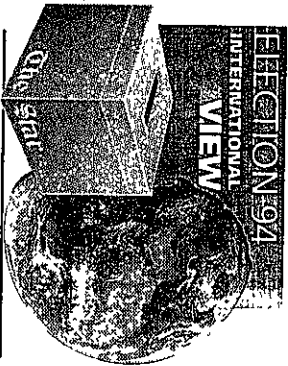
Unless the constitution was amended in accordance with the minimum demands of the IFP and the Freedom Alliance there could be no peace in the country, a memorandum by the IFP's northern KwaZulu/Natal coast region warned.

Police and municipal officials estimated the crowd at 35 000.

The ANC and the National Party, together with other groups at the multiparty talks, have spent months in talks aimed at building a constitutional house in which everyone can live. But, argues Richard Dowden, they may have to add a door by which groups wishing to leave can do so.

# Zulus call strikes Africa chord

Star 2313194



Recent calls by King Goodwill Zwelithini for the full sovereignty of the Zulu people in South Africa will be seen by good democrats everywhere as another wrecking move by the Zulus to undermine the brave and patient work by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela towards a democratic South Africa.

The position of the king, and more especially his minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is widely interpreted as atavistic and sectarian, putting the interests of the tribe before those of the nation.

However, it will strike a different chord among those in Africa who are increasingly worried that a first-past-the-post system of multiparty democracy means the domination of one tribe by another.

At the moment the basic political unit throughout the continent is not the nation state left by departing colonial powers, but people of the same tongue and culture. Political labels such as democratic, liberal or national are being stuck on parties that are in essence regional, ethnic or tribal (though "tribe" does not adequately describe most of these affiliations — it is equivalent to talking about tribalism in former Yugoslavia or, perhaps, English, Welsh and Irish tribalism in the British Isles).

of hundreds of cultural, linguistic, ethnic or even religious groups, then the constitutional relationship between these is what provides the cornerstone of stability on the continent. The will of the majority, the essential tenet of Western democracy, cannot be the ultimate arbiter of political power for Africa: constitutions have to be based on groups as well as individuals.

In Ethiopia the government has set as its prime task the forging of a new relationship between the country's different "nations". Like South Africa, it is holding elections shortly, in June. At first glance it seems that while South Africa is abolishing a state based on race, Ethiopia, at the other end of the continent, is setting one up. The Ethiopian government believes that until the relationship between the country's 80 different

language groups has been settled, there can be no peace. While the South African Government was abolishing racial classification on identity cards, the Ethiopian government was introducing it. You can no longer be just Ethiopian: your identity card must show whether you are Amharic, Tigrayan or Oromo. South Africans will vote in their first democratic nonracial election, for parties that shun ethnic or regional labels, at the same time as Ethiopians will choose between candidates who explicitly represent the interests of their group.

And while the South African parliament is aiming to provide representation for all in a pre-agreed national constitution, the Ethiopian constituent assembly will try to draw up a new constitution that will balance the interests of the various ethnic groups and their relationship to the centre of power. In theory, the operations include "nations" (as the language groups are called) leaving Ethiopia altogether, as Eritrea has done.

This, more or less, is what King Goodwill and the Inkatha movement are calling for in South Africa. It may be a cynical ploy, an excuse for boycotting elections that they suspect they will lose badly. They say the African National Congress represents, in the main, one group, the Xhosa, and that it will try to dominate the Zulus. They can point to other states in Africa, such as Angola and Burundi, where civil war has followed elections in which one group refused to accept the result.

Zulu nationhood may be backward- and inward-looking, but it is a common theme in Africa these days, and it would be a rash politician who tried to take it on by force and plunged ahead with an election which marginalised people with that view. It may even be necessary to offer regions the option of seceding altogether.

The ANC and the National Party have spent many hours in patient negotiation, trying to build a house in which everyone can live, but they may have to add a door by which groups can leave, rather than obliging them to remain part of a state to which they feel no allegiance.



King Goodwill... may be more in touch than not.

The ANC and the National Party have spent many hours in patient negotiation, trying to build a house in which everyone can live, but they may have to add a door by which groups can leave, rather than obliging them to remain part of a state to which they feel no allegiance.

In the first 20 years of statehood in Africa, from the early Sixties, it was fashionable to argue that the one-party state best suited the continent's political and developmental needs. By 1990, however, that political system was seen, in nations such as

Zaire, Kenya and Angola, to have produced corrupt tyrannies that served self-perpetuating "elites".

One-party states went out, and within four years 34 out of 45 states in sub-Saharan Africa had introduced multiparty systems, held elections or undergone major political change. Three of those that did not change were already functioning multiparty democracies.

This outburst of democracy at least rid the continent of some tyrannies, and even the tyrants who survived had to submit to

elections. It also allowed Africans to say what they felt and criticise their governments. Political prisoners were freed and a flood of independent newspapers appeared in Malawi, Ghana, Zaire and Mozambique, among others. The elections were almost all peaceful and produced turnouts that often reached more than 90 percent.

My abiding image of an election in Africa is a queue of people standing for hours under a hot sun, having walked for three or four hours to a polling booth.

In many cases they would run out of time and have to return the next day. When they finally did cast their votes with great seriousness and meticulous care, people would emerge and greet their friends, saying: "I have voted."

But the new political system has failed to answer the basic questions of African politics: What happens to the losers, and what happens to the army, the guarantor of power? In Angola, the loser, Jonas Savimbi, went back to war. In Nigeria, when the "wrong" man won, President Ibrahim Babangida cancelled the election. Only those from the winner's own group took to the streets to defend the election.

In Burundi, where the parties were split along ethnic lines, the winner was murdered by army officers from the opposing group and the country was plunged into one of Africa's worst massacres. In Kenya, the opposition split and allowed President Daniel arap Moi, an opponent of multiparty democracy, to return to power. Since then his government has exploited tribal and regional differences and striven to eradicate the hard-won democratic culture built up before the election.

One African leader has stood out against Western pressure for a multiparty system and forged a case against it that should be heard in the rest of Africa. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda argues that in post-industrial societies parties divide a country horizontally, according to class. Class conflict, he argues, is dynamic and people's class position may also change.

But in pre-industrial societies, political parties express vertical divisions that are static and unchangeable. It is, he points out, therefore political parties simply allow politicians to exploit and widen these divisions, creating the sort of problems for which Uganda was once notorious.

Uganda's election next week is to be held on a "no-party" basis. Individuals may stand on their personal records, but are not allowed to stand in the name of a religious party, ethnic group or political party. President Museveni has allowed four former nations to reestablish their monarchies as cultural symbols in the hope of channeling ancient tribal and ethnic sentiment into non-political areas.

If the Ugandan experiment works, it may be a path to democracy for other African countries. President Museveni may have a human rights problem at the moment by banning free association, but he has not rejected the idea of political parties in the longer term. Or perhaps by suppressing group political activity he is simply storing up trouble for the future.

Is Ethiopia's president, Meles Zenawi, perhaps right in choosing to confront the ethnic question?

In their elections this year Ethiopia, Uganda and South Africa have each chosen different routes to try to build coherent nation states from peoples of disparate ethnic and cultural backgrounds. That they have done so underlines a growing recognition that what looks most successful and desirable in Western liberal democratic terms may not work in Africa.

And what King Goodwill demands for Zulus in South Africa may be nearer the aspirations of many other groups on the continent. — The Independent News Service.

# IFP to work for poll boycott

*5 Times*  
13/3/94  
Sunday Times Reporters

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has decided not to contest the April elections and will campaign for a poll boycott, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

He was speaking after the IFP failed to complete its registration for the elections by submitting a list of candidates by the midnight deadline on Friday.

As a result, the party's name has been removed from the ballot paper.

Dr Mdlalose said a final decision not to participate in the elections was taken by the IFP central committee on Wednesday afternoon.

The IFP would campaign for people not to vote, which was their democratic right, he said.

The IFP, he said, would continue to participate in mediation to improve the constitution. (13)

"We will try to get a proper constitution and then participate in elections.

"If it takes five years, then so be it, but the constitution has to be sorted out before we can vote."

Despite the decision, most IFP MPs have thrown their allegiance behind the party.

Only one MP — Mr Henrie Bekker (Jeppe) — said he would retire from politics if the elections took place without the IFP.

Former Natal MEC Peter Miller said he was optimistic international mediation would "work".

"If it does, then we will take part in the elections."

Mr Mike Tarr, MP for Maritzburg, said the IFP would "bind" itself to the outcome of the mediation.

Printing of the 80-million ballot papers began in Britain at 8am yesterday.

(News by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg, and Marian Padayachee and George Mahabeer, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)

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# IFP decision to stay out of election dangerous — FW

**Political Staff**  
14/13/94  
JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk has warned KwaZulu that the IFP's decision to stay out of the election would create "a dangerous situation".

But he assured the territory that it did not face the same fate as Bophuthatswana. Addressing Pretoria busi-

nessmen during his one-day PWV election tour today, Mr De Klerk said that violence in Natal-KwaZulu was already increasing, as was evident in the killings there at the weekend.

"I'm astounded by (Inkatha Freedom Party leader) Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision not to take part in the election. If the IFP took part, it together with the NP could

achieve a clear majority against the ANC.

"Buthelezi has chosen the worst possible option, but that is now a reality," Mr De Klerk said.

He said Mr Buthelezi was now preparing the ground to accuse the government and the ANC of developing a strategy for a repeat of the Bophuthatswana situation.

"There is no basis for that accusation. In terms of the law, KwaZulu is entitled to govern until the election. There is no strategy to destabilise either Buthelezi or the king (Goodwill Zwelethini)," he said.

Mr De Klerk began the tour with a train journey from Pretoria station to Mamelodi township and afterwards went on to Laudium and addressed

the largely Muslim community. ANC supporters toyi-toyed in opposition to his Mamelodi visit.

Mr De Klerk said he was glad to see ANC supporters were allowing NP political meetings.

Mr De Klerk also visited Sandton, Boksburg and Benoni. (News by H. Grange, 37 Sauer St., Johannesburg.)

# Self-protection units for IFP, says Buthelezi

*Sowetan 14/13/94*  
THE Inkatha Freedom Party's self-protection units were training in Natal and Transvaal and would be deployed in communities hit by violence, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking to about 500 people at a rally in Kimberley, most of them mineworkers bussed in from other areas, he said these units would protect IFP supporters from cadres of the African National Congress, whom he accused of murdering much of his leadership. (113)

"No matter how many of us you kill, you cannot kill our resolve. We will fight to the last man," he said.

After the rally Buthelezi denied that decisions by some of his Freedom Alliance allies to contest the April election had left him isolated or had weakened the alliance.

He said Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg may fly to Kimberley today to meet him.

Last week's chaos in Bophuthatswana had left him filled with foreboding.

"If that is the pattern, then I fear for the future of our children."

Asked how he felt about missing the final deadline for registration for the election, Buthelezi said: "What of it?" and would not comment further.

Three busloads of IFP supporters were brought to Kimberley from mines in the Free State for the rally with another travelling from Natal, busdrivers said. — *Sapa*.

(Report by J Rees, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)



Cairo yesterday, the end of the  
Picture: AP

## Viljoen plans to seek a pact with Buthelezi

PRETORIA — Gen Constand Viljoen is to seek urgent talks with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the formation of an electoral and negotiations alliance between his Freedom Front and Inkatha.

"I will try to secure the idea that we should in future work together in an alliance," Viljoen said in his first interview after he resigned as co-leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

He said he had not yet discussed with Buthelezi his decision that the Freedom Front should take part in the elections.

However, he would soon travel to Ulundi to discuss an electoral and negotiations pact with Inkatha.

A negotiations alliance was more important than an electoral one, he said, referring to the post-election period when a constitu-

tion-making body would re-write the constitution.

But he warned: "If push comes to shove, I will not take part in the government of national unity unless I am assured of a volkstaat." He said an SACP negotiator, whom he declined to name, had assured him that if the volkstaters got as few as 400 000 votes "a volkstaat is a reality".

Now that the Bophuthatswana crisis had been resolved, talks between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and government could resume, he added.

Viljoen has headed talks between the Volksfront and the ANC on a volkstaat. But these were now in jeopardy.

"I don't see how I can carry on the talks with the ANC, because I have no mandate," he said.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diegonal St. Jhb.

## Alliance chairman gives up politics

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S State Affairs Minister and chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said yesterday he was quitting politics and looking for something else to do with his life.

"I am finished. But I am calm and relaxed," he said.

He said in an interview yesterday that an administrator had been appointed to run the territory and President Lucas Mangope had been told to step down.

"Find me a job and then I will tell you what I plan to do," he said in response to a query on his future.

Cronje, who is also chairman of the Freedom Alli-

ance negotiating team, said he regretted that his cabinet had not supported participation earlier and that the alliance could not foster an inclusive settlement.

"I always supported participation in the elections but the cabinet regularly rejected this by majority decision.

"This week I pushed hard for participation and this was rejected. But in view of that decision and the events of the past week I am finished. I feel I need a break from politics."

Cronje was a minister in

Ian Smith's government in UDI Rhodesia and Abel Muzorewa's Zimbabwe/Rhodesia cabinet before he became an adviser to Ciskei's Charles Sebe. After being fired by Sebe, he moved to Bophuthatswana to advise Mangope.

Cronje said he could not formally state he had resigned because it was not right for his boss to read in the papers that he had done so. "I first have to tell my boss before announcing it."

He added that he would do whatever was required of him until the elections.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diegonal St. Jhb.



...while a light aircraft circled overhead to  
old monitor the crowd.  
Sporadic shooting was heard in the  
vicinity of the stadium on Saturday night  
but there were no reports of casualties.  
— Sapa.

...and was shot dead by police as he  
a Ms Moeng (24), no address given.

## 3 killed in church

Sowetan

THREE members of the Ba'hai faith were shot dead by gunmen during a service in Mdanstane, near East London, yesterday. 14/3/94  
A local Ba'hai leader said six armed men had entered during the service and ordered whites present to stand aside. Three Iranians, who had been living in South Africa for some years, were then shot. Black congregants were not harmed.  
At Umlazi in Durban, four people were killed in clashes between the Inkatha Freedom party and African National Congress yesterday. Three were killed in the afternoon following the killing earlier in the day of an IFP supporter.  
The three were killed after ANC supporters left their gathering place near King Zwelithini Stadium in the township.  
Police reinforcements were deployed in the township last night.  
The stadium was occupied by IFP supporters earlier yesterday ahead of a planned ANC rally there, resulting in increased tension between supporters of the two parties. — Sapa.

# Inkatha won't be in April election

Sowetan 14/3/94

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will definitely not be contesting next month's election, a senior MP and central committee member confirmed yesterday.  
But the Freedom Front, led by former Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen, will be contesting the poll. Several Conservative Party MPs — including Dr Pieter Mulder and his brother Corné — are expected to be nominees under its banner when candidates' lists are announced this week.  
The Freedom Alliance is now all but in tatters, with former Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope deposed by the TEC this weekend, announcing he would participate in the election under the banner of the North West Christian Democratic Party (NWCDA).  
Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo left

the FA last month.  
Now only the severely split Conservative Party, the IFP, and the shattered AVF are part of the alliance.  
The IFP, meanwhile, will discuss its strategy of opposition to the constitution and the election at its central committee meeting in two weeks, said Mr Farook Cassim, nominated MP in the House of Delegates.  
However, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Voss said it was possible the State President could, in consultation with the Transitional Executive Council, extend the deadline for registration of candidates.  
She was optimistic that some way around could be found for the IFP to participate, including the possibility of discussing with other parties the delay-  
ing of the election.  
(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg.)

**Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128**

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe, Newsbills, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tissong and Sy Makaringe. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

## Talkback

# Inkatha has still to decide on election participation, says Nguwane

SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Ben Nguwane yesterday firmly rejected reports that his party was out of the election race, stating that it had not yet made a final decision.

He accused the Independent Electoral Commission of setting deadlines and arguing that "if we resolve our difficulties through negotiations (international mediation) and we then decide to participate, are we to accept that we will not be permitted to do so?"

Speaking in Kimberley where Freedom Alliance leaders, including Mangosuthu Buthelezi, were meeting, he said: "Far from being out of the elections, Inkatha has

yet to decide on participation." This contradicted his national chairman Frank Mdlalose's statement at the weekend that Inkatha would not participate in the election.

The ANC said that its reading was that Inkatha had failed to complete registration and was out.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's spokesman said government accepted that, politically, there were no deadlines, but it depended on the IEC and the practical considerations necessary to hold the elections on April 27.

Senior TEC management committee members yesterday said the TEC's next

BILLY PADDOCK  
DAVID GREYBE and TIM COHEN

priority would be to ensure free political activity in KwaZulu/Natal, particularly if Inkatha did not participate. But they denied this would be similar to the way Bophuthatswana had been dealt with.

The TEC would discuss the matter today, and its law and order subcommittee will visit the region later this week, before the TEC implements its plan.

Yesterday the IEC said that the deadline for final candidates' lists had to be submitted by 4.30pm today.

A spokesman added that, in terms of the

law, Inkatha was not on the ballot form and therefore was considered to be not participating.

However, he indicated that if political decisions changed this arrangement, the printing might have to be stopped and, in order to meet the necessary practical arrangements to get the ballot papers distributed, the contract would have to be split among several printers.

Nguwane said it was "likely that we will shortly be in a position to decide on our next move".

He added that President F.W. de Klerk could change the registration deadlines by proclamation and it was therefore prema-

ture to dismiss Inkatha.

ANC negotiator and TEC secretary Mac Maharaj said yesterday: "The Bophuthatswana issue has no relation to the issue of KwaZulu/Natal." Violence and a free and fair election in KwaZulu/Natal had been on the TEC agenda since its inception. Management committee members declined to disclose details of the plan.

Maharaj said the law and order subcommittee would be making recommendations to the TEC on how to realise free political activity.

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan said that plan for KwaZulu/Natal would have to be

To Page 2

## Inkatha

BILLY PADDOCK

15/3/94

From Page 1

"Implemented within the next week or two if we are going to have any impact". He stressed the plan had to have the full cooperation of government.

President F.W. de Klerk also said yesterday he found Inkatha's decision not to participate in the election "astounding" and warned of a volatile situation developing in Natal, even while he defended Inkatha's "democratic" right not to participate.

He assured Buthelezi that he would not suffer the same fate as deposed Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope. He denied government was trying to destabilise the KwaZulu region.

He called on Buthelezi to take decisive measures to ensure other parties were not restricted from campaigning in Natal.

Meanwhile, the rift within the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and in particular, the CP widened yesterday when dis-

cussions between co-leaders Ferdi Hartzenberg and Gen Constand Viljoen failed to heal divisions.

In Kimberley they met other leaders of the Freedom Alliance, including Buthelezi and Mangope, where Viljoen tendered his resignation from that body. At the weekend he resigned from the Volksfront after his registration of the Freedom Front.

Viljoen vowed to fight the ANC and the NP with all means at his disposal. He said his participation in the elections would still depend on certain guarantees from the ANC and NP.

Former CP Natal leader Carl Werth confirmed that eight of the region's 11 executive council members had agreed to stand as candidates for the Freedom Front in the election.

Report by W. Paddock, D. Greybe and T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

**PRESS UNDER FIRE**

# IFP official threatens journalist

Political Staff

ARC, 15/3/94

KIMBERLEY. — Sapa reporter Jonathan Rees was threatened by an IFP official outside the Kimberley City Hall soon before IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived to address a political meeting.

The unidentified official had apparently taken offence over Mr Rees's repeated questions to Chief Buthelezi as to why the majority of the IFP supporters had apparently been bussed in from the OFS goldfields and the Reef to support the IFP leader's two-day visit to Kimberley.

"Do you want me to tell them to chase you?" the official demanded, gesturing to a makeshift impi of fewer than 100 supporters kneeling on the ground outside the Kimberley City Hall, rattling their spears and sticks behind cowhide and homemade cardboard shields.

The official accused Mr Rees of having a "destructive attitude" towards Chief Buthelezi for asking why the majority of the 750-strong crowd at Sunday's Kimberley rally had been bussed in.

But the official refused to identify himself to Mr Rees, shrugging off the question and saying "it doesn't matter".

About 200 people attended the IFP leader's City Hall meeting last night. They included two busloads of IFP supporters and about 50 local residents.

There was a muted police presence outside the Kimberley City Hall as about 150 curious onlookers gathered to watch the impi sing and chant, led by indunas wearing red armbands, who performed war dances, gesturing with their spears and sticks.

(News by K Ritchie, corner of Bean and Villiers Streets, Kimberley)

## 'IFP won't be submitting list'

DURBAN: — The Inkatha Freedom Party will not submit an election candidate list by this afternoon's extended deadline and will not contest the poll unless its constitutional demands are met.

This was said by IFP central committee member Mr. Walter Felgate, following renewed optimism that the party might contest the April poll.

Although senior IFP negotiator Mr. Ben Ngubane said on Monday they had yet to decide on participation, Mr. Felgate said the IFP stance was unchanged. — Sapa

(118) CT 16/3/94

# IFP accused of playing tough

Sowetan 16/3/94

**Sowetan Correspondent**

(11B) (259)  
PRISON authorities have accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of trying to appear tough by organising a hunger strike by IFP members when they were close to being released.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said on Monday that about 80 IFP people in jail for politically-related crimes committed before October 1990 would refuse meals to demand their release as political prisoners. "They fear, quite justifiably, that if they are not released before the April election they will never be released," he said.

The IFP expected 150 of their people to join the protest. However, only 50 IFP prisoners did. Their applications for release went to the National Council on Indemnity in December last year and the IFP feels the council by now should have

made a decision and the decision should have been announced.

The office of Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday that about 80 cases were submitted by the IFP to the council.

Each case had to be properly researched.

"Obviously, this takes time, as some of these crimes were committed long ago and in many cases the facts that must now be considered did not form part of the initial court proceedings.

"The facts of the matter are that the cases are in the process of consideration and an announcement will be forthcoming soon.

"The IFP must be quite aware that this process is in its final stages and one can only assume that they now want to create the impression that it is through pressure from their side that the matter was concluded," the ministry said.

# focus on Buthelezi

Sowetan 17/3/94

By Hugh Robertson

**I**N THE wake of the Bophuthatswana fiasco, the question on everyone's lips — including those of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — is what will happen in KwaZulu?

The answer appears to be as simple to find as paging through the interim constitution.

The document stipulates that on April 28 Buthelezi will face the same constitutional fate as his friend and political comrade, Chief Lucas Mangope, the deposed president of Bophuthatswana. There is nothing he, or the South African Government, can do to avoid it.

On that date, the last day of the election, KwaZulu legally and constitutionally will cease to exist, as will all the public offices and powers now held by Buthelezi. Like Mangope, he will become an ordinary citizen of South Africa.

Judging from his defiant rhetoric since the fall of Mangope, Buthelezi intends to resist this fate. But by indicating that he will do so, he is sending out a most revealing signal — that he has failed utterly to grasp the dynamics of what happened in Bophuthatswana.

The first and most crucial thing that happened was the dissipation of Mangope's omnipotence, his credibility.

When the people he depended upon for his survival — the Bophuthatswana police and defence force and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Bophuthatswana public service — began to doubt his ability to guarantee their jobs, but especially their pensions, the writing was on the wall.

## Defiance

His persistent defiance of Pretoria started the process of whittling away his image as a regional potentate with hotel magnates fawning at his feet and the world's richest platinum mine pouring revenue into his coffers.

His loyal subjects became jittery. Then, as the record shows, when the Transitional Executive Council froze a multimillion rand development loan, the jitters turned to expressions of outright dismay.

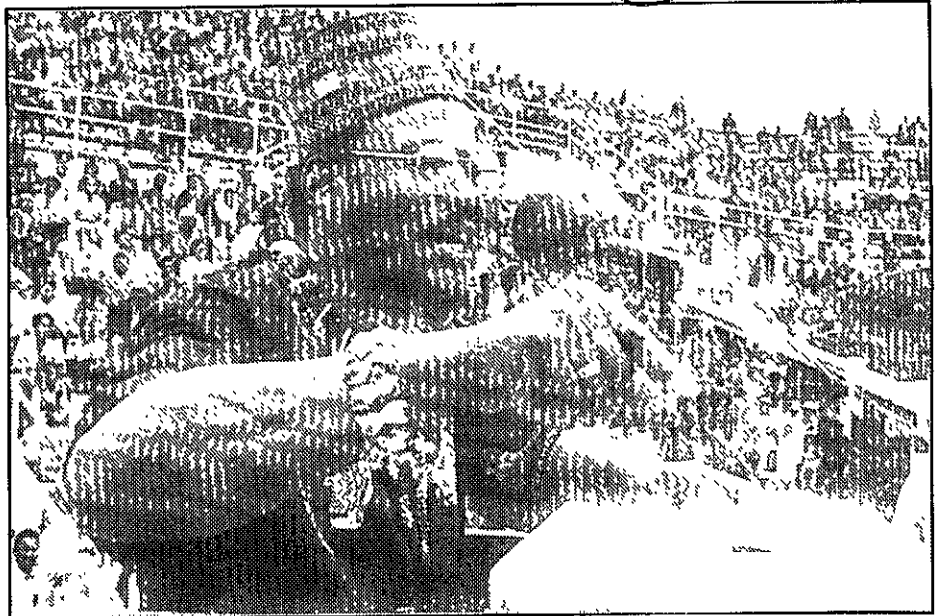
From there on it was easy for his opponents to turn a trickle of dismay into a torrent of discontent — not so much among the ANC's supporters as among those very people who were the beneficiaries of Mangope's fiefdom and who relied on the public purse for their survival.

By indicating that he intends to resist whatever change might come to KwaZulu, Buthelezi is setting himself up for much the same sort of fall. He might well resist the change, but to do so without the necessary legal or constitutional power would be to assume a great deal.

It would assume, for example, that the funds would be available to pay the KwaZulu police in what could be a long and costly standoff. It

Last week Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope got his come-uppance; is it the turn of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his KwaZulu next? **Hugh Robertson** explores the possibility:

(11B)



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... where does his future lie?

would assume that the KwaZulu police, and the rest of the homeland's public service, could be persuaded that their jobs and pensions were secure.

It would assume that such professional individuals as the commanders of the KwaZulu security forces, among others, would rebel against the lawful and constitutional authority of the new government.

It would assume that Buthelezi's emotional appeal as a defiant political and traditional leader would stand the test of his being stripped of constitutional power and, above all, the power to disburse public funds, jobs and influence.

It would assume that foreign funds, and the hefty contributions from some misguided sugar barons and True Believers on the far right, would continue to flow.

## Tribal authority

Like many politicians before him, Buthelezi seems to have been beguiled by the fawning of those around him. Deference to tribal authority may be a charming Zulu tradition, but it is a heady diet to imbibe day after day. It is also a cumulative poison. It blinds its victims to their own vulnerability.

Thus Mangope, accorded much the same sort of deference from tribal elders and chiefs, came to believe that his support was sincere and

altruistic when, like all political support, it was fickle and abjectly conditional on his ability to sustain his omnipotence.

Could Buthelezi expect anything different? Could he reasonably expect unconditional loyalty from those whom the KwaZulu government now employs? Is he not just as dependent on the support of the bureaucracy as Mangope was in Bophuthatswana?

## Healthy spirit

No doubt Zulu tribal cohesion is strong, perhaps stronger than it is in Bophuthatswana. But every survey of Zulu opinion, conducted over decades, has shown profound cleavages and a healthy spirit of defiance of tribal hierarchies when it comes to politics.

The latest polls, of course, show a majority of Zulus supporting the ANC. But even polls conducted for the Buthelezi Commission (remember it?) showed some 45 percent of Zulus supporting the ANC, even in those days!

Does Buthelezi accept the absolute certainty that he will face, in six weeks' time, the same constitutional fate as Mangope? He probably does, though obviously he believes that "the Zulu people" will rush to his side at that moment of crisis.

But he would be naive, and self-destructively arrogant, to count on it.

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IFP remains out of election race

# New woes for CP as MPs quit

Star 17/3/94

(113)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
and HELEN GRANGE

The Conservative Party was thrown into disarray yesterday when some of the party's key MPs — including former Natal leader Carl Werth and the two Mulder brothers — appeared on the election lists of General Constand Viljoen's breakaway Freedom Front (FF).

Although CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg tried to put a brave face on the internal tensions within his party, he yesterday conceded that the MPs' departure would weaken the party that once boasted it represented most Afrikaners in the country.

"I will not regard this as a crisis at the moment. I don't think there will be a split," Hartzenberg told The Star.

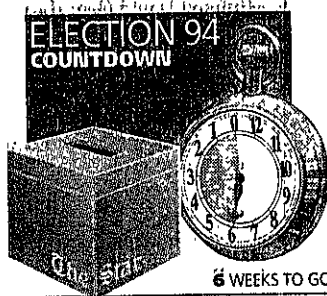
Yesterday was the final deadline for the submission of updated lists for next month's election. Most parties' lists were not considerably altered.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, whose registration lapsed when it did not submit a list of candidates on Friday, is still out of the election race.

Bophuthatswana's North West Christian Democratic Party has requested an extension to submit its lists following reports of former president Lucas Mangope's house arrest yesterday. The party's action committee said that if an extension was not granted, it would have no option but to withdraw from the election.

Hartzenberg yesterday insisted that any CP MP who joined another party or stood as its candidate in the election would automatically be expelled from the CP. Such a per-

**MULDER brothers,  
Werth to be expelled  
from party after their  
names appear on  
Viljoen's election list**



son would also lose access to CP facilities and assets.

One of the CP's leading lights, Schweizer-Reneke MP Dr Pieter Mulder, subsequently described Hartzenberg's announcement as "a complete surprise".

Mulder and Pretoria West MP Joseph Chiole said they both wanted to remain CP members and that the CP leader had earlier indicated he would support their participation in the election under an FF banner.

## Strategy

The FF registered 30 names on its national list and a total of 168 candidates on its regional list. These include a number of CP members, among them town councillors and MPs.

Included are Dr Corné Mulder, Pieter Groenewald (Stilfontein MP), Leon Louw (Welkom MP), Stilfontein town councillor Louw van Deventer,

Lichtenburg deputy mayor Hans Nel, former Stilfontein councillor Hennie Fourie, former Transvaal MEC Jannie Eeden, Potchefstroom businessman Kobus Botlia and Piet Nortjie.

Also believed listed are former CP and Afrikaner Volksunie MP Moolman Mentz, former Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Viljoen, General Tienie Groenewald, General Kobus Visser and a long-serving NP MP.

Outlining the FF's strategy yesterday, Chiole said the party would at some stage seek membership of the CP and AVF.

National Party official Abrie Hannekom said there had been "some juggling" of names on the party's regional legislature lists, but he was not aware of any IFP members on the lists.

In a surprise move, African Christian Democratic Party president Kenneth Mashone said NP MPs Johan van der Westhuizen and Louis Green would appear on his party's national list, as would former PAC and Azapo members.

The ANC has replaced J N Reddy on its National Assembly list with William Roland of the National Council for the Blind.

The Federal Party's candidates include the Association of Hawkers and Informal Business's chief, Lawrence Mavundla.

All candidates' names will be released in a Government Gazette tomorrow, the IEC said.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# Court summons for IFP

DURBAN. — The Independent Electoral Commission yesterday said it would issue a court summons to the IFP for allegedly breaking election campaigning rules. (11B)

The charges against the IFP stem from its supporters' disruption of an ANC rally in Umlazi near here on Sunday.

At least one person was killed in clashes between the two rival parties after Inkatha supporters occupied the stadium ahead of the ANC event.

The electoral commission said it

had collected more than 20 affidavits in connection with the Umlazi rally and will issue the summons today. The IFP could face a fine of up to R100 000. Meanwhile the IFP yesterday complained to the Independent Media Commission and Broadcasting Complaints Commissioner after the SABC allegedly censored an interview with Umlazi hostel leaders.

● Umlazi Technical College has been indefinitely closed following an attack on students on Tuesday in which one student was injured.

CT 17/3/94



# 'On the *Sowetan* brink of 18/3/94 disaster'

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of unparalleled resistance should action be taken against opposition to the April election.

"If the current election does actually run its course, and is finally declared a free and fair election, it will be because democratic opposition has been stifled by the might of the state," he said at the opening of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday.

Buthelezi said opposition to the interim constitution and the elections which met with "draconian or Bophuthatswana-type action" would spawn a struggle for liberation from African National Congress-National Party oppression, "which will have no parallel in Africa".

Buthelezi said the SA Government and the ANC were producing a highly explosive situation in the territory.

Buthelezi said the country was poised "on the very brink of disaster... Let us join hands to ensure international mediation runs its course as soon as possible in the interests of peace, stability and justice". — *Sapa*.

(Report by C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban)

# ANC-IFP tensions reach a new high

Star 18/3/98

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Ulundi — Tensions between the ANC and IFP appear to be at an all-time high following the calling off of today's meeting between Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini amid fears for the ANC leader's life.

The meeting was to have been held partly in front of the king's subjects in Ulundi, apparently giving rise to fears that Mandela might have become the victim of an assassination plot.

In a letter to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said his organisation had received "reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life if he visits Ulundi".

Mbeki said although IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose had given ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma assurances that additional security measures would be taken to protect Mandela, the organisation felt it would be unwise for the ANC leader to travel to Ulundi.

The security problem was exacerbated by "the format of

the meeting", about which the ANC had not been informed.

"It is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss with the king in a closed meeting, to enable them to discuss — in depth — legal and constitutional matters of concern to the king.

"The president remains very concerned that he should pay his respects to His Majesty the king. He is also very interested to hear and understand the concerns of His Majesty, so that he and the ANC can do what is possible to address these concerns," Mbeki said.

He requested Buthelezi to use his "good offices" to communicate the ANC's regret to Zwelithini and assure him of Mandela's continuing wish to meet him.

The postponement of the long-awaited meeting — Mandela's first with Zwelithini since his release from prison four years ago — coincided with new moves by President de Klerk to woo Buthelezi into a constitutional settlement.

Speaking during his election roadshow in the PWV yesterday, De Klerk revealed he had

► To Page 3

# ANC-IFP 3/18/94 tensions at all-time high

◀ From Page 1

presented Buthelezi with yet another proposal which could lead to "a form of participation" by the IFP in the election.

However, Government sources — including Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers — warned it was now almost impossible to accommodate this.

Buthelezi warned yesterday that the Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was "rapidly pushing the conflict to a point of no return".

Addressing the opening of this year's sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — probably its last ever — he said that if this point was passed, democracy and peace would be reached only after "a fight to the finish".

Buthelezi warned that the deployment of troops in KwaZulu could lead to a cauldron in the region.

Accusing "agitators" of attempting a Bophuthatswana-style destabilisation of the KwaZulu government, Buthelezi moved swiftly to reassure the territory's civil servants that their jobs and pensions were safe.

He appeared to suggest the ANC was behind the plan. There have been reports recently of concern among KwaZulu civil servants over job security and their pensions.

In another development, Zwelithini yesterday said he would not encourage his people to vote in next month's election under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# Buthelezi beats the drum ever harder

Star 18/3/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**Ulundi** — About 100 km from the KwaZulu capital, a solitary National Party election poster, bearing President de Klerk's face, hangs crookedly on a telephone pole alongside the main road.

It appears to be the only physical evidence anywhere near Ulundi that the country's first ever nonracial election is only weeks away. At first glance it seems to be business as usual when you arrive in the tiny, dusty capital deep in rural KwaZulu.

At the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, however, it became evident yesterday that emotions are extremely high and the election is foremost in many minds. Young men in skins and bearing shields spat out the names "Mandela" and "De Klerk" as they stamped their feet and chanted their songs outside the building, encouraged by plulating women.

Incongruously they were led by a man in a suit and tie, carrying a spear and shield.

Inside the circular Assembly building, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened this year's sitting —

surely the last ever of this administration — with probably his toughest speech yet. He indicated that the election date would have to be switched if the IFP was to take part.

President de Klerk was accused of "double-crossing and deceit" in his handling of negotiations. The Government had betrayed KwaZulu, he added.

Buthelezi warned that the conflict between the ANC and IFP had for some time been in danger of "being turned into a conflict which can only be ended in a fight right to the finish". The Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was pushing the conflict "to a point of no return".

Most chilling of all was his prediction that "draconian or Bophuthatswana-type action" against those opposing the elections would "spawn a struggle for liberation from ANC-National Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa".

Leaving the building it was difficult to escape the conclusion that a line had been crossed: that KwaZulu was heading almost certainly for a brutal explosion. Only the faintest glimmer of hope remains.

(47 Sauer St., Johannesburg)

## PARTY POLICIES

## FEATURE

# Checklist for April 1995

Fun 18/3/94

(11A) (11B) (204A)

**How do** the main parties in the general election intend dealing with some of the basic questions — such as violence, housing, tax — on the minds of most people anxious

about what the future holds?

*Democracy in Action*, journal of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa), recently published the following re-

plies from four parties (including Inkatha, which now seems out of contention), looking at the situation a year after the election and assuming their party was in power.

**NP**

**ANC**

**INKATHA**

**DP**

*Will we have seen a drop in the unemployment rate?*

An NP government, with its free-market approach, will have created investor confidence, both locally and overseas, bringing in local and foreign capital. This will have enabled the economy to grow and, as a result, the unemployment rate will have dropped.

An ANC government will start a national public works programme which will aim to provide employment and training for about 2.5 million people over the next 10 years. The ANC will also develop South Africa's massive tourist industry which will provide jobs but in a way that will preserve our environment.

We are now seeing signs of positive economic growth which, within the constraint of strict monetary and fiscal policy, we hope to develop by stimulating exports, small business growth, peasant agriculture, tourism, human resources (especially skills training) and mass job creation programmes.

The DP's economic policy — based on a free market system coupled with a social conscience — will inspire investor confidence. State funds will be invested in labour-intensive reconstruction schemes to build roads, houses, schools and health care facilities. These will create jobs and provide training.

*Will you have succeeded in restoring stability to violence-racked townships?*

This will sadly take some time. Township people, tired of instability, would have voted for the NP to indicate to those who had participated in and encouraged violence that this was unacceptable. However, a government victory may not have been accepted by all, and some might still "continue the struggle".

Together with communities, an ANC government will ensure that criminals are dealt with to the full extent of the law. Security forces will be non-partisan, professional and respect human rights and they will be reformed to reflect the national and gender character of our country. A new volunteer army will deal with defence and not internal politics.

Though it will be very difficult, we will manage to do so. A combination of strict, impartial community policing, democratic and therefore respected local government, township upgrading, an improving economy, as well as a focus upon the future rather than the past, will all contribute meaningfully towards peace.

The DP believes that a democratic and inclusive political settlement, coupled with socio-economic upliftment, will create a stable environment in which more effective policing can occur. The benefits of a growing economy will be felt throughout society, but political parties which raise unrealistic expectations could delay progress towards stability.

*Will squatters have proper housing?*

Billions of rand, some of which have been available for a few years but not spent because of the ANC's delaying tactics, will be used to purchase land. Infrastructure to provide services for squatter communities will be in place. Many houses will have been built.

The ANC will eliminate racially based housing institutions and install one national housing department which is non-racial, non-sexist, legitimate and accountable. An ANC government aims to spend five percent of the budget on providing 1.2 million housing units within five years.

To achieve this in one year, or even a few years, is impossible. But what we will have done is to make a significant start in implementing a housing delivery policy that the economy, the fiscus and the end user can all afford.

The DP will begin massive site and service schemes which will enable people to build homes. Squatter and established communities, local and provincial authorities and the state housing authorities, will have to work together with private and non-governmental organisations to solve our housing crisis.

*Will the crime rate have dropped?*

There will have been economic growth, so there will be less unemployment and improved social conditions. The NP plan for community-involved policing will be in place, and as a consequence, the crime rate would have dropped.

When a government of national unity succeeds in stimulating the economy, creating jobs and building a non-partisan police force the crime rate will drop. The new police force must emphasise community policing and police resources must be directed at prevention.

Existing levels of crime are a function of political violence and a culture of anarchy, unemployment and inadequate policing. We would address all of these and certainly reduce the crime rate. Reducing it to an "acceptable" level, however, will take years.

Under a DP government tensions will be defused. As the economy recovers, jobs will be created and the desperate need that has driven people to crime will be alleviated. Tough sentencing will be imposed on criminals and no political amnesties will be allowed.

*Will we have seen an improvement in the matric pass rate of black students?*

A single, just and equitable educational policy will be in place and there will be no point in a call for 'liberation before education' once liberation had been achieved. Hopefully, teachers will have adopted a more responsible attitude. All these factors will help students pay attention to their studies.

The ANC links economic, social and educational development. We plan one education system with compulsory education for all for 10 years, based on a more learner-centered approach. We believe that reducing violence in the townships, and providing books, more science equipment etc. will in the short-term help improve matric results.

Education backlogs are so vast that it will take a decade to lift "black" education to existing "white" levels. In the short term, the pass rate can best be improved by pupils and educators recognising both the constraints and the programme being implemented, and dedicating themselves to working within these guidelines.

A DP government will do all it can to bring pupils and teachers together. Education will be the responsibility of provincial governments. The emphasis will be on involving the community and depoliticising education. Teachers will be properly paid and suitable channels of communication implemented between teachers and education departments.

*Will South Africans pay more tax than they do at present?*

The economy will have been growing. The tax base will have expanded. The income of the state from the expanding tax base will have increased and a lowering of the tax rate could be a possibility.

An ANC government will ensure that South Africans will not lose income through unfair taxes. We will end Vat on basic foods; reduce taxes on people earning below R4 000 a month; end unfair taxation of women; and ensure that every business pays its fair share.

Not if we can help it. If we all accept the need to live within our means, balancing the twin needs of fiscal distribution and sustainable growth, then tax rates will not increase since fiscal distribution on social services will be underpinned by a rising tax base.

Under a DP government the system of taxation will be streamlined, discrimination against married women and middle income earners will be abolished. Nominal company tax rates will be reduced through reducing the myriad of deductions and exemptions.

*Will people receive proper treatment in state hospitals?*

The alleged reasons for strikes by hospital workers' unions will have diminished after successful negotiations between the state and the trade unions. Thus the NP's health plan for sound community-based health care and hospital services will be functioning efficiently.

We will draw up a single national health system which will include public and private services and will be organised at national, district and community levels. All health care workers must be accountable to their communities and our reconstruction strategies will include a charter of patients' rights and a code of conduct for health workers.

State hospitals are but one facet of a health delivery system requiring restructuring. Our initial emphasis will be on expanding primary health care and hospital-based community health wards. Everyone should have access to decent and affordable health care, and the state should aid those who do not have access to private health care.

A DP government will develop a comprehensive network of primary health facilities, including mobile clinics for remote areas. The emphasis will be on preventative health care and education. Doctors and nurses will be expected to perform their jobs professionally as patients should not become the victims of politically inspired industrial action.

INKATHA *Fun 18/3/94*  
**No bopping at Ulundi**

It's all eyes on Ulundi after the swift, subtle dumping of Bophuthatswana's nominal independence. While Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party's anti-election stance might seem more exposed and isolated than ever, it is improbable that their stronghold, KwaZulu, will be anything like as easy a pushover. (113) (107)

True, last week's events left a depleted Inkatha-led Freedom Alliance. Since its establishment, those who have departed include Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and General Constand Viljoen.

Of those remaining, Lucas Mangope is a stateless president and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg's position is being undermined by pockets of his party (particularly in Natal) openly committing themselves to election participation.

There are even suggestions that senior pro-election members of Inkatha might defect to other parties.

Inkatha names like Ben Ngubane or Ziba Jiyane would be a tremendous coup for the DP or Nats.

Inkatha central committee hardliner Walter Felgate says the alliance must now reassess its position, hence Monday's Kimberley meeting of alliance leaders. "We must obviously examine the position of the alliance

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

and whether it disbands or carries on and under what circumstances," says Felgate.

Though Viljoen attended the Kimberley meeting, it was apparently specifically to seek Inkatha's support for his new Freedom Front's participation in the election.

Felgate, however, scoffs at any suggestion that Inkatha might use Viljoen's front as a backdoor to participation next month. "We are opposed to the election and are telling our supporters not to vote. We won't encourage any other party."

**Election date**

He is equally derisive about ANC insistence that the election date is carved in stone. "If timetables are more important than the country's future, democracy and the question of an all-inclusive settlement (still hanging in the balance), then the election cannot be postponed. But it is nonsense to suggest a postponement will trigger a wave of violence and bloodshed. Precisely the opposite. The current strife is being fed by an election being forced on people who refuse to accept the constitution."

Brave though his words may be, a big concern of the alliance must be whether there is any chance of a repetition of the Bophuthatswana overthrow in KwaZulu.

Mangope's contention that SA "looted" Bophuthatswana's independence may carry some weight with sympathisers but it is irrelevant. It was, after all, SA that propped up his rule in the first place. Secondly, the de facto situation is that government and the Transitional Executive Council now control the homeland. Besides, in President F W de

*Fun 18/3/94*  
Klerk's words, SA politics isn't for sissies — his government has never balked at the morality of using force openly or covertly for its own ends, and the TEC's acquiescence in the Bop saga suggests little change for future administrations. (113) (107)

Nevertheless, De Klerk is quick to dispel accusations by Buthelezi that the NP and ANC are now jointly preparing a strategy to remove his administration and depose King Goodwill Zwelithini as the biggest remaining obstacles to the April 27 election.

Cosatu's Neil Coleman says, however, that there are similar organic conditions between the situation of public servants in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, and that if Inkatha makes it difficult for parties to operate freely in the region in the election run-up, it will be courting a revolt — adding fuel to speculation that the civil servant's revolt which precipitated Bop's end was not triggered spontaneously by pension payout concerns, but was skilfully orchestrated by the ANC.

Felgate dismisses any spontaneity in the Bop uprising or that there is potential for a copycat revolution in KwaZulu. "The ANC campaigned to destabilise Bop for a long time. It seized on pensions as an issue even though they are guaranteed and everyone knows it. There is no danger of the same happening in KwaZulu because it is not Bophuthatswana."

Coleman's threat could soon be put to the test if Sunday's events are anything to go by. Inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers occupied Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium, south of Durban, preventing an ANC election rally

and precipitated a confrontation in which five people were killed. By Tuesday the ANC had retaliated by barricading Umlazi.

Felgate, however, stresses that the Umlazi incident was not planned by the Inkatha leadership. "It is the kind of thing that will happen, people on the ground are saying no to the election and that must be taken into account. Furthermore, the IEC is announcing steps to assist election participants to hold free and open meetings. By the same token there must be the same respect for our democratic right to campaign against going to the polls."

It seems probable that if Inkatha stays out of the elections, it is unlikely to be a revolution in the homeland that undermines its power base, but the poaching of its supporters and office bearers by other predatory parties keen to cash in on the organisation's substantial power base in Natal. ■

# Chief warns of freedom struggle

CT 18/3/94 (118)

## Mandela calls off meeting

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of an unparalleled liberation struggle should his opposition to elections and the interim constitutional encounter a "Bophuthatswana-type" reaction.

The warning came as President F.W. de Klerk said in Johannesburg that he was working on an "Inkatha Freedom Party initiative" which might signify a breakthrough in the constitutional deadlock and the IFP's non-participation in the April election.

De Klerk did not elaborate on what the initiative entailed, but said it raised a "slight hope".

Later, speaking at a news conference, Mr De Klerk said he hoped Chief Buthelezi's warning of "unparalleled resistance" was not in reply to his proposal.

Regarding Chief Buthelezi's statement that there might be a strategy "to repeat, in KwaZulu what happened in Bophuthatswana", Mr De Klerk said: "I want to reject that in the strongest possible terms."

ULUNDI. — Today's long-awaited meeting here between Mr Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelethini has been shelved because of fears for the ANC president's life.

The ANC yesterday first demanded that the venue for the meeting be switched from Ulundi to Durban after reports that an attempt on Mr Mandela's life was planned, but in a statement last night, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed the meeting had been postponed.

It was to have been a public meeting to

which all the Zulu king's subjects had been invited.

Yesterday IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said it would be impossible to change the venue at such a late stage because all the arrangements had been made.

He said KwaZulu police and the SAP had been involved in security arrangements.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting would go ahead without Mr Mandela and the king would address his people on his call for Zulu sovereignty. — Own Correspondent

He also rejected suggestions the NP had been in cahoots with the ANC to topple former Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope.

Chief Buthelezi made his remarks at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi.

He said if the April election ran its course and was declared free and fair, "it will be because democratic opposition has been stifled by the might of the state".

Opposition to the interim constitution and the election which was met by "Draconian or Bophuthatswana-type action... will spawn a struggle

for liberation from ANC/National Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa".

Chief Buthelezi alleged the South African government was party to the violence which deposed Mr Mangope and questioned whether the government had similar plans for KwaZulu.

The IFP president repeated he would contest the April poll only if mediation occurred and if the election date was "reconsidered". His constitutional demands remained those of the Freedom Alliance, including greater regional powers and entrenched provincial constitutions — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Commission's report on  
guns for IFP delayed

ET 18/3/94

(113)

DURBAN. — Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa says he is waiting for a Goldstone Commission report which links senior South African security officials to drug-trafficking and the supply of weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The report was to have been tabled before the Transitional Executive Council but has been withheld pending further investigations.

Gen Holomisa said information provided to the commission last year implicated six generals in the illicit activities. — Sapa



## FW's 'IFP initiative' may break deadlock

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk said he was working on an "Inkatha Freedom Party initiative" which might signify a breakthrough in the constitutional deadlock and the IFP's non-participation in the April election.

He said it raised a "slight hope", adding the negotiation remains on the responsible route.

The IFP missed the final deadline to submit its candidates list on Wednesday.

Mr De Klerk's comments came as Chief Buthelezi yesterday laid down what appears to be the IFP's final word on the election, that it will boycott unless the poll is delayed.

CT 18/3/94 (11B)  
● Chief warns of freedom struggle — Page 2



South African opening batsman celebrated his 29th birthday yesterday against Australia.

Picture: ANNE LAING

## Makwetu says PAC is broke

CT 18/3/94  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday his party was "broke" and officials were living on donations from supporters.

He said arrangements had been made to restore the PAC's telecommunications, disconnected this week after a R94 000 bill went unpaid.

The lack of funds would seriously hamper the PAC's chances in the election, he said.

"Some of our posters are handwritten on cheap paper and done in townships and squatter camps because this is where the struggle starts," he said.

He blamed the PAC's financial problems on the business and overseas communities, accusing Western governments and big business of withholding funding to the PAC so as to ensure an ANC election victory.

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## Tension high as king urges UDI

Star 19/3/94  
(118)

**CHRIS WHITFIELD and  
VENILLA YOGANATHAN**

ULUNDI — Clouds of confrontation have begun to gather over KwaZulu with King Goodwill Zwelithini suggesting yesterday that the region is on the point of a unilateral declaration of independence.

It is evident that the atmosphere in the territory is extremely tense, and addresses by leaders have taken on an increasingly belligerent tone in recent days.

Speaking here yesterday at the *imbizo* — gathering of the king's subjects — which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the Zulu king also urged Zulus to defend their freedom and sovereignty "at all costs".

He added that such sovereignty would be denied by an election under the Interim Constitution.

Meanwhile, the ANC announced that it would embark on rolling mass action to prove to the world that it had the majority support of Zulus in Natal, ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said yesterday.

Reacting to Zwelithini's proclamation, Makhaye said: "We will organise events and marches that will clearly show that Zulus want to take part in the election.

"We warn everybody that our people, especially Zulus, are sick and tired of people abusing their history and their title.

"If the king is used by any political party to retain an apartheid structure such as the KwaZulu bantustan, then it is a sad day for the Zulu kingdom, because it will precipitate the demise of the kingdom," he said.

Makhaye also warned that if the king decided to secede KwaZulu/Natal from the rest of the country, a mass uprising against such a decree would be sparked.

He said while the ANC did not believe in ethnicity, it might become important for the organisation to prove that Zulus wanted to take part in the election and were mature enough to do so.

After the rally, volleys of gunshots were heard through Ulundi as the crowd dispersed. The firing was apparently directed into the air by what an Inkatha Freedom Party official described as civilians armed with AK-47s and other arms. One youth was apparently wounded in the hand.

Mandela has cancelled his appearance at an ANC festival at the University of Zululand in Empangeni today following assassination threats.

IFP Empangeni leader Muzi Blessed Gwala, speaking at the *imbizo*, had called on the crowd to attend the festival. The king — whom KwaZulu officials claimed was offended by Mandela's absence — said he hoped there was no substance in the assassination allegation. "It would be rank foolishness for anyone to attempt to do such a thing. A thing like that would literally burn this country to

TO PAGE 2

### Travel misprint

Due to a printer's gremlin, the coupon in The Star Travel Club's Wild Holiday Competition in the Travel section is labelled Number 1. It should be Number 2 as it is the second coupon to appear. Contestants should cut it out, stick it on a postcard and it will be regarded as coupon Number 2.

# Sounds of War from Umtata

ARC 19/13/94  
11B

Eight million Zulus will back Goodwill, Buthelezi pledges

ARC 19/13/94  
11B

Zulu king: 'I'm sorry I didn't meet Mandela'

ULUNDI. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini expressed regret that he was unable to meet Nelson Mandela to clear the air between himself and the African National Congress leadership. (10/7)

The Zulu monarch said he hoped there was no substance to rumours of an attempt on Mr Mandela's life: "It would be rank foolishness for anyone to attempt to do such a thing. Anything like that would literally burn this country to ashes".

Yesterday's meeting between the two leaders was called off after the ANC said there were "firm reports" of a planned assassination attempt on Mr Mandela. (10/7)

"I hope this is no more than a scare story," said King Zwelithini.

"I would have liked to know from the president of the ANC what he knows about the Zulu monarchy, Zulu sovereignty and the kingdom of KwaZulu." Addressing several thousand Zulu subjects in the KwaZulu capital of Umtata, King Zwelithini dismissed the ANC's contention that the proposed meeting was initially arranged as a closed one.

He said KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had indicated in correspondence with the ANC's Jacob Zuma that the meeting would be a "public discussion". The king said he saw no reason why the meeting should have been private. "I am sorry that Mr Mandela was unable to attend today's meeting."

"I would have been grateful to know from him why members of his organisation have insulted me almost daily in radio programmes, speeches, and press statements," he said.

King Zwelithini said he felt slighted by statements by Mr Mandela and other ANC members that he was being prevented by Chief Buthelezi from seeing Mr Mandela. He said Chief Buthelezi had gone out of his way to ensure the meeting went ahead, "even by breaking protocol in giving unlisted telephone numbers to Mr Mandela".

Claims that Chief Buthelezi was his paymaster were offensive, said the king, who referred to monarchies worldwide which were supported by state funds. "What should be so exceptional about the Zulu monarchy in this respect? Why does the ANC hurl these insults at me?" he asked. — Sapa.

ARC 19/13/94  
11B

CHRIS WHITFIELD  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ULUNDI. — About 100 km from the KwaZulu capital, a solitary National Party member and other ANC members that he was being prevented by Chief Buthelezi from seeing Mr Mandela. He said Chief Buthelezi had gone out of his way to ensure the meeting went ahead, "even by breaking protocol in giving unlisted telephone numbers to Mr Mandela".

Claims that Chief Buthelezi was his paymaster were offensive, said the king, who referred to monarchies worldwide which were supported by state funds. "What should be so exceptional about the Zulu monarchy in this respect? Why does the ANC hurl these insults at me?" he asked. — Sapa.

high and the election was foremost in many minds.

Young men in skins and bearing shields spat out the names "Mandela", and "De Klerk", as they stamped their feet and chanted their songs outside the building, encouraged by talking women. Inconspicuously, they were led by a man in a suit and tie, carrying a shield and spear.

Inside the circular Assembly building, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened this year's sitting surely the last of this administration — with probably his toughest speech yet.

He indicated that the election date would have to be switched if the Inkatha Freedom Party was to take part. President De Klerk was accused of "double-crossing and

and National Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa".

But the aggression in the speech was muted with indications of deepening concern over the lifespan of the KwaZulu administration.

In particular, he moved strongly to allay civil servants' fears that their jobs and pensions were threatened in doing so, he referred directly to "the same tactics" adopted against the government of Bophuthatswana before it was toppled.

Leaving the building, it was difficult to escape the conclusion that a line had been crossed, that KwaZulu was heading almost certainly for a brutal explosion.

Only the faintest glimmer of hope remains.

"We are grateful he has decided to stand up for the sovereignty and unity of his people at this historic moment."

"We assure him of our loyalty."

Chief Buthelezi expressed his disappointment at the cancellation of yesterday's meeting between the Zulu monarch and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Earlier KwaZulu Police Commissioner Jac Buchner said in an interview that his planned attack on Mr Mandela. He said his force, together with a strong South African Police contingent, would have ensured "enough safety".

However, a shot rang out as the police chief spoke to reporters. Sporadic gunfire was heard throughout the day.

The ANC on Thursday said Mr Mandela was pulling out of the meeting because of threats to assassinate him. — Sapa.

News by C. Dorman, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

reassurance civil servants

Political Staff

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has moved firmly to reassure the territory's civil servants that their jobs and pensions were safe.

He accused "agitators" of attempting a Bophuthatswana-style destabilisation of the KwaZulu government.

He appeared to suggest that the ANC was behind the destabilisation plan and warned that nobody would emerge unscathed if it went ahead.

There have been reports recently of concern among KwaZulu civil servants over job security and their pensions.

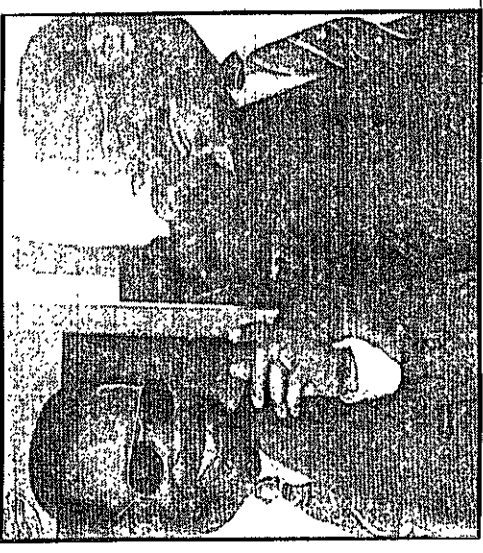
Chief Buthelezi accused "miscreants" of attempting to destabilise the KwaZulu government by "using the same tactics adopted against the government of Bophuthatswana", where a civil servants' strike led to the toppling of the president Lucas Mangope.

"One of the main propaganda tools being used is that of loss of jobs and, in particular, loss of pension fund benefits because of misuse of pension fund money by the KwaZulu government," said Chief Buthelezi.

Most chilling of all was his prediction that "draconian or Bophuthatswana-type" action against those opposing the election would "spawn a struggle for liberation from ANC

Buthelezi pledged

ARC 19/13/94  
11B

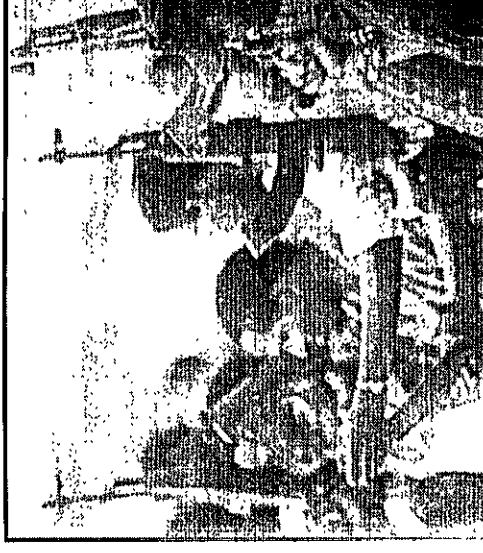


FRIENDS: Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini shares a joke with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a gathering of Zulu warriors at the KwaZulu legislative assembly in Umtata. The king used the opportunity to reiterate his call for KwaZulu to break away and form its own independent state.

That programme is being revived again in a big way. Those who have these plans — an go ahead and all I can say is that at the end of it all, none of us will go unscathed, neither they nor us," he warned.

A circular issued by the KwaZulu bureau of communications recently stressed: "The KwaZulu government service will continue to function after the forthcoming elections until the provincial government departments for the whole of KwaZulu/Natal have been established."

News by C. Whitfield, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.



WAITING: Scores of Zulu warriors holding AK-47 rifles wait to hear what their king has to say about political developments surrounding KwaZulu at a gathering of warriors at Umtata.

Buthelezi pledged

ARC 19/13/94  
11B

# ◆ UDI

Star 19/3/94

ashes. I hope that is no more than a scare story," he said.

However, the king was blunt in his attacks on the ANC and the Government. He said the holding of an election under the 1993 Constitution "is an immediate denial of our claim for sovereignty and self-determination".

Although he stopped short of a call to arms, the king's comments appear to amount to a warning that the election would be resisted. In the hardline speech he also said: "We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs."

A KwaZulu government source said that although that declaration had no legal force,

he saw it as a hint that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly may promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal during its present sitting.

Turning to his demand for sovereignty for Natal/KwaZulu, Zwelithini said: "The Zulu nation is now left with the responsibility of finding the strength and the resources to bring about the restoration of our kingdom and to achieve our national self-determination in a free and independent country."

On Thursday, Buthelezi had warned that moving troops into the region could spark conflict. Yesterday Buthelezi, talking to journalists, said he was not optimistic over a new initiative to bring the IFP into elections.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# Buthelezi faces more flak

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

EVIDENCE of collusion between Inkatha officials and senior SAP members in providing arms to foment war, and cover-ups in Kwazulu police atrocities, will precipitate a head-to-head confrontation between the Transitional Executive Council and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Buthelezi, who is also chief of the Kwazulu police, is advocating a boycott of next month's elections, making it difficult for free polling to be held in Natal.

TEC sources said yesterday it was unlikely the TEC would take action against the Kwazulu police until a task team of international police had given its opinion on the evidence supplied by the Goldstone commission.

The TEC did not want to allow Mr Buthelezi to whip up emotions, sparking further violence, by taking immediate action against the Kwazulu police and administration, said one source.

The TEC would rather wait until pressure had

built up against Mr Buthelezi, whose isolation from his former allies would be exacerbated by the role of Inkatha officials and his police in violence. (118)

An intensified voter education programme is set to be introduced in Natal and further political gatherings will be held there to test political tolerance.

Pressure on Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to distance himself from Mr Buthelezi's administration is also likely to increase.

SACP chairman Joe

Slovo said this week the time had come for the youth and civil service of Kwazulu, and members of Mr Buthelezi's government, to make it clear they were unhappy with his stance on the elections.

"Buthelezi must learn the lesson of Bophuthatswana. The same forces that expressed their dissatisfaction with Mangope are present in Kwazulu," Mr Slovo said.

A planned meeting between King Zwelithini and

ANC president Nelson Mandela this week in Ulundi was postponed after Mr Buthelezi insisted it be held in public, and organised a gathering of Zulu impis to take place in front of the venue.

"One suspects he may well have done this to sabotage the meeting," Mr Slovo said.

Sources said Mr Mandela planned to inform the king his livelihood would be guaranteed by a future ANC government.

# Lid lifted on IFP link to generals in conspiracy

STimes 20/3/94

(113) (259)

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

**MORE** pieces of an elaborate jigsaw puzzle linking Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoza and other officials to a "Third Force" within the SAP were put into place by the Goldstone Commission this weekend.

The commission and its Wallis committee outlined a startling arms-running and hit-squad training conspiracy aimed at destabilising South Africa's townships and undermining the transition to democracy.

Key to the conspiracy was the training of Inkatha members, many of whom subsequently joined the Kwazulu police, in unconventional warfare in Namibia's Caprivi Strip in 1986.

The Wallis committee report said there was disturbing evidence that the Caprivi trainees were involved in hit squads in the Kwazulu Police and recommended that those "unsuitable for police service should be weeded out".

How much information Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had on the operations remains unclear. The Wallis committee reported that two Caprivi trainees who worked at Inkatha's Ulundi headquarters were linked to the illegal possession of an AK-47 in 1991.

But Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday: "If these allegations are proven true, the national Inkatha leadership is certainly totally unaware of them."

One of the men, Daluxolo Luthuli, was political commissar in the Caprivi.

Mr Khoza and Inkatha official Victor Ndlovu were named as key linkmen in a second operation — a gun-running network that supplied arms from Namibia and Mozambique to Inkatha hostel-dwellers and train-killers.

The report said Mr Khoza was recruited to the secret force by ABSA head of security Dries "Brood" van Heerden and was rewarded with a car and money for his activities.

Mr Khoza distributed weapons in Natal and on one occasion — in September 1990

— was caught with some of these weapons at a roadblock, the report said.

"Unit C10 paid his bail and legal fees. His false version as to how the weapons were planted in his car was accepted by the magistrate as reasonably possibly true and he was acquitted," it said.

Weapons distributed by Mr Khoza and Mr Ndlovu included homemade guns and sophisticated conventional weapons supplied by Koevoet in Namibia and a Mozambique source.

The manufacture of homemade guns was initiated by Lieutenant-General Basie Smit and Major-General Krappies Engelbrecht, who used premises on the East Rand and in Silverton as factories.

Former Kwazulu police commissioner General Jac Buchner was involved in the gun-making project along with eight C10 members, two members of the East Rand

Murder and Robbery Unit and three Durban security policemen.

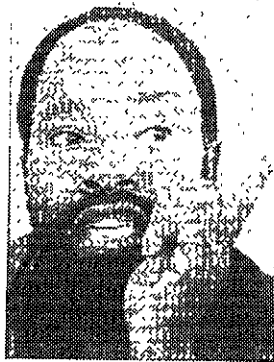
When he became aware of the investigation into the conspiracy in February, General Engelbrecht ordered that all files relating to Inkatha involvement in the smuggling of weapons be destroyed. He also instructed members of C10 to destroy any documents in their possession that mentioned the involvement of Inkatha.

Weapons from Koevoet in Namibia and from Mozambique were transported to Vlakplaas and later to Murrayhill, north of Pretoria. They were cleaned in acid and their serial numbers were removed before they were placed in black bags and distributed to Inkatha.

The weapons included AK-47s, mortars, RPG-7s and hand grenades. They were stored under the control of Colonel Eugene de Kock.

Former Inkatha official Bruce Anderson alleged in 1992 that AK-47s were being smuggled into South Africa via Mozambique. He named Mr Khoza as one of those involved in distributing the weapons inside the country.

Mr Anderson was deported from South Africa in 1992, while Mr Khoza vehemently denied the charges.



THEMBA KHOZA

# IFP action group to oppose election

(118)

ET 21/3/94

DURBAN. — Inkatha is to set up a "national action committee" to oppose next month's election amid signs the Zulu king is about to carry out his threat to declare KwaZulu-Natal's "independence".

IFP president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected to comment on the monarch's "proclamation of Zulu sovereignty", in his opening address to the territory's legislative assembly this morning.

The "national action committee" will devise "national regional and community action programmes to give constructive ways and means of opposing the 1993 constitution and elections", the IFP said.

Members of the Independent Electoral Commission will meet this week with President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and the KwaZulu legislature to discuss an election strategy in KwaZulu.

The IFP central committee said on Saturday it rejected President De Klerk's

## Bloody clash averted at stadium

DURBAN. — A potentially bloody confrontation between heavily armed Zulus and thousands of angry ANC supporters at KwaMashu was averted yesterday when the ANC moved its election rally to another venue.

Some of the roads leading to the Princess Magogo stadium — which was occupied by the IFP to prevent the ANC holding its rally

there — had been barricaded by the police who at times had to use teargas to control the crowds.

When the Zulus did not vacate the stadium, ANC supporters moved to Ground Number Four, a short distance from Princess Magogo, in what ANC leaders described a move to avoid a "blood-bath".

Angry ANC leaders yesterday

vowed to embark on a programme of mass action this week to "show South Africa and the world that Zulus want to participate in the April 27 election".

Yesterday's occupation of the stadium was a repeat of last Sunday's scene at Umlazi, where the ANC was prevented by IFP supporters from holding a rally in the local stadium.

suggestion that it take part in provincial elections in Natal/KwaZulu.

It also rejected a suggestion that IFP members be included in the candidate lists of the National Party.

At a rally on Saturday the ANC took its hardest line yet against King Goodwill Zwelethini's secessionist plans.

Northern Natal ANC secretary Mr Senzo Mchunu said King Goodwill had revealed his support for the IFP and had "effectively divided the Zulu nation further".

"The ANC Zulus will in no way support this (secession). The king will now have to

deal with the ANC Zulus to suppress their opposition to his political position."

● Namibian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said in Johannesburg King Goodwill had to be dissuaded from pursuing what amounts to a unilateral declaration of independence.

● The Organisation of African Unity ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa has condemned attempts by King Goodwill to declare a sovereign Zulu state, saying the move posed a serious threat to peace and stability in that area. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Media body slams pro-Govt bias

# IFP plans opposition campaign

*Sowetan 21/3/94*

■ **TENSION RISES** Reports of unease  
in civil service rejected:

## Sowetan Correspondent

**T**he Inkatha Freedom party has rejected an initiative by President FW de Klerk to bring it into the election and is instead planning a campaign of opposition to the Interim Constitution and the election.

Tensions in KwaZulu/Natal continued to soar at the weekend with sporadic outbreaks of violence and both the IFP and African National Congress announcing steps designed to gain strategic advantage in the province.

There is also ongoing speculation over unease in the KwaZulu civil service, but sources in the Ulundi administration said last night they thought this was limited to "outlying areas where they might be prone to other influences".

(118)  
Last night IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose also categorically dismissed speculation that the KwaZulu government was poised to announce what would effectively amount to a unilateral declaration of independence for the entire province.

"We are not having a unilateral declara-

tion of independence. People are wanting us to declare independence so they can have a field day," said Mdlalose.

The speculation was sparked by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's comment at a gathering of his subjects last Friday that: "We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs."

But Mdlalose said yesterday that the word "proclaim" in the context in which the king was speaking simply meant "to declare ... to tell the world".

He was telling people that the Zulu nation was a reality that could not be wished away, said Mdlalose.

At the weekend the IFP central committee rejected the proposal put to it last week by President de Klerk, who said he hoped it would draw the party into the election.

An IFP source said the proposal amounted to a suggestion that the IFP contest the Natal election only, and that De Klerk would do everything in his power to facilitate such participation even at this late stage. "Of course that was unacceptable to us," said the source.



# IFP, ANC in rally stand-off

Star 2/13/94

Durban — The ANC in Natal is to launch another complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission against Inkatha after an ANC rally in KwaMashu, near Durban, was blocked by about 3 000 people who occupied the stadium yesterday.

Described only as "Zulus" but alleged to be Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, they began occupying the Princess Magogo stadium from Saturday and refused to leave to make way for a pre-arranged ANC rally.

Police and senior ANC leaders were involved in heated arguments throughout yesterday over alleged inaction against those in the sta-

dium and for allegedly allowing them to enter, many with firearms, in the first place.

The day was marked by tense stand-offs between groups of ANC supporters and those identifying themselves with stadium occupants.

Police used teargas to prevent impending clashes during a potentially explosive situation after midday.

The Independent Electoral Commission last week issued the IFP with a summons to appear in court this week on charges of breaching the Electoral Act after a similar stand-off in Umlazi, south of Durban, last Sunday.

Meanwhile, Natal's In-

ternal Stability Division chief General Tom Bezuidenhout said police could not prevent people from entering the stadium on Saturday as they had legal permission to be there. ~~(Sapa)~~

Bezuidenhout said he had wanted to avoid loss of life and that he would "rather attempt to prevent a clash than try to move them out of the stadium". (IB)

The ANC's southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe, however, slammed this as "security force collusion with Inkatha".

"Our president (Nelson Mandela) spoke to both (President) de Klerk and the Commissioner of Police General (Johan) van der Merwe last week and

they both assured him that what happened in Umlazi would never happen again."

The ANC would embark on a programme of mass action in Natal from Friday to "dispel the myth for once and for all that the people of this region, particularly Zulus, don't want an election", said Radebe.

He added that the ANC would again call for the mass deployment of the National Peacekeeping Force in Natal, in conjunction with international and local monitors.

Monitors reported at least two serious injuries linked to the weekend conflict in KwaMashu, and feared overnight clashes. — Sapa.

(C Doonan 141 Commissioner St Jhb)

*Inkatha rejects latest bid to bring it into election*

# IFP plans poll protest

Stur 21/3/94

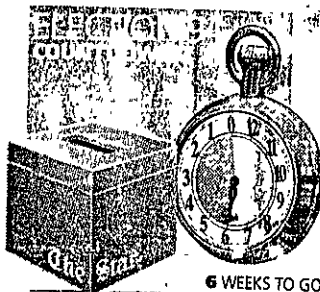
BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected an initiative by President de Klerk to bring it into the election and is instead planning a campaign of opposition to the Interim Constitution and next month's election.

Tensions in KwaZulu/Natal continued to soar at the weekend with sporadic outbreaks of violence and both the IFP and ANC announcing steps designed to gain strategic advantage in the province.

At least 15 people were killed in politically related violence in Natal/KwaZulu at the weekend, according to police.

Natal Midlands SAP spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said "about" 11 people were killed and KwaZulu Police



6 WEEKS TO GO

spokesman Sergeant Sebenzile Sibiya said four murders were reported in Mhlabatini near Ulundi and Nqutu near Dundee. ANC spokesman Roy Ainslie told Sapa two people were killed near Port Shepstone yesterday.

And on the East Rand, six people were killed and a policeman was murdered.

Police said two unidentified bodies were found in Tokoza, three bodies were discovered outside the Duduza Hostel and another body was found in Boksburg. The policeman was killed in Daveyton.

Speculation over unease in the KwaZulu civil service continued last night, but sources in the Ulundi administration said talk of imminent strikes was "probably exaggerated".

Last week, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed suggestions that pensions were in danger.

Yesterday IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose

## KWAZULU government dismisses speculation that it is planning UDI



dismissed speculation that the KwaZulu government was poised to announce what would amount to a unilateral declaration of independence for the entire province.

"We are not having a unilateral declaration of independence ... people are wanting us to declare independence so that they can have a field day," Mdlalose said.

The speculation was sparked by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's comment at a gathering of his subjects on Friday that: "We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it."

Mdlalose said the king was simply telling people that the Zulu nation was a reality that could not be wished away.

At the weekend the IFP central committee rejected the proposal put to it last week by De Klerk, who said he hoped it would draw the party into the election. An IFP source said the proposal amounted to a suggestion that the IFP contest the Natal election only, and that the State President would do everything in his power to facilitate such participation even at this late stage.

The central committee also announced that it was to create a national action committee designed to plan "constructive ways" for people to oppose the Interim Constitution and the election.

For its part, the ANC is planning ways to cement what it describes as recent gains in the province, announcing that its plan of rolling mass action — to show that Zulus want to take part in the election — would begin this week.

The first event would probably be a march through Durban on Friday.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

► ANC, IFP rally stand-off  
— Page 3

## Unrest could slow Eskom

WILSON ZWANE

ESKOM expects its programme for the electrification of hundreds of thousands of homes this year to be slowed by unrest in parts of the country in the run-up to elections. *B/Day*

Eskom electricity distribution executive director Jac Messerschmidt said at the weekend the utility would not endanger its personnel by sending them into volatile areas. *21/3/94*

He was optimistic that Eskom would make up for lost ground from May.

Eskom is aiming at spending R350m this year to electrify 250 000 homes, as part of its programme to bring electricity to 900 000 homes by 1998. Last year, the utility spent R584,4m on more than 294 000 connections. Eskom has 900 000 customers. *(21/3/94)*

Messerschmidt also disclosed that the thrust of the electrification programme was the installation of pre-paid electricity meters. But this, he said, was not due to fears of non-payment by township residents.

He said about half of the utility's customers had pre-paid meters.

Report by W Zwane, TML, 11 Dingane St, Jhb.

# ANC and Inkatha to study mediation plan

*B/Day 21/3/94*  
RICHARDS BAY — Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC leaders were scheduled to study detailed proposals for international mediation at the weekend which, if accepted, would be likely to begin within three weeks.

The proposals included the names of a team of international mediators, as well as the terms of reference of such mediation, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said at a fundraising dinner in Richards Bay at the weekend.

"Hopefully the mediation process can then start in two or three weeks," he said. But he warned that there were "serious problems" in KwaZulu concerning a climate for free political activity.

"Clearly the Transitional Executive Council and government must act," Mbeki said.

He warned the ANC would have to reconsider the agreement brokered between Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that supporters would be free to campaign for or against the elections. Recent Inkatha violations of the agreement, such as the occupation of stadiums booked by the ANC for political rallies, had necessitated this.

He announced the ANC had effectively dumped the Afrikaner Volksfront in negotiations on a volkstaat, in favour of Gen Constand Viljoen's newly formed Freedom Front. The ANC was "interested" in negotiating directly with the Freedom Front, Mbeki said. Viljoen had led the Volksfront team in volkstaat negotiations with the ANC on a bilateral accord.

Discussions between the ANC and the Volks-

*DAVID GREVBE*

front began at the end of last year, and a 12th draft of a possible accord is being studied.

"We have said to them (the Freedom Front) that if indeed an agreement were to be reached between us, we would be willing to pursue whatever we have agreed in terms of such constitution-making... after the elections," he said. *(11/3)*

Mbeki said he expected government "to join in later", effectively to adopt a trilateral accord. He said volkstaat issues that needed to be clarified included: where it would be; its constitution; what would happen to the civil and political rights of non-Afrikaners within such a volkstaat; what would happen to Afrikaners resident outside the volkstaat; and how to establish it.

According to the proponents of a volkstaat the majority of the population in the territory would be Afrikaners, with an exclusive right to elect its government, Mbeki said.

"But how do you achieve that result without discriminating against other people? How do you achieve that result while keeping true to principles of non-racialism and democracy?"

Sapa reports Mbeki also told a fundraising dinner in East London on Saturday that ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be inaugurated as SA's new President on May 10 in Pretoria.

"It is planned that the new president, Nelson Mandela I think, will be installed, inaugurated, on May 10, a big occasion in Pretoria."

Report by D Grevbe, TML, 11 Dingane St, Jhb; and B MacLennan, Sapa, 25 Cannon Street, East London.

118 ~~115~~

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

**MANGOSUTHU** Gatscha Buthelezi was born at Mahlabathini, Natal, on August 27 1928

A member of the Zulu royal family, he traces his ancestry to King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. He is the great-grandson of King Cetshwayo and the grandson of King Dinizulu kaSolomon — on the side of his mother Princess Constance Magogo. On his father's side Chief Buthelezi is the great-grandson of Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi, who was the traditional prime minister to Cetshwayo.

He is the son of Inkosi Mathole Buthelezi, who was himself the prime minister of King Solomon kaDinizulu and the prime minister during the regency of Prince Mshiyeni kaDinizulu, who acted on behalf of Prince Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon.

Mangosuthu's traditional title is uMntwana kaPhindangene (the Prince of Phindangene) and is the present adviser and "prime minister" of reigning King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu.

Buthelezi was the senior adviser and prime minister to King Cyprian.

He is the founder of Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, which in 1990 became known as the Inkatha Free-

# Buthelezi the reluctant chief

dom Party, and is its president.

Buthelezi was educated at Impumalanga Primary School and Adams College in Amanzimtoti.

After matriculating in 1947 he registered at the University of Fort Hare where he joined the African National Congress Youth League — "everybody joined the ANC in those days," he said in an interview last week. He was strongly influenced by ANC stalwart Professor ZK Matthews.

After obtaining his BA degree he worked at the then Department of Bantu Administration

### No choice

In 1953 Buthelezi became chief of the Buthelezi clan. Last year he confided: "I had no choice. When the Bantu Administration Act was passed I was told by the elders of KwaZulu to accept the role."

With the introduction of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority in 1970 he was elected chief executive officer of the area as the Government

**(I had no choice. When the Bantu Administration Act was passed I was told by the elders to accept the role)**

imposed ethnic bantustan structures in the country.

In 1976 Buthelezi was appointed chief minister of KwaZulu, a position he still holds today.

He played a leading role in the formation of the South African Black Alliance in 1978, to "foster the unity of Indians, coloured and black sections of the population", according to his biographers.

He is the initiator of the Buthelezi Commission and later the Kwa-Natal Indaba in search of a possible constitutional solution.



Chief Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi

# The constitution KwaZulu adopted

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

**O**n December 1 1992 the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly adopted a constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal after concluding that negotiations for a democratic order in South Africa were being delayed.

Although this was seen as opting for secession as being more confederalist than federalist, the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party insisted the state would be within a federal Republic of South Africa.

It further resolved that the new constitution would have to be ratified and empowered by the South African Government and further proposed that it be forwarded for approval to the Joint Executive Authority and be put to a referendum.

These are the provisions of the constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal which reflect the IFP's outlook.

● **Fundamental Principles** It states that all political power is inherent in the people and that government shall respect and encourage the right of the people to organise and regulate their interests autonomously.

● **Relationship with the (federal) Republic of South Africa** The state will be a sovereign member of and recognise its obligations towards South Africa and other "member states" of the federation.

### Sovereignty of the state

"The sovereignty of the state of KwaZulu-Natal as asserted under this constitution is indivisible, inalienable and untransferable."

● **Territory** The KwaZulu-Natal government will negotiate with the Government and other states in federal South Africa to increase its territory so as to include areas which are historically, culturally and socio-economically strictly connected to

## NEW STATE Legislative Assembly decision seen as championing secession:

KwaZulu-Natal" This will include territorial waters

● **State's Unity** The state and regions will promote decentralisation of their powers and delegation to local government.

● **Citizenship** All South African citizens residing in Natal or KwaZulu will be citizens of the state.

### Legally domiciled

The KwaZulu-Natal general assembly will grant citizenship in special cases, including those legally domiciled in the area for longer than six months.

● **Language** Official languages will be English, Zulu and Afrikaans.

● **Federal law** All statutes and regulations adopted by South Africa and international law will be effective in the state as long as they are consistent with its constitution.

● **Traditional and customary law** The state of KwaZulu-Natal will recognise and protect such laws which are consistent with the constitution.

● **Fundamental rights** These rights will be protected both in their individual and collective exercise.

● **Freedom of communication and media** All are promised freedom of expression and all forms of censorship will be prohibited.

"The media have the duty to rectify all erroneous information, which damages the reputation of others." Freedom of religion is guaranteed.

● **Economy** Free enterprise — The state will recognise and protect the right to free economic initiative and help small businesses and provide other incentives to encourage access to economic opportunities.

● **Private property** The right to private property ownership is guaranteed. However, limitations on the use

of private property may be imposed to satisfy social, environmental and collective needs.

The right to add up to one's own property by contract or inheritance will be protected subject to taxation.

● **Public enterprise** No enterprise will be acquired by the state or regions either as a monopoly or as a free competition enterprise.

All monopolies, practices and agreements restraining trade and free market competition will be prohibited.

● **Agriculture** The state will encourage agriculture, the socially just and responsible use, distribution of land and access of citizens to land ownership.

● **Right to education** The law will determine the period and minimum education requirements for compulsory education. The state will support aspirations to higher education by means of scholarships and promote the highest standards in excellence.

### Equal access to education

Both private and public schools will ensure open and equal access to educational opportunities. Parents will be entitled to participate in the administration of schools.

● **Right to work** Everyone will have the right to access any job opportunity for which he or she is qualified. The state will promote the employment of its citizens and no-one's job will be terminated for political reasons or constitutionally protected rights.

All workers will be entitled to social security, pensions, invalidity and an employment benefits as determined by law.

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# IFP asks for Goldstone ANC probe

Star 22/3/94  
BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate alleged ANC plans to make Kwa-Zulu ungovernable and prepare the homeland for a South African military intervention.

In a letter to Mr Justice Goldstone, IFP central committee

member Suzanne Vos said her party was in possession of an alleged ANC document — provided to the IFP by an informant who insisted it was "genuine and produced by a senior member(s) (sic) of the SACP-ANC alliance" — detailing plans to topple Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and prepare the ground for South African military intervention in the home-

land.

The plans were apparently drawn up after the ousting of Chief Lucas Mangope as president of Bophuthatswana (IB)

The allegation comes only a few days after the Goldstone Commission's report into alleged third force activities fingered some high-ranking South African Police officers whom it alleged were implicated in supplying

weapons to some IFP members to fuel the flames of violence between Buthelezi's party and the ANC

Approached for comment this morning, ANC information and publicity deputy head Gill Marcus referred inquiries to ANC spokesmen Carl Niehaus and Ronnie Mamoepa, neither of whom could be reached.

(47 Sauer St. Jhb)

# Judge Kriegler sent to volatile Natal

Sowetan 22/3/94

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

■ **MASS ACTION** ANC to hold  
a rally on Friday in Durban:

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday dispatched Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler to Natal as the province totters on the brink of all-out clashes.

The decision was taken in Pretoria yesterday at a meeting between the three men to discuss the situation in Natal and look at methods to ensure free and fair elections in Natal.

Kriegler is to meet King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi tomorrow. He is expected to make an announcement after the meeting tomorrow. (118)

De Klerk and Mandela yesterday declined to comment on the matter, thus indicating the sensitivity of the situation

and fear of exacerbating an already tense and dangerous situation.

With the ANC and IFP both launching opposing mass action campaigns around Durban in particular, and Natal generally, tensions are already running high. At least 36 people were killed and over 26 houses torched in violence this past weekend in the province.

**Humiliated** (22/3/94)!

The ANC has over the past two weekends been humiliated by alleged IFP supporters who have occupied stadiums and barred the organisation from holding election rallies around Durban.

The people identified themselves simply as "Zulus" but IFP officials were seen at the scene giving instructions.

The ANC said it would launch the

"mother of all mass actions" on Friday to demonstrate that the people of Natal, especially those who speak Zulu, supported the holding of elections.

"The main motivation is the deteriorating situation here in Natal where the IFP and some rightwingers are determined to block our campaign. Southern Natal ANC chairman Mr Jeff Radebe, said yesterday.

The IFP central committee, also claiming majority Zulu support for the rejection of the interim constitution, has pledged to "devise national, regional and community action programmes to give people constructive ways of opposing the ... elections"

(Report by Mathatha Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

# Buthelezi warns of conflict if IFP is sidelined in poll

Sowetan 22/3/94

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he could not imagine the April 27 election being conducted smoothly without the participation of KwaZulu's people.

Addressing the sixth session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Buthelezi said: "I cannot see that a large number of the people of KwaZulu-Natal will be willing participants in the elections."

He accused the Government and the African National Congress of using the power of the State to shake the country

and seize power at the polls.

"They have the laws which were made to assist them, and the security forces which they are reconstituting to apply the laws in their favour," he said.

He said KwaZulu took a stand against the Interim Constitution because its grassroots constituency had demanded it.

## Concern

"There is a vast Zulu concern about the future governance of KwaZulu-Natal, which they see as the kingdom of KwaZulu.

"I warn that should the ANC attempt to destabilise the KwaZulu government, as it destabilised Bophuthatswana and has threatened destabilisation against the Ciskei, a conflict of awesome proportions will be unleashed to the tragic detriment of South Africa and the democratic process."

Buthelezi said his rejection of the Interim Constitution, the Transitional Executive Council and other transitional mechanisms carried with it a powerful conviction that Zulus would not be robbed of their right to self-determination. — *Sapa*.

# focus on the IFP

Sowetan 22/3/94

**T**HE STRUGGLE FOR "FREEDOM" may just have begun for Inkatha Freedom Party-controlled KwaZulu.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, emphasised that the resistance of "the people" was aimed at achieving the total liberation of blacks.

"My policy has always been to exercise the right to self-determination within the context of a federal South Africa."

He said he had done so through the Buthelezi Commission and KwaZulu-Natal Indaba in which he proposed alternatives to achieving an inclusive constitutional settlement for the country.

"At the Multiparty Negotiating Council we failed to deliver that. The king (King Goodwill Zwelithini Bhekuzulu) stands up to say ... our people have been driven through the barrel of the gun to accept the Union (of South Africa in 1910), now his right to protect the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is being questioned. My colleagues and I have now failed to deliver a federal state to him.

"I can understand His Majesty's the anxiety. He has made it clear to State President FW de Klerk that he wanted this issue sorted out before the election, but that has been ignored and this problem is going on and on... Clearly, if I put myself in his shoes, I can understand why he wants to shake someone into some kind of action to try and meet his concerns.

"From the very beginning I stayed out of Codesa because they wanted the king out. I remained outside as a protest because I could not ignore a section of my people left out of the process."

Buthelezi said he felt betrayed in his pursuit for the liberation of blacks by people who persistently refused to listen to him and take heed of his contribution to ending the constitutional logjam in the country.

"My downfall is that I have been too open and honest. However, my politics has always been in the context of one South Africa, but at the same time at the Kempton Park talks even our constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal was not tabled. A draft constitution we presented for a federal South Africa was never even considered for tabling.

"There was a lot of boasting from certain quarters that we had been left out and missed the train," Buthelezi said.

On whether the KwaZulu government wanted to secede, Buthelezi said: "Secession has never been one of our options. If it is forced on my people I will be very sad because we, the subjects of the king, with other black and white people, are entitled to the spoils of the sweat of their brows which produces the wonderful economy of this country.

The resolve of the Zulu people to exercise their right to self-determination has never been stronger, says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Political correspondent **Themba Molefe** reports on an interview with the IFP leader:



IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini sing traditional songs at a rally commemorating the founder of the Zulu nation, Shaka.

**WHAT THE LEADERS ARE SAYING**

**Tomorrow**

**We talk to Azapo's Jerry Mosala**

"So I wouldn't want to be a distant cousin. The collusion at the World Trade Centre is open for anyone to see. I mean, I am not responsible for how things have gone in the past and no longer in control of what is going on now (with the rejection of the present transitional make-up and April poll)."

What about Buthelezi as one of the leaders on whose shoulders rests the hope for peace and the attainment of lasting democracy?

He said: "That's why there is now going to be international mediation which is a joint effort of the IFP and African National Congress.

Through that we might get an all-inclusive solution."

Buthelezi also bemoans what he calls parallelism in multiparty negotiations when the process moves with desperate speed even though there are those left outside.

What is the way forward, then, for the IFP-KwaZulu government — pre- and post-April 27?

"I really don't know what will happen but I suppose the writers of the present constitution will divide KwaZulu among themselves, without us

"There is nothing traumatic about that. For 83 years we had been ruled by other people by force. The same pattern is emerging. Mr de Klerk says he has contingency plans. The ANC, on the other hand, has big plans to destabilise and smash us."

"We, however, do not have any contingency plans but to resist as black people and in a nonviolent way to achieve our freedom as those who win in April will take over our country including the kingdom of KwaZulu."



# Gordhan knows of plot — IFP

## Sowetan Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will today ask the Goldstone Commission to subpoena Transitional Executive Committee member Mr Pravin Gordhan to answer questions on an alleged ANC-SACP plan to make KwaZulu ungovernable, according to IFP central committee member Ms Suzanne Vos.

She said yesterday the IFP believed

*Sowetan 23/3/94*  
Gordhan, a member of the ANC-led tripartite alliance, "had sight of the document" in which the plan was detailed. (118) ~~(118)~~

Vos, who has sent a letter to Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone asking that the plan be investigated, said Gordhan's recent statements that the TEC should intervene in KwaZulu coincided with some of the things suggested in the secret plan.

Following its receipt of the IFP's letter, the Goldstone Commission yesterday asked the IFP "for sufficient detail" to enable it "to launch a meaningful inquiry into the allegations".

In a letter to Goldstone on Monday, Vos said the IFP was in possession of an alleged ANC document "produced by a senior member(s) of the SACP-ANC alliance" detailing plans to topple KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi

# ‘Revoke KwaZulu Police authority’

De Klerk gives up on the IFP

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The KwaZulu government's authority to run its own police force should be revoked, a TEC task force investigating hit-squad activity in Natal and KwaZulu has recommended.

The task group said certain KwaZulu Police members, Inkatha Freedom Party office-bearer-sand government officials in Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office were implicated in hit-squad activities.

In a preliminary report given to the TEC yesterday, the task force said hit-squad activity in Natal, and particularly in the KwaZulu Police's area of jurisdiction, was "rife".

Immediate steps were necessary "to curb this activity, which has now reached crisis proportions", the task force said.

The report said documents at the chief minister's office should be examined, all relevant dockets now in the hands of the KwaZulu Police should be handed over to an independent investigation team and a senior SAP detective and international observer be placed at each KwaZulu

## ‘ANC's mass action to go ahead’

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC vowed yesterday that a "fake" ANC document, released by the IFP and outlining a plan to overthrow Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would not stop Friday's launch of a rolling mass action campaign in KwaZulu, involving the public ser-

vice. ANC Natal officials yesterday dismissed as cheap propaganda an Inkatha claim that it was responsible for the document.

Inkatha officials are scheduled to meet the Goldstone Commission on Friday to discuss the document, which Inkatha said was provided by an informant, who

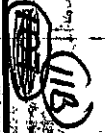
Police station.

The task force said "several hit-squads were operating and deaths caused by them represented a "significant proportion" of those killed in political violence in the region.

The KwaZulu Police was "incapable of investigating cases against suspects of its own force allegedly implicated in such hit-squad activity". Not one person had been convicted of these activities as a result of an investigation carried out exclusively by the KwaZulu Police.

Targets identified for execution by the hit-squads included not only ANC political activists and leaders but also KwaZulu

CT 23/3/94



insisted it was genuine and was produced by a senior member of the ANC/SACP alliance.

Meanwhile, Natal Cosatu officials yesterday confirmed that its four public sector unions had formed a forum to investigate "forms of action around" issues such as job security for KwaZulu civil servants and free political activity in the province.

police who appeared to be disloyal to the IFP, were over-enthusiastic in their investigations of other policemen or had co-operated with the Goldstone Commission.

"The evidence and information suggests the involvement of the highest echelons of the KwaZulu Police" — but excluded Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During.

The report also said there were certain linkages between hit-squads and members of the SAP and SADF.

The task group noted it had received "disturbing information" about a wider hit-squad network comprising elements within the SAP and private security firms.

PORT ELIZABETH — The point of no return had been reached and the election must now take place without the Inkatha Freedom Party, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Outlining his latest approach to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said he had mooted the possibility of the IFP contesting the election in the KwaZulu/Natal region.

By not fighting the national election, the IFP could still resist its opposition to the interim constitution.

The IFP had rejected his suggestion, Mr De Klerk said.

Delegations of the African National Congress and the IFP met in Johannesburg yesterday to finalise arrangements on the issue of international mediation.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi agreed on mediation at a meeting in Durban three weeks ago. — Sapa

CT 23/3/94

Sowetan 23/3/94

# IFP's Khoza defiant

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission "can go to the nearest hell", Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal political director Themba Khoza said yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Khoza strongly denied involvement in illicit arms trafficking saying he was prepared to appear in a court of law to clear his name.

He dismissed the Goldstone Commission which named him and an IFP member, Mr Victor Ndlovu, in the "third force" report, as an anti-IFP conspiracy of State President FW de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

The commission was biased and, as in the past, he would never appear before it.

Khoza was responding to allegations last week by the Goldstone Commission that a unit of the SA Police, allegedly under the aegis of three generals, was fomenting the violence in the country. Khoza was named as a paid agent of the "third force".

Khoza said he had always worked for peace. (118)

"More than any young man of my age, I have played a distinct role in bringing about peace. I am proud of my record. It has been my bold and decisive leadership that has seen this region (the Transvaal) keep quite close to peace," Khoza said.

He added that the disclosures were aimed at neutralising those working against the election.

"It is clear to me that the effort here is to detain as many leaders of the IFP as possible in order to suppress the anti-election campaign. The entire story is made of pieces that do not belong together," said Khoza.

He was talking to his legal advisers with a view to taking action against those who made the allegations, he said.

Responding to a question about an alleged African National Congress document detailing plans to intensify unrest in KwaZulu, Khoza said the IFP had handed it to the Commission "because you do not stop putting rubbish in the bin because it stinks".

## NEWS Tension grows

# All eyes on KwaZulu document

*Sowetan 24/3/94*

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

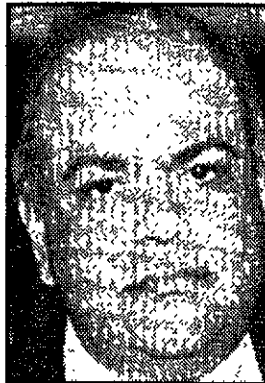
POLITICAL tension continues to build up in Natal this week, on the eve of tomorrow's launch by the African National Congress of its mass action in the province.

And at the root of the action now is the document that the Inkatha Freedom Party released on Tuesday, alleging that the ANC had devised a plan to destabilise the KwaZulu area in preparation for a seizure of power there *à la* Bophuthatswana. (IB) (IB)

The IFP has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the matter, and has also fingered Transitional Executive Council co-chairman and ANC leader Mr Pravin Gordhan as a man who can throw more light on the origins of the document.

The ANC, usually swift to respond to issues, has refused to comment on the authenticity of the document, entitled "Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer: Towards a Programme of Action in Natal".

The IFP's argument is that a campaign is being orchestrated by the ANC to destabilise KwaZulu and to make this look like a spontaneous reaction of people fed up with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rule.



Pravin Gordhan

The document, whether genuine or forged, makes interesting reading. Some of the points are:

- "Sufficient consensus now exists within the TEC for using maximum firmness for dealing with threats to a democratic transition. But we must first create conditions, primarily through mass action, heightened public awareness and work amongst KwaZulu civil servants for decisive state intervention in the bantustan."

- There exists a need "for accelerated implementation of a strategy which has as its objective the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan".

Proposals made include:

- Parts of Natal should be declared disaster areas.
- Firm subordination of SAP leadership in Natal as they "may well prove unreliable" in TEC actions.

- "Effective presence" of Umkhonto we Sizwe members to counter the training and deployment of over 5000 IFP trainees. MK has 2000 members in Natal deployed in "self defence capacity" while "several thousands informally trained SDU members (are available) as well as disposition of the TDF (Transkei Defence Force)".

- The TEC needs to assume payment of salaries of chiefs to remove "an important instrument of special control" from Buthelezi and the IFP.

- "Most critical of all is work amongst the KwaZulu civil service and efforts to win over the Zulu king. In this regard (Jacob) Zuma's diplomacy should be understood as a means to an end — the destruction of Buthelezi's political and social base.

### Tribal consciousness

"Apart from Zuma's sympathy for the incarnations and institutions of tribal consciousness, he may confuse the means as an end in itself. Approaches to the king therefore must be carefully considered and assessed and continuously orientated within the purposeful strategic framework of the liberation movement".

- Civil servants should be persuaded that "job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people's government and not by tribal despots of Buthelezi's mould".

- Even though the KwaZulu police have functioned as Buthelezi's private army, members were siding with the liberation movement. In a crisis Buthelezi "cannot take the loyalty of the KZP for granted".

- Combined mass action would produce "a situation of ungovernability".

"It is important however for this crunch moment to have an appearance of spontaneity and popular support. Direct ANC involvement must be played down."

- "Comrades within the TEC have made it clear that in conditions of growing instability or ungovernability, and partial or general uprising, or organised resistance to the imperatives of a new democratic order, that, as in Bop, decisive military steps will be taken."

So far, the TEC has already asked for action to be taken, a motion that was tabled by Gordhan. What now for KwaZulu?

(Report by Mathatha Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

# Jeers in KwaZulu as fair poll urged

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Ulundi — Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, the chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), was repeatedly jeered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday when he appealed for co-operation in the task of making a free and fair election possible.

Star 24/3/94  
He had barely begun his reply to speeches by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini when Legislative Assembly members broke out in derisive laughter and jeers.

Buthelezi had to intervene and appeal to the members to give Kriegler a fair hearing.

His intervention helped for a while only. (118)

Earlier Buthelezi had offered the IEC conditional co-operation or, from a different perspective, partial resistance.

Government school buildings would be made available but not community school buildings. Similarly, government

buildings would be made available provided they were not needed for "essential services". (118)

In a statement which drew thunderous applause, Buthelezi set the conditions for cooperation from civil servants.

Those who wished to volun-

► To Page 3

# Kriegler jeered in KwaZulu Assembly

From Page 1

teer to man polling stations would be allowed to do so, provided that they were not involved in "essential services", the danger to them was spelt out and they were made aware that the KwaZulu government would not accept any liability for anything that happened to them.

In his speech Zwelithini said, after restating his determination to establish a sovereign Zulu kingdom: "I cannot advise my people that the correct thing for them to do is to vote in the forth-

coming election."

His statement was loudly applauded.

■ The ANC accused Buthelezi yesterday of trying to plunge KwaZulu/Natal into a bloodbath, and said he had "to be stopped in his tracks", Kalzer Nyatsumba reports.

Addressing a press briefing in Johannesburg, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said it was now time the TEC took decisive action to ensure free political activity in the

province.

This, said Hadebe, would have to include a TEC/SA Government takeover of the administration of the KwaZulu government.

The public display of dangerous arms at Zwelithini's meeting in Ulundi last week indicated clearly that there was a breakdown of law and order in the homeland. (118)

Zuma said that although the ANC did not want to prescribe to the TEC, action which could be taken could include the cutting

off of funds to Buthelezi's government.

The two leaders confirmed they would lead a protest march to the C R Swart Police Station in Durban tomorrow to demand a climate of free political activity in KwaZulu/Natal.

Hadebe said that would mark the beginning of the ANC's rolling mass action to show that the overwhelming majority of Zulus wanted to vote in next month's election.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Star 24/3/94

Cape Town — An international investigation would be set in motion if ANC western Cape premier candidate Allan Boesak provided evidence supporting his allegation that Cabinet ministers stole R70 billion from

## Probe 'if Boesak has evidence'

the State, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said last night.

"I undertake that, if the ANC tells us who the guilty people

are, an international investigation team will be appointed," he told a cheering crowd of about 500 people at a meeting in Blue Downs, a coloured sub-

urb near Cape Town.

He challenged Boesak to say who these people were so that the guilty ones could be put in jail. "I predict he won't accept this challenge." — Sapa.

(Report by Lorraine Braid  
Press Gallery, Parliament)



# IFP 'could elect Viljoen'

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen could be elected to the Cabinet of national unity by IFP followers determined to vote, a new national survey by the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) has indicated.

Explaining the findings yesterday, political analyst Professor Lawrence Schlemmer said the Freedom Front was more likely to benefit from the IFP boycotting next month's elections than the National Party.

The February survey was

24/3/94  
released in Johannesburg, by Schlemmer and Professor Bill Johnson, co-ordinator of the IMD's Launching Democracy project.

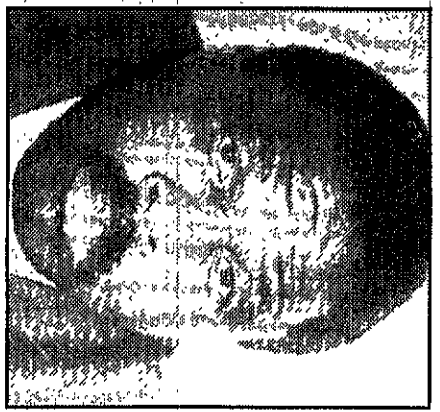
Twenty percent of the IFP supporters were likely to vote for the Freedom Front, compared with the 10,5 percent expected to back the NP.

The ANC and Democratic Party could each expect about 6 percent. But overall the ANC was still far ahead, with support of between 60 and 72 percent. — Sapa.

(David Isaacson, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

**NEWS FEATURE.** Humphrey Ndlovu predicts more bloodshed if Inkatha is sidelined

*Those who want to destroy Inkatha, those who call Chief Buthelezi a dog, we will find them one day, and you will see what we will do*



Humphrey Ndlovu

**By Glenn McKenzie**

**W**HILE ZULU warriors shouted and stabbed spears in the ground outside Rotary Hostel in Alexandra on Sunday, IFP leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu made a dire prediction. There will be war on April 27, he said.

Only minutes later, fighting began. As IFP supporters marched slowly out of the meeting grounds, shots rang out, and the marchers hit the ground. One IFP member aimed an AK-47 assault rifle at a small township home nearby.

Police quickly moved civilians and journalists out of the area. In a statement released later in the evening, Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said police had been fired upon from the hostel. Teargas and rubber bullets were used to restore order. Ndlovu claimed members of the ANC had shot at the marchers first. And while he would not deny the presence of at least one IFP gunman, he said it was not Inkatha policy to carry weapons during rallies.

Despite claims by the ANC that several people were hurt in the fighting, police said no deaths or injuries had been reported. Both ANC and IFP spokesmen agreed the prospects for peace in Alexandra looked dim. (118)

Earlier in the day, Ndlovu warned supporters to prepare for election conflict. IFP members would fight anyone who tried to "rule" them, he said. People must store food to prepare for the war.

"The English fought us and the Boers fought us. Now if Mandela wants to rule us, he will have to pass us first.

"Those who want to destroy Inkatha, those who call Chief Buthelezi a dog, we will find them one day, and you will see what we will do," said Ndlovu.

Another IFP delegate, Mr Carter Ndlovu predicted chaos: "If we don't participate in elections, you must know there will be violence. We expect fighting on that day."

**Recent attacks**

In a short interview with *Sowetan*, Ndlovu cited recent attacks on FW de Klerk as evidence that ANC members would continue "attacking the people".

"We are not stopping people to vote, but if the ANC tries to intimidate us, as we think they will, then we will retaliate." When asked if he would meet with ANC leaders to try to end the violence, Ndlovu shook his head: "I am not prepared to talk to them. My schedule is too busy. I have too many other things to do."

If the ANC wins elections, the IFP will not accept it. Elections without Inkatha would not be "free and fair", said Ndlovu. The IFP will oppose the new government.

"You will see how," he said, refusing to elaborate. Ndlovu went on to condemn the recent Goldstone Commission report suggesting IFP and police involvement in a "third force".

"I ignore him (Goldstone). He is trying to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party. We have never heard anything about General Bantu Holomisa being called to explain the violence he creates to kill us on a daily basis. I think the ANC has recruited Goldstone," said Ndlovu. The IFP leader went on to praise the South African Police for trying to prevent violence in townships in the PWV.

"How can police be doing the things that Goldstone says? Police everywhere in the world are only trying to keep peace. You know that, I know that," he said.

Only minutes before fighting broke out in Alex, Ndlovu warned of continued violence in Bekkersdal. The Internal Stability Unit should not be withdrawn there, as local peace structures have recommended, he said.

"The ISU is protecting people. If they leave, there can be no peace anywhere."

**Inkatha leader promises war**  
Sowetan 25/3/94  
STORE FOOD IFP will not accept election results:



# IFP warns as ANC marchers gather

Aug 25/3/94  
118

The Argus correspondent  
DURBAN. — The Inkatha  
Freedom Party today warned  
its supporters in townships  
throughout Natal to be on the  
alert for potential conflict  
when African National Con-  
gress supporters returned  
home from their march  
through the city centre in sup-  
port of "free and fair elections"  
in Natal/KwaZulu.

At Curries Fountain, crowds  
were streaming in for the  
march.

Danford Cloete, a spokesman  
for Durban transport, said 120  
buses had been hired by the  
ANC to transport demonstra-

Buses were picking up peo-  
ple at Phoenix, KwaMashu,  
Ntuzuma, Umlazi and Inanda.  
Traffic police manning a road-  
block at Umbumbulu Road,  
near Amanzimtoti, urged mo-  
torists to take alternative  
routes.

At Winklespruit, the road  
leading to the beach was also  
closed for a short while as a  
large crowd of Umgababa resi-  
dents got ready to come to  
Durban.

Amid a heavy police pres-  
ence, shopowners and manag-  
ers along West Street began  
erecting steel barriers on doors  
and windows and several  
moved merchandise away from  
the shop fronts.

Groups of police patrolled  
West Street as shop assistants  
began streaming home early to  
avoid the much-feared ANC  
march.

Hundreds of month-end shop-  
pers streamed along Field  
Street to catch the last few  
taxis home.

A member of the Defence  
Force was at the Clifton Pre-  
paratory School in Morningside  
and a spokesman for the school  
said troops had been "keeping  
an eye on schools" today.

With tension mounting,  
heavily armed police in ar-  
moured personnel carriers pa-  
trolled Ntuzuma, near KwaMa-  
shu.

A pall of black smoke, visi-  
ble for kilometres, hung over a  
burning barricade at a major  
intersection in Ntuzuma. A  
large group of people, many  
wearing ANC badges and  
clothes, manned the roadblock,  
turning back most cars and  
taxis.

Police repeatedly cleared  
the barricade, but as soon as  
they left, the crowd erected it  
again.  
"We're sending more police  
in," a policeman shouted to the  
crowd.  
"Then we'll kill them," came  
the answer.

(News by A. Singh, A. Cooper, L. Ngakane, S.  
Miller, V. Angamuthu, K. Ross and F. Khan, 18  
Osborne Street, Durban)

● See page 23

# Peacemaker? The records tell otherwise

(118) WM 25-30/3/94

Drew Forrest

**T**HEMBA KHOZA — named in the Goldstone Commission's latest report as a key member of the network destabilising the Reef — has been repeatedly linked to violence in the past three years.

A volatile personality equally given to ferocious outbursts against the ANC and floods of tears, Khoza is the Inkatha Freedom Party's political director on the Reef, and is said to be extremely close to IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Almost unknown before the Natal war spilled over into the Reef in mid-1990, he was Inkatha's sole public representative in the initial stages of the violence, appearing at almost every point of conflict and always in close communication with the police.

Mail & Guardian reporters saw him repeatedly at hostels during or immediately after clashes in Soweto, Thokoza and Kagiso.

In an interview in 1990, he said: "You can talk peace holding a firearm." Representing Inkatha in the first peace talks between hostel dwellers and residents in the West Rand township of Kagiso, he was said to be uninterested in negotiations. "He had to be persuaded otherwise by police," an observer said at the time.

In the Goldstone report, Khoza and another Inkatha official, Victor Ndlovu, are described as the conduit for arms provided by a "third force" network run by former Vlakplaas base chief Colonel Eugene de Kock, for use against the ANC. Khoza is said to have been given a car, and he and Ndlovu to have been given false names as informers and paid as such.

There have been persistent rumours of Khoza's links with the security forces and with Renamo. He likes to present himself as a peacemaker, but an inspection of newspaper files tells a different story:

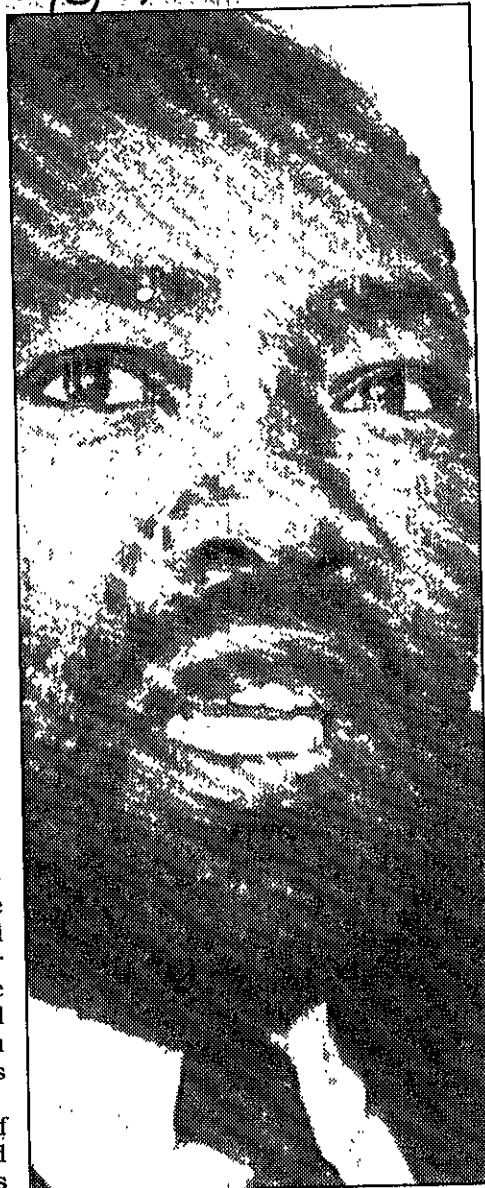
- Khoza persuaded the Inkatha leadership to open its first office outside Natal, in Johannesburg, in July 1990. Weeks later, hostel-based violence started on the Reef.

- In November 1990, eye-witnesses accused him of leading an attack and firing shots at Sebokeng hostel dwellers, who are largely Cosatu members. During the violence, in which 30 people died, police found four AK47s, an R4 rifle and an explosive device in his car, as well as a pistol on his person.

Charged with unlawful possession of firearms, he argued in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court that he had given the keys of his car to someone else — he could not say who — and that the weapons could have been placed there by the police, ANC or even Inkatha members. He was acquitted.

- In May 1992, a witness told a Goldstone Commission inquiry into train violence that Khoza had instructed Nancefield hostel residents to say nothing to police — even under torture — if they were arrested for possessing weapons or for murder. Later another witness told the inquiry that Khoza and the IFP's Humphrey Ndlovu had instigated about 8 000 Nancefield hostellers to attack ANC followers.

- In the same month, Khoza was arrested



Themba Khoza ... Repeatedly linked to violence PHOTO: RUTH MOTAU

after trying to evade policemen who wanted to search his car at a roadblock in Meadowlands.

After refusing to permit a search, he suddenly accelerated away, only stopping when he hit a sandbank. Police found nothing in his car. He was charged with reckless driving and defeating the ends of justice.

- At the 1993 trial of 32 kwaMadala hostel inmates in connection with the Boipatong massacre, a former hostel dweller testified that Khoza had told hostel residents to burn their clothes and remove all traces of blood after the massacre had taken place.

He is also said to have warned of an impending police raid on the hostel, and to have told residents to get rid of goods they had pillaged in Boipatong.

Earlier this month a kwaZulu police officer told the Goldstone Commission that Gunene Ngcobo, a suspect arrested after the Nqutu massacre, had said the massacre was planned at the Nqutu home of Chief Ngobese and finalised with Khoza.

Eleven ANC supporters died in the massacre.

Khoza has vehemently denied all the charges.



**BIG HELLO:** President De Klerk's roadshow took him to the Indian township of Phoenix, Durban, where scores of people gathered at the hospital to greet him.

## IFP warned not to derail poll

RIVERSDALE. — The Inkatha Freedom Party was heading for confrontation with the government if it tried to derail the election, Cape National Party leader Dawie de Villiers said.

Addressing a capacity audience at the Riversdale Civic Centre yesterday, he said he hoped the IFP had not chosen the route of thwarting the election.

He told at least 700 people that the election had to be got over with.

At Stilbaai earlier, Dr De Villiers said the IFP would be creating problems if it tried to disrupt the election.

While it had the option of not taking part, it was looking for trouble if it tried actively to derail the poll.

Asked later at Heidelberg what action the government would take against the IFP if it tried to disrupt the election, he said it would act only if the IFP broke the law. ARG 25/3/94

"The government will take the necessary steps to try to prevent any violence."

He said President De Klerk had urged the IFP to co-operate with the Independent Electoral Commission, but the government would "act" if the party tried to disrupt the election in Natal or elsewhere.

In Riversdale, where he was enthusiastically received, Dr De Villiers silenced the odd ANC heckler with arguments and pleas for tolerance. — Sapa.

(News C de Villiers, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)



Natal conflict ... ANC supporters run for cover as police open fire during clashes last Sunday after Inkatha members took over a kwaMashu stadium booked by the ANC

PHOTO AP

## IFP's soft underbelly targeted

Chris Louw

**R**ELENTLESS pressure is building on the KwaZulu administration to distance itself from the Inkatha Freedom Party in the run-up to the elections.

The Transitional Executive Council's strategy of isolating the kwaZulu administration from the IFP first became clear at Tuesday's TEC meeting and was confirmed by the report of a TEC task force which probed allegations of hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

The TEC called on "government departments and civil service components to ... co-operate as a means of ensuring their own futures in the implementation of the constitution for the transitional period".

It also called on the kwaZulu government, the Natal Provincial Administration "and all other administrations" to co-operate with the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African government in realising the right of all citizens to vote.

Civil servants' uncertainty about their financial future is the soft underbelly of the IFP, which for years has used patronage to maintain its hegemony. The kwaZulu government

will cease to exist the day after the April elections, depriving Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of financial control of his domain.

Fear among civil servants about their financial future has topped the governments of both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei and sparked an insurrection in Lebowa.

At least 5 000 kwaZulu civil servants marched on Ulundi on Thursday to demand pension payouts before the elections — afraid they would lose these under an ANC-dominated government.

Comprising Professor Fink Haysom, Natal attorney Howard Varney and Colonel Ivor Human, the TEC task force found evidence that kwaZulu government employees were implicated in hit squad activities against political opponents.

"The evidence and information in some cases suggests that resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Ulundi, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the department of the Chief Minister (Buthelezi)."

The task force found the kwaZulu Police "incapable of investigating cases against suspects in its own force".

Information suggested the involvement "of the highest echelons of the KZP in frustrating investigations into such activity by the South African Police and even by certain diligent investigators in the KZP".

The apprehension of suspects sought by police was deliberately obstructed. In some cases KZP assassins received salaries while any knowledge of their whereabouts was officially denied.

Hasyom, Varney and Human recommend that all KZP dockets should be immediately transferred to a hand-picked team of investigators and lawyers, assisted by recognised international policemen. The team, headed "by a respected individual" should have full access to dockets and exhibits held by the police and the attorney-general.

It recommends that all "Caprivi trainees" — KZP members trained by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi in 1986 and suspected of hit squad activity — be relieved of active duty before the election and transferred to a single venue, "as far as possible free from political violence". Firearms of all Caprivi trainees should be sent for ballistic testing and all KZP weapons should be audited.

WM 25-30/3/94 (116) (116)

## ANC, IFP youth draw closer

Vuyo Mvoko

W.M. 25/30/3/94

WHILE relations between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party continue to simmer, a bond between the youths of the two organisations is strengthening. But fears are mounting that the current tense situation in Natal might thwart the process.

Senior members of the ANC Youth League and Inkatha Youth Brigade were supposed to meet this week to discuss how to deal with violence and political intolerance and, more broadly, on a year-long joint programme of action.

The first meeting between the two organisations took place on March 4, two days after the meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his IFP counterpart, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a joint statement after that meeting, the two youth movements said they "recognised the history of the two organisations has marks of distrust, enmity and hatred", and pledged "to refrain from bellicose and unfounded utterances" against each other.

They established joint working committees that were due to make recommendations to the executive committees of the two organisations this week.

Their second meeting was scheduled to take place after a meeting between Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini last Friday. The Mandela-Zwelithini talks did not take place.

An ANCYL spokesman said the aim of this pattern was to "augment and strengthen" the talks between their leaders, and to act as an "implementing channel" of agreements reached by their leaders. The failure of the two leaders to meet derailed the process.

According to an ANCYL proposal, the start of the "Peace and Tolerance Programme" would be marked by a "Youth Sports Festival For Peace" to be held in the Durban township of Umlazi on April 4. The festival would comprise a marathon and football and netball matches between the two organisations, with prizes to be presented by the Zulu royal family. The ANCYL has also proposed a joint commemoration of June 16, as well as a huge musical bash featuring a "prominent international artist".

A Youth Brigade executive member said he could not comment on the issue. However, he said, the two youth movements were "closer than people can imagine".

# Natal election may be postponed

Spiralling violence and a recalcitrant IFP mean the elections in Natal/kwaZulu may not be possible.  
**Farouk Chothia reports**

**A**s a siege mentality gripped Umhlati and violent deaths in Natal surged this week, the prospect of any election in the province became increasingly remote.

Sources close to the Independent Electoral Commission said this week they had considered several options to combat violence. If these failed, they would postpone elections in kwaZulu/Natal.

The sources said while the IEC would try to resolve problems with the Inkatha Freedom Party through negotiations, it might be driven to more drastic options. These included the massive deployment of the South African Defence Force, cutting funding for the kwaZulu government and stripping chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

of his powers.

The feeling is that if none of this works, it may be necessary to postpone elections in kwaZulu/Natal. It cannot hold back the rest of the country. Necessary changes would be made to (electoral) laws to allow this to happen, said one source.

There is concern that if most Natal voters — comprising almost a quarter of the national voting population — do not cast their ballots, it will be difficult to declare the election as a whole, substantially free and fair.

The thinking is that rather than creating a national problem, it should be confined to Natal and left to the government, said one source.

Sources said this option was also under consideration in some ANC circles in kwaZulu/Natal, though the party publicly said this week the province would be "liberated" on April 27.

Arguments against a postponement, they said, were that it would give credence to IFP claims that the province was a separate entity and that its secessionist tendencies could gain momentum. There was also concern that a postponement could trigger violence by angry ANC supporters.

the IFP action in kwaMashu gave an ominous sign of where power now lies in the IFP. Carrying a gun, Phillip Powell — a key figure in the military training of IFP supporters (see Page 4) — was present. Lindelani Squatter band and alleged "warlord" Thomas Mandla Shabalala was also in attendance.

The ANC's candidate for the premiership in the province, Jacob Zuma, stayed away. A Zulu traditionalist with close ties to senior IFP leaders, Zuma has fought shy of all flashpoints in the province, indicating that he either does not want to antagonise the IFP or that he is being gradually marginalised in Natal.

Sources said Zuma had contacted senior IFP leaders in an unsuccessful bid to stop IFP supporters from occupying ANC-booked venues.

Against this backdrop, the ANC is moving towards a militant approach, announcing the start of a mass action campaign. Hundreds of thousands of its supporters are expected to march in Durban today to protest against the violence and to show Zulu support for elections.

The Human Rights Commission reported that 84 Natalians had been killed since the weekend, compared to the previous average of 25 a week. IEC officials say their election preparations have been severely hampered to the point where it may be impossible to set up polling booths in kwaZulu-controlled territory.

**A**t his Wednesday indaba with the KLA, Kriegler outlined a host of problems facing the IEC, including:

- The reluctance of the homeland's Department of Interior to help issue voter documents and of the Department of Justice in setting up electoral courts.
- IEC officials were being barred from schools and government buildings needed as polling booths.
- The KZP's refusal to co-operate with the IEC. Kriegler pointed out that it was the only police force in the country not serving in IEC structures.

Sources said that in kwaZulu-controlled territory one of the critical issues is that of policing jurisdiction, and that Kriegler had failed to raise this issue adequately with the KLA. "He needed to seek Buthelezi's agreement on the right of both the SAP — and more importantly the SADF — to operate freely in the homeland," said one source.

But the problems of the IEC and TEC run much deeper in Natal/kwaZulu: there they lack the power to force the SAP, let alone the KZP, to carry out their orders.

In kwaMashu last weekend, the SAP Internal Stability Unit refused to take orders from TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan and senior IEC officials, insisting it was in charge.

It was abundantly clear that the policemen and spear-wielding Inkatha supporters — who occupied the stadium

under the guise of holding a Zulu prayer meeting in defence of Zwelithini's kingdom — were colluding.

The ISU allowed the Inkatha supporters to occupy the stadium from Saturday, refusing to confiscate their weapons which included several automatic rifles — or to arrest them. As Inkatha supporters continued pouring into the stadium on the day of the ANC rally, police still refused to take action.

A Major General Bezuidenhout said he feared a retaliation from IFP supporters and did not want to put the lives of his men at risk. His position was supported by Johann Steenman, the IFP representative on the National Peace Secretariat.

By contrast, the ISU were swift to clear the stadium of alleged IFP supporters. The ISU were swift to clear the stadium of alleged IFP supporters.



NATAL

# The toughest nut

FW 25/3/94

(107) (11B)

The past 14 days must have ranked among the loneliest in the political career of KwaZulu's resilient chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Not only did his anti-April 27 general election alliance crumble before him, he has also come to believe, with probable justification, that his KwaZulu stronghold is now the primary target for destabilisation, and possibly overthrow in a South African version of the domino effect.

First Ciskei bowed to the pressure and joined the election process, then Bophuthatswana was unceremoniously reabsorbed into SA when president Lucas Mangope refused to join the party. Now it's make or break for the toughest nut — KwaZulu.

In fact the assault has already begun with Umlazi teachers, members of the African Democratic Teachers' Union and Cosatu members of the civil service threatening chaos unless their demands for pension security and the right to free political activity in KwaZulu are met.

It seems, therefore, less than coincidental that quite apart from letters of reassurance to civil servants from the KwaZulu government, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini declared what was initially interpreted as KwaZulu UDI — though later denied — last Friday.

## Trump card

While the good king may have been gazing with ill-disguised envy at the powers enjoyed by his neighbour, Swaziland's King Mswati, his statement was more likely to have been one of several measures taken by Buthelezi (who undoubtedly calls the shots with the king) and the KwaZulu government to bolster the homeland to parry the expected destabilisation onslaught.

Buthelezi justifiably sees Zwelithini as a trump card in retaining influence among the Zulus ... a card he's clearly willing to play as often as needs be.

Zwelithini's speech was delivered to Zulus outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building at Ulundi, gathered to witness the aborted meeting between the king and ANC

president Nelson Mandela. It was undoubtedly a bid to go on the offensive and spread the message that democracy and April elections have no place in KwaZulu ... a message underlined by two consecutive weekends in which armed crowds prevented ANC political meetings at townships near Durban.

The initial shock at Zwelithini's statement was rapidly replaced by confusion, as it became clear that the monarch was not talking

about secession or unilateral independence. Zwelithini claimed there had been little progress in discussions with President F W de Klerk on the role of the Zulu monarchy in SA, adding that government had denied sovereignty to the Zulu nation and would not restore a sovereign KwaZulu kingdom.

And he claimed that De Klerk's "contingency plans" for the Natal/KwaZulu region entailed the deployment of security forces "to clamp down on my people should they choose not to participate in the elections."

He exhorted all Zulus to unite and defend their freedom, saying elections under the present constitution would deny the Zulu

nation its claim to sovereignty and self-determination. "I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty to anyone who dares challenge it."

Elections under the interim constitution were a denial of the claim to sovereignty and self-determination, he said. "Under the terms of a final proposal of the South African Government, the Zulu nation and the Kingdom of KwaZulu are left at the mercy of the unitary state established by the 1993 constitution. We have reached the end of a road and are faced with the harsh reality that government cannot and will not facilitate the restoration of the



King Goodwill ... defend their freedom

sovereign kingdom of KwaZulu."

Zulus, he claimed, faced an historical dilemma of either succumbing and forever relinquishing their sovereignty or taking it upon themselves to reclaim their birthright.

But a declaration of independence or secession are unlikely. KwaZulu, with the exception of the consolidated region north of the Tugela River, is extensively fragmented. It is highly dependent on central government for funding — one estimate is that KwaZulu receives more than 75% of its revenue from central treasury (considerably more than Bophuthatswana)

The suggestion, therefore, is that Buthelezi and the king cannot go it alone. Government could simply "switch off the lights and water."

What then is the objective?

It is becoming increasingly clear that Buthelezi would settle for a delayed election in KwaZulu/Natal. Not only would it be a victory for the Inkatha cause, but it will also allow for the completion of international mediation — agreed to at the Buthelezi/Mandela Durban summit. The feeling in Inkatha circles is even if the mediation goes against them, Inkatha will have lost nothing — but if mediators find any fault with the transitional constitution, Inkatha's intransigence in sup-

porting the transitional constitution, Inkatha's intransigence in sup-



Buthelezi ... the lonely man



Welsh

# 'It's Moot too late'

CT 26/3/94

**WASHINGTON.** — President Bill Clinton has disclosed here that he has tried personally to encourage Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in South Africa's transition — and he believes there is still time for the Inkatha leader to do so.

"It's not too late," he said. The president, taking questions at a White House press conference, did not say when he had been in contact with Chief Buthelezi.

His statement late on Thursday reflects Washington's anxiety that there should be no serious hitches in the last few weeks before the election. Mr. Clinton said he was "immensely hopeful" about the chances for a successful transition to democracy in South Africa.

"I have tried once to encourage Chief Buthelezi to join in the political

process and I still have some hope that he will. It's not too late," he said. "They (SA negotiators) have made real efforts to accommodate the conflicts between national and local interests."

"I think we will be celebrating in late April a great triumph of democracy, of the first non-racial multi-racial democratic process in South Africa."

And yesterday the leader of a US congressional delegation to South Africa, Mr. John Lewis, who arrives in SA on Monday, said he hoped to persuade Chief Buthelezi to take part in the elections even at this late stage.

"What is happening in South Africa will determine the future of democracy in other emerging countries," he said from Washington yesterday.

Mr. Lewis denied the mission had been left too late.

Following the Independent Electoral Commission's announcement that it had found that electioneering in KwaZulu would be frustrated with a "grave risk of violence", President F.W. de Klerk yesterday announced he had made an appointment to meet KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi.

He declined to disclose details about the meeting. Mediation to try to break the constitutional deadlock could begin as early as Monday, according to international mediator Prof Karl Kevenhorster, who arrives from Germany today.

The ANC yesterday called for the "extension of special votes to all voters in Natal/KwaZulu", charging the KwaZulu government might prevent people from going to the polls.

And the Natal region of the DP yesterday called on the IEC and the IEC

to postpone the April elections because of continuing violence and unrest in the area.

The DP call was echoed by Stellenbosch political analyst Professor Willem Pretorius, who said yesterday that postponing regional elections in

## VIOLENCE MARS END OF NATAL MARCH

— Page 2

KwaZulu/Natal was one of the few options remaining to avert a bloody showdown in the province.

A possible way of defusing the crisis would be to continue the countrywide elections for the central parliament but to delay the KwaZulu/Natal poll for the regional parliament, he said.

DALE GRANGER reports that the IEC in a statement yesterday said the situation in KwaZulu/Natal was "too volatile" and voting stations may have to be established on the borders of the region. The statement accompanied the release of a provisional list of 5 374 polling stations for next month's election.

The release of details of the polling stations — which will be published in the Government Gazette today — comes two weeks after the deadline set in January under the Electoral Act stipulating that the polling stations be published 45 days before the election on April 27.

IEC spokeswoman Ms Niki Moore said the list had been held back due to the explosive situations in Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and KwaZulu/Natal.

She said the IEC was forced to release only a provisional list of polling booths due to the problem of intimidation and harassment in KwaZulu and Natal.

The IEC had concluded that ● Only severely limited balloting in KwaZulu/Natal would be possible, and

● The IEC's ability to organise, administer and conduct free and fair elections in the province will remain severely curtailed.

Ms Moore said some owners of polling station venues had not yet been approached by the IEC but owners would be indemnified against potential damage caused to their properties.

● In the Western Cape, 460 polling stations were listed to cater for the area's 2.4 million voters. More could be added.

● The military wings of the ANC and the PAC yesterday ruled out military intervention in KwaZulu, saying the situation had to be resolved politically. — Own Correspondent. Political Staff



## IFP ordered to pay Holomisa

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rand Supreme Court yesterday ordered the IFP to pay Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei a record R60 000 for defaming his good name. (IBX/03)

Gen Holomisa had brought an urgent application against the IFP and two of its leaders for alleging that he was responsible for the violence in the country.

The IFP Youth Brigade also claimed at the November 1992 press conference that Gen Holomisa had masterminded the killing of Inkatha leaders. — Sapa

CT 26/3/94

# KwaZulu on the agenda

Star 26/3/94

(113)

**CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH**  
**KWAZULU** Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi meets President de Klerk this weekend for talks that will weigh heavily on contingency planning for strife-torn KwaZulu/Natal.

The discussions come amid increasing Government speculation that an election in the region could be postponed.

However, ANC sources have indicated that they are not prepared to contemplate this.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has announced that it is going ahead with preparations for an election in the province on April 27.

## Steps

SACP chairman and Transitional Executive Council (TEC) delegate Joe Slovo said yesterday there was "no possibility" of postponing the election in KwaZulu/Natal.

The TEC would have to consider what steps it could take to ensure that the election was free and fair in the region.

A well-placed Government source said that if the situation in the province got "desperate enough" this could be an option, rather than having the entire election coloured by problems in KwaZulu/Natal.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee earlier rejected a propos-

## Four die in wake of march

**GREG KNOWLER and KAREN JACKMAN**

**DURBAN** — Violence erupted in Bhambayi squatter camp near Durban last night just hours after an ANC march through the city's centre broke up.

Four bodies were found on Bhambayi's soccer field and several shacks in the Inkatha Freedom Party

See picture Page 2

"Greens" stronghold were set alight, violence monitors said.

A member of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit was shot in the hand while investigating a report about the bodies.

After the march, a bus ferrying ANC supporters home to KwaMashu was stoned after one of the

TO PAGE 2

al by De Klerk that ballot papers for the region be reprinted to include the party's name.

De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela met on Thursday after it became

clear that steps would almost certainly have to be taken to ensure free voting in the province.

The two apparently disagreed on the need to send administrators in to take over the KwaZulu government.

Sources have indicated that a large troop deployment is planned for trouble spots in the province next week and that future options might include declaring a state of emergency in the region.

Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported that the military wings of the ANC and PAC had ruled out military intervention, saying the situation had to be resolved politically.

## Thrust

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda and PAC political commissar Daniel Romero said they did not foresee the situation deteriorating to such an extent that it warranted military intervention.

It has been speculated that special voting provisions could be extended to KwaZulu/Natal to allow voters who fear going to polling stations an opportunity to cast their ballots.

The toughest decision for De Klerk will be acting against the KwaZulu administration. This will be the central thrust of his discussions with Buthelezi at an undisclosed venue

TO PAGE 2

## KwaZulu

this weekend.

De Klerk said on Thursday that his main task in meeting Buthelezi would be to "prevent painful action being taken in his territory".

A source said De Klerk would "read the riot act" to Buthelezi.

Although ANC and Government sources have refused to disclose what steps could be taken within KwaZulu, it is evident that should free voting be impossible troops could be deployed.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said this week after returning from addressing a hostile

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that free electioneering would not be possible in the province unless "appropriate political and governmental action" was taken to obtain the co-operation of the homeland's government. (113)

"To conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in the province as a matter of urgency," Kriegler said.

It is understood that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has yet to reply to a letter from Mandela proposing that they meet.

# Chief warns on 'invasion'

CT 26/3/94

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — With the TEC likely to call this week for the deployment of troops in Natal/KwaZulu's strife-torn townships, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that he would regard any such move as an invasion.

The TEC's management committee will discuss today the deteriorating situation in the region, where more than 120 lives have been lost since last Friday.

The ANC will table a demand that troops be deployed immediately to ensure free political activity.

President F W de Klerk confirmed after a meeting here with Chief Buthelezi that the government was preparing to increase the security force presence in strife-torn townships.

Meanwhile, the family home of the ANC's deputy secretary-general and candidate for regional premier, Mr Jacob Zuma, was attacked and burnt to the ground at Nkandla, south of Ulundi, on Saturday night, after alleged threats by IFP members.

No one was hurt in the raid, but the entire complex of rondavels was destroyed.

Mr Zuma, who was in Durban at the time, linked the attack to King Goodwill Zwelethini's proclamation of a Zulu sovereign state last week and bogus ANC pamphlets calling for the people to replace the king with Mr Zuma.

## Independence

Mr Zuma said he and the ANC leadership were still loyal to the king, but it was "unfortunate" that the king had become involved in politics.

ANC sources said the king's symbolic declaration of independence in Ulundi marked the beginning of the latest upsurge of violence.

Meanwhile, the organisation claimed the march by more than 50 000 ANC supporters through central Durban on Friday was proof that the majority of Zulus wanted the poll.

It has made a strong call for military action in KwaZulu in the face of threats by Inkatha to disrupt the election.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa warned that the organisation would escalate its rolling mass action until it has obtained its demand for free political activity.

Mr Zuma said that the occupation of stadiums and the increased violence was enough justification for the SADF to be deployed in the region this week.

"It is important for people who want to vote to be given protection. If the TEC does not act we may end up with chaos," he said.

When Mr De Klerk told a joint press conference with Chief Buthelezi after their meeting at Kings' House that the government's contingency plan had been discussed, Chief Buthelezi cut in abruptly and warned that the deployment of troops would be seen as an invasion.

But Mr De Klerk said he was confident that Chief Buthelezi's administration was committed to allowing the election to take place in the territory.

A "mechanism" involving the SA and KwaZulu governments and the Independent Electoral Commission was set up to "search for solutions to the practical problems (of) holding an election in KwaZulu".

TEC  
SADF  
11B  
to



# 10,000's march:



UNITED: Some of the thousands of IFP supporters who marched in Johannesburg today.

# Death in the streets



DEATH SCENE: Bodies and traditional weapons litter the pavement outside the African National Congress headquarters in downtown Johannesburg today after unknown gunmen opened fire from the building on passing Zulu IFP supporters who had gathered to protest against next month's elections.

**The Argus Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Several people were shot dead in Johannesburg's central business district today when gunfire echoed through the streets as more than 40 000 Zulu royalists marched on the library gardens.

At least eight people were shot dead near the Johannesburg station at noon. Another eight people lay wounded on the pavement outside the station.

Witnesses said the casualties had all been shot at close range. At least 12 other people were killed as the Zulus, armed with traditional weapons, made their way from as far afield as Natal to Johannesburg for a rally in support of King Goodwill Zwelithini's demands for a sovereign kingdom.

Streets were cordoned off, helicopters circled overhead, and police and Defence Force members took up positions. Gunshots were heard throughout the morning. Shopowners closed their doors, traffic was disrupted, and pedestrians scattered for cover.

Two bodies were seen being carried from the library gardens.

Four witnesses claimed that a white man ran through the crowd in the gardens firing at random. Three construction workers, one of whom helped to carry a dead man out of the crowd, said the man wore a bullet-proof vest and had used a pump-action gun. Police could not confirm the report.

A man was shot dead near a cafe. At 11.30am, gunfire was reported outside ANC headquarters in Plein Street. Reporters and ANC spokesman Vusi Gunene said one person was killed and several were wounded.

Mr Gunene said that the ANC office was under siege and shots were being fired outside the building. He said it was not clear who had been shooting.

At least one SADF member was shot and wounded during the morning's chaos in the city centre. Sirens wailed as ambulances ferried the injured to hospital.

The ANC regional offices in Jeppe Street were surrounded as well as the IEC building near the Carlton Centre. By noon, phalanxes of marchers were still converging on the city from Alexandra and Soweto.

At least five people were shot dead and eight wounded when Zulu marchers engaged African National Congress security guards at ANC head office in Plein Street.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there had been "attempts by armed men to enter the building. Security guards at Shell House fired warning shots in the air but were forced to open fire in self defence."

Meanwhile in Natal three people were shot dead and 18 seriously wounded when a bus was ambushed at Tongaat early today by men who emerged from bushes and sprayed the bus with bullets.

Police said that at least 62 people had died in Natal violence since Friday.

See page 3  
 News by M. Schneidman and L. Elias. (A) Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, and A. Smith and S. Miller, 18 Orange Street, Durban.



ANC, IFP blame each other for the mayhem

# Accusations fly in carnage aftermath

BY KAZIER NYATSUMBA and JOVIAL RANTAO

The ANC and the IFP blamed each other yesterday for the carnage that followed yesterday's march in support of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his demands for a sovereign Zulu monarchy.

President de Klerk blamed organisers of the march and said insufficient care had been taken to prevent violence and discipline the marchers.

At a press conference yesterday, the ANC strongly denounced the incidents of violence, describing them as part of a general campaign to destabilise the PWV and endanger free and fair elections in the province.

ANC leaders said information they had received on Sunday evening — which they had duly passed on to SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe

**BOTH parties claim they had information of planned disruptions before the march, and this had been handed to the police**

and PWV regional commissioner Major-General Koos Calitz — suggested that the organisation's regional and national offices were targets of the march.

ANC leaders Thabo Mbeki, Penuel Maduna, Patrick "Teror" Lekota and Tokyo Sexwale told the press conference that security personnel at their regional and national offices had shot in self-defence at a group of Zulus who had tried to gain entry into the offices.

The ANC held both IFP regional leaders and Calitz and his officers responsible for what

happened.

At an IFP press conference, IFP Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza alleged that Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers had been infiltrated into Zulu marchers and were the ones who started shooting.

"I received information on Sunday night about the ANC's plan and passed the information to the SAP and the SADF," Khoza said. Initial information was that MK cadres would wear brown SADF uniform and masquerade as soldiers.

"What happened today was not a mistake. It was a deliberate, calculated assassination of people who were here to support democracy," Khoza said.

IFP Transvaal chairman Humphrey Ndlovu, speaking at the scene of the shooting, said Zulu leaders would meet soon to decide their next step. The IFP, he said, would lay a formal complaint with the police.

Revolution, Ndlovu warned, should be expected. "We know what we'll do. It won't end today," he said.

President de Klerk requested a full criminal investigation into the incidents.

"There can be no excuse at this critical stage in the political process for provocative and potentially violent actions such as we have seen today. It not only endangers the election and reform process, but also the very fabric of society," De Klerk said.

Calm before the storm... first appeared relatively peaceful, but the mood soon changed when sniper fire and the heavy thud of stun grenades ripped across Library Gardens.

PICTURES: DUF DU TOIT



Six months ago, with a letter in his hand and peace in his heart, Magazime Dhlomo walked into Sealy Hostel in a successful effort to end the hostel wars that had claimed more than 50 lives.

Yesterday Dhlomo, a shield and a spear in hand and sadness and anger in his heart, stood in the Library Gardens, sipped his soft drink and shook his head.

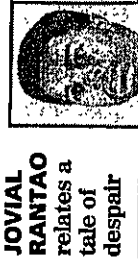
"I cannot speak peace now... he said. "How can I? My aunt's son has been shot dead by people firing from these buildings. At this moment I don't see the need to speak peace."

An Induna from Jeppe Hostel, Dhlomo did not know how he could tell his family that he was preaching peace on the Reef while his son had been killed.

"I have to go and bury him in Nkamla, KwaZulu, and I don't know what I'll say to his parents."

It was a sad day for Dhlomo and a sadder one for peace. Before the shooting at the Library Gardens, where Dhlomo had gone to show support for his

## Induna cannot speak of peace as the bullets fly



**JOVIAL RANTAO relates a tale of despair**

King Goodwill Zwelithini, he was hopeful that the Hostel Peace Initiative, which he started with the Methodist Church's the Rev Myume Dandala, would succeed.

His hopes were dashed by the bullets which echoed through downtown Johannesburg yesterday.

"I've lost hope in negotiations. Yesterday, ideas of peace lay in ruins. Hostel inmates — Dhlomo included — were incensed and seeking revenge."

As Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu of the IFP Transvaal leadership arrived at the Library Gardens, Dhlomo shook his head again.

"I've got nothing more to say," he said. "It's back to square one now..."

## Chaos sends shares into tailspin

Prices of top-quality shares dropped sharply on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in thin trading yesterday.

Big losses were shown by Malbak shares which dropped 11.4 percent. C.G. Smith shares fell 7.1 percent and De Beers shares lost 4.6 percent of their value. Plate Glass, Sappi, Kloof and Absa shares also closed more than 4 percent down on the day.

The cold share index closed 4.2 percent lower, the industrial share index 2.3 percent down and the all share index 2.8 percent lower.

Dealers said the market had been affected by political factors, including reports of violence in Johannesburg.

They described the selling as 'nervous' but indicated that the selling had come from a limited number of investors. — Staff Reporter

# ANC-Inkatha mediation starts soon, say planners

INTERNATIONAL mediation between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — and possibly government — to resolve constitutional disagreements was expected to begin soon after Easter, sources involved in the planning said yesterday.

April 5 had been suggested as a starting date.

The ANC and Inkatha announced a week ago that they had struck a deal on mediation, but said details would be released only once mediators had been informed of the package.

Former British foreign secretary David Carrington and former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger would head the mediation team.

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said: "I don't expect international mediation to start before Easter but as soon as possible thereafter."

A date would be announced once the "very, very busy" mediators had reorganised their international work schedules, he said.

The purpose of the mediation is to

DAVID GREYBE

seek an inclusive constitutional settlement.

The ANC and Inkatha said they hoped government would join in, and dispatched mediation committee co-chairmen Jacob Zuma of the ANC and Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha to brief government negotiators.

However, a diplomatic source said he was not sure that the mediation would get off the ground before the elections.

Neither side had agreed fully to the terms of reference for mediation.

"My sense is that international mediation won't get off the ground," he said.

Although government and the ANC were determined to go ahead with the elections from April 28-28, it seemed that Inkatha negotiators wanted the elections postponed while mediation ran its course.

Some of the mediators had let it be known that they would come to SA only once the terms of reference had been agreed, and that they were not

prepared — as some negotiators expected — to sort out disagreements between the ANC and Inkatha on the terms of reference, the source said.

"According to my information, there has been agreement only on the names of the mediators.

"They are deadlocked on the exact terms of reference."

He said one of the nominated mediators, Paul Kevenhorster of Germany, had "jumped the gun" with his arrival in SA at the weekend.

Kevenhorster said in an interview after he arrived that the interim constitution was not a federal one, as found in Europe.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday that there would be a public announcement on the commencement of mediation only when the two sides' principals had given the go-ahead.

He declined to say whether the ANC national working committee had discussed the matter, or to comment on the claims of outstanding problems on the terms of reference.

Report by D Graybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.



# Zulu's death as

Sowetan 29/12/94

# Zulu's march

**A**T LEAST 25 people died in the violence that erupted during a march in Johannesburg yesterday by about 10 000 armed supporters of the Zulu King. Hundreds of others were injured.

The city came to a standstill and blood flowed as battles raged between the marchers and security personnel at the African National Congress headquarters in Plein Street.

A spokesman for the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose members were among the marchers, said 15 IFP members were killed by ANC security personnel.

The IFP claims snipers shot at marchers from buildings surrounding the Johannesburg Gardens. This was confirmed by a peace monitor.

Businesses in the central business district and surrounding areas closed their premises and sent

employees home.

Scores of people were injured when the impis went on the rampage attacking passerby individuals.

Hospitals in Johannesburg reported chaos as the injured streamed in with gunshot wounds and other injuries.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the marchers tried to storm the ANC headquarters and were fired on in self-defence.

Police kept a low profile throughout the morning as marauding mobs robbed pedestrians, smashed their bags and beat them up.

Police said they could confirm 13 deaths in the city centre.



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Widespread harassment of journalists was reported. Two of them were shot and wounded. They were taken to hospital. *Son etan* staffer Ike Motsapi was hit with an iron bar near the Library Gardens.

Eight bodies were found near Shell House after shots were fired there.

**Counting the cost**

- Marchers: 10 000
- Deaths: 15 IFP in CBD 6 in Soweto
- 14 non-IFP in CBD
- Injuries: over 400 treated at Hillbrow, Johannesburg and Baragwanath hospitals
- Loss in revenue: R5-million

Dr. Antoine Geldenhuys, director of the National Peace Secretariat, and Mr. Rupert Loumer, director of the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat, were trapped in the midst of a stampeding crowd but managed to escape without being seriously injured.

● See Pages 2, 3 and 6.



A policeman lifts a blanket covering the body of an Inkatha Freedom Party marcher outside the African National Congress' headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday. At least 15 people were killed and several injured during the shootout near the ANC building. PIC: PAT SEBOKO



# IFP to blame for carnage

Sowetan 29/2/194

By Lulama Luti, Mathatha Tsedu and Sapa

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel has lashed out at the Inkatha Freedom Party saying it was responsible for the carnage in Johannesburg's city centre yesterday.

Kriel said the IFP's excuse that the meeting, from which the violence erupted, was a gathering of Zulus and not an IFP meeting ought to be dismissed as a transparent political ploy.

"It is clear that the meeting was held to promote IFP political objectives. The presence of IFP leaders emphasised it was the IFP which had to be responsible for the violence.

"IFP leaders and other organisers should have foreseen the possibility of violence, especially in the light of the present volatile political situation and they should have taken the necessary steps to prevent bloodshed," said Kriel in a statement.

He said yesterday's deaths were yet another warning that political intolerance and lack of control over supporters were the single biggest threat to free and fair elections.

He called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate yesterday's incidents "to establish precisely what the trigger causes were".

The Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday it deplored the loss of black life and said the events showed the tribalism that the Black Consciousness Movement had been wanting to eradicate was rearing its head and showing its dangerous nature.

Deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe said the way forward was to revisit proposals for international mediation that would not only look at resolving the issues around Inkatha and the ANC, but guiding the drawing up of a constitution.

Democratic Party leader in the Transvaal Mr Tony Leon said the ANC and IFP should stop and consider the catastrophic consequences of their violence.

In a statement, Leon said: "All parties should now consider the national interest of this country before pushing South Africa over the precipice into a Bosnian-type civil war."

(M Tsedu and L Luti 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg and A Thömsom, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

# IFP vows it will avenge 15 deaths

Sowetan

29/2/194

## SUPPORTERS AMBUSHED

### Snipers lay in wait for marchers:

who they were.

Ndlovu said a Mr Chonco of Msinga in Natal was shot dead while walking along Bree Street.

According to Ndlovu three other people were shot dead along Jeppe and Von Wielligh Streets in the city centre.

He said during the shooting that occurred at the Library Gardens, where the marchers had gathered, a white man opened fire killing four people instantly.

He said the shooting at the Library Gardens had been a well planned act,

with snipers in surrounding buildings. IFP official Mr Themba Khoza said the IFP had received information that MK cadres were to infiltrate the march and start "shooting randomly".

Addressing a group of supporters Khoza said "the war has just begun" and urged them to go back and decide on the next steps to be taken.

Khoza and Ndlovu lashed out at alleged police complicity with the ANC, saying the Zulus had only themselves to fall back on for safety and security.

By Lulama Luti and Mzimasi Ngudle

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday vowed to avenge the deaths of at least 15 IFP supporters allegedly shot by African National Congress members.

This came in the aftermath of a march through the city centre by supporters of the Zulu monarch which ended in a bloodbath with at least 25 people killed and others injured.

Transvaal IFP chairman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon that four IFP supporters were kidnapped and were still being held at the ANC's headquarters in Shell House, Plein Street.

Ndlovu vowed that the Zulus would retaliate and that no other organisation would hold a rally in the city unless it was "powerful".

He said seven IFP members were shot dead near Shell House. He could not say

# NEWS Mandela, FW, Buthelezi, Zwelithini meet • War has just begun — Khoza

(11B)

## 4-way summit to break logjam

A TOP-LEVEL meeting involving State President Mr FW de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is on the cards.

Teams representing the three parties were meeting yesterday afternoon to set up the four-way summit.

"Preparations for the summit are in progress," a spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's office said.

Meyer was involved in discussions with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The Transitional Executive Council's management committee adjourned early yesterday afternoon to allow participants to take part in planning meetings.

A TEC management committee source said the discussions were one prong of a two-pronged strategy to ensure there were free and fair elections in

Natal-KwaZulu. The other was security force action.

The Mandela-De Klerk-Buthelezi-Zwelithini summit will be the first face-to-face meeting of the four leaders.

Meanwhile, the joint administrators of Ciskei yesterday announced the appointment of a council of advisers to assist them in governing the territory.

The Reverend BB Finca and Mr P van R Goosen said in a statement the councillors had been allocated various departments of state.

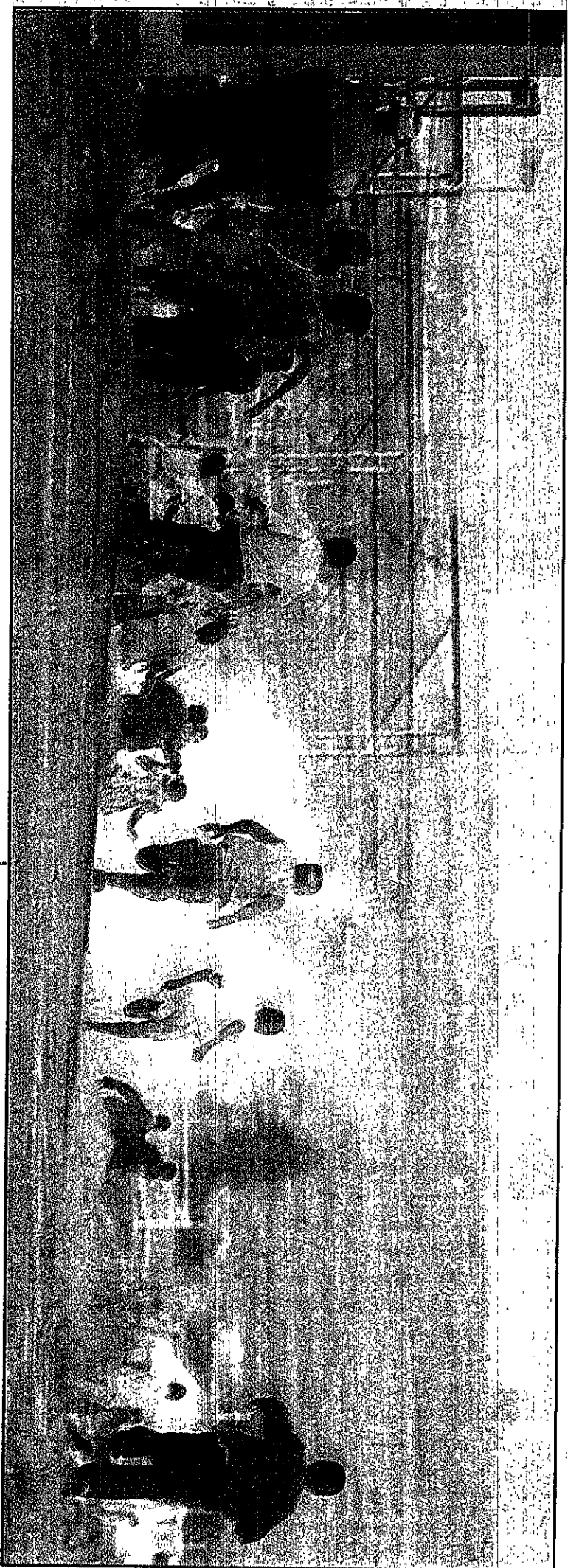
They were named as Ms LB Ngwangi (education and culture; health, welfare and population development); Mr HKV Stwisa (internal affairs and land tenure; post and telecommunications; foreign affairs); Mr WF Jurgens (justice; police; prisons); Mr MG Mganu (public works; manpower; rural development; agriculture) and Mr HJ Lombard (finance; transport; office of the auditor-general).

The administrators said the intention was not to create a new cabinet.



A pillar of the negotiators with an Inkatha Freedom Party marshal, telling him to control the marshals outside the library, Mandela in Johannesburg. More pictures on page 14.

PICT: PAI/STREKO



Uneasy streets . . . residents face police teargas as dusk falls on a day of heavy tension in Dube, Soweto, yesterday. Gunfire and stonings followed Monday's march by Zulu royalists in central Johannesburg which ended in bloodshed. PICTURE: GARY BERNARD

## IFP organised city meetings - claim

BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON

The death toll from the violence in Johannesburg on Monday has increased to at least 53, police said yesterday.

Both the police and the Goldstone Commission are investigating the mayhem, amid mounting evidence that the initial meeting was organised by the IFP. Police said marches by the

ANC Youth League and two unions had been planned for today, but spokesmen for the organisations could not confirm this. Regional Commissioner Major-General Koos Calitz banned the meetings in advance.

The IFP insisted yesterday that Monday's gathering had been organised by "the Zulu people". Acting city secretary Geri

Marras said an application for permission to hold the meeting was received last Wednesday on an IFP letterhead, apparently signed by IFP West Rand chairman Humphrey Ndlovu.

Sapa reports that the letter was delivered by hand and it requested permission for the gathering of 20 000 people from 9 am to 2 pm at Library Gardens.

## Youths taunt hostel dwellers

STAFF REPORTER

About 200 youths, angered by the violence flowing from the Zulu royalist march in Johannesburg on Monday, gathered for 3½ hours outside the Dube Hostel in Soweto last night.

The youths, armed with sticks and knobkerries, gathered at the hostel at around 5 pm, taunting hostel dwellers.

Members of the Internal Stability Division (ISD) guarding the nearby Dube railway station rushed to the scene, police spokesman Major Hermann Oosthuizen said last night.

Oosthuizen denied earlier reports by Peace Action spokesmen that three people had been injured by the ISD when buckshot was fired into the crowd,

saying no shot had been fired.

He said the arrival of 50 trainee peace monitors had not helped the situation as they had impeded police trying to arrest some of the chanting youths.

He said the crowd was persuaded to disperse by members of the Greater Soweto Peace Committee's executive, which had been meeting nearby.

TEC resolves to take strong action in KwaZulu/Natal

# Buthelezi's warning

Star 30/3/94

**GRAND summit between South Africa's 'big four' has been postponed at Zulu king's insistence**



BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and CHRIS WHITFIELD

With a crackdown on political violence sweeping KwaZulu/Natal imminent, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of a "final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation" if the election is not postponed.

The Transitional Executive Council last night authorised tough security action — including intensified security operations and the declaration of an effective state of emergency — in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure that next month's election does go ahead in the strife-torn province.

The focus for action against the violence had shifted to the TEC after today's scheduled summit — which would have brought King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk together for the first time — was postponed. This was done at the king's insistence and the meeting might now take place sometime next week.

The TEC, in a signal to those intent on disrupting the election in Natal, last night resolved that "intensified security operations" were now necessary to secure the safety of those who wanted to exercise their right to vote in the country's first all-race election. These would be undertaken in co-operation with the SA Government and the security forces.

Other steps — to be implemented "as soon as may be necessary" — would include a declaration of a state of emergency or proclamation of un-

► To Page 3



## Buthelezi's 'final struggle'

Star 30/3/94

◀ From Page 1

rest areas, possibly across the entire province. The measures would be designed not to interfere with normal electioneering in the weeks that lie ahead.

In another 'step bound to increase the stakes as the country heads towards a new dispensation he cannot stomach, Buthelezi yesterday also called for April 27 — one of the three scheduled election days — to be a "national Zulu day of mourning" for those who died in the Johannesburg carnage on Monday. Buthelezi placed the blame for this violence squarely on the ANC, and moved to rally Zulus behind the king.

The ANC yesterday said the bloodbath in Johannesburg had been the inevitable outcome of the IFP's "insane" determination to scupper the election.

The events in the city appeared to have hardened ANC attitudes towards shifting the election date — spokesmen were adamant yesterday it would not happen — while Government sources indicated that they believed it was now critical to get the election over with.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" that the election would go ahead throughout the country on the days agreed upon.

A Government spokesman last night announced the postponement of the summit scheduled for today. Chief among the Zulu king's reasons for delaying the meeting was the need to bury the dead from Monday's killings. He also cited the fact that it was a "holy week".

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler has said that a free and fair election might be possible in Natal.

A task group had been formed after a meeting between IEC members and representatives of the KwaZulu and South African governments. It would report back on April 5.

Fear in the city ... anxious passers-by wait for the all-clear from police after an attack on the ANC headquarters in Plein Street, Johannesburg, sent them scurrying for cover yesterday.

PICTURE GREG MARINOVICH

# How Buthelezi planned to avoid democracy

Bisew 30/3/94  
(11B)

**GERHARD MARÉ and  
GEORGINA HAMILTON**

SEVEN years ago, we concluded our book on Inkatha. An Appetite for Power, with the following words:

"While some care has been taken in the past to balance the clearly ethnic Zulu appeals, the dramatically more prominent role that King Goodwill Zwelithini is being allowed to play on the Natal political stage has swung the balance towards regional and 'Zulu' consolidation. In some of his pronouncements, King Goodwill has displayed a level of antagonism towards non-Zulus that cannot but inflame even further tensions created and maintained by apartheid . . . (This) does not bode well for the future."

The future has arrived. From its formation in 1975 as the Inkatha Liberation Movement, Inkatha leaders have appealed to an ethnically exclusive constituency.

Its thrust was to consolidate political power in the KwaZulu/Natal region, rather than just within the bantustan. This thrust towards consolidation rested firmly on the legitimacy that Zwelithini gave to it, and to Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "traditional prime minister to the Zulu nation".

The legitimacy was based on the continuities of a "Zulu nation" that had claims to the region, and that had its own "traditional" power

structures. "Tradition", in the Inkatha version, has always meant loyalty to chiefs, to Buthelezi himself, and to the king.

Within this view of the world, bodies like the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC were portrayed as being led by non-Zulus. In other words, all organisations that had a national thrust were outside the ethnic fold.

The issues that have become flash-points in politics since 1973 are exactly those that have come under Inkatha's control as governing party within a bantustan. After 1976, housing, education, policing, township administration and so on became points of struggle.

Violence flared up regularly from the mid-1980s, undoubtedly aided directly and indirectly by organs established by the central state to fight off "the total onslaught". The pattern had been set. The co-operative structures between central government and the bantustans had been set in place. The UDF in Natal never seemed to have the strategy to undermine Inkatha's control — nor a clear alternative to its ethnic mobilisation. Instead, violent confrontation carried the day.

This is the larger context within which to ask the question: "What does Buthelezi want?" At the most general level it is easy to answer: he

wants to maintain and extend power. More difficult is to say how he is going to achieve it when every opinion poll shows support for Buthelezi personally (and for the Inkatha Freedom Party generally) is a considerable way off achieving that goal.

We should, however, note the unpredictable status of opinion polls in these elections, and the undoubted effect that people's real and imagined fears of intimidation and persecution will have. It has been pointed out that with Inkatha and the king calling for an election boycott and with the political intolerance in the region, every person who walks into a polling booth in certain "Inkatha areas" will not have cast a secret vote, but a vote against the boycott.

Buthelezi has relied fairly consistently on structures dominated by chiefs. That is what the bantustan system amounted to — a creation of apartheid to allow "tradition" to dominate all political processes.

These "traditional" roles — now supported, along with democracy, by every party that has pronounced on the issue — do not depend for their

existence and claims to power on the popular will. They are, furthermore, male dominated, apply only to part of the population, discriminate against people living in rural areas, and are highly inefficient and frequently corrupt.

What better form of government to retain when it is clear that you are going to lose an election?

It still leaves the question as to how Buthelezi hopes to achieve such a level of government when the major structures agreed upon in negotiations will undoubtedly be democratically elected.

The strategy is that of arguing for the legitimate existence, and recreation, of the "Zulu kingdom" based on the prior existence and the colonial destruction of such a policy. Within this argument the role of the king is central, along with the undefined (but generally accepted) notion of the "Zulu nation", and a "government to the Zulu nation", namely the KwaZulu government and Legislative Assembly.

From the start of negotiations Buthelezi stayed out, not only in his personal capacity, but as prime minister to the king and the Zulu nation. He said he would not participate until the political claims of those elements had been acknowledged. The second part of the strategy

was to call for a single-stage process of drawing up a constitution, in which all parties present would have a say, and in which it was hoped that the major elements of Inkatha and "Zulu nation" demands would be included. The two-stage process that was accepted, with the prior election of a constituent assembly that would serve as a test of popular support, meant that the part played by Inkatha and its minor allies would carry less weight.

Inkatha and its spokesmen have not, however, stayed out of negotiations, they have just not followed the central route through the World Trade Centre. Through bluster, through ultimatums, through stalling and delaying, and through the threat of violence Inkatha has gained considerable concessions.

Except, that is, the most important one — acceptance of the political package that hinges around the "Zulu nation", the king, a territory, and a government, the KwaZulu government, dominated by chiefs.

□ This is an edited version of an article to be published in *Work in Progress*.

□ Maré is a lecturer at the Centre for Industrial and Labour Studies at Natal University, Durban, and author of books on Inkatha. Hamilton is a freelance journalist and author.

LETTERS



# TEC calls for 'emergency' in KwaZulu

Bl Day 30/3/94

TIM COHEN, ADRIAN HADLAND and DAVID GREYBE

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday vowed to fight the ANC "to the finish" unless the elections were postponed as the Transitional Executive Council recommended emergency measures in KwaZulu/Natal.

A state of emergency encompassing the whole of Natal and KwaZulu would be proclaimed by the President within the next few days, the TEC agreed.

The declaration, accompanied by the incremental deployment of SADF troops, was intended to halt the escalation of violence in the region as well as ensure free and fair elections next month.

However, a government spokesman warned against hasty action, saying the TEC "should rather wait for the outcome of the summit meeting between leaders that is definitely taking place next week".

The meeting between President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, had been due to start today. It was postponed at the king's request and will now take place next week. This came after a flurry of telephone calls between the leaders yesterday following Monday's mayhem in Johannesburg.

In an uncompromising statement Buthelezi referred to the killings outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters as the "Shell House massacre... paralleled only by police action at Sharpeville".

"The Shell House massacre shows that we have now entered a final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation, unless there is an extension of the voting date deadline to enable a negotiated settlement regarding the question of Zulu

sovereignty to be worked out before elections take place," he said. Buthelezi said he could not stand before his king and report that as chief minister and Inkatha leader, he had taken no action other than calling for an inquiry.

He had reports of Zulus massing at hostels in Johannesburg and Zulus travelling up to Johannesburg to stand by their comrades. If the elected leaders of these people did not take action, "there is no saying what the people will do in taking the law into their own hands", he warned.

What has taken place in KwaZulu and Transvaal so far "are only precursors of what will yet come", he said. April 27 would be declared a "national Zulu day of mourning for those who died".

The government spokesman said government had hoped the leaders could meet this week. De Klerk was "extremely concerned and would make every endeavour possible to bring the major two protagonists to some sort of agreement to prevent further violence" so that free and fair elections could proceed.

However, achieving this depended on leaders' ability to control their supporters, an end to calls for mass action and no further rash and inflammatory statements about war. An agreement at the summit meeting would prevent the necessity for the action envisaged by the TEC, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The elections will proceed and the ANC will take whatever steps necessary to prevent a war." The ANC had taken note of Buthelezi's hardline statement.

To Page 2

(11B)

## KwaZulu

Bl Day 30/3/94 (11B)

From Page 1

lezi's hardline statement.

In his letter to De Klerk, Zwelithini referred to Monday's events, saying "the slaughter of the innocent will reverberate around Zulu society for a long time".

It would be inappropriate to hold discussions before the Zulu bereaved had buried their dead and there should be a moratorium on negotiations "until such time as the fierce anger has abated somewhat".

He suggested the meeting take place after the Easter weekend.

An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said the organisation was legally bound to make preparations for the election in Natal and Buthelezi's comments did not alter that responsibility.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" that the elections would take place as planned "throughout SA".

Government TEC delegate Roel Meyer said the decision was not aimed at any organisation or political grouping but to "ensure every person who wants to vote is

allowed this right". The state of emergency formed part of a "package" that would allow negotiations to continue.

TEC joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said regulations for the state of emergency were being drafted in conjunction with the TEC's law and order subcommittee. While the proclamation would fall under the Public Safety Act, the new regulations would allow for political activities and campaigning to continue.

No indication of the numbers of troops to be despatched to Natal was given, although Maharaj said deployments had begun already. The security forces' special powers would be reviewed by government, the TEC and the IEC.

ANC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa said the steps had been taken to prevent Natal sliding into a "bottomless abyss of death and destruction".

Report by T Cohen, A Hadland and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

# State of emergency expected

Star 3/13/94

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

A state of emergency is likely to be imposed on most or all of KwaZulu/Natal today — and President de Klerk has accused Mangosuthu Buthelezi of making a declaration of war.

The emergency is expected to outlaw all forms of political activity that might contain a potential for violence.

The dramatic crackdown, which has already been condemned by the IFP and the KwaZulu government, might be accompanied by the deployment of additional troops in the province to back those sent in recently.

Last night De Klerk added fuel to speculation on such a move when he told an election meeting at Eersterus, Pretoria, that a recent comment by



KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi amounted to a declaration of war.

He appeared to be referring to Buthelezi's warning of a "final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulus" if the election was not postponed. (11B)

De Klerk left the meeting soon after 8 pm, apologising to supporters for having to cut short the visit but saying he had to "work on the problems in KwaZulu/Natal".

Both the Government and

the TEC's law and order sub-council were understood to be hard at work yesterday putting the finishing touches to the "creative" state of emergency. It would give more powers to the security forces and target violence in the strife-torn province without impeding free political activity or affecting the press.

However, it is also understood the option of declaring several unrest areas across KwaZulu/Natal had not been ruled out late last night.

The IFP, which was scathing in its criticism of the police for their failure to raid ANC headquarters in Johannesburg following Monday's shootings in the city, threatened yesterday to unleash mass action of its own, with details expected to be announced by the party's

► To Page 3

# KwaZulu/Natal emergency on the cards

Star 3/13/94

◀ From Page 1

youth brigade today.

The IFP told a Johannesburg press conference that information reaching it said the ANC planned to have some of its Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres dress up as traffic officers to ambush Zulus and IFP members travelling home for the Easter weekend.

The ANC has vigorously denied the allegation.

Commenting on the impending state of emergency, KwaZulu Deputy Works Minister Velaphi Ndlovu said the move

would create more problems in the region instead of ending violence.

Ndlovu said the intention was clearly not to create a climate for free political activity, but rather to topple the KwaZulu government. Peace structures had to be used to end violence in KwaZulu/Natal, he said.

Buthelezi has indicated that an influx of troops into his territory might be seen as an invasion.

The Afrikaner Volkfront also blasted the Government and the TEC, saying the declaration of a state of emer-

gency in the area would be final proof that negotiations had failed and that the election should be cancelled.

However, the ANC and the DP — both represented in the TEC, which authorised the decision on Tuesday — welcomed the move, with the DP saying its support depended on international mediation beginning as soon as possible.

De Klerk was expected to announce the state of emergency at a press conference last night, but it was postponed until 9 am this morning.

A source said the legal documentation surrounding the imposition of a state of emergency was still being prepared late last night.

The weekly Cabinet meeting in Pretoria sat late into the evening yesterday and is understood to have concentrated largely on the threat to the election of violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

De Klerk hoped the summit would be held early next week, but observers increasingly believe it will not come off at all.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1994

APRIL - DEC.



THE ZULU FACTOR

# Fear to tread

**We should** not be surprised as the political temperature rises over Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's refusal to take part in the election. This confrontation has been implicit in the political process for a decade, ever since the ANC's surrogates in the United Democratic Front began making an enemy of Buthelezi. When President FW de Klerk unbanned the ANC in February 1990, the tension between Buthelezi and the ANC was always going to be the major threat to the transition and the election.

The other homeland leaders, whether self-governing or nominally independent, never loomed as formidable obstacles to the process. Many were insignificant because their territories were small and fragmented, or because they were so unpopular and corrupt that little effort would be required to enforce reincorporation. Most of the homeland leaders, realising this, succumbed to the process without much protest. Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana was the exception, labouring under such delusions about his own support that in the end he had to be removed from power.

The eastern Cape territories of Transkei and Ciskei were reasonably coherent geographically, but historically they spawned the leaders of the liberation struggle. Their military leaders were wise enough not to resist the inevitable.

As for the white Right, it has never had the potential for destabilisation once possessed by its fascist predecessors in World War 2 such as the Ossewabrandwag. Whites may be nervous about the future but they are, as a group, sufficiently secure and prosperous to be prepared to take their chances under an ANC government. The reality of the armed threat posed by the far Right was finally exposed in the humiliation of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as they swaggered into Bop to support Mangope. Their embarrassment has in turn caused further splits.

That leaves KwaZulu and Buthelezi — always a special case. Unlike most other homeland leaders, Buthelezi refused to take independence from Pretoria and constantly voiced his strong opposition to apartheid. He took personal risks in doing so, which helped to give him considerable domestic and foreign prestige. He called repeatedly for the release of Nelson Mandela, whom he regarded as a friend.

As with most other homelands, the boundaries of KwaZulu were drawn to suit white interests and so the territory is fragmented. But it is large. And the Zulus make up SA's largest single ethnic group, estimated at around 6m. They have a fierce warrior tradition, based on conquest of other black people and often successful resistance to British and Boer aggression. They seem loyal to a traditional monarchy.

The ANC claims that Buthelezi does not command majority support in KwaZulu/Natal, but it is clear that his support is still substantial. He might not have a trained army, but then he does not need one to make (by omission or commission) a free and fair election impossible in Natal. His tactics may be questionable, but he is right when he says that the new constitution is not federal. His own constitutional demands have not been unreasonable.

There is no easy way to prevent this gathering crisis. It is certainly not the answer to send in the SADF or to embark on rolling mass action. The army can hardly be expected to pacify every village and hillside of KwaZulu; even if it could, its presence would not induce people to vote and, after its withdrawal, the problem would remain and the violence could proliferate. All the army can do is put a temporary lid on the boiling pot. In any case, there are limits to the number of men who can be deployed.

Mass action has become a convenient weapon for the ANC whose members are clearly tempted to employ it against Buthelezi. But the ANC leadership must think carefully about this or they will have such blood on their hands as to make a democratic election meaningless. Mass action is a blunt instrument of indiscriminate violence which, once unleashed, defies control until it has run its ghastly course and exacted a high price.

Whatever happens, the election must go ahead on schedule. Far too much symbolic passion rests on its liberating outcome. But if the regional election in Natal could be postponed, while voting for the national assembly went ahead, time would be provided for negotiation. This might help to save face: ANC supporters in Natal would not be denied the franchise, yet Buthelezi would still be in a position to negotiate.

Of course, the problems of intimidation and violence would remain — and Judge Johan Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, has already made it clear that the conditions for a fair election do not exist in large parts of Natal.

The ANC is indisputably in a powerful position in the region. But, however unpalatable this may be to its leaders, it does not have the capacity to obliterate Buthelezi, whose power to disrupt an election now and harass well into the future may have been underestimated.

De Klerk and Mandela will have to come to terms with this, just as they came to terms reluctantly with each other. Negotiations must continue and more concessions may have to be made. Otherwise, what happens in parts of Natal could undermine the value of the entire election, disrupt the national economy and entrench a culture of violence. ■



TON FETTER 1994

# All Zulus, but poles apart

## Political rivalries divide a nation

WAR has even reached Natal's one island of peace, reports JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter.

MBONGENI, a handsome, confident 19-year-old with a quick mind and smooth tongue, wants to be a lawyer but doesn't hold out much hope. "It won't happen if the ANC takes over because I can't be ruled by them," he says. "I will be a soldier."

On the other side of Mpumalanga township, Sipho (17) has just been forced to give up his girlfriend. "She lived on the IFP side and they told me if I don't stay away from her I will be killed," he says.

Forget for a moment that politics define Mbongeni and Sipho as antagonists: one Inkatha, the other ANC. Picture instead two young boys with similar dreams that keep getting slashed by opposite sides of the same sharp blade. Then recognise the fact that neither expects any sympathy.

"Now we must fight," says Sipho simply. "We don't want to fight. But it will happen," says Mbongeni. "We are always prepared for war. We are Zulus."

Up and down Natal, boys must be men, and men must be warriors. But for a while at least, there was a brightly burning hope that Mpumalanga could be different.

Perched on the hills between Murrumbidgee and Durban, this township — once one of Natal's bloodiest — has, since 1991, been at peace. ANC leader Meshack Radebe says a string of threatening phone calls were the first signals of a change in the mood. "They said that as soon as they finish training they will take over the township."

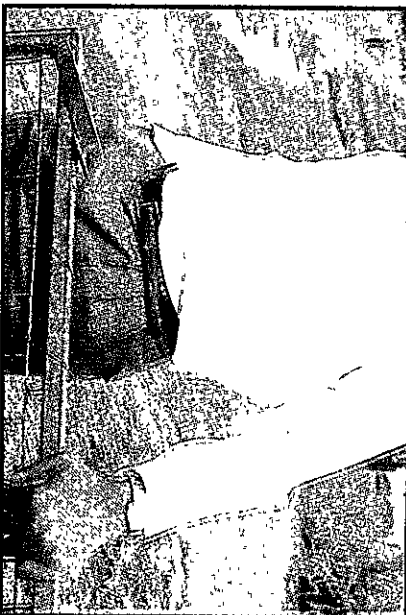
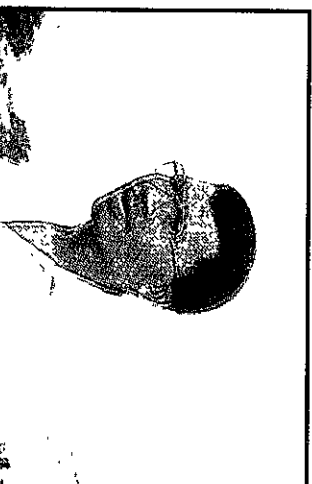
A Mandela billboard was shot full of holes, and last Friday, pamphlets appeared. "The ANC and their Boer bosses say we must vote and take our king out of power so that Jacob Zuma (Natal ANC leader) will take over the king's position. That will happen when we are dead. No one will vote in Natal." KwaZulu... Zulus unite.

### More shooting

This week, things turned brutal. Pupils at the Kwa-kwa Mkhize High School — the only school with both ANC and IFP children

arrived on Monday morning to find a trail of blood up the front stairs and the body of a young ANC supporter, named Mkhize, lying at the door of the principal's office. Then a group of about 20 men arrived and began firing at them. There was more shooting the next day. "I nearly cried when I

heard the news," Radebe



**PESSIMISTIC:** ANC leader Meshack Radebe says it will be a miracle if peace prevails.

Sipho Maba is the IFP leader who worked with Radebe for peace, earning both men honorary doctorates and international awards.

### Fervent belief

He clings doggedly to hope. "I don't think any

ken, because he has achieved that himself.

"They chased me away from Murrumbidgee because I was a member of the IFP. They even tried to kill me several times," he says. "I lost three cars, my business, four homes. I lost my



**NIGHT OF FEAR:** Baba Shibe is in a witness protection programme after surviving the horror executions in KwaMashu. Meanwhile, he finds it hard to talk about the events of that night.

ing people to cause trouble. This is a well-planned and organised thing.

"It will be war," Radebe says. "Those 2 000 we lost before the peace will be nothing. Our people will say 'Let's drive them out once and for all' and the IFP will say 'We will lose 10 000 this time because when it comes to fighting, the Zulus know what that

means."

### Resentment

Young men in Mpumalanga, though, have grown up with deadlier rivalries. One IFP man speaks with deep resentment of "bias against the IFP. A lot of famous IFP people died and

pass on in five years," he says.

"But the king is someone else. Without him we are nothing. Now he is neglecting us, though he is our father, because he is working like a television with remote control. But we know who is pushing that remote control and we know he will one day say 'You are all my children'

again."

Some people say their deepest loyalties are not political. "If they say here we are this organisation, I say okay, because I want to live there," says a man in an ANC section. "But myself, I want only to please my Lord. But politics in Natal these days sweeps all before it. An old IFP man,

the anger in his voice straining against a deep dignity, says the ANC "wants power, nothing else. They are unwilling to accept any other ideas. There is war coming and it is the ANC who will start."

An ANC man declares himself strongly for peace, then adds: "But if you want peace with the IFP you have to beat them first."

the anger in his voice straining against a deep dignity, says the ANC "wants power, nothing else. They are unwilling to accept any other ideas. There is war coming and it is the ANC who will start."

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## Command, then a cold execution

JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter

"I'm terribly hard for Baba Shibe to talk about Tuesday night, especially when the gunshots are still ringing around B-section, KwaMashu township.

On that awful night, Shibe had been forced into a combi-prace meeting. He had seen four men step outside at the command 'woza indoda', each time followed by a pistol crack.

"I was supposed to be number five," Shibe says. "I thought it was better for me to die running. When I escaped, I ducked under the man who was shooting."

Shots were fired at Shibe as he fled in terror, one creasing his scalp and filling his eyes with blood. "I fell into a ditch because I couldn't see," he says. "Two men were following me. Then I heard one say 'the dog has run away'. Then I slept there the whole night."

People in KwaMashu believe their peace delegation was lured into a trap. So does Shibe. But his story clearly suggests that the hostel men they met with were not party to it. Shibe's party had been given a "warm welcome", he says.

### Shock realisation

"The meeting was almost over and we had agreed on many issues," he says. "Then three men came in, one introducing himself as the leader of the IFP Youth in the hostel. He asked 'Why is this meeting going on?' We explained, even the hostel dwellers explained, that this was a peace meeting."

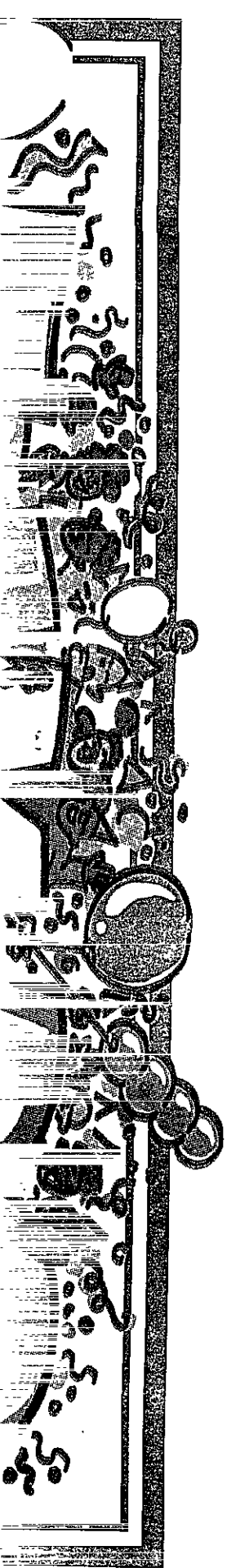
"But they said 'Do you know that these B-section people have killed so many hostel dwellers?' Then they said 'Do you know how many people have been killed in Johannesburg?' Then the one gave instructions not to let any of these guys go out. It was then we realised that something was going to happen."

"They came back in a combi and we were instructed to go out and get inside. Two of them were carrying AK-47s." The hostel men, he says, "were shocked when they saw this." Some of the hostel dwellers at the meeting were also ordered to go along, Shibe says, then told to step to one side when the vehicle stopped.

"They were ordering us out, one at a time. The guy who said he was IFP was the one calling us out, and then another guy wearing a cap was shooting them with a gun held close to the head."

On Wednesday he and two others who escaped the execution were put before the media at an ANC press conference where they told their harrowing tale. By the following day, no one from the KwaZulu Police, which has jurisdiction over KwaMashu, had come to Shibe for a statement.

As a result of independent efforts, Shibe is now in a witness protection programme.





to my house the whole day, saying 'Let's forget about this peace, we want guns. I don't know for how long I am going to say 'hold on.'"

# Fear replaces bonhomie

JOHN PERLMAN  
CHIEF REPORTER

THE sun hasn't been up long in Kwaklashu. Women and children move slowly left through B-section, the early morning stiffness still in their bones. They're a ragged little band — the women carrying buckets and sacks on their heads, the kids tucked in alongside a plastic bag in one hand and a piece of mother's skirt in the other.

Having spent the night away from their homes, which are too close to the hostels for comfort, they've come back to see what's left. Suddenly, there's a shot. They stop dead in their tracks. Luckily, this time no one was hit.

But had that bullet hit one of them, the victim would, in the way of South Africa's wars, have been classified as ANC. If there had been an answering shot and it had claimed a life, that hostel dweller would, naturally, be an Inkatha man. There are combatants

and three cousins. But I won't do anything because I don't want to lose the one brother I still have."

Both Radebe and Mlaba speak with deep mutual respect. "He is like my brother," says Radebe. But the ANC man doesn't share Mlaba's optimism. "It will be a miracle if we can keep this peace going," he says. "It's not because the people of Mpumalanga can't live together. There is somebody at the top pushing



EAGER TO VOTE: Residents of Kwaklashu

on both sides in the war here, and Kwaklashu is far from being apolitical: the crowds queuing up for voter registration, despite days of violence, bear witness to that.

But that does not mean everyone is a militant. When the party body-bags are pulled aside in Kwaklashu, and probably in other places too, many of the dead would fit the description one woman in the

group gave, to the vigorous nods of her companions: "We are just people of the township," she said.

The hostel in Kwaklashu is not a sealed-off fortress like those on the East Rand, but a complex of small barracks, spread higgledy-piggledy around Association, with stacks filling most spaces in between and houses right next door. There are social divisions between township

residents and hostel people. One woman spoke disparagingly of *amatams*, while others referred to hostel people as "uneducated."

But many said they had relatives in the hostel. And everybody recalled their daily mutual dealings in the past — beer bought and sold, games of soccer, trips to work on the same trains. All that's changed now. By just how much was evident at dusk, as women moved hurriedly away from the frontlines and men gathered to plan the night's defence.

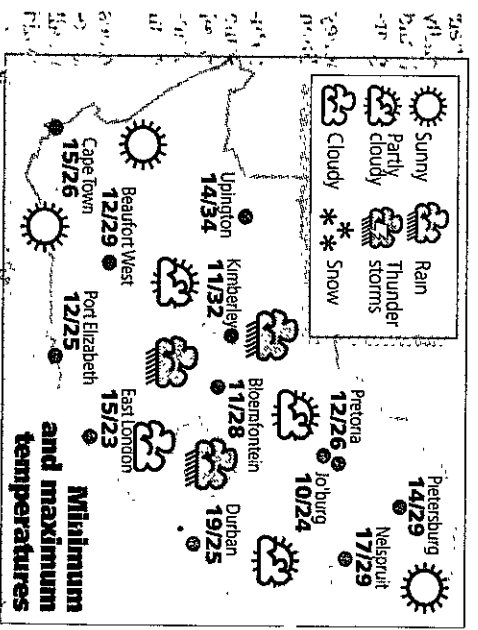
On one street, which was separated from the hostel by a narrow wall, two men stood together quietly chatting. Both veteran policemen, they had sent their families away and were holding the fort alone. With a house two doors away a charred ruin, they were all too aware they could be next. "And you know," said one, "the ANC people in the past didn't *smack* us either."

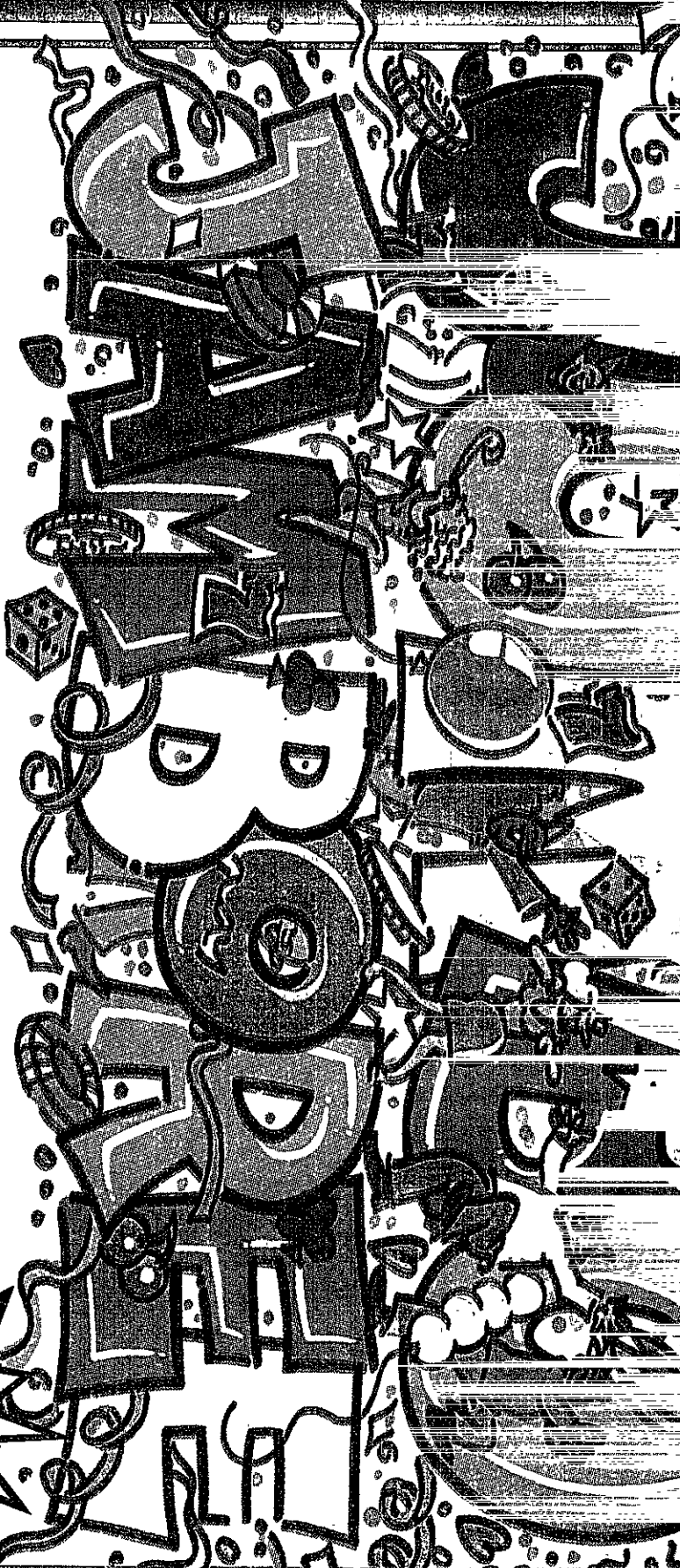
his view of the ANC is scathing. "They can't control their own people — they will never control us. They failed to feed their people in exile — how can they feed us?"

Adding bile to an already bitter fight is a debate about who are the true Zulus. "People like Jacob Zuma are not Zulus but *amambhla* (traitors) betraying us to the Khosas," says an IFP

## Another near-perfect day

**Transvaal:** Partly cloudy and warm but hot over the lowveld. Isolated thundershowers are expected over the central parts. It will become cloudy and cooler in the south-east with rain spreading northwards over the lowveld later.  
**Free State:** Fine and warm but partly cloudy and cool in the north-east with isolated thundershowers.  
**Natal and Swaziland:** Partly cloudy and warm with isolated thundershowers, clearing in the south later.  
**Eastern Cape and Transkei:** Fine and warm but partly cloudy and cool in the south and east.  
**West and central Cape:** Fine and warm, but hot over the interior.  
**Cape north of the Orange River and southern Namibia:** Fine and hot with isolated thundershowers.  
**Central and northern Namibia and Botswana:** Partly cloudy and hot with isolated thundershowers over north-eastern Namibia and over Botswana except the south-west. — Sapa.





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BUTHELEZI

# will attend summit

107/118  
ARG 2/4/94

11B

**DAVID BREIER**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

SUPPORTERS of the Inkatha Freedom Party are hoping a miracle will save the party at next week's planned summit. But, they are preparing to leave the party if the meeting fails or is abandoned.

Prominent IFP members said this week they believed IFP and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had dropped the IFP as a political vehicle and was now promoting the Zulu monarchy as his future source of power.

Chief Buthelezi, meanwhile, has confirmed that he will attend the summit and has expressed hope that it will find solutions, "otherwise I wouldn't be going".

However, in an interview outside a church near the KwaZulu capital Ulundi, where he attended a Good Friday service, the IFP president said if the summit went ahead it would take place in a "sour atmosphere" following Thursday's declaration of a state of emergency in Natal-KwaZulu.

The summit will be between President De Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi has described the emergency and the increased SA Defence Force deployment as an "invasion".

The clearly distressed IFP

■ Turn to page 3

## Summit may decide Inkatha's fate

ARG 2/4/94

11B

From page 1  
leader said on the Agenda TV programme that he told Mr De Klerk it was "embarrassing" for him to have declared the state of emergency before the summit. Chief Buthelezi said it was comparable to "someone holding down a woman for someone to rape".

Government sources told Weekend Argus that as far as Mr De Klerk was concerned,

the summit was still going ahead although a date had not been finalised.

They said one avenue to be explored at this week's planned summit was whether the IFP would be prepared to stand for the KwaZulu-Natal provincial election only.

The sources said this was still possible as the provincial ballot papers had a much shorter printing run than the

national ballot. Another possibility was that the Electoral Act could be amended to postpone the elections in KwaZulu-Natal if Chief Buthelezi agreed to take part.

IFP insiders said the one slender hope they held for next week was that the summit would go well and the IFP and ANC would finalise an agreement on international mediation.

# Emergency won't keep IRP from mediation

By CARMEL RICKARD

DESPITE its reservations about the emergency, the IRP is set to participate fully when international mediation begins later this week.

Dr. Frank Madalose, head of the IRP delegation to the talks, said he felt the planned mediation was important for the whole country and that he would "fight

Sitewas

morning, noon and night" for it to take place.

Talks should begin on Thursday, but it is understood that the first day will be spent on preparatory issues. The parties will only get down to business on Friday.

The IRP and the ANC are the chief parties to the mediation, but other organizations could join the talks if they were

spurred

believed to be helpful.

Seven prominent international figures have been approached to act as mediators and help facilitate discussions. They include former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington and India's

(118)

former Chief Justice Bagwah.

Organizers of the talks are still working on the venue and the final list of participants and mediators. They said that, given the schedules of the invited mediators, it was possible some of them would not be able to attend.



Peace patrol . . . an SADF Eland armoured vehicle cruises through KwaMashu, outside Durban, at the weekend in a bid to stop the violence that has claimed scores of lives in the troubled township. PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK



## Star 5/4/94 60 000 IFP members to march in Empangeni

BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT and JASPER MORTIMER

At least 60 000 IFP supporters are expected to march through Empangeni today in the first show of Inkatha strength since the state of emergency was declared in KwaZulu/Natal.

Police Colonel Bill Dennis has confirmed that the march will be allowed despite the deaths of more than 64 people in the region since Thursday night.

IFP Durban chairman John Aulsebrook said the march was intended to protest over

the killing of Zulu demonstrators in Johannesburg last Monday.

He said the organisers would decide today whether the protesters would carry spears, knobkerries and other "cultural" weapons.

The emergency regulations,

gazetted on Thursday, banned the carrying and display of certain weapons.

But yesterday Dennis said a police legal team was studying the regulations to clarify their "ambiguities"

▶ To Page 2

## 60 000 set to march through Empangeni

Star 5/4/94  
From Page 1

He said police lawyers would observe the march to advise on the confiscation of weapons and the arrest of their owners.

Meanwhile, the SADF has said it intends to clamp down on the paramilitary training being conducted in KwaZulu "self-defence camps".

Captain Kim van Niekerk of Natal Command said the emergency regulations had "enabled" the SADF to act against the camps. She did not know when the crackdown would come, but quoted her superior, Colonel Frans Verhuss, as saying "the self-training is to stop".

Yesterday the SADF completed the deployment of about 400 extra troops in KwaZulu/Natal,

bringing its total strength in the region to 1 200.

Asked why the deployment was so meagre in what is the country's most violent province, Van Niekerk said: "We are deploying as we get the manpower. The SADF has a vital manpower shortage."

The SADF hoped to send more troops to the region after Citizen Force troops reported for duty on April 15.

In one of the worst attacks in KwaZulu/Natal this weekend, nine family members, including a five-month-old baby, were murdered in their home near Gamalakhe, about 20 km from Port Shepstone.

Local ANC leaders blamed the IFP for the attack.

# Natal ballot may be delayed

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

PROVINCIAL elections in Natal-KwaZulu may be delayed to allow for the late inclusion of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the transitional dispensation. However, the election for the National Assembly will go ahead as planned in the region.

Speculation mounted at the weekend following confirmation that the much-awaited four-way meeting between the IFP, Government, African National Congress and King Goodwill Zwelithini would now be held on Friday.

In the meantime, former United States Secretary of State Mr Henry Kissinger is expected in the country this week, while British former Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington yesterday de-

nied he had been invited to mediate in the constitutional deadlock between the ANC and IFP. "I am mystified," Lord Carrington reportedly said from his home yesterday. (113)

The ANC and IFP agreed on international mediation at the IFP's behest. The IFP insists the interim constitution does not accommodate the Zulu monarchy nor guarantee a real federal settlement.

The Government would consider delaying regional voting in Natal-KwaZulu to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party into the elections, a Government source said on Sunday.

Meanwhile, the ANC in particular is opposed to any postponement but would be prepared to compromise if that would resolve the impasse.

(T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg.)

# Major Zulu test

# Of the emergency

60 000 to brandish traditional weapons in a march of defiance today

AR45/5/94

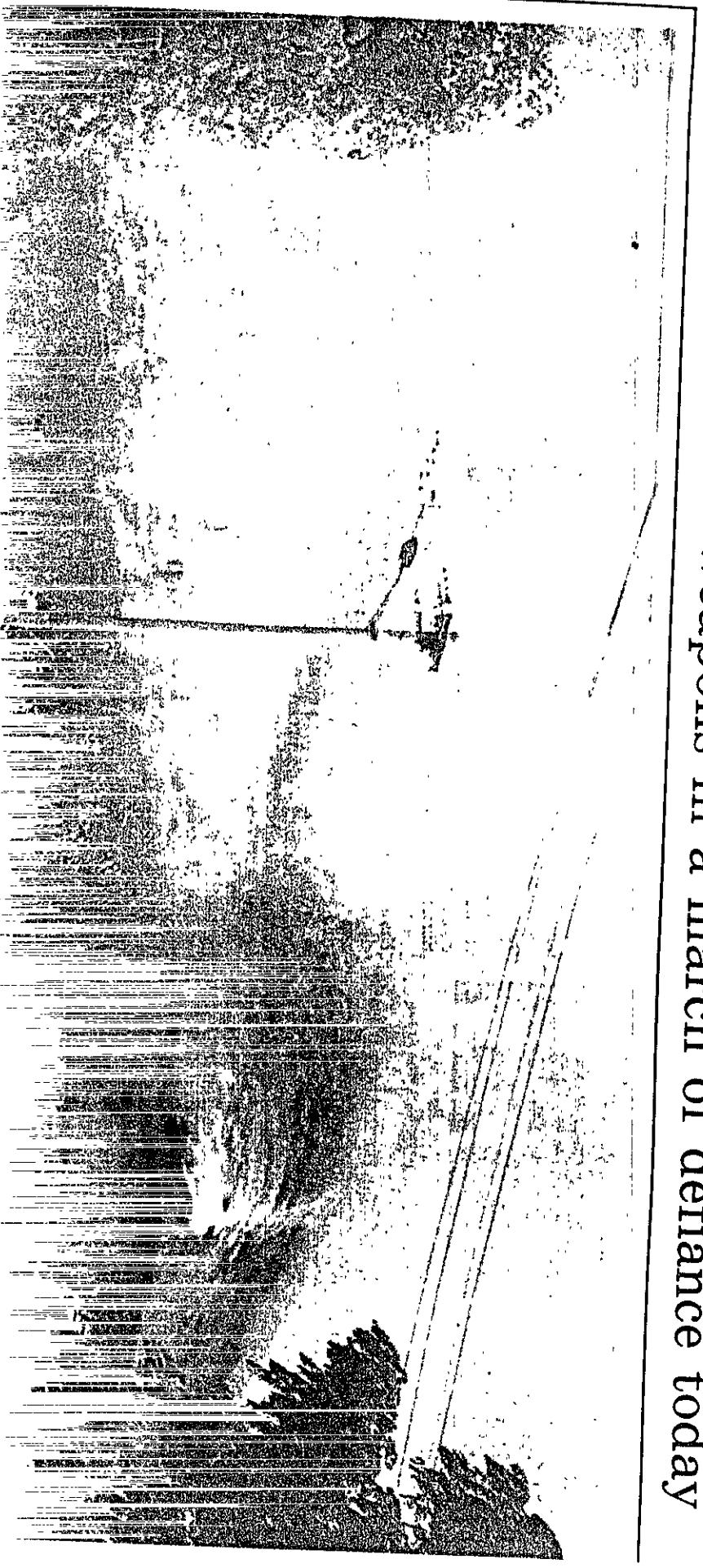
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**The Argus Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — Regulations imposed to clamp down on political violence face their first major test today when about 60 000 Inkatha Freedom Party members are expected to march through the streets of Empangeni, 200km north of here, brandishing traditional weapons in defiance of the measures.

This comes as the death toll in KwaZulu-Natal has reached about 64 since the emergency steps were announced last week by President de Klerk.

Political developments in KwaZulu-Natal in the next few days will go a long way to shaping the climate for Friday's summit meeting between President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill Buthelezi and IFP leader Mangosuthu

In terms of the measu...





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In terms of the measures announced by Mr De Klerk, people are prohibited from carrying in public any of 35 listed weapons, including assegais, firearms, knobkerries, spears, knives and sharp-pointed sticks.

The IFP habitually carry these weapons to political gatherings, insisting they are traditional weapons, and there has been no indication from the IFP that they plan to do otherwise tomorrow in Empangeni.

Lawyers acting for the police were studying the emergency regulations today to determine exactly what the police's new powers and duties were, and also what the legal position was on carrying traditional weapons.

If the police try to disarm the IFP marchers, police will probably search their buses before they reach the assembly point. To return the weapons to people after the march will pose a major administrative problem for the police.

These steps would annoy the IFP. But if the police allow 60 000 IFP members to march carrying traditional weapons, they would annoy the ANC.

Meanwhile, Zulu chiefs in the Natal Midlands are planning a stayaway tomorrow in sympathy for the Zulus who died in Johannesburg last week.

Friday's summit of leaders takes place amid speculation that the election will be postponed, or at least the election for the KwaZulu-Natal parliament would be put back.

Government sources said today that any delays would have to have the blessing of the ANC and it was unlikely that the ANC would agree to any delays.

The summit will focus on accommodating the Zulu monarchy in the constitution, addressing the calls for Zulu self-determination and ensuring that the IFP take part in the election.

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# Mediation efforts run into trouble

Biday 5/4/94

(11B)

INTERNATIONAL mediation has run into difficulties even before its scheduled start this week, with the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party unable to agree on the terms of reference.

As a result, the two sides have drawn up separate proposals to be submitted to the mediators, ANC negotiator Penuell Maduna said yesterday. However, the ANC was still hopeful the mediation effort could begin on Thursday, and be completed before the elections.

But Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his negotiators have insisted that the elections be postponed until mediation has run its course. Buthelezi said recently mediation would have to "rationalise" the electoral process and timetables so that all the parties could compete on an equal footing.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said mediation had to concern itself with outstanding constitutional issues, not the postponement of the elections — whether in full or in part. "We can't postpone the elections. They are a separate issue and we can't call on the mediators to decide on the matter."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said mediation was not linked to Friday's planned summit meeting between President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. "The summit meeting will try to get some co-operation between the leaders on the issue of freedom of political activity in Natal," Niehaus said.

Zuma said the seven-member panel of mediators would study the two sets of

DAVID GREYBE

terms of reference to see how to take the process forward.

Maduna said most of the panel, to be headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, was expected in the country by tomorrow.

However, the Daily Telegraph reports from London that Carrington last night denied being poised to act as a mediator. Reports that he was about to depart for SA were inaccurate and exaggerated, he said. Only Inkatha had asked him to mediate, and he needed requests from all three parties. Even then his acceptance would depend on the terms of reference and the circumstances.

"It is impossible for me to say what sort of ideas I might have about what could happen if I were to go there. One has to look at a number of things, including whether mediation would be successful, before getting into it," Carrington said.

Kissinger's office in Washington also said he would not leave for SA until the "precise terms of reference" had been received. However, he was honoured to have been asked.

ANC and Inkatha negotiators met last night in another effort to finalise the details of the mediation process.

Maduna said a news conference was planned for tomorrow when the details, including the venue, of mediation would be announced. Inkatha negotiator Ben Ngubane said the venue was expected to be in the PWV area — "but somewhere quiet".

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## Mediation

Biday 5/4/94

From Page 1

BILLY PADDOCK reports that a senior ANC source said the ANC and government were waiting for the outcome of Friday's summit meeting before deciding to "substantially tighten the screws of the state of emergency" (11B)

After a Natal ANC leadership meeting in Durban yesterday, he said Mandela would meet Natal leaders tomorrow to evaluate "the next step we take and how to deal with the summit meeting". Yesterday's meeting was to evaluate the ANC's position since the implementation of emergency regulations.

The source said security force intervention had not yet had a substantial effect in lessening tensions and stopping violence. About 64 people had been killed in the region since last Thursday.

The ANC believed that the SADF and SAP had not been "briefed correctly politi-

cally and have been holding meetings with the Kwazulu Police". Kwazulu police were not part of the deal and needed to be disarmed and demobilised, he said.

Meanwhile, our political staff reports that three marches are planned in Natal today to demand the constitutional protection of Zwelithini and to mourn the Zulus killed in Johannesburg last week.

An Inkatha source said one rally in KwaMncane, Elandskop, and another at Wembezi, Escourt, were not associated with the party but had been called by tribal leaders. The Midlands chiefs had also called for a stayaway.

At least 60 000 Inkatha marchers are expected to march in Empangeni. The SAP said permission had been granted for the march.

Report by D Greybe and W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb. R Shrimley, Daily Telegraph, London; and D Pressley, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne Rd, Dbn.

# Marchers defy ban, carry weapons

118

27/6/94

EMPANGENI. — Thousands of IFP supporters defied the emergency regulations by carrying traditional weapons during a protest march here yesterday.

The march was held to protest against the killing of IFP members.

Lt-General Colin Steyn, the SAP's regional commissioner in Natal, said police were investigating a contravention of the emergency regulations and Electoral Act.

About 20 000 Zulus marched through the town to hand over a memorandum to the Independent Electoral Commission.

"The police did not at the time attempt to disarm the people carrying such weapons for fear of a confrontation and potential loss of life and damage to property," Gen Steyn said.

IFP Youth Brigade publicity secretary Mr. Zenzele Phakathi told the crowd, before delivering a memorandum to an IEC official: "We'll make sure the state of emergency does not work in Natal/KwaZulu as long as we live."

IFP regional secretary Mr. Blessed Gwala warned the people of the region would not allow polling booths to be set up before their demands were met.

● The planned memorial service for victims of the Johannesburg march staged at KwaMncane, near Maritzburg, went off peacefully yesterday.

● KwaZulu public servants will march on the offices of the commissioner-general in Nongoma today to demand an immediate end to the state of emergency. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

**T**HERE are certain political-ly correct clichés about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party: he is mad; he is a dangerous megalomaniac; he is an enemy of the South African people; he fears electoral defeat and rejects democracy; he must be stopped.

Given the imminence of SA's first democratic elections, and the high hopes pinned to this great event of national catharsis, few dare stray from the realm of the politically correct to question the truth of these labels. With the juggernaut of majority rule bearing down upon the nation, better simply to go on believing that Buthelezi is an evil but ultimately impotent menace; then he can be crushed with impunity, and with no fear for the consequences.

That is the reasoning which underpinned last week's decision to impose a state of emergency in Natal and KwaZulu. The elections must go on, in spite of the opposition of Inkatha, which commands a large chunk of the electorate in Natal/KwaZulu; Inkatha can be easily defeated because it commands no army; once crushed, it and Buthelezi will disappear forever.

**W**ould that reality were so simple. For Buthelezi has been preparing for this battle — psychologically and militarily — for years. Since its formation as a "cultural movement" in 1975, Inkatha has worked hard to rebuild the sense of a Zulu nation, so strong in the 19th century but undermined by defeat at the hands of the British, the emasculating of the Zulu chiefs and the fragmentation of the Zulu kingdom early this century.

A prince of the Zulu royal family and an uncle to the king, Buthelezi has coaxed the embers of Zulu nationalism into full flame, reaching a climax last week when Zulu warriors, marching to defend their king, were gunned down by ANC security guards in central Johannesburg.

# Buthelezi cannot be dismissed as a mad megalomaniac

*P. De Vey* 7/14/94

PATTI WALDMEIR



sist the temptation to prod the angry bear that resides in Buthelezi's soul. They know they will get nowhere by humiliating a man whose sensitivity borders on the paranoid. They know that any attempt to trick him will backfire because he cannot bear to be taken for a "stupid kaffir", as he so often points out, yet they offer him constitutional concessions which look good but mean little, and hope he will not notice.

And most seriously of all, they think he has no true support and can be crushed by the legitimate will of the majority. In short, for the ANC, Buthelezi is a dictator clinging illegally to power, with no genuine constitutional complaints and no intention to negotiate. Their conclusion: accommodating him is not only unnecessary, but impossible.

That may be true now, but it was not always so. Even early this year, the ANC could have had a deal with Inkatha relatively cheaply, by agreeing to devolve real power to the provinces, rather than guarding it at the centre. The Zulu king was then on the sidelines, and could have been assured a place as titular monarch of Natal/KwaZulu, by guaranteeing the security of royal lands and palaces. Only when that deal fell through did he enter the fray, increasing tension by calling for a sovereign Zulu kingdom and commanding his subjects to defend their nationhood.

**T**he chances are it is too late for a deal, and further violence is inevitable. Many would welcome Buthelezi's demise, in SA and abroad. He has alienated almost every local and foreign friend he ever had. His counter-productive propaganda machine has made it impossible to understand his policies, let alone defend them. He is, quite simply, in the way: obstructing the event millions worldwide have waited decades to see, the death of apartheid and the birth of a new, nonracial democracy.

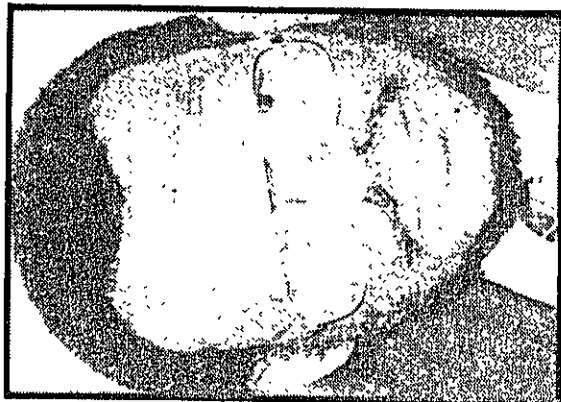
And if he does not move, he will be removed by force — whatever the consequences. — Financial Times.

demonised all "collaborators", chief among them Buthelezi. The Zulu leader opposed ANC policy on two central issues: economic sanctions and the use of guerrilla tactics to overthrow white rule. Today there is no political leader more despised by the ANC.

Certainly, Buthelezi will lose part of his power base once an ANC government (which will sweep Natal as a result of Inkatha's election boycott) pays the salaries of homeland police, public servants, and possibly the Zulu king. But the Zulu warriors who fought in the streets of Johannesburg last week were not teachers, nurses and bureaucrats. They came from the world of migrant workers' hostels and KwaZulu villages where tradition and loyalty to the king remain powerful forces for resistance.

No army can hope to subdue every village and kraal in rural KwaZulu; and even if they do so temporarily, violence will resume once they leave. The risk is that the battles of 1994 will store up material for resentment and revenge for decades to come.

Yet the ANC seems unable to re-



□ BUTHELEZI

Nelson Mandela.

But when the United Democratic Front emerged in the early 1980s as de facto internal wing of the ANC, it

Buthelezi's ethnic message may be denied by the political elite, but it has penetrated the public consciousness. History may well condemn him for fanning ethnic flames which threaten SA's democracy. Historians will certainly condemn Inkatha — and possibly Buthelezi, though his responsibility has not been proven — for operating hit squads using weapons and training allegedly provided by Pretoria's security services.

Irrespective of history's judgment, Buthelezi is a reality, and he is doubly dangerous because he is not simply — as the politically correct would argue — a creation of apartheid whose power derives from apartheid structures.

Ironically, it would be more correct to say that Buthelezi is a creation of the ANC. As ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma (the only senior Zulu in the ANC's top leadership) explained in 1992: "forming Inkatha was the ANC's idea — to have a political organisation to undermine apartheid from within". For decades, Buthelezi did just that, refusing to accept independence for KwaZulu, and campaigning for the release from prison of

# Zulu king 'ready to accept headship of KwaZulu-Natal'

(107) (11B) AR 67/4/94

## Political Staff

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini is prepared to become ceremonial head of KwaZulu-Natal and drop his demand for an independent, sovereign Zulu kingdom if this would help reach a settlement at tomorrow's leadership summit, palace sources said today.

Secrecy still surrounds the venue. Several delegates said today they would board aircraft early tomorrow not knowing where they were headed.

The summit starts with a private, two-hour meeting between King Goodwill and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. This will be their first meeting.

Afterwards, they will join IFP lead-

er Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk.

Palace sources and IFP leaders said today they were going into the summit looking for solutions.

The IFP would want the election date to be put back by four weeks, however, so that it could campaign.

Mr Mandela, speaking last night at the University of Durban-Westville, was adamant there would be no postponement.

Palace sources said, given certain guarantees, the king would drop his demand for a sovereign Zulu kingdom and accept ceremonial headship of KwaZulu-Natal.

(News by R M Challenor and S Miller, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)

BUTHELEZI AND THE ELECTION

FM 8/4/94

# One more cup of coffee for the road

It's a question of where to now for troubled KwaZulu/Natal as hopes fade of enticing or coercing Inkatha into participating in the April 27 general election.

Politicians are still going through the motions of trying a last-ditch rescue but the point of no return already appears to have been passed.

Inkatha and the ANC are still trying to establish the parameters for international mediation on constitutional matters and today's talks involving Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk.

Furthermore, Buthelezi suggested over Easter that if today's talks succeed, there is still a chance that his party could rejoin the election process. Whether that is administratively possible seems unclear; suffice to say that any logistical problems pale into insignificance compared with resolving the political question of Inkatha's election boycott.

If Inkatha doesn't rejoin the process the prospects look bleak for the region. At the time of going to press, more than 60 people had died in political strife since De Klerk declared a state of emergency in the province at the end of last week. Furthermore, violence will probably escalate rather than abate, in spite of a massive build-up of security forces in Natal, unless a political solution can be found.

At this stage Inkatha's participation on April 27 seems remote. An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman tells the *FM* that it is no longer even entertaining the possibility of Inkatha's participation because the commission is legally bound on the one hand to hold the election on the designated dates and, on the other, it is logistically impossible now to bring Inkatha on board.

"We regard the election dates as fixed in terms of our mandate unless or until the TEC decides on a new permutation. There are no plans to change, nor are there contingencies for doing so. The ballot papers are already in an advanced stage of being printed and, from a logistical viewpoint, it would be impossible now to accommodate Inkatha in the election."

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire argues there are two issues. The first is whether Buthelezi can be brought on board

in a rational way. Second, if he cannot, can the consequences be contained?

Schrire adds that the only way Buthelezi can save face and belatedly join the process is if regional elections are postponed. But that, he maintains, would be a worse deal for Inkatha than some avenues which it has already rejected.

"Essentially, it would mean Buthelezi has abandoned ambitions of power in central government and is reduced to competing for the consolation prize of running for KwaZulu/Natal province — and that would doubtless result in Inkatha's support levels dwindling still further."

Buthelezi's willingness to tear up all of his past positions and accept a regional election postponement, if offered, would hinge on whether he is sufficiently demoralised by the dramatic attack on his power base and the escalating regional strife.

"Another problem is that all sides are becoming increasingly inflexible and if Inkatha abstains, it will ensure that a free and fair election campaign is meaningless."

Schrire also feels that international mediation is a nonstarter and is, in any case, unimportant. "It was designed as a fig leaf for Inkatha but has been overtaken by developments."

A further concern he expresses is that it is almost impossible to have democracy in eight regions and autocracy in the ninth.

"What would probably happen is that the bad politics in the ninth province will drive out the good and authoritarianism in Natal



will destroy democracy in the other regions."

But it doesn't have to be so. It is up to the people in KwaZulu/Natal to resolve the problem, which is essentially about a Zulu civil war but is being billed as something else. "If Buthelezi and the king succeeded in turning it into a truly ethnic crusade, the prospects are enormously bleak. But the situation could be saved by diverting attention from ethnicity to a regional issue. King Goodwill Zwelithini could then become a

figure of national reconciliation. If that is possible, then things will be a lot more promising."

Natal University politics lecturer Ian Philips believes Buthelezi's bluff was called with the first set of amendments to the Electoral Act when Inkatha registered provisionally but then failed to lodge its candidates' list, thus invalidating its registration.

"That, of course, means they are not on the ballot forms either regionally or nationally. There seems just one escape route and that is to use the position on the ballot of the Freedom Front.

"If Buthelezi could reach an accommodation with front leader Constand Viljoen, they could compile lists which would incorporate the Inkatha representatives."

Philips questions the feasibility and practicality of delaying even provincial elections either for KwaZulu/Natal or all the regions.

"The problem is that Inkatha has painted itself into a corner and is now crying: 'Help!'"

## WESTERN CAPE Sails in the sunset

The National Party remains confident of winning the western Cape on April 27 in spite of the latest opinion poll that predicts a close finish with the ANC. The *Sunday Times* poll was one of the last before the publication of opinion polls became prohibited this week in terms of the Electoral Act.

The poll indicates that the NP could win 15 seats in the 42-member provincial legislature, the ANC 14, the DP five, the PAC, rightwing and "others" one each; five seats are at the mercy of undecided voters.

The results are a further boost to the NP after an HSRC survey for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD) suggested that it will win over 50% of the vote in the western Cape (*Current Affairs* April 1).

The ANC's fortunes in the province have slumped in the past four months in spite of hard-sell efforts by Nelson Mandela.

In what was widely seen as a desperate move last week to shore up support, Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn quit the SABC board to campaign actively for the ANC. His action was interpreted as a vote of no confidence in ANC regional leader Allan Boesak's ability to deliver the province. It also vindicates anti-Boesak elements in the ANC who warned last year that he would be more of a liability than an asset.

In belated reaction to the strength of the NP's western Cape campaign, the ANC is accusing the Nats of "swart gevaar" tactics

KWAZULU/NATAL

# Dignity and illusion

Fun 8/4/94

The election must go ahead — but Buthelezi must still be taken seriously

The declaration of a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal may well have been necessary. Special measures were needed to stop the killing that has been destroying so many communities. But it is highly debatable whether the state of emergency can achieve its main aim, which is to ensure an election that is free and fair. On the other hand, this does not mean that the election in Natal will be declared unfree and unfair.

Much comfort has been taken from the deployment of SADF troops in Natal. At the moment, the SADF appears to have more credibility than the police, certainly among ANC supporters for whom the police can do no right. KwaZulu politicians, on the other hand, have talked of Pretoria's army of occupation. Clearly the use of troops is not a solution but a stop-gap measure. And while the SADF may appear reasonably popular now, that could change rapidly.

Meanwhile, as long as their presence is legitimised by the Transitional Executive Council, there are certain things the soldiers can do. They can put a lid on the violence by the use of patrols, both in a deterrent and a reactive way. They can arrest people perceived to be responsible for organising and causing violence. They can ride around in armoured vehicles looking formidable; if necessary they can use violence to prevent further violence. And the emergency regulations allow them a certain latitude regarding detention without trial, as well as immunity from prosecution for actions taken in the course of duty.

What the SADF — or any security force, for that matter — cannot do is force people to feel safe about the election. The two main protagonists in the battle for Natal are the ANC and Inkatha. Over the past decade each has established its pieces of territory and no-go zones.

Readily identifying these bits of turf is difficult for locals, let alone soldiers from outside the affected communities. The boundaries tend to be informal — a stream here, a road there, a line of shacks or a field of mealies. Each area has its dominant chief, or warlord, or criminal gang leader, or committee chairman.

In some areas there are ANC supporters who are desperate to exercise their vote, but they are scared to be seen doing so because of the Inkatha boycott. In other areas there are Inkatha supporters who may wish to vote but dare not risk defying the party line — and others who do not want to vote, but may feel

intimidated by ANC members into doing so.

Of course, if all parties were involved in the election, only two things would be necessary: the security forces would have to keep the streets peaceful around the polling booths; and the voters would have to be convinced that the ballot was secret. But because one party is resisting the election, the visible act of voting (or not voting) is itself an invitation to intimidation.



Buthelezi

So sending in the SADF will not guarantee a free and fair election in Natal. In theory this has important implications for the election as a whole. More than 20% of the country's voters live in KwaZulu/Natal. Can the election as a whole be declared valid, if such an important provincial component is so fraught with complications?

We suspect, in fact, that the election will be declared valid in Natal and, therefore, in the country as a whole. A boycott in itself is a legitimate tactic and cannot invalidate the election in Natal, even if the percentage poll is much lower than in the rest of the country.

Only if there is visible and widespread intimidation is there a risk of invalidation — and the SADF presence should, on the whole, prevent this. In practice, the election in Natal is highly unlikely to be free and fair — but it will not be easy for the Independent Electoral Commission to prove this.

None of which solves the problem beyond April 27 and 28. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's objections to the interim constitution will remain; so will enough of his power base to threaten ANC rule in the province. The SADF cannot stay there forever and, in any case, it cannot pacify every village. A political solution will be needed.

Though Inkatha is not on the ballot paper, it still has several options. Buthelezi could, at the last minute, declare Inkatha available under another party's registration; he could also relent and actively encourage tolerance of the electoral process. Both options are highly unlikely to be taken, simply because they would not fit in with Buthelezi's hardline strategy.

The third option — to continue to oppose the election, either tacitly or violently — is much more likely. Indeed, even if major concessions are now offered by the ANC and government, it is difficult to see how Buthelezi could do anything else. It seems that only a federal constitution will be acceptable to him and even if it were granted — which is most unlikely — it is too late for him to take advantage because he is not registered for the election. A federal system conceded now would simply entrench the ANC more firmly in Natal after the election.

So just about the most that can be expected from Buthelezi at this week's scheduled summit with the Zulu king, President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela is a promise not to be inflammatory. It is Buthelezi's right to boycott the election, but he certainly does not have the right to prevent others from voting.

He is also in a much weaker constitutional position than Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, now deposed. At least Mangope could point to the independence given him by Pretoria, whereas Buthelezi has never been more than a regional authority within SA. As several observers have argued, it is simply unacceptable for Buthelezi to be allowed to

hold to ransom the entire transition to democracy.

A low percentage poll, for whatever reason, will be used to boost Buthelezi's claims of support for his secessionist position. After the election those claims will again have to be addressed. King Goodwill Zwelithini, who apparently commands much broader affection and respect among Zulus than Buthelezi, has complicated matters by his recent forceful entry into the fray.

So what can De Klerk and Mandela offer Buthelezi and the king at their summit meeting? Very little in terms of electoral arrangements. There is no question of the national election date being put off; this would create more problems without solving anything.

But there has been a growing call for the postponement of the election for the Natal provincial assembly. One of the supporters of this option is Stellenbosch academic Willie Breytenbach.

He believes the provincial election is the crux of the issue for Inkatha, because it does not want to lose control at that



De Klerk



Mandela



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(113)

level. But Breytenbach also points out that voting by Natalians in the national parliamentary election cannot be postponed in the same way, because that would affect the national total vote (according to which seats are allocated to parties on the percentage system of proportional representation).

There is much that is seductive about Breytenbach's argument. Last week the *FM* also wondered about delaying the provincial election in Natal, while letting voting go ahead everywhere else. But, on second thoughts, we believe there would be no point to this, unless Buthelezi says now that he is prepared to take part at a later date — and there is no sign that he will. Doubtless the option has already been quietly explored by negotiators. In addition, as Breytenbach himself points out, there would have to be national voting in Natal, thus raising exactly the same problems of access and intimidation.

By now De Klerk and Mandela, who have come to a fairly cosy agreement about the transition in general, must be heartily tired of Buthelezi's obstruction. Their own eyes and energies, understandably, are focused on the campaign and the prizes to be had at the end of it. But they must swallow their impatience and try to find ways to address Buthelezi's objections beyond the election, in order to buy his compliance before it takes place. They might try somehow to emulate the ANC undertaking to the Freedom Front's Constand Viljoen, that an Afrikaner *volkstaat* in some form may still be considered after the election. But if they are to make any progress, they must appreciate again where Buthelezi is coming from.

It is worth reminding ourselves that politics is about power — and that Buthelezi is accustomed to power. He has been Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu for more than two decades, with real administrative authority over millions of Zulus. Though he flatly rejected the full independence offered by Pretoria, it is one of the ironies of the apartheid system that he gathered personal power anyway.

Buthelezi also built considerable prestige through his consistent opposition to apartheid — a stand that was appreciated for many years by ANC leaders in exile. It is only in the past decade that animosity between Inkatha and the ANC has flared, sparked originally by bitter division over how the 1983 tricameral constitution should be opposed.

Buthelezi gained the respect of businessmen for his consistent and lucidly argued opposition to economic sanctions — for which he was unjustly vil-

fied by the ANC and churchmen. In the mid-Eighties, he also lent his weight to the Natal Indaba, the generic term for the most imaginative constitutional proposals to emerge since Union and before Codesa (but firmly scotched by President PW Botha).

Buthelezi has been consistent and convincing in his defence of federalism — and he is right when he says that the interim constitution is not federal. Abroad, he commanded considerable respect, partly because of the principles he espoused and partly because of a lingering colonial romanticism about the Zulu warrior nation.

Yet Buthelezi has been under siege for some years from the ANC, in the territory he regarded as his own. He does not take kindly to criticism and has thus alienated important commentators who might otherwise have remained sympathetic. Crucially, he seems to have been influenced by unsuitable advisers. While he cannot be blamed for having a broad strategy, his tactics in trying to achieve it have been questionable. Arguably, he has played hard to get just once too often. Now his dominant place in Natal politics will be taken in the new provincial assembly, at least for a time, by the ANC's most senior Zulu, Jacob Zuma.

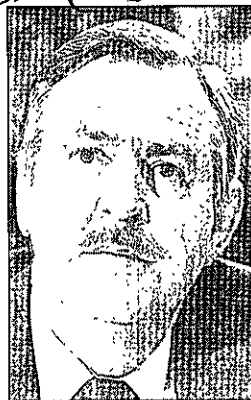


Zuma

As a result of Buthelezi's boycott stance, large numbers of Zulus appear to have been alienated from him and must be presumed to have accepted the mainstream of national politics. By the end of last year, few neutral observers believed that Buthelezi would command majority support in Natal. Then, as he appeared to undermine his own potential electoral base, his overseas backers began to drop away.

Buthelezi's rigid and autocratic approach can perhaps be illustrated by looking at the history of opposition to him from within the Zulu fold. In 1972, the Umkhonto ka Shaka party was formed under one Charles Hlengwa, based (as the name implies) on the central appeal of royalty. This party appears to have been suppressed, then it faded away.

In 1973, the Zulu National Party was established under Lloyd Ndaba, supported by Johannesburg businessman Ephraim Tshabalala and Patrick and Clement Zulu. The sig-



Botha



King Goodwill

nificance of the ZNP was that Patrick Zulu was secretary of the Zulu Royal National Council and the party was formed, says Breytenbach, "explicitly to do what Buthelezi now wants to do" — that is, restore the Zulu kingdom. At the time, Buthelezi dismissed the ZNP — in which King Goodwill was implicated — as "the black branch of the Nationalist Party regime." Buthelezi's record seems to show scant tolerance of opposition politics.

It was in the late Seventies that Buthelezi invoked the idea of federalism, largely as a way to resist independence being foisted on him by Pretoria. However, "now that a federal SA has dawned, and because it is going to be an elected federalism, Buthelezi got cold feet," argues Breytenbach. "Clearly, an elected federal system will lead to Buthelezi's demise. But if he can succeed in establishing a Zulu monarchy, then there's a new lease of life (for him)."

Buthelezi's lineage is of interest because it may explain why

he has reacted so badly to assaults on his dignity, rather than with the traditional politician's thick skin. Apparently dismissive calls by the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa for a military solution in Natal were not calculated to soothe Buthelezi.

His grandfather, Mnyamana Buthelezi, was chief induna to the Zulu kings Cetshwayo and Dinizulu. Mnyamana's son, Mathole, married Princess Makoku, a daughter of Dinizulu and sister of King Solomon, in a wedding at which a record number of lobola cattle was paid. The eldest son of this marriage was Buthelezi, born in 1928 and doubly linked to royalty. His name is linked to the royal battle cry, *Usuthu*.

A restored Zulu monarchy, says Breytenbach, might be high on legitimacy. But it is questionable how far traditional legitimacy can be taken in a partially modernised society like SA — especially given estimates that the ANC could get majority Zulu support in an electoral fight with Inkatha. And surveys have suggested that a majority even of Inkatha supporters wish to vote.

So a return to the heyday of Zulu power in the 1830s can hardly be taken seriously. But that does not mean Buthelezi must be dismissed as irrelevant. We have little idea what offers from De Klerk and Mandela would placate or even please him, but a good start would be to persuade him that he is taken seriously as a major player — irrespective of whether he takes part in the election. Perhaps the experience and diplomatic skills of Foreign Minister Pik Botha could be used to good effect.

Meanwhile the election goes ahead. That must be made abundantly clear. ■



**They're  
out to**

**get me!  
Buthelezi!**

**Political Staff**

AS the crucial KwaZulu summit began at a secret location today, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that hit squads were out to assassinate him.

He warned that he would not be influenced by threats of force, or the cutting off of funds to KwaZulu, when he and King Goodwill Zwelithini meet President De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela today.

Chief Buthelezi told the British newspaper Daily Star that members of the Communist Party who were also members of the ANC, were behind the attempts to assassinate him.

He added that he had little hope that today's talks would produce any result.

At the meeting proposals will be put to King Goodwill which could break the political logjam behind the violence sweeping KwaZulu-Natal.

There were also indications last night that special provisions could be made for the boycotting IFP to still take part in provincial elections.

The government and ANC were adamant that this month's poll would not be delayed, either nationally or in any province, as demanded by the IFP.

Sources in all camps warned yesterday against overdue optimism, predicting that a day of "very tough talking" lay ahead. Some thought a "best case scenario" would amount only to a deal being struck with the

# 'Dirtiness', Tricks', election row

king and a commitment by him to tell his subjects they could vote if they wished. This would still leave the IFP out of the election, providing a spark for more violence in Natal.

Yesterday Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela met for brief discussions on the meeting. Government and ANC negotiators also held talks.

The four leaders gathered at a secret bush venue early today for the critical talks, which could hold the key to a peaceful election and an easing of the crackling tensions in KwaZulu-Natal.

King Goodwill and Mr Mandela met from 9am for about an hour before joining the other leaders for day-long discussions.

It is evident that the king's position will be critical to the outcome of the talks. He is likely to be offered some form of constitutional entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy.

Although he has rejected similar overtures in the past, sources were last night confident the king's demands could be accommodated in new proposals.

"But progress effectively depends on whether the king is prepared to soften his demand for independence for KwaZulu-Natal," said a source.

It was reported yesterday that Zulu royals believed the king would be prepared to drop his independence demands, but that these would again be linked to IFP demands for changes to the interim constitution.

Meanwhile British Prime Minister John Major says he hopes today's summit will produce a solution enabling all parties to take part in the election in three weeks' time.

In a letter yesterday to each of the four participants Mr Major said: "I strongly hope your meeting will send a clear message in support of peace and democracy and against violence and unrest."

Britain looked forward to close relations with the new South African government.

(News by E Waugh and H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).



The ANC pamphlet



The NP 'comic'

PUBLICATIONS AT CENTRE OF THE RUMPUSS

ARC 8/4/94



### Political Staff

THE election campaign in the Western Cape has turned into a torrid war of words between the African National Congress and the National Party.

Each party accuses the other of "dirty tricks" and underhand electioneering.

Each has lodged complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission over the other's campaign conduct, posters and pamphlets.

Both have bitterly attacked public statements made by candidates of the other.

At least two ANC-NP disputes in the region are due to be arbitrated by IEC officials today, further complaints are reportedly about to pour in and ANC president Nelson Mandela last night bluntly accused the NP of pitting coloured people against Africans in a "racist" campaign in the Western Cape.

The latest row is over an ANC pamphlet depicting the NP's regional premiership candidate Hernus Kriel leading two black candidates and a coloured candidate as dogs on leashes. The cartoon also shows R50 notes falling from Mr Kriel's pocket.

Last night an angry Mr Kriel said the pamphlet would be referred to the IEC first thing today with a formal NP complaint. According to the ANC, half-a-million of the pamphlets have been distributed throughout the Western Cape.

And later today, the IEC is due to give a final ruling on an NP comic book which the ANC alleges is racist and which relies on "swart gevaar" tactics to woo coloured voters.

It is entitled: "Winds of Change Blow Through South Africa — Will you Make it Through the Storm?"

Last week the IEC ordered the NP to stop printing and distributing the comic until final adjudication, and ordered that more than 11 000 copies be held. About 80 000 copies were printed.

Also today, the IEC is to rule on an ANC complaint that NP "hooligans" had torn down ANC posters.

In the row over the ANC "dog" pamphlet, the dogs being led on leashes by Mr Kriel are identified as NP candidates Johnson Nxobongwana and Mali Hosa, who are described as "two skollie leaders of the witdoeke", and Abe Williams, who is accused of having destroyed coloured education.

The pamphlet also asks why the NP had planned the takeover of houses in Tafelsig and Delft and why skollies were damaging ANC posters and attacking ANC supporters.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

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# Future hangs in balance



DECEPTIVE: The courtesy displayed here between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi belies the bitterness at yesterday's summit.

PHOTOGRAPH BY KEN OOSTERBROEK

## Working group must wrestle further with issues

THE crisis over KwaZulu's role in the election deepened after last night's summit involving the four key leaders ended unsuccessfully.

A joint statement issued by President de Klerk, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting had agreed to establish a working group "to deliberate further and to report back to the respective leaders by Thursday next week."

A follow up four-way summit is foreseen for late next week. The statement said the four leaders were unanimous in their condemnation of

**SIGNING OFF** Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the summit.

violence. They made "an urgent appeal to their followers and to all South Africans to end the violence to exercise maximum restraint and to pursue their objectives by peaceful means."

The parties agreed that international mediation should proceed on outstanding constitutional issues, and urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference for the mediation and procedures to be followed.

The statement said the delegations also discussed the future constitutional recommendations for the Zulu monarch, results for Zulu sovereignty, and the state of emergency.

The parties agreed on the necessity to make proper constitutional provisions for the recognition of the kingdom of KwaZulu — and on this key support the working group would be expected to report.

The summit ending in bitterness with Mandela and Buthelezi disagreeing publicly over their interpretations of the talks. At a late-night press conference here, Mandela criticized Buthelezi for issuing a statement on behalf of himself and the king when, he said, it had been agreed only a joint statement would be issued.

There were also sharp differences over the election date. Buthelezi said a postponement was essential to achieve an inclusive settlement, but Mandela responded by saying: "That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."

Mandela suggested that ANC dialogue with the Zulu king would continue even after the election to accommodate the Zulu monarch's demands.

## NIS link to Eskom's arms deal suspected

EXCLUSIVE REPORT by JANNINE LAZARUS

MEMBERS of the National Intelligence Service might be linked to Eskom's sale of arms to the KwaZulu Police.

On March 25, the day the parasitoid announced it had uncovered and cancelled plans to sell 1 000 semi-automatic rifles to an arms dealer for resale to the KwaZulu Police, 10 weapons were signed out of Eskom's arsenal and loaded into a truck parked outside Eskom's Magswani Park headquarters.

A source within Eskom said the truck was accompanied by a number of other vehicles, including a grey Mercedes-Benz bearing the registration NVD131T. Senior police sources said this week that the Mercedes was registered in the name of the NIS at a Skinner Street, Pretoria, address.

head Doris Bonthuis, was suspended last week after the utility investigated the weapons deal. The weapons then mysteriously returned to the stores.

Repeated attempts to find out from the NIS, Eskom and the State President's office failed to establish what an NIS vehicle was doing at Eskom, the identity of the "bearer" who signed for the weapons, and why further weapons were being sold after Eskom had publicly undertaken not to sell arms.

An NIS spokesman, who refused to be named, denied that his organisation was linked to any arms deal between Eskom and the KwaZulu Police.

"There is no question whatsoever that we could be involved there. We do have contact from time to time. It's formal liaison. Just a question of talking about what things are like. Then we drive to the front door."

The spokesman at first refused to take down the Mercedes-Benz's registration number.

THE CIGARETTE FOR CONNOISSEURS

In the traditional 20s tin



P.T.O.

# Star 9/4/94 Summit

expected in further deliberations that would lead to another summit of the

four. The king hoped the meeting would show people on the ground what the four leaders "want from their own followers".

A flurry of submissions from the leaders earlier indicated that prospects for significant movement were limited.

Buthelezi and the king had set the tone by issuing unbending and accusatory statements. Mandela tabled an offer which, while recognising the dignity and future role of the king, seemed to fall short of a major new initiative.

In his memorandum to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met. These included the postponement of the April 26-28 poll.

Prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

The ANC had earlier tabled a seven-point draft agreement between itself and the king. In essence the document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property, and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In return, the king and royal house would undertake to promote actively the rights of all South Africans to full political freedom.

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which oc-

curred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters.

He demanded that Mandela personally distance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" (118) (109)

He added that Mandela should personally use his influence to seek the conviction of those guilty of this "crime".

The king warned that unless Mandela did so, "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible".

The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, calling it "an invasion ... an act of foreign aggression ... a rape of our national dignity and pride".

He said he and his people would never recognise the legitimacy of actions taken under the emergency.

The king said it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form".

Leaving a door just ajar for further dialogue and a negotiated settlement, he said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people".

The king said, while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this should never be at the expense of what he called the sovereignty of the kingdom.

Allowing again for sovereignty within the federal option, he said: "I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa". This "elbow room" should include a provincial police force and militia.

# Summit fails to resolve crisis

118

CT9/4/94

SKUKUZA. — The four-way leadership summit in the Kruger National Park yesterday failed to find solutions to the problems.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after the summit that progress could not be made on most of the issues raised between himself, President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Though a task group was set up to pursue these unsolved issues relating to the situation in KwaZulu/Natal, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to warn that we should have no exaggerated expectations of what this task group is likely to achieve."

However, Mr De Klerk told the news conference he thought much progress had been made.

"I think we have achieved today the beginning of negotiations that should have started long ago."

Ways and means would be sought to ensure that this forum of leaders would continue to operate and interact, Mr De Klerk said.

King Goodwill said he hoped the meeting would show the people at grassroots level what South Africa's leaders expected their followers to do.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, that the ANC's proposals to accommodate King Goodwill constitutionally were unacceptable. The IFP was also firmly opposed to the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

Despite the negative comments at the press

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From page 1

## Summit

118 CT9/4/94

conference, the four leaders' joint statement said they had agreed to make proper constitutional provision for the recognition of KwaZulu.

A follow-up meeting was likely late next week to discuss progress made by the working group and to consider "the implications arising from this".

"Urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference and the procedures to be followed," the statement said.

At the summit the ANC has offered to install King Goodwill as the constitutional monarch of KwaZulu/Natal with his own "royal council".

Mr Mandela made a final offer to the king to allow the election to go ahead peacefully.

Mr Mandela also appeared to offer Chief Buthelezi a top job in a new provincial government — proposing that the king be empowered to appoint a member of the Zulu royal family as chief adviser and assistant.

Chief Buthelezi in his proposals to the summit called for a postponement of the election and certain amendments to the interim constitution.

He said that if the proposals were agreed to, he would give "a firm and definite undertaking to participate in (the elections in the) provinces and nationally".

Mr Mandela put to the king a blueprint which sought to underpin his monarchy under South Africa's final constitution. — Sapa

# IFP in Durban poster blitz

By **GEORGE MAHABEER**  
and **GRANT CLARK**

THE IFP has blitzed Durban with hundreds of posters urging people to vote IFP when the time comes.

One of the posters put on lampposts yesterday carried a picture of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi with an X while the other, sporting the IFP logo, called on the public to "make our country free" by supporting the IFP.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet rejected claims that the posters were ambiguous.

"There is no apparent contradiction in the message of the posters. From the wording, it states clearly we urge voters to vote IFP when the time comes.

"The aim is to increase IFP visibil-

ity, boost its public profile and to let voters know that we are not sliding into political oblivion," said Mr Tillet.

ANC Southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the posters showed confusion within the IFP, suggesting a "strong pro-election lobby within the IFP" could have motivated the appearance of the posters.

IFP Natal Midlands leader David Ntombela said he knew nothing about the posters.

"As the IFP Midlands leader I should have been consulted. I spent the whole week in Ulundi and no one mentioned anything about posters to me," Mr Ntombela said.

(News by G Mahabeer and G Clark, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)



# Royal flush

# beats ANCO ace

S Times

10/14/94



TRY THAT FOR SIZE, KEPLER, OLD COBBER



THE KING AND MANDELA... advisers thwarted an ANC bid to arrange a private meeting between the men  
Picture: DAVID SANDISON

## Kwazulu poll will take place — IEC

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON  
THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has drawn up detailed plans to allow Kwazulu's three million voters to cast ballots despite the violent climate and a lack of co-operation from Uthmanzi.

"We have no option but to run an election in Kwazulu — and we have the capability to do so," IEC member Gay McDougall said yesterday.

She and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke spent two days touring four of the province's five sub-provincial regions this

A DESPERATE attempt by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to persuade Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to support peaceful elections in Natal was torpedoed at this week's crisis summit by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela played what he had hoped would be his ace card by offering King Goodwill powers as a constitutional monarch with sway over the whole Natal province.

But Chief Buthelezi scuppered the proposal by insisting the offer could not be considered unless all Inkatha's other concerns were handled at the same time.

Although a task group has been set up to consider the proposals, the ANC's failure to persuade the king to distance himself from Inkatha's call for a poll boycott does not augur well for the elections in the violence-ravaged province.

The Independent Electoral Commission announced yesterday it would push ahead with elections in the province — even if it could not operate in certain areas — and an army mechanised brigade was on standby in Eskovore this weekend to move into Kwazulu.

The political drama was played out at Stokuzu in the Kruger National Park on Friday when President F W de Klerk, the king, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi met to discuss the growing crisis in Natal.

The 18-hour summit began badly for the ANC, which had hoped Mr Mandela and King Goodwill could meet in private. The ANC believes the king's advisers have an undue influence on him and wanted to avoid outside interference.

However, despite two attempts by Mr Mandela to meet the king privately, advisers Sean Armstrong and Mario Amrose insisted that according to protocol, King Goodwill should be accompanied by his full delegation.

Sources at the meeting said the king then proceeded in Zulu to read to Mr Mandela a 12-page document which referred to perceived past injustices from the ANC and attacks on his supporters.

Only when he had finished was Mr Mandela able to table for discussion his proposals for a Zulu monarchy.

In terms of the proposals, King Goodwill would be recognised as a king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations in Kwazulu Natal.

He would have a royal constabulary and a badge, but would not be consulted on



**KNOCKED OUT:** Rival captains Allan Border and Kepler Wessels celebrate the end of four months of cricket battles after the Australians had piped South Africa by one run in Bloemfontein to square the limited-overs series. The Test series also finished level. Border described Friday's win as "a brilliant end to a tour which we've all enjoyed". The Australians fly home today.  
Picture: JON HRUSA

**R300m pay rise to appease co's**

S Times 10/14/94

**JOHN ROYALTY**  
America's Finest Tobacco Planter

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He would have a royal constabulary and a budget, be consulted and briefed on legislation and his powers would be entrenched in the constitution.

In return, the king would be expected to guarantee that all parties would be able to campaign peacefully in the elections.

King Goodwill, said sources at the meeting, responded by asking for 30 minutes to consult his advisers, including Chief Buthelezi.

The consultations lasted 90 minutes, and royal household member Prince Vincent Zulu returned to the meeting with the blunt message: "The king has examined your proposals and finds them unacceptable."

The meeting continued with Mr Mandela asking repeatedly what further concerns the king had, and how these could be accom-

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Repo

## R30 to a

By PETER De

THE TEC is set to allow the election to about 80 000 voters in an attempt to avert a threatened strike.

An announcement expected on Tuesday will increase the daily allowance to police on active duty from R22,50 to R25,00, equal to the total allowances granted to Peacekeeping Force members on deployment.

The decision about R300-million and R150-million allocated to paying election allowances from March, April and May.

A police general election top-level decision by the SA Police Union to the TEC for salary increases in pay



**LAST-DITCH  
attempts to stop  
low-key war in  
KwaZulu/Natal  
escalating out of  
control**

■ BY HELEN GRANGE  
CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and NORMAN CHANDLER

KwaZulu could face an intensified security crackdown if last-gasp talks this week fail to produce a breakthrough in the electoral impasse.

There are widespread fears that violence in KwaZulu/Natal might soar if the special working group — set up to provide the summit sequel with fresh initiatives — fails.

Yesterday there was deep pessimism in both Government and ANC circles over prospects for a breakthrough.

"Even if we manage to reach agreement in the working group — which is possible — it appears that it will be blocked by the IFP leadership," said a senior Government source.

They pointed out that encouraging progress in talks between the king and Mandela on Friday had been reversed after he consulted the full IFP delegation.

With the failure of the four-way Skukuza summit, it is understood that security action will be considerably intensified if tensions in the province con-



tinue to lead to bloodshed.

KwaZulu politicians acknowledge that the next four days will be crucial to the territory and the Zulu monarchy. They fear that if their demands are not met, the low-key civil war now raging in the region could escalate out of control.

The situation in the territory was generally quiet yesterday. South African troops had not been mobilised by nightfall at their temporary base at the Eshowe showgrounds. It is understood that mobilisation could begin by Thursday, depending on the success of the task force discussions.

Yesterday Ulundi was abnormally quiet, according to local residents. The local hotel had only three guests, and normal Saturday trade at the bar and restaurant was non-existent.

With hopes of an ANC-IFP constitutional resolution all but shattered by Friday's inconclusive summit, attention is also focusing on getting as many KwaZulu/Natal voters as possible to the polls.

► **Big chiefs forgo the peace pipe — Page 11**

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, speaking in Cradock yesterday, said it was estimated about 60 per cent of Natal's inhabitants would be able to participate freely in the election.

But IFP supporters, especially north of the Tugela, were actively intimidating people not to take part in the election, he said.

Meyer warned that if the election was postponed, the future of the country would be determined by radical elements of the Left and Right, and that a Bosnia-style situation would develop.

None of the arguments that were now being brought up by the IFP were new and there were no solutions for them, he added.

The IFP warned at its central committee meeting on Saturday that KwaZulu citizens would resist the state of emergency, and demanded its immediate lifting.

In resolutions addressing the reasons for rejecting the

► **To Page 2**

*Intensified security crackdown possible if task force fails*

**Crunch week for**

*Star 11/4/94*

(118) (118)

**KwaZulu**

# IFP election posters surprise

The emergence of Inkatha Freedom Party election posters in and around Durban has surprised the public in view of the fact that the IFP has called for a postponement of the poll.

But IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said he was surprised at the public's response.

Tillet said the party had consistently committed itself to being tested at the polls, and that the posters stated: "Vote for the IFP when the time comes".

However, he said, the IFP was committed to federalism, adding that the election would sound the death knell for federalism.

The fact that the party was

*Star 11/4/94*  
opposed to the election on April 27 did not prevent it from pushing for a postponement that provided for a federal solution.

Tillet said posters were to boost the IFP's visibility and to reassure people who thought that Inkatha was to be written into political obscurity.

ANC southern Natal publicity spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the posters reflected the difference of opinion within the ranks of the IFP on the question of contesting the election.

National Party director of information Renier Schoeman said the initial reaction of voters was that the IFP had every intention

of taking part in the election on April 27. (118)

The exact objective of the posters was not clear, however.

"What one needs are positive decisions from them," he said.

Roger Burrows, leader of the Democratic Party in Natal, said he believed the move would be confusing for IFP supporters who would be looking, in vain, for their party's name on the ballot paper.

He advised IFP supporters to vote for the DP this time until they had a chance to vote for their own party the next time. — Own Correspondent.

(P Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)

Edited by Mike Siluma

**A** working group has the Herculean task of forging a ten-year bridge across the chasms which emerged from the Skukuza summit. Failure will mean another period of dangerous inconclusivity, writes Political

# Big chiefs forgo the

11B 11/4/94 Star

**L**ATE on Friday night President de Klerk tried his utmost to put a positive spin on the day of talks that had just been completed between himself, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But it was evident from the language of aides that proceedings had gone far from smoothly. One described the meeting, bluntly, as a "stuff-up"; another said he was amazed the talks had survived through the day after it became evident that there was very little chance of bridging differences.

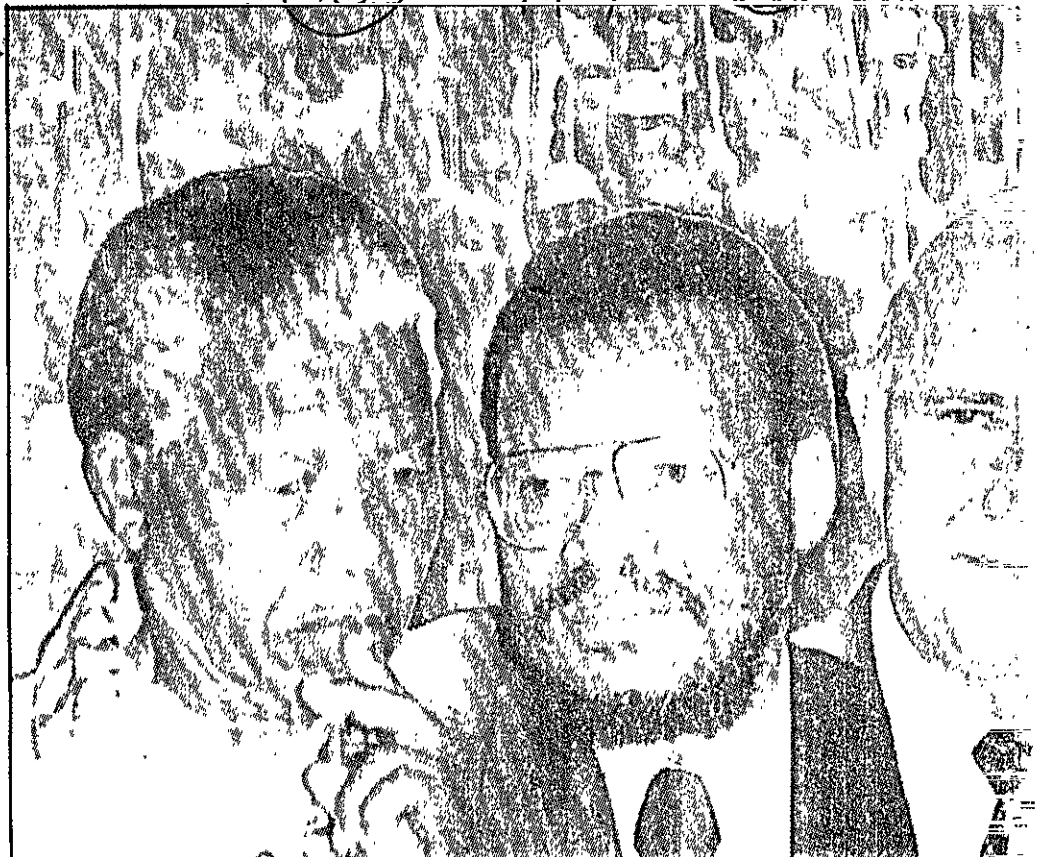
The words of Mandela and Buthelezi at a late night press conference at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park reinforced the suggestion of a yawning gap.

As midnight approached, Mandela reacted sharply to a statement issued jointly by Buthelezi and the king: "... the statement read by the Chief Minister comes to me as a complete surprise. I certainly was not informed about it before now. I would have expected that if there was a separate statement we should have been informed and warned about it."

The statement, read to the press conference by Buthelezi, had been aggressive, hitting at the state of emergency and the proposals made by the ANC as well as demanding a postponement of the election.

Responding to Mandela's criticism, Buthelezi suggested that the ANC leader had misunderstood proceedings during the talks and "it wasn't as if we were doing it (issuing the statement) secretly".

Mandela reacted bluntly to the election



*"The IFP wanted the date of the election postponed. We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."*

**Nelson Mandela**

delay demand: "We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."

Buthelezi also dismissed what he apparently believed were suggestions that the king was demanding personal reassurances: "The issues, as the king has raised (them), have a lot to do with the self-determination of the Zulu people. (It is) not just a personal issue which His Majesty raises about himself and his family, but an issue which he raises about his people as a whole."

In the circumstances De Klerk's notes of optimism sounded misplaced. He had urged observers not to look cynically on the creation of yet another "working group" to probe differences, and added: "I think we have achieved progress."

But one comment by the President did come close to summing up the situation in KwaZulu/Natal today: "To a certain extent

we have come to the brink of a very serious situation," he said.

The leaders are expected to get together again late this week. The working group is scheduled to issue its report on Thursday. The founding documents with which it will have to deal were released in the course of Friday's deliberations — and largely lost in the drama of the inconclusive media conference. Here is the crux of the various proposals and submissions put forward.

## THE ANC PROPOSAL

The ANC tabled a seven-point "draft agreement" between itself and the king. In essence the detailed document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it the "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In addition, the agreement allowed for the king to be crowned "in such a manner as may be agreed with him", reaffirmed his right to install all chiefs in the province and his powers determined by Zulu custom and tradition.

The constitution would provide for the king to open the provincial legislature each year. The premier of the KwaZulu/Natal province would be required to regularly report to and brief the king on all legislative

*"One can't really say in one breath that you have a free and fair election and then in the next breath say that you approve of the state of emergency."*

**Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

and executive actions.

The provincial government would also establish a Royal Constabulary responsible for the security of the royal house, while the king would have to be consulted by the provincial government on the question of the final name to be given to the province. In return, the king and royal house would undertake to actively promote the rights of all South Africans to full political freedom.

The document spelt out that this would mean "guaranteeing all political parties and organisations ... shall not be hindered ... in their unarmed and peaceful campaigns". The crucial requirement demanded of the king in the draft agreement was contained in its final paragraph: "His Majesty and the royal house of KwaZulu further undertake to do all in their power, in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission, to ensure that all persons seeking to participate

*"There is already a broad consensus burning issue accommodation of the Zulu king."*

**F W de Klerk**

and vote in the future able to do so

Mandela said "out of our way to we believe a coalition to enjoy. The our view which perhaps we were all right of his majesty indigenous law. us we indicated address this

**GOVERNMENT** President de Klerk which he later said the ANC's submission. It envisaged constitution of the that of an executive the kingdom of Kwa-

ask of forging a tenuous bridge over the political summit. Failure could plunge the country into , writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield



# Go to the peace pipe



tance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" and added that the ANC president should personally use his influence to seek the conviction of those guilty of this "crime". The King warned that unless Mandela did this "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible".

The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, calling it "an invasion... an act of foreign aggression... and a rape of our national dignity and pride". He and his people would never recognise the legitimacy of actions taken under the emergency.

The king added that it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form".

He said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people". The king said that while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this should never be at the expense of what he called "the sovereignty of the kingdom".

"I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa," said the king. This "elbow room" should include a provincial police force and militia as well as a recognition of the Zulu monarchy above the institutions of chieftanships.

### BUTHELEZI'S MEMORANDUM

In his submission to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met — these included the postponement of the election

in one free and in the ou

*"There is already a discernible broad consensus... on the burning issue of the accommodation and full recognition of the monarchy of the Zulu kingdom."*

F W de Klerk

The council would consist of 80 members, at least half made up of traditional leaders. The copy of the submission obtained by The Star made no reference to the composition of the executive.

The king, his executive and the council would "have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenureship system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects".

The king, executive and council would have legislative and executive powers on:

- Indigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant area of its jurisdiction;
- Traditions, indigenous law and customs relating to the Zulu subjects and;
- Other assigned or delegated matters.

De Klerk said later: "We have made specific proposals; we have specifically dealt with the two issues (outstanding from the ANC proposal). I am confident on this issue, which is an issue of major importance to the Zulu nation, that we have made progress."

### THE KING'S SUBMISSION

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which occurred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters in the recent city centre bloodshed.

He demanded that Mandela personally dis-

*"It is... a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 Constitution in its present formulation."*

King Goodwill Zwelithini

Also prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu, and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

Other demands were:

- Recognition of the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu in the Interim Constitution as well as "the KwaZulu/Natal provincial constitution";
- That provincial constitutions, as well as the powers and functions of provinces in the interim constitution, be "entrenched";
- That the results of international mediation be incorporated in the Interim Constitution.

Buthelezi insisted that to "facilitate" participation in elections and the resolution of constitutional disputes, the election be postponed and that parties be given another chance to register.

ould also responsible for... while the... by the pro- sion of the province. In... would un- rights of all... dent.

this would parties and... in...". The... the king in... ed in its... the royal... take to do... with the... en, to en- participate

and vote in the forthcoming elections shall be able to do so without hindrance."

Mandela said after the meeting: "We went out of our way to address everything which we believe a constitutional monarch would like to enjoy. There is hardly any power in our view which we reserved except perhaps we were silent on the question of the right of his majesty to communal land and to indigenous law. When this was pointed out to us we indicated (that we were) prepared to address this question."

### GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

President de Klerk put forward a proposal which he later said bridged the gap between the ANC's submission and the king's demands. It envisaged the entrenchment in the constitution of the king's position as well as that of an executive and a council to govern the kingdom of KwaZulu.

**POLITICS** Moseneke speaks out on Natal elections ● 1

# Zululand problem

Sowetan 11/4/94

■ **TOUGH DISTRICTS** Intimidation

brings drop in polling stations:

**T**HE heart of Zululand will be the most difficult area to carry out free and fair elections but the poll in KwaZulu-Natal will not be postponed, according to an Independent Electoral Commission report released at the weekend.

Speaking to journalists after returning from a two-day fact finding mission to Natal, IEC vice-chairman Mr Dikgang Moseneke said a free and fair poll would not be easy to conduct in districts in the Empangeni sub-province in Northern Natal, most of which fell entirely within

KwaZulu. Moseneke mentioned Nkandla, Msinga, Ingwavuma, Nqutu, Mahlabaatini — the area in which Ulundi is situated — and Nongoma, the stronghold of the Zulu king, as problem areas in the 51-district province.

IEC commissioner Ms Gay McDougall said she and Moseneke had found there was

a clear desire from people in the region to vote. (SOPA) (118)

Moseneke said the number of proposed polling stations in the homeland had been reduced to about 800 because of violence and intimidation. — Sapa.

(Report by Jono Waters 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

## ANC may support election delay

Sowetan 11/4/94

# Island of peace in Natal

MR SIPHO Mlaba, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman in this once-bloody black township of Mpumalanga, is determined that free and fair elections will be held in his area — despite his party's boycott of South Africa's April 26-28 historic all-race poll.

"I see no reason to oppose voting," Mlaba said in an interview in Unit 1 section of the township, the IFP's stronghold, near the Natal provincial capital of Maritzburg. (11B)

He said a voting station would be set up at the local school, Esihonqeni secondary, but added that because the IFP dominated Unit 1, he did not expect many people to turn up to vote there.

"I will speak to the youths not to disrupt the voting," Mlaba added.

Mlaba, credited by local ANC chairman Mr Meshack Radebe with bringing peace to Mpumalanga — said any party was welcome to campaign in Unit 1, provided they didn't expect him to organise rallies.

"Mpumalanga is a model," Mlaba said. "If we disturb this, there will never be peace in South Africa. We have to fight to save it."

He attributes the calm in the area to the fact that the war for domination of Mpumalanga by the IFP and the ANC has already been fought — and lost by both sides. — Sapa-AFP.

# Strong federal power is IFP's bottom line

Sowetan 11/4/94  
118

By Donwaid Pressly  
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party kept the door open to further negotiation at the weekend over the future of Natal and KwaZulu—despite the lack of progress made at Friday's leaders' summit.

It however warned that a regional state with strong federal powers was its bottom line before any agreement was made to participate in future elections.

Although the weekend meeting of the IFP central committee expressed its disappointment that the summit of the four leaders "was not immediately productive", the decision to press ahead with a task group with the ANC and the Government was seen a positive.

Yesterday President FW de Klerk's

office was involved in delicate negotiations with the ANC and the IFP to discuss government involvement in international mediation talks between the two parties scheduled for this week.

Government sources, however, predicted that the mediation may be delayed until next week. The task group would, however, report back to De Klerk, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mr Nelson Mandela individually on Thursday.

A second leaders' summit will be held again "more than likely next week," a constitutional development source said last night.

Meanwhile the Government's and the ANC's attention seemed to be moving away from accommodating Buthelezi and focussing more on achieving a set-

tlement with the king.

De Klerk told an election meeting in the Free State at the weekend that Inkatha was a party without a future. "Political party food is to participate in elections and get votes. But Inkatha does not want votes and won't participate," he said.

Also in the Free State, Mandela said the ANC would continue to negotiate with the king as his organisation was worried about the level of violence in Natal. The ANC would continue to press on him that the powers being offered to him — and presented to him at the summit on Friday — gave him powers which he at present did not enjoy. See page 8.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West).

# IFP 'will take up arms'

JOHANNESBURG. — The IFP will take up arms if the election proceeds without it, Transvaal IFP official Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said here yesterday.

He claimed the IFP had the capacity to survive a civil war with the South African army, but he declined to elaborate on what resources were available to the IFP.

Mr Ndlovu was commenting on foreign-mediated talks between his party and the ANC in a bid to solve

their constitutional differences.

He was pessimistic about the negotiations and warned of catastrophe if the election went ahead without the IFP.

(11B) CT 13/4/94  
"If they go on with the elections without satisfying our demands they are looking for trouble."

"If they continue with this they are looking for a catastrophe. We will have only one option left for us, for if we are forced then there is nothing left to do other than take up arms."



# Mediation bi

From Page 1

of the date. Our position is that the date is sacrosanct ... we could not see ourselves engaging in negotiations on the date."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has also said the IFP's only objective appears to be the postponing of the election.

ANC and Government sources had been highly optimistic late on Tuesday that progress was possible on the basis of what they believed had been an agreement with the IFP.

However, Ngubane said the IFP had indicated all along that it was not happy with the formulation of the clause as it precluded a postponement of the date.

"It was not an agreement. It was co-operation to try to find an acceptable agreement."

Another area of disagreement last night was when any deal reached in mediation would be included in the Interim Constitution.

The Government and ANC be-

## d tottering

lieved this should be done after the election, but the IFP felt that if changes were necessary the election might have to be postponed so that Parliament could be recalled for amendments.

Last night Ramaphosa said the IFP was to take a fresh proposal to Buthelezi in terms of which two separate documents would be placed before the mediators.

One would deal with the terms of reference and the other on the implementation of agreements reached.

### Explore

However, Ngubane said there had merely been discussion on this and it was simply a suggestion that they would explore.

Buthelezi said yesterday that the Government's input on Tuesday had led to the inclusion in the terms of reference of a clause which specifically excluded the election date issue from the mediation.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

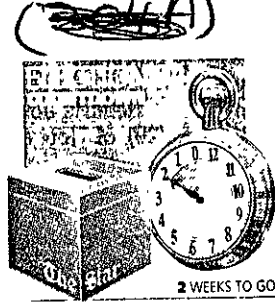
BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
ESTHER WAUGH and KAIZER  
NYATSUMBA

International mediators were locked in crisis talks this morning over the looming failure of their mission to South Africa.

This follows yesterday's breakdown in talks between the ANC, the Government and the dissenting IFP over the mediators' terms of reference.

The mediators, headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, met delegations from the three organisations last night.

This morning the mediation team went into a meeting at their Johannesburg hotel, ap-



parently to decide on whether they should abandon their mission now.

The IFP was arranging a central committee meeting on the issue in Ulundi, after failing to agree in five hours of negotiations with the ANC and Government on what the mediators would address.

Despite guarded optimism by ANC and Government negotiators that a way out of the deadlock could be found, the IFP was downbeat.

IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said: "Any move from now would require a central committee meeting. We don't have any mandate to give a

WISE men could decide today whether to pack it in and go home following deadlock on the election date

possibility of a solution until our central committee meets."

He said he had spoken to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the three-way talks last night and the IFP president had indicated that the central committee would have to meet.

The prospects of mediation actually getting off the ground now seem remote. The mediators have already shown signs of impatience, indicating that they would leave the country if no progress was made. They are expected to decide this morning when to leave.

The three delegations were scheduled to meet the negotiators separately last night.

Central to the differences between the parties is whether a reference to the election date should be included in the mediation team's terms of reference. The IFP does not want any reference, but apparently intends that the issue should go before the mediators. The ANC and Government feel the mediators should not address the possible postponement of the election.

Also in dispute is exactly who agreed to what at a meeting on Monday night. The ANC and Government say IFP negotiators agreed to the inclusion of the date clause but Buthelezi blocked it when he got sight of the proposals.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night: "Their ultimate objective is to get us in a situation where we negotiate on the postponement

To Page 3

Star 14/4/94

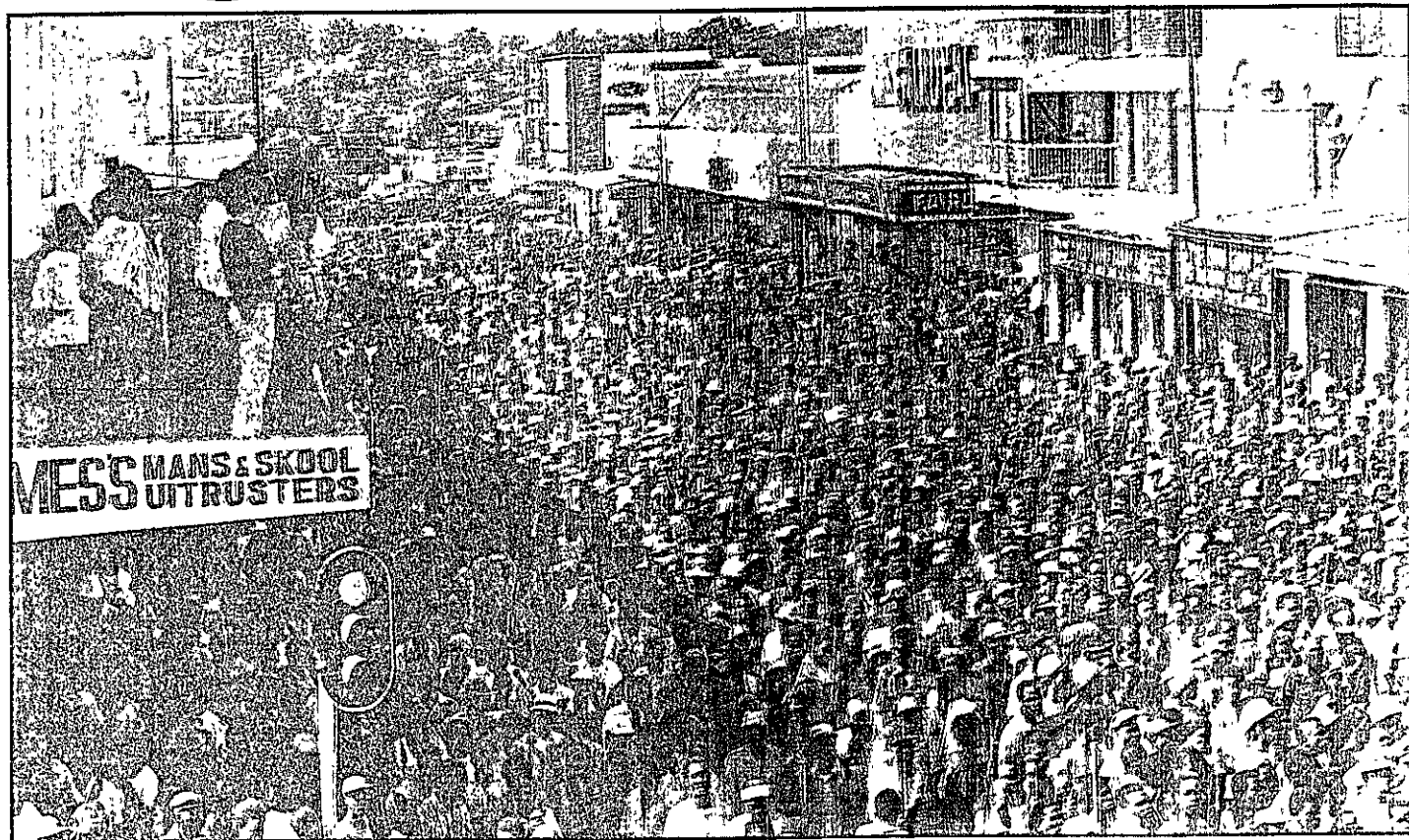
# Mediation bid

Crisis meeting after deadlock in three-party negotiations

TOTTERS

Memorandum takes TEC, IEC to task

# Zulu march refuses to give up weapons



Defiant . . . about 20 000 IFP Youth Brigade members on the march with traditional weapons. PICTURE: SEAN WOODS

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Vryheid — Thousands of Zulus took to the streets in Vryheid to demonstrate peacefully against the election yesterday, but in the rural areas of KwaZulu/Natal violence continues to reap a grim toll.

At Vryheid, IFP Youth Brigade members took on the police in an exercise in brinkmanship by refusing to be disarmed of their traditional weapons, including knobkerries, spears and shields.

There were tense moments in the local stadium as up to 20 000

## IFP marchers take on police over traditional weapons and win temporary victory as Vryheid holds collective breath

marchers waited while their leaders spoke to security forces about the weapons.

It seemed as if the town of Vryheid was holding its collective breath because the huge number of Zulu marchers were

hell-bent on asserting their authority.

The police announced they had opened a docket against the IFP for carrying weapons, specifically prohibited in terms of the emergency regulations.

The marchers poured into a cordoned-off Church Street, where almost all the town's businesses are situated. The street had been closed to shoppers since early morning.

Barbed wire protected the local magistrate's court, where the marchers presented a memorandum to officials for onward transmission to the TEC.

Packed SADF and police troop carriers took up positions throughout the central business district, turning the town into a no-go area for residents and farmers. Police and SADF helicopters circled overhead. (118)

In the memorandum, the marchers castigated the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission and said there would be no peace while the IFP was not a part of election. (118)

And in Newcastle, right-wingers occupied municipal land in the centre of the town "as a symbolic gesture"

Star 14/4/94

# Crisis as talks falter

Sowetan 14/4/94

(11B) ~~SECRET~~

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**  
Political Staff

**T**ALKS TO BREAK THE CONSTITUTIONAL deadlock between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party were plunged into crisis yesterday after a last-minute wrangle over the terms of reference.

A meeting in Pretoria to resolve the crisis was adjourned last night to today. A Government spokesman said the IFP delegation was given an opportunity to take certain proposals to its principals.

Problems surfaced after a dispute emerged over the inclusion of an election date to the terms of reference. This follows a draft agreement between the Government, the ANC and the IFP on Monday night on the terms of reference. The agreement was then put to the organisations' leaders for their responses.

IFP sources said their negotiators had reservations about the fact that mediation would not include the election date. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused the ANC and the Government of sabotaging the mediation process. He said they were colluding to exclude the IFP from the April elections.

The IFP expressed concern that the phrasing of the terms of reference would bind it to the

election date, something it has categorically rejected.

IFP, ANC and Government negotiating teams were meeting in Pretoria last night to try and agree on terms of reference that would allow the international mediators to get on with their task.

The mediation team includes former US secretary of state Dr Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, who indicated that they would withdraw from mediation should the election date be included in the terms of reference. Kissinger said the election date was clearly not a subject of mediation.

He said the mediators were prepared only to mediate on constitutional issues, the implementation of which would be left to South Africans.

The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the election date would not be subject to the mediation.

Kissinger and Carrington held talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday morning and were scheduled to meet Buthelezi.

Sources have indicated that Carrington and Kissinger may cut their visits short if some agreement on the terms of reference is not reached.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday he hoped the international mediation effort to resolve political differences would result in agreements that had long escaped the country.

He said Government negotiators had been instructed to be constructive rather than technical at mediation talks.

# IFP flouts emergency rules

THERE could be no peace in South Africa unless the interim constitution was amended, said a memorandum delivered to the chief magistrate of Vryheid after a march by tens of thousands of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters yesterday.

The memorandum, read to the crowd of IFP supporters gathered outside the local police station in the northern Natal town, called for the immediate lifting of

the state of emergency, imposed 13 days ago in the province.

The IFP also called for the election to be postponed to pave the way for an "all-inclusive election".

The party further called on Vryheid residents to take heed of the IFP's "grave warning" that the constitution was flawed and should be amended before the election.

Earlier, more than 20 000 Zulus,

many wearing IFP insignia, marched through Vryheid carrying sticks, spears and other "traditional weapons" in open defiance of the state of emergency regulations.

Attempts to disarm the crowd were unsuccessful and by 1pm the mass began streaming towards the Church Street police station to deliver the memorandum. — Sapa.

(Report by G Arde, 330 West St, Durban)

Sowetan 14/4/94

(118)

*'Great disappointment' at failure of talks*

# There will be no war – Buthelezi

Star 15/4 194

IIB

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared resigned yesterday to the fact that two weeks from now he will not be Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

A relaxed Buthelezi told a press conference in Johannesburg on the failed international mediation that he was not unduly concerned about his future after the election, adding that his pension would be safe.

Asked if he was worried about his and his people's position in KwaZulu once an ANC-dominated regional government was in power, Buthelezi replied: "We have our pensions, if you are

talking about money."

He expressed his "great disappointment" with the failure of mediation, and laid the blame at the door of the ANC and the Government.

The two, he said, had been opposed to mediation from the beginning, and had "again ruined another opportunity where there could have been reconciliation".

However, he would continue to engage the ANC and the Government in negotiations.

Asked whether he would resort to armed insurrection, Buthelezi said he had never considered taking up arms even against successive racist National Party governments, and he would not do so now.

"It (a war) would be a terrible thing for Natal. It would be terrible for South Africa and the rest of southern Africa. Whoever wins power through war would have won a pyrrhic victory."

The IFP leader said he had always stated openly that those who wanted to vote in the election had their democratic right to do so, adding that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had not called on Zulus not to vote.

He said he did not know if he and King Goodwill would still attend the second round of talks with ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, now expected to be held next week.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



KWAZULU

Fm 15/4/94

# Can the mediators pull it off?

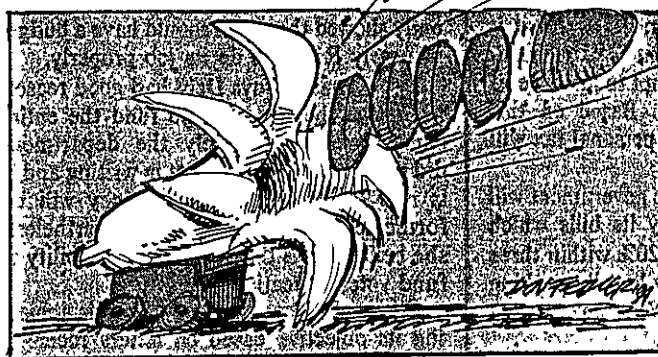
~~11A~~ 11B

If ever there was a demonstration of the carrot-and-stick approach to politics, it is that now being used to resolve the volatile KwaZulu/Natal impasse. The problem is KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is barely sniffing at the carrot and, far from cringing from the stick, threatens to hit straight back.

For all ANC leader Nelson Mandela's assertions to the foreign media that Buthelezi does not have the capacity to wage a Vietnam-style military campaign in the province, he's all too painfully aware that the chief minister and his supporters, irrespective of whether they remain in control of Ulundi and its civil service, can make things decidedly uncomfortable for any new regional administration.

The region is known to be flooded with arms and a considerable number of Inkatha supporters have been given at least the rudiments of military training at clandestine training camps set up throughout KwaZulu. They clearly have the capacity to wage an effective, low-key, guerrilla war capable of tying up men and resources for years with devastating consequences for the region.

Moreover, though the ANC has yet to be elected to office there are signs of increasing disenchantment, locally and abroad, with the unceremonious (and legally and democratically questionable) way both the ANC and government sweep aside opposition to the election. Both would thus be well advised to tread carefully in their dealings with Inkatha from a purely diplomatic perspective if nothing else.



The state of emergency in KwaZulu is a case in point. Captain Kim van Niekerk, of the Natal Security Info Centre in Durban, says the number of troops deployed in the province in the first fortnight of the emergency has risen to between 2 200 and 2 400.

"If warranted we will send more troops to the area. The situation is assessed on a day-to-day basis," she says. "We also decide on a daily basis where in the province to deploy forces so they are not wasted in non-conflict areas."

Van Niekerk adds that the strategy seems to be working, though to what extent it is being effective is difficult to quantify. "Violence seems to have dissipated, though we cannot yet prove it statistically, particularly as it is difficult to differentiate between politically and criminally motivated strife."

There is a body of opinion, however, which believes that all the troops have done is serve to heighten tensions; and that they will be of little or no effect in ensuring free and fair elections take place in the region.

On the carrot side, the picture is equally bleak (see *Leaders*). Last week's quadrilateral talks in the Kruger National Park were clearly a failure and the last vestiges of hope for a pre-election resolution of the impasse rest with ongoing discussion between the negotiating teams and international mediation which was scheduled to begin on Wednesday.

Interestingly, though government and the Nats initially pooh-pooed the idea of mediation when it was used as a means of enticing Buthelezi to register for the elections, government has now wheedled its way into the process. Clearly it believes there could be political advantage to be gained from participation, though it would seem the NP would have the most to gain if Inkatha stayed out of the election. Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte believes there is an excellent chance of the Nats winning the election in KwaZulu/Natal. Certainly, the

NP's campaign seems to be gathering momentum in the region.

Realistically, though, what chances are there of a breakthrough in the mediation process?

The international mediation team consists of Judge H K Bhagwati (India); Lord Carrington (UK); Judge A Leon Higginbotham (US); Henry Kissinger (US); Prof Paul Kevenhorster (Germany); Judge Anto-

nio La Pergola (Italy) and Prof Jean Antoine Laponce (Canada).

Cyril Ramaphosa leads the ANC's team to the mediation talks, Roelf Meyer government's, Ben Ngubane Inkatha's and Prince Vincent Zulu that of the King.

The odds, of course, are virtually nil that any solution can be thrashed out in time for Inkatha to participate in the election. The leaders' summit last Friday gave their negotiating teams until Thursday to reach an agreement which would allow for Inkatha's

participation. And Ramaphosa has stressed that the ANC will not entertain any postponement of the poll. There's a feeling abroad that it would take a "miracle" to produce a constitutional deal between the ANC and Inkatha at this late juncture.

The mediators' first task is to mediate on the terms of reference of their mediation task — only part of which has so far been agreed. One issue that may well scupper mediation before it gets under way is Inkatha's demand for a postponement of the election. Other differences include the ANC's desire to test the interim constitution against the yardstick that it provides for a "democratic, nonracist, nonsexist, united SA," while Inkatha wants a "federalistic and pluralistic" constitution.

The general view, then, is one of pessimism. However, that in itself could pave the way for a more realistic approach to compromise than has been evident previously when hopes of a breakthrough were higher. ■

## PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMMES

### Note of warning

Hot on the heels of a call by the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) for an ANC government to break up the Development Bank of SA, because of alleged tardiness over job-creating public works projects, comes an Urban Foundation report on the international and SA experience of public works programmes.

Unlike Sanco, the foundation's report advocates a crucial need for partnerships between government and the private sector, as well as local community involvement, as a key element of future employment policies.

It emphasises that the central government should not be seen as the sole, or even the main, player in the development of public works programmes as it is extremely difficult to conceive an effective "developmental" state which on its own can design, manage, implement, maintain and monitor a sound programme.

According to the report, SA spends R6,2bn a year — about 5% of its national budget — on a variety of projects that are partially public works.

It is noted that the programmes (centre-piece of the ANC's election manifesto), are likely to be an important component of the new government's reconstruction and development programme. But the foundation's Ann Bernstein warns that while such programmes can have strong benefits, they can also be costly failures if poorly thought out.

In raising the question of whether it is possible to increase significantly the labour

THE SKUKUZA SUMMIT

# An exercise in futility?

Fm 15/4/94

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Maybe not, but the immediate consequences have done more harm than good



Over the past week, the four "democratic" leaders portrayed on our cover have contrived to do more harm to the economy and SA's democratic and peaceful aspirations than did the last "apartheid" presi-

dent, P W Botha, on that fateful evening of the Rubicon speech in Natal nine years ago when he balked at the implications of his own political innovation.

The outcome of the summit put us in a worse position than the Rubicon reversal did all those years ago. Indeed, the four leaders gathered with what can only be seen to have been uncompromising aspirations.

The tide of optimism that preceded Friday's meeting of the top four political leaders at a private bush camp near Skukuza in the Kruger National Park was short-lived.

Confrontation rather than compromise dominated the day and the first gathering of the four may well have been their last. Let us pray for the sake of SA that it isn't. Panic in the financial markets (see *Economy*) in reaction to the failed talks illustrates how much our future is in their hands.

Hopes for a breakthrough now rest with international mediators headed by Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. Their efforts are probably our last chance of a settlement in the short term, but the outlook is not good.

The summit may well have hardened positions instead of opened the way for compromise. The faint hope that President F W de Klerk, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would somehow find one another in the tranquillity

of the Kruger Park and pave the way for relatively peaceful elections in KwaZulu in less than a fortnight was wishful thinking.

Failure was signalled more than four hours before the talks ended. The 80-strong media contingent flown in by the SA Air Force to await the outcome was given a scathing 12-page memorandum presented by Zwelithini to Mandela: a chronological account of months of perceived insults by the ANC against the Zulu monarchy and people, and a new demand for restoration of the kingdom.

Though the meeting between the king and Mandela — their first ever — was initially scheduled as one-on-one, the king, relying on protocol, insisted on being accompanied by his entire delegation. ANC aides regarded this as a ploy by Buthelezi, the king's chief adviser, to ensure Mandela couldn't persuade the king to change his anti-election attitude in return for a high-profile constitutional position.

Though upset by Zwelithini's attitude, Mandela nevertheless made a proposal to accommodate him in the regional constitution. The ANC had apparently been so confident that the plan would be accepted that it headed the document: *Agreement between the ANC and the Royal House of KwaZulu*.

But later, when a copy was circulated to journalists, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the plan had "unfortunately" not been accepted and should therefore be regarded as a proposal, not an agreement.

The full extent of the summit's failure became apparent only at the late-night press conference. It was announced jointly by the

four that the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house was to be referred to a joint working group that had to report back within six days and that unresolved constitutional issues would be referred to international mediation. In other words, there had been no progress towards a settlement.



Buthelezi remained insistent that the election should be postponed and that registration of parties participating in the poll be reopened. This was emphatically rejected by Mandela: "There should be no doubt whatsoever about the election on April 27. We cannot postpone our freedom. We are determined to set up a government of our choice on that day."

Ever the optimist, De Klerk insisted that "important progress" had been made on "major issues" such as the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu monarchy. "I'm confident that the task group will come up with good results. There is already consensus. It is a question of putting it together."

Buthelezi disagreed: "Unfortunately, progress could not be made on fundamental issues," he said. Then, as if to emphasise his point, Buthelezi read a separate statement in which he and Zwelithini raised issues not addressed in the joint communiqué.

Angered by not having been warned of Buthelezi's intention to issue a separate statement, Mandela responded with a bitter attack on Inkatha. All pretence of progress crumbled under the glare of the world's TV lights.

Mandela said the ANC had gone out of its way to address the king's concerns and would press ahead with the accommodation of the monarchy in the regional constitution. He cautioned repeatedly against expecting miracles from the working group. He clearly believes time has run out for constitutional tinkering before April 27 and now wants the political crisis in KwaZulu to be resolved by



Four on the floor ... De Klerk, Mandela, Zwelithini, Buthelezi



PM 15/4/94

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the new parliament after the election.

It was not quite one minute to midnight, but close enough to be dramatically symbolic, when De Klerk intervened to prevent the press conference from degenerating into a destructive verbal duel between Mandela and Buthelezi. He rescued some unity of purpose by shifting the focus back to the summit's achievements and emphasised the "broad foundation" that had been laid.

Mandela took the cue and agreed, belatedly, that "tremendous progress" had been made. Buthelezi followed, acknowledging that it had not been "an exercise in futility."

But, when the press conference ended and the delegations gathered in tight, isolated knots to await executive jets to wing them back home, it was obvious to journalists, who were regaled with unflattering accounts of how rival delegates had behaved, that the situation remains dangerously grave.

As things stand, the election will go ahead without Inkatha in 12 days' time. Even if international mediation begins right away, there is scant hope of progress by April 27.

What, then, is the immediate outlook for the region and the country? As we noted (*Leaders* April 8), the unrest in many parts of the province is not conducive to a free and fair election. Even if the security forces succeed in bringing down the death rate, the climate of intimidation and fear will probably take years to ease.

Nevertheless, the election will be held in KwaZulu but on a smaller scale than initially planned. The IEC has reduced the number of polling stations in the region to allow greater concentrations of security forces at the stations and along access routes from nearby residential areas.

Unless no voting is possible anywhere in the province, which is most unlikely, the IEC will, in all probability, declare the poll there to be substantially free and fair, based on the votes that could be counted.

The IEC could justify this on a poll as low as 30% if it is assumed that there would have been a poll of at least 70% had Inkatha participated and that Inkatha has 50% of voter support in the region. A 30%-35% poll could therefore be regarded as a fair reflection of the views of voters other than Inkatha supporters. This means only 1,3m-1,5m of the province's 4,5m voters will need to vote for the poll to be considered legitimate.

According to Department of Home Affairs figures, more than 60% of voters are concentrated in 16 of the region's 66 magisterial districts, including 360 000 in Durban, 200 000 in Umlazi, 189 000 in Inanda,



Zwelithini



De Klerk

161 000 in Maritzburg, 121 000 in Chatsworth and 133 000 in Pinetown, all of which are relatively easy to police for three days of polling if security forces are deployed in sufficient numbers.

Central Statistical Service in Pretoria says there are 445 000 white and 500 000 Indian voters in KwaZulu/Natal, so a 70% poll among whites and 60% among Indians would alone provide more than 600 000 votes. Only about 20% of the 3,57m black voters would then have to vote to give a poll of around 30%. Chances are that substantially more will.

The outcome of the election in these conditions raises interesting possibilities, including an outside chance of an NP victory in the province if a significant number of Inkatha supporters defy Buthelezi to back the NP and a substantial number of ANC supporters stay away because of intimidation.

An ANC-dominated provincial government is more likely but with a strong NP component. The effect of a low poll in

KwaZulu/Natal will be felt at national level but not sufficiently to undermine overall credibility.

A 70% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 30% in the region will give an average poll of 62%. An 80% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 35% there will give an average of 71%.

The NP will probably gain most nationally by a low poll in Natal, which will almost certainly destroy what little chance the ANC has of gaining a two-thirds majority in the national assembly.

But Buthelezi and Inkatha will be far worse off. Speaking to journalists after the summit, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa made it clear that the KwaZulu government will cease to exist after the election. If necessary, Buthelezi, his Ministers and other elected and appointed political representatives will be forcibly removed from office.

As PM to his nephew, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi will keep an important ceremonial role, but political power — and control of the purse strings — will rest, in all probability, with ANC regional leader Jacob Zuma and his national unity administration in Maritzburg.

A purge of Inkatha loyalists from the KwaZulu civil service and police is also likely, but most officials, not wishing to lose their jobs, are expected to have no difficulty switching allegiance.

Inkatha's future is difficult to determine. Though party workers continue to put up election posters in parts of Natal urging a vote for Inkatha "when the time comes," it certainly won't be on April 27.

The continued support of traditional leaders will be an important factor. Without patronage to dispense, Buthelezi may find that much of it evaporates, particularly if the ANC succeeds in portraying itself as a defender of the monarchy.

Lacking a constitutional platform from which to further their cause, Inkatha militants may consider some form of insurrection. But an armed struggle without substantial foreign backing in terms of bases and logistical and diplomatic support will be short-lived. Limited sabotage and other violent acts are a possibility, especially in concert with rightwing fanatics, and could cause considerable disruption for a while.

Peaceful resistance such as strikes and boycotts may have limited success, but most Inkatha supporters tend either to be migrant workers anxious to keep their jobs or rural dwellers not employed in the formal sector and lacking the financial muscle to sustain long-term consumer boycotts. Disruptive mass action will probably not be tolerated for long by the new government, particularly if it leads to violence.

The spectre of full-scale civil war and military action such as the air strikes now being mounted against Bosnian Serbs by UN forces in central Europe are mostly the product of overzealous reporters eager to squeeze the last iota of sensation from a story that needs no dramatic embellishment.

The SA Defence Force and SA Police are infinitely superior to any militia Inkatha may be able to muster and the new government is expected to use the security forces far more ruthlessly to stamp out the unrest than is currently the case. Some ANC leaders are already pointing to the effectiveness of previous states of emergency when thousands of dissidents were arrested within days of the security measures becoming effective and asking why the same is not happening now.

This potential within the ANC for a vicious backlash against Inkatha must not be underestimated. An important task of minority parties in the national assembly and of the international community will be to guard against it.

They must insist that



Mandela



Buthelezi



# I'm not worried *Sowetan* says 15.4.94 chief

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday appeared resigned to the fact that two weeks from now he will not be Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg on the international mediation which never got off the ground, Buthelezi said he was not unduly concerned about his future after this month's election, adding that his pension would be safe. (113) ~~(113)~~

Asked if he was worried about his and his people's position in KwaZulu once an ANC-dominated regional government was in power in KwaZulu-Natal, Buthelezi replied: "We have our pensions, if you are talking about money. I will get my pension."

Similarly, his colleagues in government and KwaZulu civil servants would also get their pensions, he said.

The IFP leader expressed his "great disappointment" with mediation's failure, and laid the blame at the door of the ANC and Government.

He said the two had been opposed to mediation from the beginning, and had now "again ruined another opportunity where there could have been reconciliation, where there could have been rapprochement and we could have participated in the election".

However, he would continue to engage the ANC and the Government in negotiations.

Pushed repeatedly by foreign journalists to say he would now resort to armed insurrection, Buthelezi said he had never considered taking up arms even against racist successive National Party governments, and he would not do so now.

"The reason why I was never attracted to the armed struggle is (that) there will be no spoils of war. There will be no beautiful women to bring home for people to marry," Buthelezi said. —

*Sowetan Correspondent.*

(K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Wreath-laying at Shell House set to begin week of protest

# IFFP plans new marches

Star 16/4/94

INKATHA's youth wing has threatened to enforce a week-long stayaway and to march on the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters as part of 'rolling mass action' in protest against the election. **JOVAL RANTAO, CHARLES WEBSTER and SAPA report.**

THE prospect of renewed violence in central Johannesburg next week loomed large yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade announced plans to impose a week-long stayaway in protest against the election and over the shootings that took place at the Liberty Gardens and Shell House during the movement's previous CBD demonstration.

Fears of widespread intimidation and bloodletting like that which occurred on March 28, "Black Monday", were aroused when the youth league vowed to go ahead with a march on Monday to the ANC headquarters at Shell House in defiance of a ban by regional police commissioner Lieutenant-General Koos Booysse. The march is scheduled to be the first in a series of demonstrations.

IFFP Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday that the Inkatha Freedom Party fully supported its youth brigade's controversial plan.

And Natal is bracing itself for a weekend of activities by the ANC and IFFP and unprecedented tension and violence. Campaigning for and against the election in Natal has already claimed scores of lives, and the potential for further conflict at the weekend is high. Each weekend more than 20 people are reported killed in KwaZulu/Natal and the toll in little more than two weeks of the state of emergency had soared to 217 by yesterday.

See Pages 2 and 6

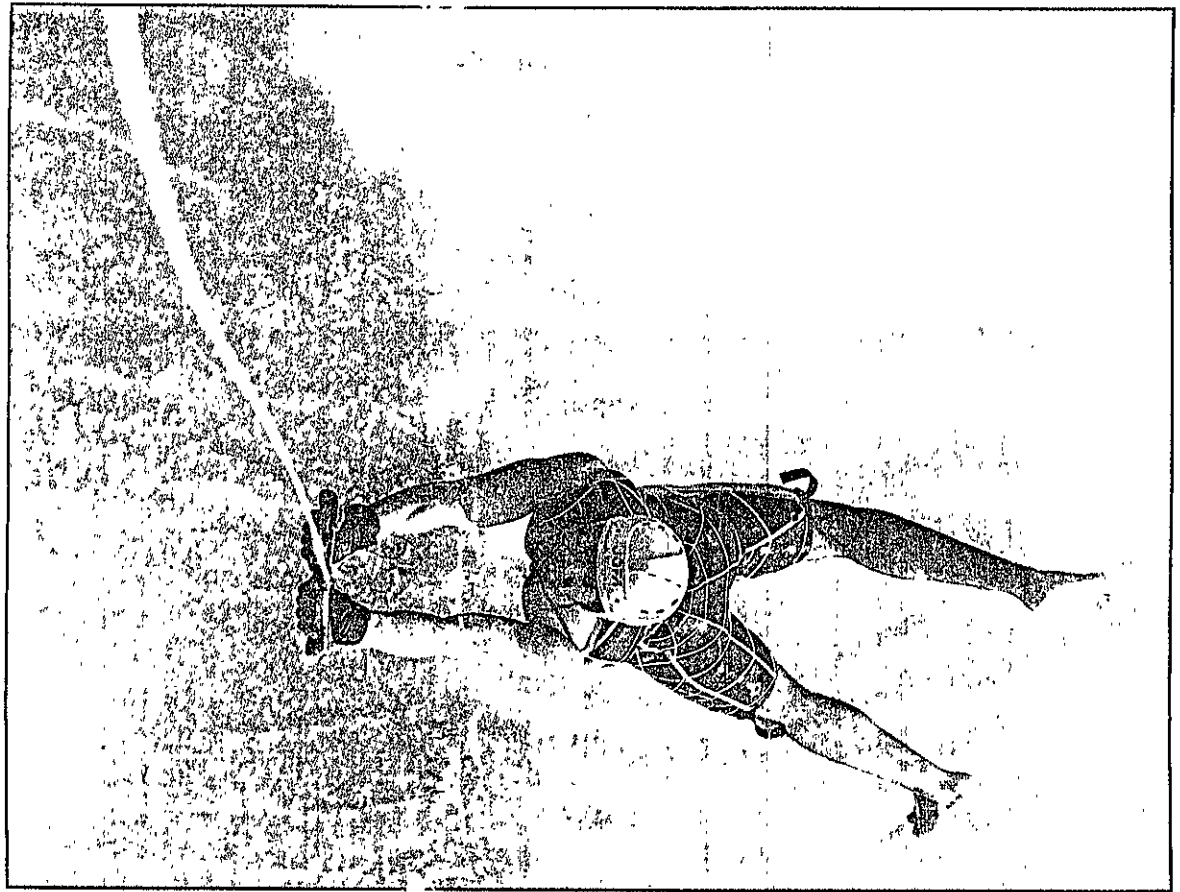
At a press conference in Johannesburg, ANC secretary-general Charles Lohwe, Transvaal chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, reportedly vowed that his organisation would enforce the stayaway. He warned that only journalists, students and "civil workers" would be exempt. "No one will be allowed to go to work. Those who defy us do so at their own risk. No buses and taxis will come to town. Trains will run empty as from Monday. The ANC has done it before. Why can't we do it?"

When asked how the Youth Brigade intended forcing people to obey the stayaway, he said: "It's a secret. We reserve the right not to disclose it. However, we can tell you now that the protest action will be successful. We'll make sure of that."

Police also claim to have a strategy to oppose the youth brigade's plans, but they too refuse to divulge any details.

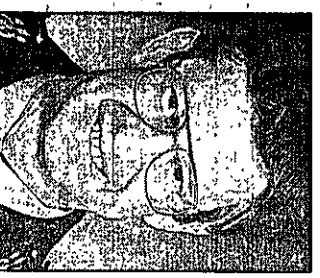
Witwatersrand police liaison officer Colonel Dave Bruce flatly refused to reveal anything about the SAP's security strategy. "There is a contingency plan, but we will have to see what happens. We are going to enforce the ban. If the march goes ahead, we are going to prevent it. We hope it will not be necessary. We must be able to take hard decisions."

## Grabba



## Police absent from probe into Eskom arms deal

AMTD allegations that Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe authorised the sale of 1,000 semi-automatic rifles from Eskom to the KwaZulu Police, the SAP yesterday failed to arrive at a Goldstone Commission hearing called to probe the attempted weapons deal.



**GENERAL VAN DER MERWE:** Denied approving deal

And Jan Garb, MD of the firearm dealer involved in the weapons transaction, yesterday told the inquiry he was also given to understand that it had been authorised by the commissioner.

Van der Merwe yesterday denied he had personally authorised the deal or was aware of it. Speaking from his home yesterday afternoon, he told WeekendStar: "That is not correct, not at all."

Van der Merwe said the SAP section responsible for the issuing of firearm permits had inquired at his office whether there was any spe-

Evidence was also presented that within the KwaZulu government paid out R2.1 million for the weapons — the money was returned when the deal fell through — the purchase price for the guns was just R675 000. Segev International, a private company whose director John Steef helped to initiate the deal, made a profit of R1.03 million, with the rest of the balance going to Garb's, the firearm dealers.

But the biggest surprise came at the start when Mr Justice Richard Gonsweke called the roll of legal counsel and found that the SAP was not represented. He told the hearing that he had written to Van der Merwe on Wednesday requesting SAP representation at yesterday's inquiry. In this letter Mr Justice

dia provision regarding "the issuing of permits for the exporting of certain arms to KwaZulu". "My office went through the minutes of Mr. Jabuza and informed the Firearms Registrar that there is no s 17 provision and that they can continue in terms of the normal regulations Act, and they did so."

TO PAGE 2

## Mothers' Day shopping

MOTHERS' Day is just around the corner (May 8) and Home Shopping in next week's Weekend-Star has put together an

**Consulate**  
*in tins*

*Famous for their unwavering quality*

headquarters  
action' in protest against the election.  
**JOVIAL RANTAO, CHARLES WEBSTER**  
and SAPA report.

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enforce the ban. If the march goes ahead, we are going to prevent it. We hope it will not be necessary. We must be able to safeguard public law and order."

Colonel Eugene Opperman, Witwatersrand police spokesman, said police would be out in full force to prevent any outbreak of violence. And Soweto police issued a list of weapons prohibited by unrest regulations. It includes pangas, assegais, spears, sharpened objects, stones, rocks, petrol-bombs, screwdrivers and all types of firearms.

"Even if a person has a licence to possess a firearm, an additional permit issued by the local district commissioner is required," said a statement

## Grabba Lotto lolly

TODAY we start a new Lotto competition, giving you the chance to win up to R50 000 in cash while helping others less fortunate than yourself.

In our first Lotto competition we gave away R100 000 to more than 200 winners. A full list of the winners appears on Page 7.

So enter the Weekend-Star Lotto Competition No 2 and share in the R55 000 we will be giving away. And remember, all proceeds go to charity.

TO PAGE 2.

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# ◆ IFP plans new march

Star 16/4/94

issued by liaison officer Major Joseph Ngobeni.

However, Loliwe responded that if security forces tried to stop the protests by shooting at youth brigade members, Johannesburg and the Reef would be hit by "a Bosnia Herzegovina-style civil war".

Setting the scene for possible street clashes, the Congress of South African Trade Unions said it opposed the stay-away and called on its members to defy the call and to report for work. Keith Madonsela, a COSATU spokesman, said: "We call on our people to go to work. If it comes to a push, they must defend themselves."

The ANC said that under normal circumstances, it would not object to an IFP march. But because of precedents, the march should not be allowed to proceed. Ronnie Mamoepa, an ANC

spokesman, said his organisation was aware of an IFP plan to unleash a wave of violence, intimidation, murder and mayhem in the PWV region in general and Johannesburg in particular.

The protest is due to start with a commemoration service at the Library Gardens, where at least eight Zulus were killed during the march on March 28.

The service will be followed by a march to Shell House to lay wreaths on the spot, where another 15 Zulus died in clashes with ANC security personnel.

On Tuesday, IFP members plan to march to John Vorster Square to demand the lifting of the emergency, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the disarming of members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union.

On Wednesday, thousands of IFP members plan to stage a sit-in inside the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation, accused of biased reporting against the IFP, is scheduled to be the target of a protest on Thursday.

On Friday, youth brigade members plan to march to the Independent Electoral Commission offices in Kruis Street, Johannesburg, to hand over a memorandum.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mervyn King has sent an urgent plea to Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini asking them to find means other than the planned activity in the next week in Johannesburg to accomplish their objectives.

# F W VOWS TO CRACK

# DOWN ON MARCHERS

S Times

17/14/94

Sunday Times Reporters

Now that's a match-winning catch, Jonty!



**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk vowed yesterday to prevent a planned Inkatha Freedom Party march in Johannesburg tomorrow from again crippling the country's financial heartland.**

He told a political rally at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, that the government was taking steps to avoid a repetition of the bloodshed of a fortnight ago that left 53 people dead.

"I am confident it will be prevented," he said.

Police were yesterday preparing to throw a cordon of razor wire around central Johannesburg as the city braced itself for a violent slowdown between security forces and Inkatha.

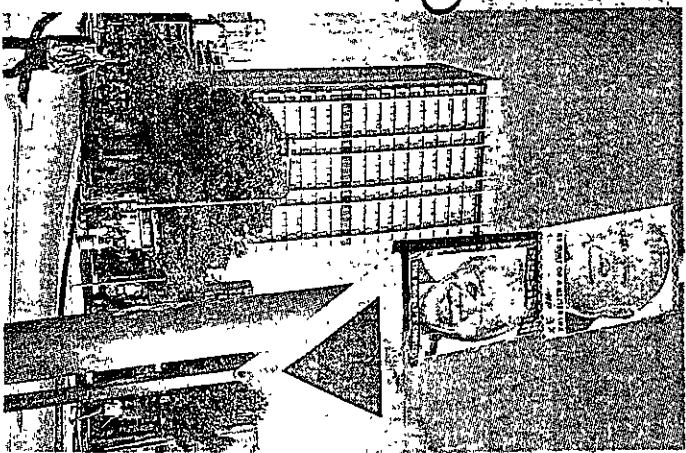
A huge police presence is set to converge on the city centre tomorrow, with patrols on foot, in cars, vans and armoured vehicles. Police will also monitor the march from helicopters.

Road blocks into the city centre will be set up as part of this iron fist and groups suspected of travelling to the march will be turned back.

Inkatha's Youth Brigade earlier threatened to march on the city centre in defiance of a ban by police on all Witwatersrand marches this week.

Planned activities include a march on the ANC headquarters in Plain Street to lay wreaths in honour of marchers killed there when ANC security guards opened fire on Inkatha supporters.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday dismissed fears about the march. "I do not see why anyone should be apprehensive about the march. No single march



**SHELL HOUSE** ... target of the IFP marchers  
Picture: JOHN HOGG

## IFC monitor guns down ANC member

ANC member Thomas Koki was shot dead by a part-time Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) monitor in Ipetheeng outside Schweizer-Reneke yesterday, police said.

A 25-year-old man was held in connection with the incident, which happened during an alleged attempted mugging in a shebeen. The IEC has suspended him. The IEC and ANC had spoken to townsht's

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Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday dismissed fears about the march.

"I do not see why anyone should be apprehensive about the march. No single march of the IFP has ever gone out of control. We've never stolen an orange or an apple."

Meanwhile, the ANC warned that if the security forces failed to offer adequate protection, its own self-defence units would do the job.

Streets around the ANC headquarters at Shell House and the Library Gardens — the scene of the bloodiest clashes when Zulus marched on the city two weeks ago — will be cordoned off by police and traffic officials.

More than 1000 peace monitors will be on hand during tomorrow's proposed march as well as other Inkatha marches planned for this week.

However, they were unable to establish tomorrow's planned route despite repeated attempts to contact Inkatha.

Police liaison officer Colonel Dave Bruce said the safety of people entering the city could not be guaranteed, although the police would take every possible measure to prevent the IFP Youth Brigade from marching through the city centre.

Police spokesmen implied that the more determined the IFP were to march, the harsher the measures police would be forced to take against them.

Measures could include firing tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition.

Mr de Klerk called on Chief Buthelezi to intervene to prevent conflict that threatened to erupt around the march.

"People participating in that march will come into conflict with the law," he said.

Chief co-ordinator for Inkatha in the Transvaal, Mr Hennie Bekker, said

□ To Page 2



SHELL HOUSE ... target marchers Picture: J

## IEC monitor down ANC march

ANC member Thomas Koki by a part-time Independent Election Commission (IEC) monitor in Ipelezi, KwaZulu-Natal, yesterday.

A 25-year-old man was held with the incident, which happened in Ipelezi, KwaZulu-Natal, yesterday. The IEC has suspended him.

The IEC and ANC had spoken to residents and the ANC had stage revenge attacks. — Sa

## FW vows to crack down

□ From Page 1

yesterday he would not be marching. "At this sensitive stage in the country, I won't contravene the law."

However, he said he understood "the feeling behind the march".

The ANC yesterday welcomed the police decision to stop the march but called on them to seal Inkatha hostels as well.

ANC Youth League information secretary Parks Mankahlana said: "We know that the plan is

that, while the march should culminate in a demonstration at ANC head offices, more innocent people should be killed in the townships."

The ANC appealed to its supporters in the townships to co-operate with security forces trying to ensure peace during Inkatha's mass action campaign.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mervyn King described the threatened march as "very provoca-

tive" and "very worrying". "With emotions running high, it could get out of control."

That could lead to windows being smashed and shops looted, he said.

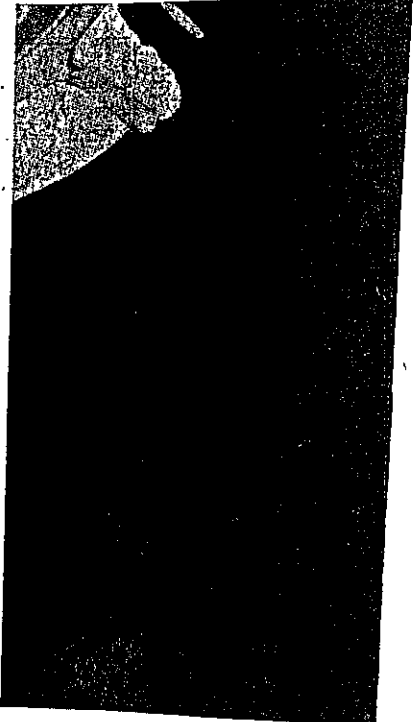
He said disruptions caused by marches would cost South African business, especially the manufacturing sector, "billions of rands".

On Friday, Mr King sent a message to Chief Buthelezi imploring him to "redirect efforts to promote the cause of the Zulu nation in ways that do not endanger human life and property."

Mr King said the JCCI had reiterated its concern that peace and order could not be guaranteed in Johannesburg.

SA Chamber of Business president Cedric Savage also sent a telegram to the Inkatha leader, urging him to have the planned march suspended.

Most major retailers in the CBD will decide today whether to open their doors tomorrow.



# R100 000 fine for IFP

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was yesterday fined R100 000 for occupying a stadium at which the ANC was to have launched its Southern Natal election campaign last month.

The stiff fine, which is the highest that can be imposed on a political party for disrupting an election meeting, was handed down by the presiding officer of the Electoral Tribunal, Advocate Mark Sher, sitting in the Durban Magistrate's Court.

**BY GEORGE MAHABEER**

The tribunal's finding was that the IFP, as an organisation, had occupied the King Goodwill Zwelithini Stadium in Umlazi, on March 12 and 13.

In Venda the ANC was ordered to pay a fine of R60 000 for disrupting a National Party meeting.

In his judgment Mr Sher said the disruption by the IFP was much more serious than the one in Venda.

The occupation of the stadium led to the death of five people and several injuries in clashes between IFP and ANC supporters.

Mr Sher ordered the IFP to compensate the ANC in damages of R6 350.

He issued a formal warning and interdicted the IFP from disrupting any meeting, march or rally of the ANC by means of violence or threats of violence.

He also ordered the IFP not to prevent the ANC from canvassing in any area in the run up to the election.

Mr Sher ordered the IFP to pay the legal costs of the application, including the costs of the ANC senior

counsel M T K Moerane. Mr Sher dismissed the contention by the IFP, represented by Mr J Hewitt, SC, that a meeting at the stadium had been organised by hostel dwellers.

He said it was part of a plan to make it look like a meeting organised by and for hostel dwellers, whereas in truth it had been organised by the IFP itself.

Mr Sher found Miss Matri Xulu, mayor of Umlazi and a high-ranking IFP office bearer, an unsatisfactory witness.

Mr Sher accepted the evidence of ANC Umlazi branch chairman Felix Dlamini that Miss Xulu had told him the IFP had organised the occupation of the stadium.

The rally was to have been addressed by ANC national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki and Transkei military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The IFP has given notice that it will appeal to the Electoral Appeal Tribunal against the judgment.

(News by G Mahabeer, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

Sit in



# Buthelezi dismisses proposals on king

By BRIAN SOKUTU

17/4/94

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed as "nonsense" suggested changes to the constitution that will be presented to King Goodwill Zwelithini by a working group established after the government-ANC-IFP summit meeting in Skukuza.

The Skukuza meeting sought to accommodate the Zulu monarch in the new dispensation.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday the changes were "a rehash" of earlier proposals. "What was put before the king was not worth much," he added.

Asked what he would do if the April elections went ahead without him, he said: "I can't spell out my plans yet. The IFP has always operated outside the electoral process."

He added: "It is a very abnormal situation to expect people to participate in what is called free and fair elections when there is a state of emergency (in Kwazulu/Natal)."

He said he was "ashamed" that international mediators had come to South Africa "to help us", only for the mediation attempt to be aborted. He said he hoped the mediators could "still come and help".



# IFP VOWS to hold Jo'burg march

CT 18/4/74  
116

JOHANNESBURG — Inkatha's Youth Brigade yesterday delayed today's planned march through central Johannesburg but just for a day, vowing it would be held tomorrow with or without police permission. The brigade said a rolling mass action campaign would begin tomorrow. Brigade PWV chairman Mr Charles Loliwe said he would announce details of the march and the campaign today. Police spokesman Colonel David Bruce said yesterday the police would in no circumstances allow the march tomorrow. Colonel Bruce said there were still plans to throw a security cordon around the CBD.

## Banned

The police would maintain a high presence today, as if the march is going ahead. Although Colonel Bruce said Inkatha should apply for permission to march, police have banned all Witwatersrand marches this week under unrest laws. Brigade PWV committee member Mr Siphon Mathobela said: "Even if the police don't allow the march, it will go ahead." But he added: "This is not a declaration of war." It was a wreath-laying ceremony for the 30 Inkatha supporters killed three weeks ago in central Johannesburg and Selby hostel. The ANC said that if the police failed to provide adequate protection, "our people have the right to defend themselves." The ANC said it had received "disturbing" reports of intended mass action by Inkatha. According to ANC sources in Inkatha, "a substantial number of Inkatha supporters and members from as far as Natal have been bused into suburbs and townships around the PWV region to march to the ANC headquarters and its regional offices."

# Zulus 'prepare for civil war'

(ZIB) (11B)

CT 18/4/94

LONDON. — Hundreds of heavily armed Zulus are on secret military manoeuvres in the hills of northern Natal preparing for civil war, a report in the Sunday Times said.

The newspaper's South African correspondent, Andrew Hogg, said he had gained "unprecedented access" to a camp hidden in scrubland near the Mozambique border, where he saw "several hundred Zulus, armed with semi-automatic weapons... preparing to fight the forces of an ANC-led government."

According to the weekly, the guerillas being trained by a white former police intelligence officer, Mr Philip Powell, are only "part of a 5 000-strong force formed in recent months by King Goodwill Zwelethini, the Zulu

## Post-poll conflict ruled out

HARARE. — The chances of South Africa being plunged into civil war after the elections were ruled out at the weekend by Commonwealth observer mission head Mr Michael Manley.

Speaking after meeting President Robert Mugabe, the former Jamaican prime minister said this was because of the "the tremendous efforts that have

been made to contain the situation". However, he conceded KwaZulu could be "a real problem" and said it was almost impossible to include the IFP in the election.

As for the postponement of the elections, Mr Manley said: "I do not think anything can stop that... That is historically irreversible." — Sapa

monarch, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi," leader of the IFP, which is boycotting the election.

The paper said the men were "preparing for war with the SADF, which they expect will begin shortly after the ANC wins the election in 10 days."

It said government intelligence officers had warned both ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk "that a war against the Zulu royalists

could leave more than 50 000 dead".

They had also been warned of growing disquiet in the largely white South African army, which the ANC is relying on to defeat the Zulus, about its task.

Mr Powell reported the guerillas were turning into an efficient force.

"Zulus are born fighters, but they have to be taught the mechanics of war." — Sapa-AFP



116 AUG 18/4/94

# Zulu secret army gearing up for war — press report

**GARNER THOMSON**  
The Argus Foreign  
Service in LONDON

**A** BRITISH journalist has returned from northern Natal where he reports witnessing hundreds of heavily

armed Zulus on secret military manoeuvres to prepare for civil war after the elections.

Andrew Hogg of the *London Sunday Times* says he gained access to a secret camp near the Mozambique border where he saw

armed with semi-automatic weapons, training for war against the ANC.

By day they train under the guidance of a white former security officer and at night they sleep in foxholes, he reports.

"The guerrillas are challenging emergency laws ban-

ning unauthorised military training in Natal and show that, despite assurances last week from Buthelezi that only 'self-protection' training is taking place, Zulu royalists are gearing up for war."

Hogg quotes their trainer, former police intelligence officer Philip Powell, as saying

the men are turning into an efficient force.

"Zulus are born fighters, but they have to be taught the mechanics of war," he says.

Powell tells Hogg that, without accommodation of the Zulus in the new South Africa, "this is a Biafra in the making."

He adds: "White rule is finished here, but instead of moving to a multi-party state, we are heading towards a one-party state. Why should the Zulus be left defenceless?"

Hogg adds that although the ANC and the government publicly dismiss the Zulu dan-

ger, an internal security report obtained by the newspaper says the Zulu forces could play an ever-increasing role in an attempt to destabilise Natal.

He claims ANC leader Nelson Mandela has admitted privately that it could take two years to "smash" the Zulu royalists.



Off ... IFP Youth Brigade official Mr Siphon Thobela (right) makes a point during a Press briefing to announce the calling off by the organisation of a march to the Stock Exchange and to the Independent Electoral Commission head offices in Krui Street.

# Inkatha march

# called off

Sowetan 18/4/94

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

**F**EARS OF POSSIBLE OUTBREAKS of violence in Johannesburg and surrounding areas today were allayed when the Inkatha Youth Brigade called off its planned march on the city centre.

However, the reprieve is temporary. The youth brigade said yesterday it would today announce a new programme of action to mark the beginning of "rolling mass action".

The launch could be at any time from tomorrow, said IFP youth brigade regional executive committee member Mr Siphon Thobela.

The final decision on the planned march and week-long stayaway hinges on the outcome of a meeting of the brigade's West Rand regional executive committee which was held late yesterday.

### Banning order

The decision to call off the march also came in the light of a banning order issued in terms of unrest regulations in which SAP Regional Commissioner for the Witwatersrand Lieutenant Koos Calitz effectively prohibited all marches and public gatherings on the Witwatersrand.

State President FW de Klerk also appealed to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to call off the march.

The ANC yesterday cautiously welcomed the postponement and appealed to the national and regional IFP leaders to call off the campaign.

The main thrust of the today's action would

have been a march to the ANC headquarters in Shell House and to the Library Gardens to lay wreaths in a gesture of respect to IFP supporters who died during a bloody march through the city centre on March 28. At least 53 people died on that day.

Also planned was a march to SABC headquarters in Auckland Park to demand the resignation of SABC board chairman Dr Ivy Matsepe-Cassaburi and executive director Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

### March to Stock Exchange

They also intended marching to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and to the Independent Electoral Commission head offices in Krui Street.

According to youth brigade West Rand regional chairman Mr Charles Loliwe, the march through Johannesburg, when the date was finally set, would go ahead whether or not permission was granted.

He said they did not have plans to invade Shell House but wanted to lay wreaths where their people were killed in accordance with (Zulu) customs and tradition.

### Destabilising the PWV

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said: "Whereas the ANC welcomes the postponement, it believes the whole campaign is aimed at destabilising the PWV region and to prevent the holding of free and fair elections."

It said security forces should not be lulled into a false sense of security and should remain alert and provide security to avoid loss of life, limb and property.

(Report by L Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg, and M Merten, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

# Deal could see IFP in election

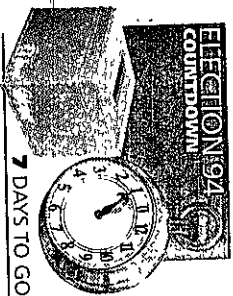
BY CHRIS WHITEFIELD  
and KAIZER NYATSUMIBA

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) could be poised for a sensational last-minute entry into next week's election — nationally and at provincial level.

A summit today, which will bring together President de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could lead to a deal — in terms of which Parliament would be recalled before the election to make changes to the Interim Constitution. Sources from all sides said the three leaders could be on the brink of finding a formula acceptable to all, and to the credit of each.

The sources said Parliament might be called on to sit on Monday, a day before the country's watered-down election begins. Believed to be on offer to the IFP are stronger powers for regions.

ANC sources confirmed this morning that Mandela will indeed be attending today's summit, and that he was approaching the talks with more optimism than he has had reason



to have in recent months.

However, the sources cautioned that the ANC leader wanted to guard against raising the nation's hopes too high, given experiences he has had with the IFP in the past.

The sources also dispelled rumours that the IFP might register for the national election, but said what was discussed was the possibility of the party fighting the election in the two provinces where it has significant support, the PWV and KwaZulu/Natal.

Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said that while it was now too late to reprint the 80 million ballot papers for the election, it would be logistically possible to stamp the IFP's name — albeit in different colours — to the ballot papers in the PWV

▶ To Page 3

# IFP in last-gasp deal?

◀ From Page 1

and Natal/KwaZulu.

This, said Mr Justice Kriegler, could be done without having to call a short session of Parliament. All that would be necessary would be amendment of the Electoral Act, and this could be done by presidential decree.

ANC spokesman Rennie Mamoepa confirmed today that Mandela would be at the talks, and that South Africa was now closer than ever to an all-inclusive settlement.

The IFP has been seeking adjustments to the federal content of the Interim Constitution agreed to at the World Trade Centre.

A series of meetings was held throughout yesterday and these raised unprecedented hopes of a breakthrough.

Buthelezi arrived at the Union Buildings at 8 am for surprise discus-

sions — requested by him — with De Klerk.

The talks lasted through most of the day. De Klerk was accompanied by chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, while Buthelezi's delegation included Dr Ben Ngubane and Joe Matthews.

ANC negotiators Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo joined the talks at about midday. Although the leaders were guarded when they emerged separately from the talks, it is understood that they had come close to a landmark agreement.

There were high hopes that finality could be achieved today when Mandela joins the Pretoria talks, which were scheduled to resume at 10 am. Amid the positive signals, though, there were indications that tough issues had still to be hammered out — including when Parliament should make the consti-

tutional changes.

Buthelezi was unusually upbeat when he emerged from De Klerk's office at 5 pm, saying the talks had gone "very well indeed".

The KwaZulu Chief Minister added that there had been give-and-take, but he accepted publicly — for the first time — that the election date would not be postponed.

De Klerk said things had gone "basically well". He agreed that time was running out, "but there is always time to find solutions".

Earlier, Botha had told journalists: "Not often, but sometimes, a winning try is scored in injury time."

Meyer said it was a positive signal that trilateral talks were going on.

Ramaphosa said: "We are dealing with sensitive things, and are trying everything."

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# IFP 'may join in'

(11B) CT 19/4/94

Own Correspondents

**JOHANNESBURG.** — There were strong indications last night that Inkatha have finally indicated they want to join the elections. ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was reported to be hurrying back to Pretoria from his Eastern Cape election roadshow to join the talks in Pretoria today.

The prospect of a breakthrough comes in the wake of significant progress in an 11th-hour bid to bring the IFP into the election at talks between them, the government and the ANC in Pretoria yesterday.

The latest move by Inkatha was described last night by a source close to the negotiations as "desperate".

The source said: "Inkatha know that it is already too late, but they want to be brought in at the very time when it appears too late to accommodate them."

"The penny has finally dropped and they seem to have realised that if they do not participate life will simply continue without them," the source said.

Last night government, Inkatha and ANC sources were confident that there had been significant movement which could allow Inkatha to participate in the election.

Talks between President FW de Klerk, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC resume in Pretoria today.

A source at the talks said the only reason why the draft proposal was not finalised last night was because Mr Mandela was not there.

Chief Buthelezi said he was optimistic about the talks.

The source said if Mr Mandela accepted the proposal, today's meeting could be over "within an hour".

"Everyone knows what is on the table," he said. "This is make or break stuff for the nation. This is really the last chance to get Inkatha on board."

Late last night, a senior government source said that it would be "close to impossible" for Inkatha to join the election process at this late stage because of logistical problems in reprinting millions of ballot papers which have to be distributed throughout South Africa and across the world.

"It boils down to walking on water," said the source, "but because we want to save lives a task team will be working through the night to see whether it is possible to

somehow accommodate this 180 degree turn on participation by Inkatha."

However, sources at yesterday's talks at Mr De Klerk's offices said it was still possible technically to make changes to the estimated 80 million ballot papers in time for the elections, so as to accommodate Inkatha.

"All sorts of creative ideas such as stickers, rubber stamps, and partial re-printing are being considered to put Inkatha on the ballot papers," the source said.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said last night that it would be logistically possible to have the roughly five-million ballot papers for the Natal provincial election reprinted in time for next week's poll.

He said that ballot papers to be filled in overseas could be done on the same basis as special votes in the tricameral parliament where voters would simply indicate their choice on a blank sheet of paper.

Emerging from yesterday's meeting — which he sought — at the Union Buildings yesterday evening an unusually jovial Chief Buthelezi indicated the talks had gone well.

Significantly, for the first time, he accepted that the election would go ahead as scheduled.

World

COUNTDOWN

C

# IFP joins

□ Talks breakthrough as Buthelezi agrees to take part in

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will contest next week's election, following a dramatic breakthrough today.

Hours of intensive discussions ended at lunchtime with the ground-breaking announcement by President de Klerk, IFP leader Man-gosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

The far-reaching agreement includes amendments to the constitution and parliament is expected to meet on Monday to consider changes.

The agreement also entailed a mediation process which would continue after the election.

A clearly relieved and up-beat Mr De Klerk said at the joint press conference today: "This agreement, I believe, resolves one of the last main causes for tension and violence and it is my deepest hope that this agreement will bring an end to violence.

"I thank God that we have reached agreement at this late stage.

"I hope that all South Africans, whatever party they support, will join hands and exercise their free and democratic right to vote for the party of their choice, to bring the country to the great moment for which we have all worked so long — having a government of national unity."

Mr de Klerk expressed his thanks for all the people involved over the weeks and months in generating the agreement.

Chief Buthelezi said amendments would be made to the 1994 interim constitution to make King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu the constitutional monarch of KwaZulu Natal.

Chief Buthelezi said that South Africa "may well have been saved from disastrous consequences of unimaginable proportions and has been put on a course which I hope will lead to longlasting peace, democracy and meaningful federalism."

He said that in the past three days of meetings, "final agreement was reached securing the Kingdom of KwaZulu."

"I therefore am pleased to announce that the IFP will contest elections at the National and Provincial levels."

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP had decided to compromise "to avoid a great deal more bloodshed and carnage which we have been witness to in recent months."

(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town and R M Challenger, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)

# poll

11B

ARG 19/4/94

next week's elections

# IFP's stayaway put on hold again

Sowetan 19/4/94

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff and Sapa

■ CRISIS DEEPENS Protests post-

poned after meeting with big business:

**T**he Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade last night postponed its stayaway planned for Johannesburg today following talks with the South African Chamber of Business and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries.

This was the second postponement of the IFP mass action in as many days.

The youth brigade had initially planned to march through Johannesburg yesterday but postponed the plan for "technical reasons". Earlier yesterday the youth brigade announced the stayaway would start today, only to change its decision again last night.

A statement by Sacob after yesterday's meeting said "the parties concerned took the opportunity to present their respective viewpoints and it was agreed that a further meeting would be held by not later than Wednesday this

week".

The delegations at the meeting were led by Mr Charles Loliwe of the IFP, Sacob chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons and JCC executive director Mr Marius de Jager. (IB)

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg earlier yesterday, the IFP Youth Brigade gave State President FW de Klerk until 4pm this afternoon to respond to their demands "or face indefinite action that would plunge the South African currency (the rand) into an even deeper crisis".

It said the stayaway would affect all areas in the PWV region, particularly the Johannesburg CBD and its surrounding areas.

"We are serious about this one, we are

not joking," Transvaal IFP leader Mr Themba Khoza told journalists.

He said they would defy the ban on all marches and public gatherings promulgated in terms of unrest regulations by SAP Regional Commissioner for the Witwatersrand Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz last week. (IB)

The IFP's demands are:

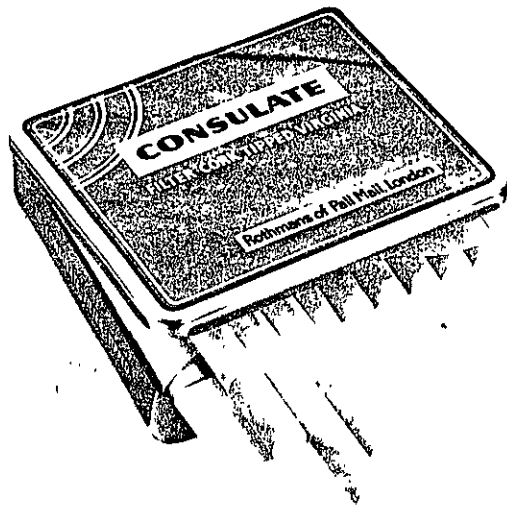
- The April 27 election be postponed;
- The state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal be lifted;
- De Klerk should explain why the raid on the headquarters of the African National Congress headquarters at Shell House was never carried out; and that
- A solution to the current constitutional impasse be found.





Photographers rush to the aid of freelancer Greg Marinovitch (left) after he was shot during violence in Tokoza yesterday. Nearby *The Star's* chief photographer Ken Oosterbroek (above) lay dead after being hit by the same gunmen firing from a hostel. Another photographer Judo Ngwanya was also injured. See page 2. PIC LEN KUMALO

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CON 254EU

# IFP in poll bid

Sowetan 19/4/94

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent and Sapa

**A**S VIOLENCE SHOOK the country yesterday, there were positive signs that the Inkatha Freedom Party may still be included in South Africa's first all-race election next week.

Last-ditch talks between the Government, African National Congress and IFP to find an inclusive solution for the IFP in the transition process had no specific outcome and were postponed to today.

But IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was confident the talks would produce results.

Speaking after meeting President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in Pretoria, Buthelezi said it was physically possible but practically impossible to take part in the elections because it would afford the IFP only a few days of campaigning.

Asked if he advocated the postponement of the elections, Buthelezi said he did not think there was any possibility they would be postponed.

On Sunday night Buthelezi had allegedly laid siege at the Independent Electoral Commission offices in an effort to secure a late-

hour registration.

Sources told *Sowetan* that Buthelezi met with senior officials of the IEC in Pretoria at which he was said to have "pleaded" for political survival.

The IEC had not confirmed this at the time of going to Press yesterday.

Seventeen people, including a photo journalist, died between Saturday and yesterday on the East Rand, while 26 were killed in politically motivated violence in Natal.

IFP Transvaal political director and central committee member Mr Themba Khoza told *Sowetan* yesterday. "Last night (Sunday), we were ready to announce our participation in the election."

However, he blamed ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for "renegeing at the last minute".

ANC chief media officer Mr Carl Niehaus dismissed Khoza's allegation. He, however, said the ANC would be "overjoyed" were the IFP to contest because this would be in line with his organisation's aim to have an all-inclusive election.

He was optimistic that it was possible the IEC would be "open-minded", although it was "nearly too late".

In terms of the interim constitution the IFP or any party that had not done so may register, but only for provincial elections and not for national seats.

(Report by T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg, and R Matlala, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

© See also page 2

**I**nkatha Freedom Party's central committee decided at a meeting held on Sunday that it would contest the elections at the national and provincial levels if amendments to the constitution could be made to secure the kingdom of KwaZulu and the future role of His Majesty, the King of the Zulus, as a constitutional monarch.

The central committee's decision was further made conditional upon the final formulations for provisions for the existence of the Zulu kingdom and the role of His Majesty being agreed to through mediation.

In a series of meetings which took place on Sunday, Monday and today final agreement was reached securing the kingdom of KwaZulu and the role of His Majesty. I therefore am pleased to announce that the Inkatha Freedom Party will contest elections at the national and the provincial levels.

The IFP's entry into national and regional levels will be made possible by suitable amendments to ballot papers and there will be certain relaxations to the procedures laid down for the registration of parties and the publication of electoral lists. I am pleased to announce that the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission have promised their full co-operation to make the IFP's entry into elections possible.

**T**he Inkatha Freedom Party has decided to make the kind of compromises which will make its entry into elections possible in order to avoid a great deal more bloodshed and carnage which we have been witness to in recent months.

Only the IFP held firm to principles right until the very last moment and did everything in its power to eliminate the very worst elements of the 1993 Constitution. The best in the IFP's interventions and the long struggle it waged to ensure that the country benefited from a constitution which will lay the foundations for a democratic future.

Central to the IFP's concerns were the need to ensure viable regional government with minimum state interference. It is to this end that the

# Inkatha's election decision puts SA on course for peace

*By 2014/94*

## This statement was issued by Inkatha president MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI after yesterday's election agreement

IFP finally managed to negotiate a secure role for His Majesty the King and the guarantee of the future existence of the Zulu kingdom.

In securing these things the IFP has guaranteed that provincialism in the KwaZulu/Natal province will set standards which other provinces will be encouraged to adopt in their own search for their provincial constitutional futures.

The IFP had previously succeeded in securing amendments to the 1993 Constitution which will enable provinces to adopt constitutions of their own choice. The IFP also secured the right of provinces to adopt constitutions which will not be confined by the structures laid down for provinces in the 1993 Constitution.

The IFP's negotiation victory in securing the role of His Majesty the King and the continued existence of the kingdom of KwaZulu is therefore a victory for the principle of self-determination from which the whole country will benefit.

I wish to convey my deep gratitude to Prof Washington Okumu for the role he played in making it possible to reach the agreement which will result in the IFP entering elections. He was an additional appointment as adviser to the international mediating team and remained on in SA when the other mediators left. It was his personal intervention which led to the final negotiation break-

through possible.

When my spirits were down after the international mediation had been aborted, and I was leaving Johannesburg for Umtata on Friday April 15, I received a message at the airport from Prof Okumu that he wanted to meet me at the airport and would be there in 20 minutes.

I have known Prof Okumu for more than 20 years, having met him at a prayer breakfast in Washington, and we have kept in touch on the basis of Christian fellowship.



**I** waited at Lanseria Airport for as long as I could on the morning of April 15 for Prof Okumu but as two of my colleagues had an appointment with His Majesty the King I had to leave. However, the aircraft had been airborne for only a few minutes when I was told there was a problem and we had to turn back.

Fortunately Prof Okumu was still there and I said that it was as though God had prevented me from leaving, and I was there like Jonah brought back. I told Prof Okumu that my forced return was a Godsend.

He insisted that everything should be done to try to see if lost mediation could be retrieved, and that I should do everything I could to negotiate even at this late hour the IFP's par-

ticipation in elections.

I shared with Prof Okumu the IFP's problems — the fact that the IFP took a decision not to participate because of its serious concerns regarding His Majesty the King which had not been met, and that I could not disregard that. If I did so, I would be committing treason.

Prof Okumu said that everything notwithstanding, he was going to see Mr Nelson Mandela, whom he has known a long time, as well as President Fw de Klerk.

I had hardly arrived back in Umtata on Friday when Prof Okumu telephoned and said he had been in touch with government which said they were quite prepared to look at the concerns I had expressed. Prof Okumu was very firm and said I should telephone the President at three o'clock that afternoon.

Before I did so, the President telephoned and asked me what it was I wanted to say to him. I said I gathered from Prof Okumu that he wanted to talk to me and I gave him the background. The President told me the issue of the IFP's participation was sympathetically looked at by government. They were prepared to look at participation on a regional level but I told the President there was no way the IFP would participate at regional level only — the IFP had support all over SA. The President said he was quite prepared to

look at the possibilities.

I said the only way this could be done was if the issue of His Majesty the King was addressed. The President said a special session of Parliament could be called to effect amendments to the 1993 Constitution. I reminded the President that His Majesty said he wanted matters dealt with before elections.

On Saturday Prof Okumu telephoned again. On Sunday we met in Durban where we both were attending the Jesus Rally organised by Africa Enterprise. Prof Okumu gave me a draft of a proposed agreement, which could be entered into between myself, the ANC president and the SA government. The draft incorporated many of the answers to our needs and I gave my provisional approval to it.

Prof Okumu said he was flying to Cape Town to talk to Mr Mandela. I showed the draft to Mr Jacob Zuma and Minister Dame Schutte who were also at the rally, before I put it before the central committee because that is the way I exercise my leadership — referring all crucial matters to the central committee which is the final decision-making body between general conferences.

By arrangement with the President I met him in Pretoria on Monday. I was pleasantly surprised to find the draft agreement had been shown to Mr Mandela who said he wanted to study it for clarification.

After further negotiations the draft agreement with the necessary amendments was accepted by myself, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

**I** wish to pay tribute to Prof Okumu. He is a really remarkable man who, studied under Dr Henry Kissinger at Harvard. I pay tribute to the shuttle diplomacy he initiated and what has been achieved through it.

I wish also to pay tribute to both President Fw de Klerk and Mr Mandela for the fact that they were receptive to the suggestions made to the three of us by Prof Okumu.

I believe that as a result of the signing of this memorandum of understanding SA may well have been saved from disastrous consequences of unimaginable proportions and has been put on a course which I hope will lead to long-lasting peace, democracy and meaningful federalism.

## Inkatha tipped to win Cabinet seat

BIDAS 2014/90  
TIM COHEN

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the elections could tip the balance of power, with Inkatha likely to win a Cabinet seat at the Freedom Front's expense, political analysts said yesterday. (113)

Inkatha's inclusion also throws open the race in Natal where the ANC, which polls show enjoys 50% support, could be challenged by a combined Inkatha-NP force.

While welcoming Inkatha's participation, analysts said the party's late entry did increase the danger that the fairness of the election result could be challenged.

British historian RW Johnson said Inkatha's prospects were not good. The party was making the best of a bad position and its supporters were the most intimidated, most scared and, on average, the poorest of all voters. Many also did not have proper identification. This would result in a low percentage of Inkatha supporters voting. Recent polls showed a drop in support from about 32% of the Natal vote in November to 25% in February.

A researcher from the Centre for Policy Studies disagreed, saying the enormous amount of newspaper coverage devoted to Inkatha during the past few weeks should be taken into account. Both agreed there was a good chance that Inkatha would gain more than 5% of the total vote, entitling it to a seat in the new Cabinet.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

Move might not end violence, say leaders

# Buthelezi signs election deal

BIDEN 20/4/94

TIM COHEN and ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — A dramatic last-minute deal between SA's three major political leaders yesterday drew the Inkatha Freedom Party into next week's elections, paving the way for a peaceful transition and boosting business and investor confidence.

However, the leaders said the deal would not necessarily end the violence. President FW de Klerk said the state of emergency would remain in place until stability returned to Natal. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced his decision at a joint news conference with De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela at the Union Buildings after a compromise constitutional deal was struck, securing the role of a Zulu monarch and a Zulu kingdom.

"This agreement removes one of the last main causes of tension and violence in SA," De Klerk said. The president hoped that "all South Africans, whatever party they support, will now take hands, exercise their free and democratic right to vote for the party of their choice, so that we can bring our country to the great moment for which all of us have been working for so long — that of having a government of national unity."

"It is my sincere hope that our supporters will follow the lead of their leaders, and ensure that this election will be free and fair — a triumph for the SA nation."

Mandela said it was important to rebuild investor confidence — local and international — in SA. The historic "memorandum of agreement for reconciliation and peace"

should be seen as an invitation to those who had left SA to return, and those planning to leave to stay. "They have nothing to fear in the future."

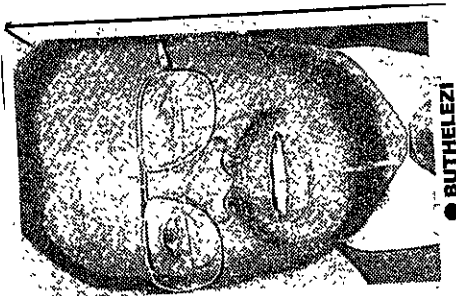
In terms of yesterday's agreement, Inkatha will take part in the elections; provision will be made for its inclusion on ballot forms; and the constitution will be changed before the elections. The constitutional changes will provide for the Zulu king in KwaZulu/Natal. The multiparty negotiating council will meet today to frame the amendments to the constitution.

These will be discussed again by a parliamentary joint committee on Friday before being tabled in Parliament next Monday.

The Electoral Act will also have to be amended, on the Transitional Executive Council's recommendation, to allow Inkatha to re-register for the elections and submit a candidates list, as well as authorise the sticking of adhesive strips onto ballot papers to include Inkatha's details. Hailing the development as being of "great and historic significance" for the people and future of SA, ANC TEC representative Cyril Ramaphosa said Buthelezi's experience in politics and governance would prove useful in SA's new political order.

"Buthelezi came face to face with the realities of the post-election situation in which his own institutional base would

To Page 2



BUTHELEZI

## Buthelezi

have been removed as well as his influence on the national and regional political scene, Ramaphosa said.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said Inkatha's realisation that mediation had failed and the election date would not be changed had facilitated the agreement.

A member of the Zulu royal family, Vincent Zulu, read a statement on behalf of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, saying he could now support the electoral process.

Mediation, probably international, will deal with outstanding constitutional issues after the elections.

Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler said Inkatha's details would be added to the election ballots by stickers that would be attached at the end of the forms.

A source said Inkatha's position on the ballot paper had been a serious sticking point in yesterday's talks.

The ANC had objected to Inkatha being at the top of the ballot as it would have

20/4/94 From Page 1

afforded it unfair advantage and the PAC would have been prejudiced. The NP objected to the bottom position as it had invested considerable money and effort in marketing "the bottom line".

De Klerk conceded the bottom line on condition the NP was refunded the money spent marketing the spot.

Kriegler said the arrangement was not perfect as the list of parties on the ballot would no longer be in alphabetical order, but he welcomed Inkatha's participation.

The stickers will be stuck on at the polling stations before the ballot papers are handed to voters.

An additional 700 polling stations would be set up in Natal, bringing the total number of stations to about 9 000.

Kriegler said Inkatha would have until this afternoon to produce its election lists, which would be vetted on Friday and published at the weekend.

Report by D Greybe, A Haseldorn and T Cohen, TML, 11 Deagonal St. Jhb.

Picture: Page 3 See Pages 6 and 7



Prospects for peaceful election soar following eleventh-hour breakthrough

# Back on the Night Road

Star 2014-1994

IB 2014

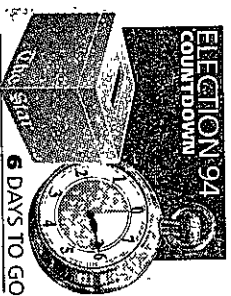
**IFP Youth Brigade cancels Jo'burg mass action plans after Buthelezi agrees to take part in poll**

**BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
ESTHER WAUGH  
and HELEN GRANGE**

Prospects for a free and fair poll in South Africa's founding democratic election have soared after the breakthrough deal which brought the Inkatha Freedom Party into the process yesterday.

The agreement has also given rise to fresh hopes that violence might be eased and investor confidence boosted.

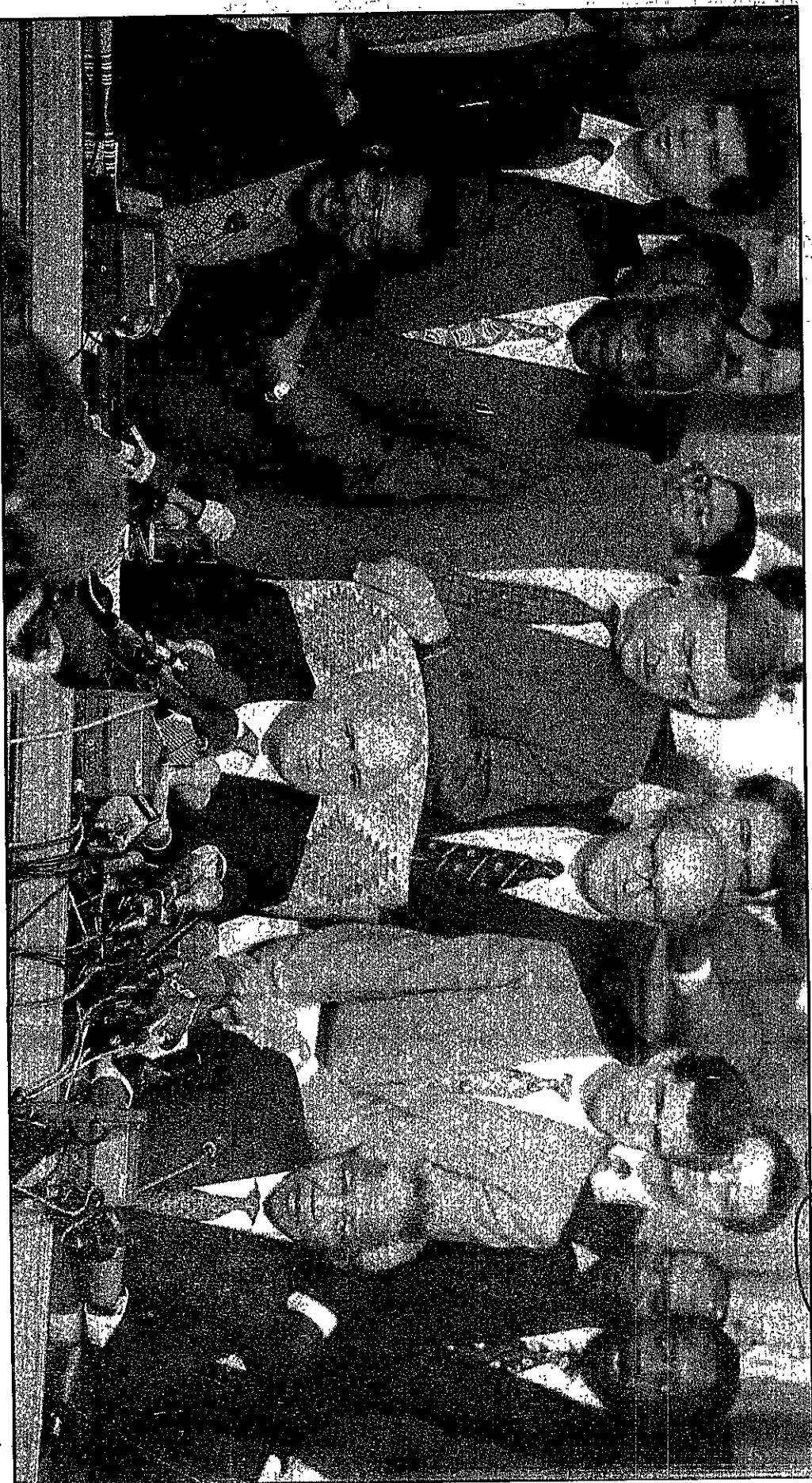
Immediate spin-offs were the postponement, until at least after the election, of IFP Youth Brigade mass action plans for Johannesburg, and a call by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini



on his subjects to vote in the election.

In terms of the "Memorandum of Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace" signed by President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a Union Buildings ceremony yesterday:

■ The IFP will take part in the national and provincial elections, with the poll taking



Historic moment ... Buthelezi, De Klerk and Mandela announce the deal at Pretoria's Union Buildings yesterday. PICTURE: RUVAN BOSHOFF

place as scheduled.

■ The three parties will "reject violence and therefore do everything in their power to ensure free and fair elections".

■ The position of the Zulu king and the Zulu kingdom will be constitutionally entrenched by two amendments to the Interim Constitution.

■ International mediation will

take place after the election on "outstanding issues in respect of the king of the Zulus and the 1993 constitution".

The Independent Electoral Commission will facilitate the late registration of the IFP for the election.

An addendum to the agreement fleshed out the amendments to the constitution on

## More reports — Pages 2 and 3

the Zulu monarchy.

While they will ensure that the "institution, role, authority and status" of the monarch are entrenched constitutionally, there was no concession to the

king's demand for the entire province of Natal to be an independent Zulu kingdom.

There is also no reference to the demands the IFP has repeatedly made regarding federalism or the powers to go to the provinces.

This gave rise to speculation yesterday on why Buthelezi had waited so long to come

into the process — and exactly what had changed his mind.

In his address to the press conference yesterday Buthelezi said: "The IFP has decided to make the kind of compromise which will make its entry into the elections possible in order to avoid a great

► **To Page 3**

## Thousands celebrate in Umtund

**BY JOHN SODERLUND**

Umtund — Jubilation swept through Umtund as tens of thousands of IFP supporters gathered to give their leader a hero's welcome last night.

An ebullient Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met thousands of chanting supporters at the airport where he explained, step by step, how he had pulled off a deal of which he said he approved.

Umtund was abuzz with the blasts of hooters, and Zulu warriors, draped in IFP colours, were seen thronging to the airport across the orange evening hillside.

But it was a different story in rural areas to the north of Umtund. At Ifele, 80 km north of Umtund, IFP supporters yesterday refused to believe that their leader was to contest the election, or to speak about it out of fear and suspicion.

Buthelezi's major obstacle in the remaining days of campaigning was highlighted by an old man in the village, who said he knew nothing of the election or what it meant to vote.

Buthelezi himself last night confessed to the difficulties ahead: "I don't underestimate the problems I have. How can I campaign for an election in 10 days? But the climate in this country is so serious that our participation is the best thing I can do for this country."

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# Back on the high road after poll deal

*Star 2014/14*

## ◀ From Page 1

deal more (of the) bloodshed and carnage we have witnessed."

He said the agreements on the Zulu monarchy had "guaranteed that provincialism in the Kwa-Zulu/Natal province will set standards which other provinces will be encouraged to adopt in their own search for their provincial constitutional futures".

But senior Government and ANC negotiators said they were surprised that the IFP had come into the electoral process in spite of many of its demands not being met.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said he thought Buthelezi "came face to face with the reality of the political situation in our country" and the prospect of his power base being diminished.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the IFP's only requirement had been for the issue of the Zulu monarchy's position to be finalised.

An IFP negotiator admitted to *The Star* that the decision had come after it became evident that the boycott strategy would not force the Government and ANC into more constitutional concessions. "Now the electorate will give us the power to get our way," he added.

De Klerk and Mandela were anxious to emphasise the positive aspects of the deal when they emerged with Buthelezi from the Union Buildings Cabinet room soon after 1 pm.

In a joint statement the three leaders said the deal would help to ensure much greater inclusivity in the election process and will significantly address the

underlying cause of tension and violence, particularly in Kwa-Zulu/Natal and the East Rand".

De Klerk indicated that the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal would not be lifted until there was a reduction of violence. (113) (322)

All three paid tribute to Professor Washington Okumu, whose shuttle diplomacy played a key role in the deal.

Yesterday's agreement will set in motion a flurry of activity to get the agreed changes into the 1993 constitution.

Today the Negotiating Council will be recalled at the World Trade Centre to pass the amendments. These will then have to go before the relevant parliamentary standing committee for its approval before Parliament sits on Monday to give its formal approval to the deal.

There is to be no mass action by the Witwatersrand branch of the IFP Youth Brigade in central Johannesburg until at least after the election. Instead, publicity secretary Mandlakayise Magubane said, the organisation would now dedicate itself to campaigning "right up to the last minute".

Yesterday's agreement was welcomed by a range of political, business and church groups. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who led a delegation of church leaders to see King Zwelithini on Friday, was "over the moon ... it's just like a dream".

SA Chamber of Business president Cedric Savage said the IFP's participation was "a significant development for the economy and the business mood".

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

DOWN + + + ELECTION COUNTDOWN

## King calls for peace

DURBAN. — King Goodwill Zwelethini made an impassioned plea for an end to violence yesterday after a political breakthrough saw the IFP joining the election process.

Speaking at his royal house at Nongoma, he thanked all the parties involved in the negotiations which had led to his demands on a Zulu monarchy being met.

A carnival atmosphere erupted at the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi, when the news was made known, with motorists hooting, women ululating,

men bursting into tribal singing and dancing and youths toyi-toying in the streets. (115) CT 20/4/94

Thousands of civil servants joined in the celebrations outside the Legislative Assembly buildings. (115)

Earlier a protest march by thousands of Zulus at Denny Dalton turned into an election campaign when the news was announced.

King Goodwill said he was above party politics and would not be supporting any particular party.

# The agreement that broke the logjam

PRETORIA. — The following is the text of an agreement between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the African National Congress and the government to allow Inkatha to participate in all-race elections on April 26-28.

The text begins: We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to peace and reconciliation in South Africa and agree to commit ourselves to the following:  
1. The IFP agrees to participate

in the April 26-28 1994 election for both the national assembly and provincial legislatures.  
2. All the undersigned parties reject violence and will therefore do everything in their power to ensure free and fair elections throughout the Republic of South Africa.

3. The undersigned parties agree to recognise and protect the institution, status and role of the constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of KwaZulu,

which institutions shall be provided for in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu-Natal immediately after the holding of the said elections. The 1993 constitution shall for this purpose be amended before April 27.

4. Any outstanding issues in respect of the king of the Zulus and the 1993 constitution as amended will be addressed by way of international mediation which will commence as soon as possible

after the said elections.  
5. The South African government undertakes to place the necessary facilities at the disposal of the Independent Electoral Commission as it may require in order to facilitate the full participation of the IFP in the April 26-28 1994 election.

6. The undersigned parties will facilitate proper provision for:  
a) registration of the IFP  
b) the IFP candidate list

c) marking by voters of ballot papers.

The undersigned parties hereby undertake to abide by the technical arrangements to be made by the Independent Electoral Commission to implement the matters referred to above.

This agreement shall be implemented with immediate effect.  
Sapa

1994



# 'This new dawn'

CT2014/74

(11B)

(SPP)

## Markets surge as Inkatha joins poll

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Jubilation marked the announcement yesterday that the Inkatha Freedom Party is to take part in the election next week.

In the city Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the sun was shining over South Africa at the news.

"It is just like a dream. I am just over the moon. This new dawn was going to be one that was overcast but

now the sun is shining," he said. "We are not going to cease giving thanks to God. We have a God of surprises, who performs miracles all the time."

South Africa's financial markets had a field day — the share market surging upwards, capital market rates free-falling and the twin-rands firmly stronger.

Shares at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange rocketed as bullish traders moved ahead of the official announcement that Inkatha would contest the election.

A dealer said: "The market's going to celebrate. There's going to be some steam on the floor."

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was given a hero's welcome by Kwazulu cabinet ministers, members of the Legislative Assembly, elders of the Zulu royalty and thousands of IFP supporters when he returned to

Ulundi last night. He is to address a rally in the Kwazulu capital today.

Last night dancing and singing IFP supporters also took to the streets in Durban and Johannesburg. In Durban hundreds of ululating Inkatha supporters held a spontaneous "victory march" through the city centre.

The upbeat mood among politicians and businessmen about the poll agreement between Inkatha, the government and the African National Congress, contrasted sharply with the continuing violence in Thokozwa where Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers and ANC-aligned residents clashed

bloodily for the third day running. Violence also continued in Natal and President F W de Klerk said that

the state of emergency in Natal/Kwazulu would continue.

Among the dramatic developments yesterday:

● A frantic operation which swung into action last night to get Inkatha on the estimated 80 million ballot papers by means of stickers to be pasted on ballot papers before they are handed out to voters.

● A decision to convene the Multi-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre today to draw up legislative amendments to include the IFP in the elections.

● A special session of parliament called for Monday to legalise the constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of Kwazulu. According to the text of the agreement "any outstanding issues" will also be resolved through international mediation after the election. The announcement of the break-



**SUCCESS . . .** IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left) shakes hands with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela after the IFP agreed to take part in the election. President F W de Klerk is in the background.

Picture AP

through Memorandum for Reconciliation and Peace was made late yesterday by Mr De Klerk after two days of talks between himself and Chief Buthelezi with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela joining the talks yesterday morning.

Also at the press conference with the leaders was Professor Washington Jaloango Okumu of Kenya, the international mediator who played

a major role in the shuttle diplomacy which led to the agreement.

Mr De Klerk said: "I am extremely pleased that after months of negotiations, intensive talks and intensive inter-action and renegotiation of past days, we have reached agreement resulting in the participation in the elections, on the scheduled dates, of the IFP. "The agreement also encom-

passes the amendment of the constitution in two respects with regard to the kingdom of Kwazulu."

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would participate in both the national and provincial elections. He added that the IFP believed the provincial powers contained in the amendments set standards for other provinces. He further described the negotia-

tions as a "negotiation victory on role of the king and the existence of Kwazulu falls in line with the principles of self-determination."

He added that "South Africa may well have been saved from the disastrous consequences of unimaginable proportions." In a statement read at the press conference, King Goodwill Zwelithini said all Zulus should freely support the process of participation. Mr Mandela said the agreement was part of the process of nation-building. "This agreement is a leap forward for peace, reconciliation, nation-building and an inclusive election process. It deserves the support of all leaders and of all those who love South Africa."

# Inkatha caves in — why it happened

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A string of events, including a threat by senior IFP members to resign rather than join Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the political wilderness, led to Inkatha's decision to participate in the election.

Most of the credit for the political deal was given to ambassador at large, Professor Washington Okumu of Kenya, who stayed behind after Dr Henry Kissinger and fellow mediators left South Africa last week.

## Last bus

Sources said also aiding the breakthrough were indications by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini that he would accept the latest government and ANC proposals on the future of the Zulu monarch and kingdom which would undercut Chief Buthelezi's opposition.

A senior source at the talks said the major reason for Chief Buthelezi's about-face, "was the final cold reality that this was the last bus out of town". He added that Mr Mandela's agreement that the constitution be changed prior to the election was the only compromise made by the government and ANC.

Prof. Okumu said Dr Kissinger's mistake was to come with deadlines and a "mechanised" approach. "In Africa that doesn't work."



**HISTORIC AGREEMENT** . . . In a dramatic moment President F W de Klerk passes an agreement to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, for his signature in Pretoria last night. The Zulu leader and his party yesterday ended their boycott of the election. Picture: AP

# Breakthrough 'thanks to Kenyan'

PRETORIA. — Much of the credit for the watershed agreement here yesterday should go to a Kenyan academic, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said.

Professor Washington Jangango Okumu's "personal intervention led to the breakthrough", ensuring the IFP will contest the election, Chief Buthelezi told a press confer-

ence after the agreement was signed.

Prof Okumu, a professor of economics and a former student of Dr Henry Kissinger at Harvard University, has been a behind-the-scenes mediator in many disputes across Africa.

A member of Kenya's opposition Ford Party, he has worked for the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity,

and was brought to South Africa by Africa Enterprise, a Natal-based interdenominational Christian mission.

The Kenyan was persuaded to act as an adviser to last week's failed international mediation effort headed by Dr Kissinger, Africa Enterprise head Mr Michael Cassidy said in Durban. Prof Okumu stayed on after the mediators left, Mr

Cassidy said, and began rounds of shuttle diplomacy — a Kissinger trademark — between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The breakthrough came on Sunday at an apolitical Jesus Peace Rally in Durban, attended by Chief Buthelezi and other leaders, Mr Cassidy said. Sapa-AFP (11B) CT 20/4/74

# IFP sticker to go on to ballot

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CT 20/4/94 (113)

JOHANNESBURG. — A sticker with the Inkatha Freedom Party's name, initials and emblem will be affixed to the bottom of national and regional ballot papers, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler told a press conference here that the procedure was flawed but all parties had agreed to it in Pretoria yesterday.

The stickers will be affixed at individual polling stations before the ballot papers are brought to the issuing desk and handed to voters.

Mr Justice Kriegler said the IEC had awarded the contract for printing the stickers to one firm after considering four possibilities.

IFP candidate lists would be vetted no later than Friday and published no later than the weekend, he said.

The IFP stickers would show a colour picture of IFP president

## 'Now easier to declare free, fair election'

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said.

If the IFP sticker crossed the line of the political party above it, the ballot paper would be spoilt, he said.

Judge Kriegler could not say if this system would increase the number of spoilt votes, but said the complicated process left room for human error.

The stickers would not necessarily increase the number of election result disputes, he said.

Each party had accepted the system and the judge believed this agreement would lessen the prospect of such disputes.

He congratulated the government, the African National Congress and the IFP on their agreement. It would make the IEC's task of declaring the elections free and fair "infinitely easier" because all major political role players took part, he said.

The IFP's participation would reduce violence caused by political frustration and resistance to the electoral process in Natal, Judge Kriegler predicted.

He would not disclose whose idea the stickers was "It may even have been mine. I think it was," he joked, saying the idea had been thrown around on Saturday when he and the IEC chief director met the three political parties.

IEC commissioner Mr Ben van der Ross said a team had already been sent to KwaZulu/Natal to investigate setting up an additional 700 voting stations. — Sapa

# IFP move welcomed

PRETORIA. The IFP's decision to join the election was welcomed across the political, business and religious spectrum yesterday, with spokesmen saying hopes for peace in South Africa had been strengthened.

Spokesman for the IFP in the Western Cape, Mr Malcolm Bagley, welcomed the decision and said the IFP Western Cape had supported the

party participation in the election all along.

He said the IFP would move into top election gear and try to arrange a series of meetings in Cape Town before next week's election.

"But we expect to encounter enormous difficulties booking halls for meetings and arranging transport for polling day at this late stage," he said. — Sapa

(113) 2720/4/94

# De Klerk hails IFP role in election

(116)

APR 20/4/94

□ Nats had never given up, supporters told

**PAT CANDIDO**  
The Argus Bureau

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The Inkatha Freedom Party has been brought "kicking and screaming" into the electoral process, says President De Klerk.

He told a large and enthusiastic crowd here last night the National Party had never given up, but had stuck to the task of bringing the IFP into the process.

"It is almost as if we brought them in kicking and screaming, and now the fight with them is on," he told an audience of predominantly coloured supporters.

Mr De Klerk said he hoped the inclusion of the IFP in the election would bring an end to the violence.

"The time has come for the

leaders of the ANC and the IFP to discipline their supporters so that peace can return to this country."

Mr De Klerk said the National Party had given up its favourable position at the end of the voters' list to the IFP but was determined to come out on top.

It was certainly unlike any other National Party meeting held in Port Elizabeth.

In fact nobody could be blamed for thinking they had waltzed into an old Labour Party meeting as Pieter Marais, MEC for Hospital Services, led the audience in singing and clapping.

Some took to the aisles frantically waving placards of Mr De Klerk.

To cries of "Viva" and the singing of *N'kosi Sikelele F W de Klerk*, the crowd of about

2 500 in the University of Port Elizabeth indoor sports stadium made the most of the live band, which played before the meeting began, while some of the more staid National Party white supporters looked totally dumbounded by it all.

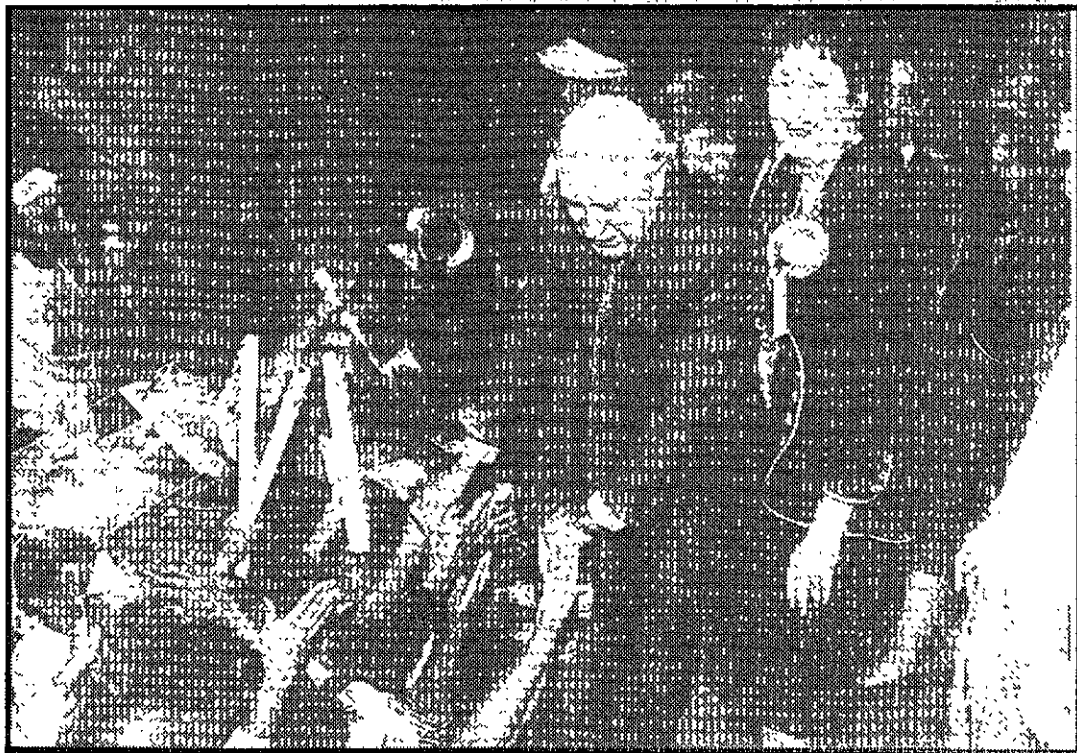
Schoolchildren, singing and chanting, swamped the stage and had to be held back by monitors.

Some in the crowd had obviously celebrated a little in advance and were quite prepared for a party, egged on by the vibes of the live band.

When Mr De Klerk said the party consisted of God-fearing people who would ensure that "they would win" the applause was deafening.

The crowd loved everything he said. He could do no wrong, and was assured of support.

(News by P Candido, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)



**IN DEMAND:** President F W de Klerk and his wife Marike are mobbed by supporters after an election meeting in Port Elizabeth last night. De Klerk praised the role the National Party had played in persuading the IFP to take part in the election.



# The big hooray!

## Congratulations pour in as settlement brings IFP into

THE "Big Three" settlement which has drawn the Inkatha Freedom Party into the election has brought a new surge of hope to South Africa.

The accord between the National Party, the African National Congress and the IFP has been widely welcomed.

Latest developments are:

● Parliament will meet at 10am on Monday to amend the interim constitution to give effect to the agreement which has brought the IFP into the election.

Officials at parliament were today informing MPs by telephone of the special session, which will take place in the debating chamber of the Assembly. The debate is expected to continue until late on Monday.

● A parliamentary joint committee of the three houses will meet in Cape Town on Friday to vet the draft legislation providing for the last-minute changes to the constitution. The legislation will provide for the recognition and protection of the institution, status and role of the constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of Kwa-Zulu.

Further provision for this will be made in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu-Natal, to be drawn up after the election.

● The Negotiating Council will meet in Kempton Park today to confirm amendments to the constitution and the Electoral Act.

● The Transitional Executive Council will then pass amendments to the Electoral Act to provide for the late registration of the IFP and the submission of its candidates list.

(To page 3, col 8)

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Political Staff

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# Strong hope for peaceful elections

Sowetan 20/4/94

## ■ SANITY PREVAILS Emergency

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff

in KwaZulu-Natal should be lifted:

**N**ews of the Inkatha Freedom Party's decision to contest the national and provincial assembly elections was yesterday greeted with excitement by most political parties in the country.

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said his party was excited over the development because they had always demanded that the process be all inclusive.

"We are very glad over the IFP's decision and we only hope that this development will lead to the lifting of the state of emergency in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

"We do not believe people would be able to take part in the elections freely (in the presence of the security forces)," he said.

Democratic Party PWV premier candidate Mr Tony Leon said the decision to participate was an excellent and wise one.

"We are delighted that sanity has prevailed at the last minute and now we

have the prospect of an election process that will include everyone and a new Parliament in which all opinions and viewpoints will be represented," said Leon.

He added, however, that the IFP's decision was rather belated and that its delays would cost it a lot of votes.

The PRO for the African Christian Democratic Party, Mr Dan Maluleke, said his party was very excited about the IFP's decision (118) (20/4/94)

### Peace and reconciliation

"Finally common sense has prevailed. We can only hope and pray that in the name of peace and reconciliation that we forget all our past difference and have peaceful, historic elections for the benefit of all," he said.

The vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Phandelani Nefholovhodwe, said: "I don't believe that (the IFP's decision) warrants any comment at the moment from Azapo."

Meanwhile, shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were sharply up yesterday afternoon as bullish traders moved ahead of the official announcement.

A dealer said the JSE would soon see heavy renewed interest from foreigners, who in the past had deserted the local stock market during politically turbulent periods.

"It appears now that most political hurdles are out of the way," he said, "and the market's going to celebrate. There's going to be some steam on the floor."

The country's barometer of foreign investment confidence, the financial rand, was starting to strengthen early yesterday afternoon, after improving to R5,2700 to the US dollar compared with Monday's close of R5,3350.

The commercial rand was also buoyed by the strong bullishness as it gained against the dollar to trade at around R3,60 level from the previous day's finish of R3,6558. — Sapa.



# World praises deal with the IFP

(From page 1)

Britain's Foreign Office has "warmly welcomed" the announcement, with a spokesman saying yesterday: "It is very good news that Chief Buthelezi has agreed to take part, both regionally and nationally."

Meanwhile, the deal is front page news throughout Britain today. The Times, which devotes a full page to events in South Africa, hails the event as "excellent news".

● In Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe, who since last October has been involved in efforts to bring the political groups in South Africa together, issued a signed statement last night welcoming the agreement.

Mr. Mugabe said Zimbabwe looked forward to close bilateral co-operation with the new South African government.

● In Washington, the United States government welcomed yesterday's "apparent breakthrough" agreement.

State Department spokesman Mike McCurry said the US government hoped the agreement would curb the violence between IFP and ANC supporters which was plaguing South Africa, and that the elections would proceed peacefully.

The agreement was reported prominently on the main television networks. They and the mainstream newspapers contrasted it with the continuing warfare in Tokoza which on Monday claimed the life of the Star's photographer Ken Oosterbroek, among others.

● In New York the United Nations Security Council welcomed the deal. In a statement read at a formal meeting, the 15-member body commended "all the parties involved for the statesmanship and goodwill they have displayed in reaching this result."

● And in Johannesburg, international observer missions yesterday said: "The overwhelmingly positive response to the agreement by ordinary South Africans underlines the desire for an inclusive and peaceful election."



Picture Agence France Presse

▼ An 11th hour agreement between South African leaders has brought Zulu nationalists into the elections. Here a "white Zulu" celebrates in Ladysmith, Natal, after the announcement.

## IFP gets moving as campaign fever hits climax in Durban

ARG 20/11/94 (118)

### The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party today plunged into an intensive six-day campaign aimed at making up for its late entry into the elections.

Young party members drilled holes in boards and pasted IFP posters on them, while a few hundred jubilant IFP supporters marched through the city centre carrying placards.

By tonight a further 15 000 posters will adorn the lamp posts of the greater Durban area.

IFP spokesman John Aulesbrook said the party's last-minute turnabout would not hamper its chances in the elections.

"We have made plans for this possibility. About 30 000 posters were printed at least a month ago. All our people will know by tonight that we are in," he said.

The IFP said protest marches and rallies that had already been planned would

be turned into election meetings.

There would also be a mass rally in central Durban on Saturday, after which people would march through the city centre.

A further rally was planned for Sunday at Tongaat on the Natal North Coast.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said the party's electioneering would "climax" this weekend when all other parties' campaigns had "run out of steam".

Happy IFP supporters who gathered outside the party's Durban office said the party's offices had "come alive" after Dr Buthelezi's announcement.

Violence in Natal-KwaZulu appeared to have subsided today, with five murders being reported by the Natal Security Committee from the previous day.

Two of the killings occurred after news of the IFP's decision to join the elections.

(News by V Angamuthu, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville.)

# IFP for Poll

Sowetan

2017/194

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

**S**OUTH AFRICA WAS YESTERDAY rescued from the brink of a political tragedy when the Inkatha Freedom Party finally agreed to contest first nonracial elections to be held next week. KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that his party would contest the national and provincial elections on April 27-28.

Although having less than a week to campaign, the IFP will contest seats in all nine provincial legislatures and the National Assembly. Said Buthelezi: "Although the IFP enters the campaign at this late stage it is in the interest of the country that we do." This development also means the state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal will be lifted before the poll as Buthelezi indicated that elections could not be held under those regulations. Parliament is to sit on Monday to amend the constitution and make room for the Zulu monarchy.

The announcement follows five days of intensive bilateral and tripartite meetings involving

Buthelezi, State President FW de Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Buthelezi, Mandela and De Klerk acknowledged the shuttle diplomacy of Kenyan roving ambassador Professor Washington Okumu, who brokered the negotiations leading to the historic inclusive settlement.

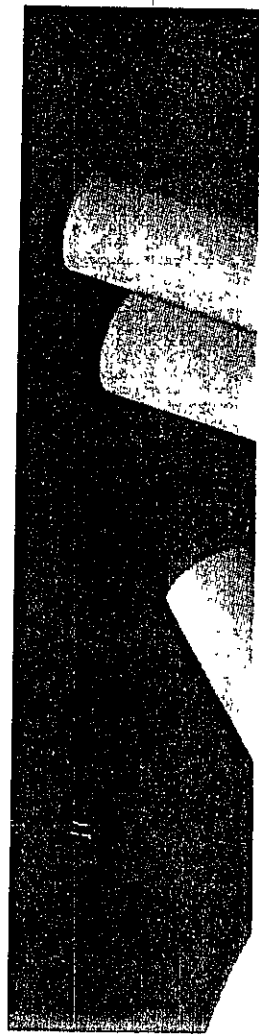
The three men signed a Memorandum of Agreement before scores of journalists in which they pledged themselves to peace and reconciliation. In a joint statement they said: "The parties expressed satisfaction that the agreement will substantially contribute to their common goal of creating circumstances which will be conducive to the holding of a free, fair and peaceful election ... it will help to ensure much greater inclusivity and will significantly address the underlying tensions and violence, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal."

In his statement Buthelezi said: "I believe that as a result of the signing of this Memorandum of Agreement, South Africa may well have been saved from disastrous consequences of unimaginable proportions and has been put on a course which I hope will lead to long-lasting peace, democracy and meaningful federalism."

- **Ballot papers to be amended by affixing stickers.**
- **Parliament meets on Monday to amend the constitution**
- **State of emergency may be lifted.**



**FAIR SHAKE... Buthelezi, De Klerk and Mandela in Pretoria yesterday.**



# Buthlezi promises Inkatha will accept outcome of the elections

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthlezi said yesterday Inkatha would accept the results of next week's elections, if they were endorsed by the international community.

Delivering his first formal campaign speech in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, where he was received as a hero by thousands of jubilant supporters, he said: "One must accept that whatever the international monitors say will be it, whatever one's feelings may be."

While Inkatha's candidate lists were still being drafted, he "assumed" that he would head the party's list for the national assembly. "As national leader of the party I

have to be on the national list. One can't appear on both," he said, ending speculation that he was eyeing the KwaZulu/Natal premiership position.

Buthlezi acknowledged that there was little time for electioneering, but said "miracles may still happen". The party's late entry would hamper its performance at the polls, because voter education had not reached all its supporters.

Inkatha's participation in national elections would not lead to an immediate end to violence but it would decrease, he said. "It will be difficult to imagine that all tension can vanish in a few days. Thousands of Inkatha supporters

BILLY PADDOCK

streamed through Ulundi in a march to celebrate the party's decision to contest the elections.

A light aircraft with four occupants crashed near the rally after its engine failed, injuring one person. It had been circling low over the 10 000-strong crowd.

TIM COHEN reports that Independent Electoral Commission and Inkatha officials in Durban and Ulundi were working frantically on Inkatha's candidates' lists last night to ensure that they were completed and checked with the Home Affairs Department by this afternoon's deadline. An

IEC official said the checking procedure was being done in conjunction with the Inkatha officials to ensure that there were no delays.

Inkatha sources said chairman Frank Mdalose would head the party's Natal list, but others lists were still being finalised.

Meanwhile, senior IEC members met Inkatha representatives, including Buthlezi and the KwaZulu cabinet to discuss securing free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal. They reported that good progress had been made. IEC spokesman Glen McDougall said deputy chairman Dikgang Moseneke, Gaye McDougall and Zac Yacoob formed the

## Inkatha Sides

previous meeting with the KwaZulu legislative assembly when chairman Judge Johann Kriegler was heckled and shouted down. Yesterday, a senior Inkatha official who had angrily told Kriegler he would not be able to use schools in KwaZulu as polling venues, pledged his party's full cooperation with the IEC.

Sapa reports that he said: "The IEC is

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From Page 1

very welcome. It will have the fullest cooperation of all our people, especially in the rural areas." The IEC had said rural areas were virtual no-go areas for its officials.

Report by W Paddock and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and C Doonan, Sapa, 330 West St, Den.

See Page 7

IEC contingent and were discussing the number and siting of voting stations required in the region. They were also discussing access to voter education, free political activity and the securing of warehouses for voting material and other logistical matters.

McDougall said: "It seems that things are going very well and that they are making good progress, having reached agreement on voting stations and other essential issues". He said the IEC was well received and Inkatha and KwaZulu authorities were very co-operative.

This was in stark contrast to the IEC's

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# Call to 'stop the killing'

Star 21/4/94

## OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban — Inkatha Freedom Party's premier-designate of KwaZulu/Natal Dr Frank Mdlalose opened his campaign today with an appeal to the people of the province to stop the killing, assaults and burning of property.

The race for premier of KwaZulu/Natal, five days before voting starts, has boiled down to a contest between Dr Mdlalose and the African National Congress's Jacob Zuma.

Both men are widely respected in all political parties in KwaZulu/Natal.

Most importantly, however, they can work together, as one of them will have to serve under the other in the KwaZulu/Natal Cabinet of provincial unity.

IFP leader Chief Man-

gosuthu Buthelezi announced yesterday that he would head the IFP list of National Assembly candidates, with Dr Mdlalose (62), heading the provincial list.

This means Buthelezi is in line for a senior Cabinet post.

Both the IFP and the ANC are confident of winning KwaZulu/Natal.

## Assaults

Dr Mdlalose said today he and Zuma "have been able to put out fires".

"I appeal to everybody in KwaZulu/Natal, now that we are at this stage: Let there be peace. That is the primary thought on my mind. Let the killing stop. Let assaults stop. Let property burning and destruction stop.

"Africans have sweated hard to get the little pittance that they have

got. They have spent it on their houses and, however small and however inadequate, those are their places. Why must they be torched?

"Some of them are just living, walking from home to work." (113)

Dr Mdlalose is to address a rally in his home town of Maddeni on Sunday afternoon.

Of relations with the ANC, Dr Mdlalose said: "The ANC are our brothers. Their only problem is that they have been lost in the wrong philosophy. We hope we can get them to direct their attention towards proper co-existence.

"The armed struggle was wrongly conceived. The result of it has been the killing we have seen in Natal." Dr Mdlalose said.

(R M Challenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)

# We'll accept poll result, says IFP as IFP enters poll

Star 21/4/94 (11B)

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

The Inkatha Freedom Party, facing a wave of bitter criticism over its negotiations strategy, committed itself yesterday unequivocally to accepting the election results.

Fears were raised at a special meeting of the Negotiating Council yesterday that the IFP, in spite of its last-minute entry into the election, was contemplating a "Savimbi option" if it fared poorly at the polls.

IFP delegate Walter Felgate and his KwaZulu government counterpart, Professor Harriet Ngubane, backed a resolution which included a clause reading: "We will accept the results of the election and will abide by the decision of the Independent Electoral Commission in respect of the fairness and freeness of elections."

The resolution, unanimously adopted by the Negotiating Council, also committed all parties to a free and fair election and an end to violence.

It followed sharp exchanges in which ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had insisted that the IFP should commit itself publicly to accepting the election results and Felgate responded that the organisation had no ulterior motive in contesting the poll.

The council had earlier adopted the changes to the Interim Constitution agreed at the summit of leaders at the Union Buildings on Tuesday which led to the last-minute IFP decision to contest the election.

Parliament will meet on Monday to pass the amendments.

Yesterday, the IFP rejoined the multiparty negotiating process after it walked out over the setting of the election date on July 2 last year.

It ran straight into a barrage of angry criticism over its negotiations strategy, which some delegates implied

► To Page 3

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban — Tens of thousands of IFP supporters marched through the main road of the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi, to the Legislative Assembly building yesterday to celebrate the 11th-hour decision by the IFP to enter the election.

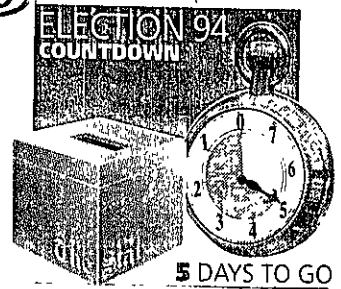
What was originally planned to be a protest march turned into celebrations as women dressed in sarongs bearing KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's face ululated, danced and stamped their feet.

## Standstill

Hundreds of chanting impis moved through the town. The business centre came to a standstill.

John Soderlund reports that recent behind-the-scenes activities suggest there were strong expectations in KwaZulu that the IFP would contest the election.

Minutes after Tuesday's announcement, party members



were erecting colour posters. A million campaign pamphlets are to be taken to outlying areas, some to be delivered by airdrop, a senior party member said.

All planned mass action activities have been turned into hustling meetings.

Fears about the IFP leadership's ability to reach their supporters in time to get their votes might be exaggerated if the "bush telegraph" works as well as it did yesterday.

People were bused in from as far as Empangeni, Vryheid and Nongoma to hear their leader speak.

(1 Sithole, 18 Osborne Road, Durban, and J Soderlund, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Stuck on ... Albert Mokoena of the IEC holds the ballot paper with the IFP's name and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's picture pasted on at the bottom. PICTURE: PETER MOGAKI

## IFP to accept voting result

Star  
From Page 1  
21/4/94  
had played a significant role in the violence and deaths.

Ramaphosa welcomed the IFP return, saying the breakthrough had been reached at a "very expensive cost". (11B)

Since the IFP had failed on March 4 to submit its candidates lists, more than 700 people had died.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said: "Never again must any political party in the country be allowed to use human life as bargaining chips."

Felgate said every member should be ashamed that lives had been lost, but it was unfair to point a finger only at the IFP.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



NEWS IFP's Felgate rapped on the

# Way clear for Inkatha to contest

Sowetan 21/4/94

■ IN LINE Interim constitution

amended to recognise role of king:

**By Tyrone August**  
Political Staff

THE Negotiating Council yesterday formally opened the way for the Inkatha Freedom Party to take part in next week's election.

At a special session at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, the council passed two amendments to the interim constitution to recognise and protect "the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarchy".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer welcomed the IFP in the election fold. "It is further contribution on the path of reform and, more importantly, putting into operation a full-scale democracy in South Africa," he said.

But the jubilation behind the unanimous decision of the Negotiating Council did not prevent ANC general secre-

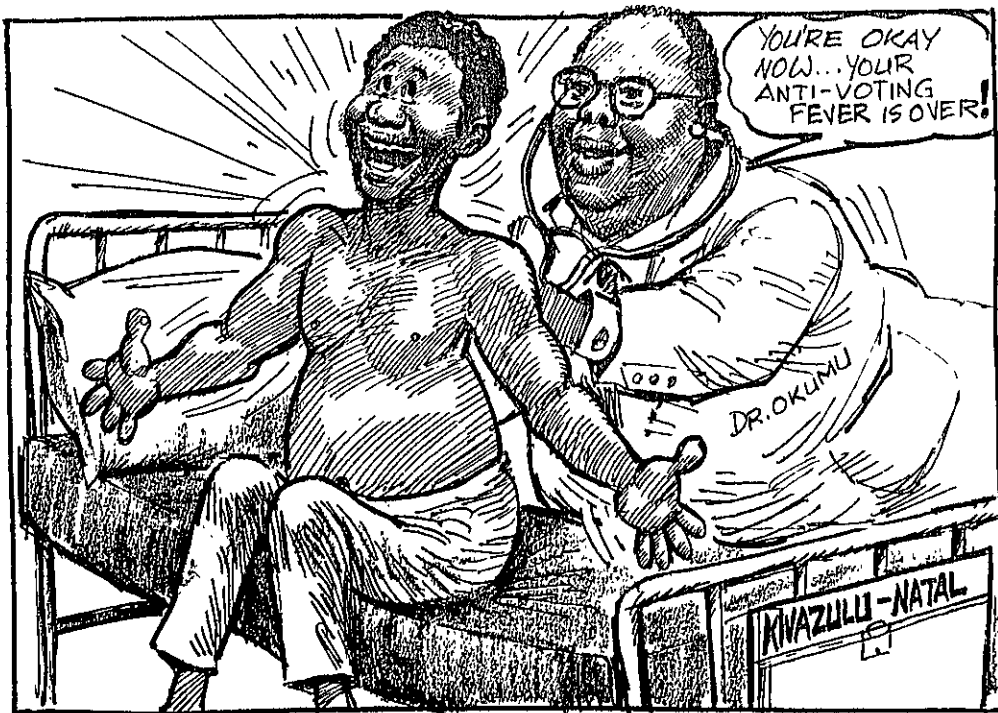
tary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa from attacking IFP official Mr Walter Felgate for his remarks on Tuesday that it was the IFP's strategy to hold out on a constitutional settlement for as long as possible.

Ramaphosa also questioned whether the IFP would accept the election results, saying this was "absolutely essential."

SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo described Felgate's remarks as "callous and repulsive. Never again must a political party be allowed to use human life as a bargaining chip in the negotiating process."

Meyer also questioned why the IFP rejected a draft agreement last week which also gave Zwelithini constitutional protection and specific powers in KwaZulu/Natal. (118) (118)

(T August, 61 Commanido Road, Industria, Johannesburg)



## focus on new accord

**O**N FEBRUARY 11 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from 27 years' jail and among those waiting for the great leader's embrace was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This did not happen. Instead the African National Congress leader read a prepared speech on the steps of the city hall at Cape Town's Grand Parade in which he attacked Buthelezi and referred to him as a puppet of the National Party Government.

It was during a time when expectations ran high — for peace and an end to violence. In fact, the expression black-on-black violence leapt off news pages as people died by the dozen in the townships.

Contrary to expectations, the blood-letting did not stop — in spite of Mandela's release and the unbanning of political organisations.

While the accord signed by Mandela and Buthelezi with De Klerk puts the focus on its constitutional impact, the real emphasis should be on the players.

Buthelezi's demands have obviously resulted in victory because next week Parliament will amend the Interim Constitution and recognise the kingdom of the Zulus.

But is this really what Buthelezi wanted?

In his statement at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday, Mandela called Buthelezi his brother and acknowledged his personal relationship with him, which he said spanned 40 years.

It was perhaps for the first time since his release that Mandela lauded Buthelezi in public for campaigning for his release and refusing to negotiate with Pretoria before all political prisoners were freed and those in exile returned.

### Contribution to the struggle

Then what Mandela publicly articulated in Pretoria on Monday is what Buthelezi had always wanted to hear — acknowledgement of his contribution to the struggle.

Meanwhile, it is significant to note what Buthelezi said in 1976, three months before the Soweto pupils' uprising.

He told about 16 000 people at the Jabulani Amphitheatre that "whites should read the writing on the wall and realise that the country must move to majority rule."

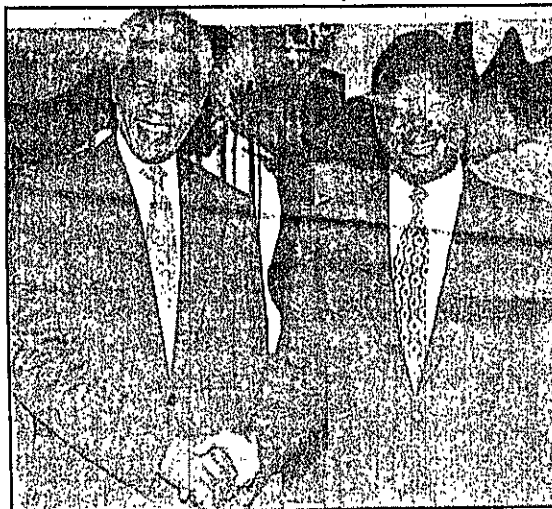
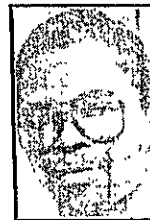
He said: "I challenge anyone to prove to me that the majority of blacks do in fact want the so-called independence which is offered to our reserves, now called homelands."

He was being critical of the acceptance of that "independence" by Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Buthelezi said on that day: "We must therefore act unilaterally in defining South Africa's policies. It is these policies we blacks define that will be heard and heeded by our brothers in Africa, as well as other quarters in the world."

That was in 1976 and this was understood to mean the unity of all black South Africans as opposed to what Buthelezi demands today. Or is

*Sowetan 21/1/94*  
The accord signed by Mandela and Buthelezi with De Klerk earlier this week puts the focus on its constitutional impact, but the emphasis should rather be on the players, writes **Themba Molefe:**



Flashback to June 1993: Together again ... Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands in typical fashion. Shouldn't they have kissed and made up in 1990?

he perhaps being misunderstood?

To this end, especially when Mandela's Natal supporters physically prevented him from holding face-to-face talks soon after his release, Buthelezi had embarked on a campaign which would make him a winner on both sides of the field.

"There will be no lasting solution without my participation. I am an important player," is the Buthelezi trademark.

Indeed he was vindicated on Monday, but at what cost?

Human Rights Commission statistics of death in troubled KwaZulu-Natal show that 311 people were killed in political violence in March alone, the highest monthly figure since the HRC's inception in 1986.

Said the HRC: "The phenomenal increase in deaths from the 153 recorded in February and the 172 recorded in January can be largely attributed to the conflict between those who support the impending April 27 election and those who are defiantly resisting them."

This simple but chilling report is about just a single three-month period since 1990 in which people lost lives.

Argument here is not whether Buthelezi started the war because he wanted to maintain

“There will be no lasting solution without my participation. I am an important player”

power — it is about power itself.

Mandela is regarded as a national hero by millions of his followers. Internationally he is seen as a true symbol of resistance and liberation.

For participating inbantustan politics, and for whatever reason he has advanced, Buthelezi has for decades been at loggerheads with anti-apartheid groups, even when the ANC was underground and Mandela a mere rallying figure.

But Mandela always maintains he is part of a larger whole and as such, of the collective ANC movement.

In 1990, shouldn't the collective that is the ANC have let Mandela embrace Buthelezi and saved lives?



# Joy as IFP plunges in

Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa

**T**ENS OF THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through Ulundi yesterday to the Legislative Assembly building to celebrate the decision by the party to enter the election.

And later at a rally, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced that IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose would stand as candidate for the premiership in KwaZulu/Natal.

Buthelezi will head the party's national election list. It was expected last night that the party would hand its preliminary list of candidates to the Independent Electoral Commission in Johannesburg.

However, it is believed the IFP has instead opted to come up with its final list on Friday, the new

deadline allowed by the IEC.

What was originally planned as a protest march turned into celebrations as women bearing the image of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's face on their dresses ululated, danced and stamped their feet as they awaited Buthelezi's arrival outside the KLA building. Chanting impsis moved through the town and the business centre came to a standstill as shops were closed.

Sporadic gunshots were heard and at least two people were seen carrying AK-47 rifles.

Buthelezi told more than 10 000 supporters that he had joined the electoral process to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace.

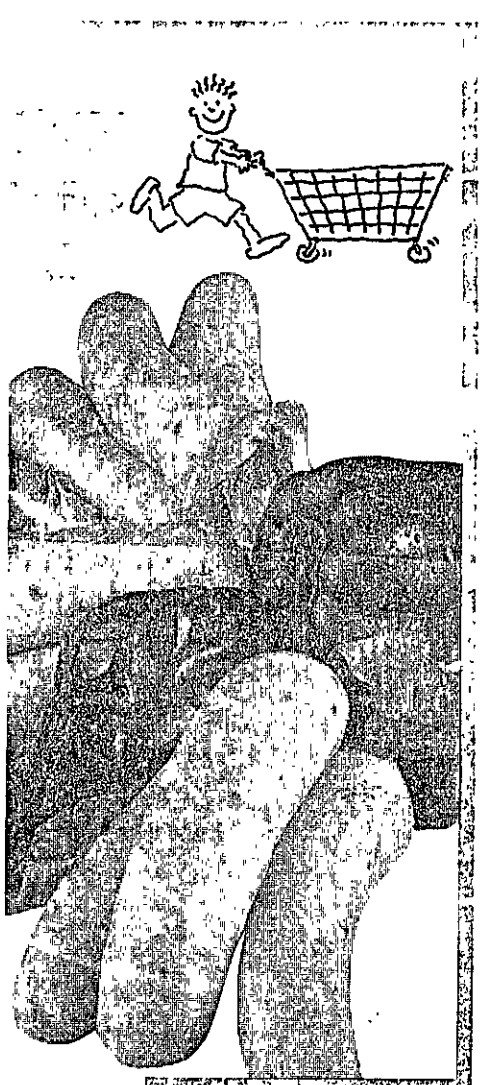
Although he did not think the IFP's participation in the election would lead to an immediate reduction in violence, "the proportion of violence will be less".

He said it would be naive to believe the IFP's participation in elections would mean an end to violence "but it should decrease because tensions are less".

He said he had asked State President FW de Klerk to lift the state of emergency only to be told that his advisers had suggested he impose the emergency in other volatile parts of the country.

(Report by I Sithole, 18 Osborne Street, Durban and C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban)

Sowetan 21/4/94



## Polling from pole to pole

Youth members of the Inkatha Freedom Party prepare election posters in Durban for the party's campaign which they later distributed around various areas of Natal-KwaZulu. The IFP decided at the 11th-hour on Tuesday to contest next week's election and yesterday launched its belated campaign.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

11

++ ELECTION COUNTDOWN ++ ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# Footdragging 'has lost support'

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party's footdragging over joining the April 26-28 poll cost it massive support, political analysts claim.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "is not coming into the election process trailing clouds of glory", political scientist Mr Alexander Johnstone of the University of Natal said yesterday.

The move to contest the ballot, after fiercely rejecting a linked interim consti-

tution drafted by a multi-party negotiating forum, would fail to win back supporters who had defected to other parties, he said.

"The more he emphasises Zulu ethnicity, the less likely whites and Indians are to identify with him."

Independent political analyst Mr Eugene Nyati said Inkatha would secure a seat in the new coalition cabinet but he said Chief Buthelezi should concentrate on the Zulu heartland. "That would be

their strongest show . . . he does not have national support.

Inkatha claims a membership of almost three million, including major support among whites and Indians, but analysts said most of this support had eroded as Chief Buthelezi resisted joining the electoral process.

Inkatha's campaign manager Mr Arthur Konigkramer predicted a surprise outcome, despite the late entry. "I think the IFP will perform very well."

# IFP joins election 'to save SA'

(11B)

CT 21/4/94

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he had joined South Africa's electoral process to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace.

Interviewed before he addressed more than 10 000 jubilant IFP supporters here, he said although he did not think the IFP's participation in national elections would lead to an immediate reduction in violence, "the proportion of violence will be less".

He said it would be naïve to believe the IFP participation would mean an end to violence "but it should decrease because tensions are less".

"It will be difficult to imagine that all tension can vanish in a few days... we would hope tension will somehow be decreased."

He said he had asked President F W de Klerk to lift the state of emergency only to be told his advisers had suggested he impose the emergency in other volatile parts of the country.

Asked whether he expected to fare well in elections, he said he did not want to "prophesy".

Chief Buthelezi said his late entry into the election race would hamper the IFP's performance, as voter education had not reached all his supporters.

Asked why he had entered elections at this late stage, he replied: "I did so to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace."

He said he would accept the election results if they were endorsed by the international community.

Addressing a short news conference after his first election rally here, he said: "One must accept that whatever the international monitors say will be it — whatever one's feelings may be."

On the IFP's election candidature lists, Chief Buthelezi said these were still being drafted. He "assumed" he would head the party list for the national assembly.

"As national leader of the party I have to be on the national list. One can't appear on both," he said to a question on whether he was eyeing the KwaZulu/Natal premiership position. — Sapa

## Mdlalose heads IEP in Natal

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi will head the Inkatha team for the national assembly, with national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose standing for premiership of Natal and KwaZulu. CT 21/4/94

Party sources said the top regional slot was a close race between Mr Joe Mathews and Dr Mdlalose.

Chief Buthelezi made the announcement at his first election rally in Ulundi.

Meanwhile, the National Party in Natal yesterday unveiled a draft constitution for the province, granting partial sovereignty to the Zulu kingdom. — Sapa

# Kwazulu pledge on extra 500 poll stations in region

ARL 21/4/94

□ IEC ready to 'do its damndest' for election in Natal

## Political Staff

The Kwazulu government has pledged its full support to ensure an additional 500 voting stations are established in the region before the elections, according to Independent Electoral Commission vice-chairman Dik-gang Mosenke.

Addressing the media after a five-hour meeting with the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday, Mr Mosenke said a tough job awaited the IEC in the days remaining before the elections.

But he said the IEC would try its "damndest" to ensure it was prepared for elections in the region.

The IEC also announced a "major voter education blitz" in Kwazulu-Natal today to reassure voters about the voting procedure after agreement on the addition of the Inkatha Freedom Party's sticker on ballot papers.

IEC electoral administration training division head Kuni Naidoo said electoral officers would affix the sticker to ballot papers at a "supplies desk" before the papers were handed to voters at national and regional "issuing desks".

Meanwhile the IFP was welcomed back into the political mainstream yesterday — but not without accusations that its negotiations tactics had cost hundreds of lives.

Meeting at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, the multi-party negotiating council unanimously adopted a constitutional amendment that

formed the basis of the IFP's decision to take part in next week's elections.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the only explanation for the IFP's action was that it had been trying through the process of international mediation to postpone the elections.

And African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that while the IFP was to be welcomed back, its tactics had cost the lives of about 700 people since its decision on March 4 not to confirm its registration as a political party taking part in the poll.

The parties warned the IFP that now that it was back in the process, it would be fair game for all the other parties battling for electoral gain.

There were no offers or inducements to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to get him to take part in the election. President De Klerk said last night.

Speaking on John Gwelame's talk show on Radio 702, Mr De Klerk said he had not offered any incentives to Chief Buthelezi and "I know of no other offers".

The IFP yesterday committed itself unequivocally to accepting the election results.

Fears were raised in yesterday's special meeting of the negotiating council that the IFP, in spite of its last-minute entry into the elections, was contemplating a "Savhindi option" if it fared poorly in the election. But IFP delegate Walker Falgout and his Kwazulu government counterpart Harriet



**LET'S VOTE:** A group of Zulus walk past a tax displaying a placard of their leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on their way to attend an election rally in Ulundi.

Ngubane backed a resolution which included a clause reading: "We will accept the results of the election and will abide by the decision of the IEC in respect of the fairness and freedom of elections."

IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose will stand as candidate for the premiership in Kwazulu-Natal.

The announcement was made by Chief Buthelezi at a public meeting in Ulundi yesterday. The party's full list of candi-

dates had to be handed to the IEC in Johannesburg by last night.

Chief Buthelezi heads the party's national election list.

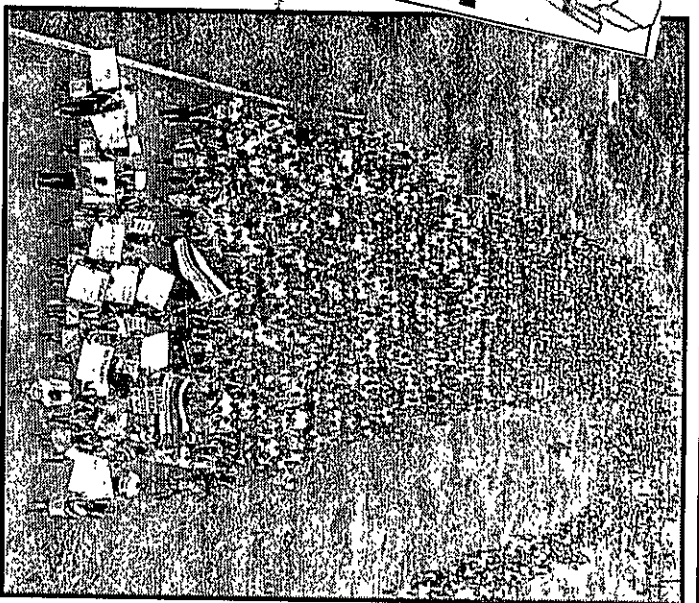
ANC president Nelson Mandela, preaching reconciliation and promising good governance, was hailed as a president-in-waiting by thousands of supporters across the eastern Cape yesterday.

His speeches reflected the perception too — he appealed to people to work together in building the country, to culti-

vate good labour relations with employers and not to hold unrealistic expectations of the next five years.

His one-day swing through the region took him to the coastal resort of St Francis Bay and nearby Humansdorp, and ended at Graaff Reinet in the Karoo, where he released two white doves to symbolise peace.

He told anxious white farmers in Graaff Reinet that their property rights would be respected in the post-apartheid era.



**IN SUPPORT:** Thousands of Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party supporters march to a gathering in Ulundi to celebrate Buthelezi's decision to take part in the election.

Talks between the Freedom Front and the Conservative Party could result in all rightwingers taking part in next week's election, IFP leader Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

Addressing businessmen in Lichtenburg in the western Transvaal, he said his discussions with CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg looked promising.

"The outcome may well result in all people in South Africa going to the polls next week."

All Christian people needed to vote against the communist element in the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance, he said. Addressing Potchefstroom University students earlier yes-

terday, General Viljoen said a federal constitution was the only plan that would work in South Africa.

There will never again be racism in South Africa, nor will policemen commit murder in the name of the law, says ANC chief negotiator Mohammed Vah Moosa.

Speaking at a rally at Effingham in Durban yesterday, he said there would never be apartheid in South Africa because the ANC would be the new government from next week.

He said the IFP had played a dangerous game of brinkmanship over the past two years by walking in and out of the negotiation process. (Compiled by HS Robertson 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)

# 22/14/94 Last-minute election entry to avert bloodshed — chief

Empangeni IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he had decided to contest next week's election to prevent the ANC destroying SA through central government tyranny.

Addressing about 12 000 supporters at Enselent near Empangeni, Buthelezi said the IFP would never allow the ANC to destroy South Africa.

"We decided to make the kind of compromises we did to enter into elections to avoid more bloodshed and carnage."

In his first campaign speech outside Ulundi, he said the ANC was run by communists who had aborted the recent constitutional mediation process.

"The communists in the ANC want a central government so they can embark on their programme of nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth directly after the elections."

Remarking on capital outflow from South Africa, he said the IFP's federalism would enable Natal to prosper.

"Ours is the rallying cry for free-enterprise democracy."

Buthelezi took a swipe at the "ANC-dominated TEC" for targeting KwaZulu for persecution.

Under a federal dispensation, the government of Natal would implement policies to exploit the advantages of the region.

"Now the real struggle is on. It is up to each and every one of you to make sure that we achieve our goal."

Sapa. (C Doornik, 330 West Street, Durban)



# IFP supporters in last minute rush for cards

*Star 22/4/94* (11B)  
The inclusion of the IFP in the election has prompted a last minute rush by millions of IFP supporters in KwaZulu/Natal and the PWV to apply for temporary voter cards — and major re-planning of voting station locations in KwaZulu/Natal.

Addressing a media briefing yesterday, IEC chairman Justice Johann Kriegler said 20 mobile units to dispense temporary voter cards would be deployed at hostels across the Reef today.

Voting stations would also be set up at hostels over the two-

day election period.

Some 70 000 temporary voter cards were being issued to mine-workers from the National Union of Mineworkers offices by IEC officials. In addition, another voter card office has been set up at the Johannesburg City Hall.

The IFP has until this afternoon to finalise its candidates lists, after which it will be entitled to R3,4 million of the Electoral Fund for its campaign.

All political parties must end their political campaigns by Sunday night in terms of the Electoral Act. — Staff Reporter.

*Alliances make no sense - source*

# No NP-IFP poll pacts, say Nats

Star 22/4/94

BY SHAUN JOHNSON  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Senior NP members have moved to dampen speculation about possible NP-IFP election pacts.

This follows comments by Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha and his Natal counterpart George Bartlett on the possible forging of alliances to keep the ANC out of power in the PWV and KwaZulu/Natal regions.

Speculation on possible pacts intensified in the aftermath of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's surprise climb-down on Tuesday which led to the IFP's participation in the election.

## Block

But a senior NP source said yesterday that it did not make sense to forge alliances because the national and provincial governments would, in terms of the Interim Constitution, all be enforced coalitions.

Parties would naturally group together on issues where there was common ground and, if they had sufficient support, could block decisions.

In Stellenbosch yesterday, top Government negotiator Roelf Meyer launched a strong attack on the IFP for "playing with the lives of the people of South Africa" by threatening the transition process and then entering the election race at the last moment.

He made his criticism of the IFP "sadly" because of the cost of the aborted boycott tactic, "not only in terms of things like having to call Parliament together again, but much more importantly in terms of violence . . .

"A number of questions re-

**THE new constitution, and not Inkatha's participation in the election, is the real South African miracle, says Roelf Meyer**

(11B) (REDA)

main about this sudden change of mind. People ask us: what have you given them, what have you promised them? The answer is, nothing new.

"So why has Chief Buthelezi now conceded so suddenly? The reality that the election would not be postponed is what brought Inkatha in. Mediation, which the IFP thought it could use to secure a postponement, did not do so.

## Participate

"One bold fact remained: if you don't participate in the election you are not on the playing field. You are in the cold for five years. They decided to participate, and the so-called demands they have been insisting on for months went out of the window."

Meyer said the constitutional amendments regarding the Zulu king, which will come before a special sitting of Parliament on Monday, were less extensive than those offered on April 11.

South Africans, he said, needed to understand that "the miracle wasn't achieved two days ago when the IFP decided to join the election. It was achieved when we agreed on a new constitution . . . something that was once almost unthinkable".

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Buthelezi may be deputy president

Star 22/4/94

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi might be one of two of South Africa's deputy presidents after the election if he does "reasonably well" in next week's poll, according to reliable ANC sources.

The sources said Buthelezi, whose party made a sensational last-minute entry into the election race this week, was being seriously considered in ANC circles for the position of one of two executive deputy presidents.

The offer would be made to him in the interests of peace and national unity, especially if he had a fairly respectable showing in the election.

## Forfeit

He would then join National Party leader FW de Klerk as the country's deputy president, with the ANC forfeiting its right to appoint the first deputy president — something to which it will be automatically entitled to if no more than two parties get over 20 percent each in the election.

The sources stressed, however, that this was just one of the options being considered in certain ANC circles, although not everyone in the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) was happy about it.

The ANC begins a two-day meeting of its extended NEC today, where the first deputy presidency of the country and Nelson Mandela's tentative Cabinet will be discussed.

Within the ANC itself, national chairman Thabo Mbeki and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are the two main candidates, with each man's supporters lobbying very strongly for their man.

Because of the divisive nature of the designation of a deputy president, this issue has so far been discussed in hush-hush tones within the ANC.

Mbeki's supporters, mostly in the ANC Youth League, point to

the fact that he was placed second on the lists which came from the various regions across the country.

They say the list which saw Ramaphosa leap-frogging to the second spot had been a result of the national conference attended by party bosses and therefore did not represent "the will of the people".

Responding to a question at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Ramaphosa — like Mbeki a week ago — said he and his colleagues in the ANC were not inclined to talk about themselves and what positions they might hold in future.

He confirmed, however, that the process of putting together an ANC Cabinet was under way.

The sources said Mbeki, who was "presently the most senior person in the ANC and commands a lot of respect from all sectors", was a clear favourite for the job.

Another "very senior and powerful job" had already been earmarked for Ramaphosa.

## Maverick

However, ANC sources yesterday told The Star there was now a possibility of maverick information and publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan becoming a compromise candidate for the first deputy presidency to avoid a showdown between Ramaphosa and Mbeki.

This would be similar to what happened at the organisation's July 1991 congress in Durban where Walter Sisulu was elected deputy president to stave off a potentially divisive battle for the position between the late Chris Hani and Mbeki.

Approached for comment yesterday, Jordan said: "I have not heard about it."

"However, I would not be a compromise candidate because I am very uncompromising."

Asked what his reaction would be if he were nominated for the position, he said he would "seriously consider it".

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

THE ELECTION

# Buthelezi's late, late entry

Fun 22/4/94

11B

While SA heaved a collective sigh of relief at Inkatha's decision to enter the general election after all, many of its supporters will be scratching their heads in wonder at how passing strange are the ways of the wise. What, they may well ask, makes today different from yesterday, when their leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was talking about a fight to the finish? And what of the constitutional changes towards pristine federalism that Buthelezi seemed prepared to die for, but are not part of this week's breakthrough?

The tragedy is that so many people had to die and so much economic damage had to be done before Buthelezi finally accepted, in effect, what Nelson Mandela had offered him two weeks earlier — that is, to guarantee the constitutional position of the Zulu king and KwaZulu and continue mediation after the election — in return for his taking part.

Buthelezi's decision had an immediate upbeat effect on financial markets, with the finrand bouncing back from the trough it sank into after the failed, "last-ditch" summit between Buthelezi, his king, Mandela and State President F W de Klerk two weeks ago.

The immediate hope must be that Buthelezi's abrupt U-turn will dampen the violence, which this week flared into open warfare between the ANC and Inkatha in Thokoza (causing the death of, among others, award-winning photographer Ken Oosterbroek), and lead to the cancellation of the threatened march into central Johannesburg by the Inkatha Youth Brigade, with all its potential for a bloodbath.

The immediate hurdle is the logistical problem of amending the 80m ballot forms (already on their way to safe warehouses around SA) to include Inkatha candidacy in the national and all nine provincial polls.

Since it will not be possible to reprint the ballot papers in a week before the election, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) says adhesive stickers will be used, containing the Inkatha logo, acronym and leader Buthelezi's picture. The stickers will look the same as the other entries except that they will not have the security marking.

They will be fixed to the ballot form below

the last entry (which is the National Party's), in the polling stations before being distributed to voters. Printing of the stickers began on Tuesday night. A potential problem is that improperly affixed stickers will result in spoil papers.

Clearly intent on not wasting a moment, Inkatha began an intensive poster campaign in Durban on Tuesday even before the Pretoria talks were completed.

The clinching agreement commits the parties to peace and reconciliation. It makes the following pledges:

Inkatha agrees to participate in the April 26-28 election for both the national assembly and provincial legislatures;

A commitment by all three parties to do everything in their power to ensure free and fair elections;

Agreement to recognise and protect the institution, status and constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of KwaZulu, which shall be provided for in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu/Natal. To this end the 1993 constitution will be amended (probably at a short sitting of parliament on Monday) before April 27;

Any outstanding issues in respect of the Zulu king and the 1993 constitution as amended will be addressed through international mediation, which will start as soon as possible after the election; and

Government will do all it can to help the IEC arrange the full participation of Inkatha in the election.

The first hint that Buthelezi might be having a change of heart came on Friday, with calls from

King Goodwill Zwelithini for Zulus to stop killing one another. It was a noticeably more conciliatory tone than the threats of a week earlier. However, the final decision to participate, according to Buthelezi, was taken by the Inkatha Central Committee on Sunday. Negotiations began immediately and were completed on Tuesday.

It marked the end of the resistance campaign

Buthelezi effectively began when he boycotted the second plenary session of Codesa because of the exclusion of the Zulu king in May 1992. The rift between him, the ANC and government deepened over the months, particularly over issues such as the ANC/Nat Record of Understanding signed in Sep-

tember 1992, after which Buthelezi alleged there was a plan afoot to "ethnically cleanse" the Zulus *a la* Bosnia.

The election proclamation and establishment of the TEC without reference to him only added insult to injury. "Final" deadlines came and went with monotonous regularity and all negotiations ended in deadlock.

When the Kruger Park summit between Mandela, Buthelezi, Zwelithini and De Klerk ended in acrimony two weeks ago, it was closely followed by last week's stillborn attempt at international mediation. However, Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington left when the ANC and Inkatha could not agree on their terms of reference. It looked like the end of the road.

Nothing more, it seemed, could be done — that is, until an obscure Kenyan professor, who had been included as an afterthought in the international mediation team, stayed behind to have one more try. And he succeeded.

While Tuesday's settlement was hailed by Mandela as a victory for all who love SA, UCT professor Robert Schrire believes it amounts to a political defeat which could write Buthelezi out of future politics.

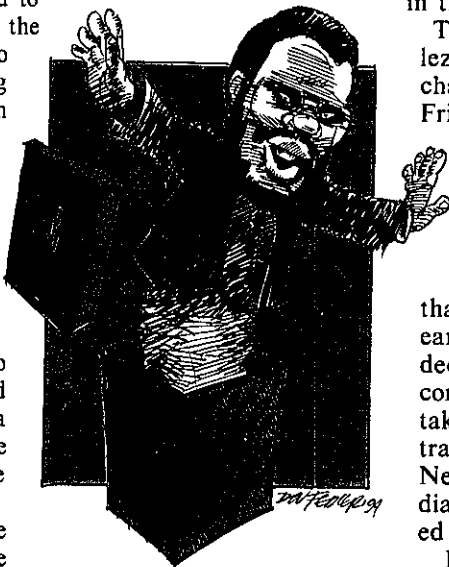
"If Buthelezi and Inkatha had decided (in February) to participate in the polls after winning agreement on separate national and provincial ballots, he would have been hailed as a great and brilliant statesman who had won significant concessions from a weak position. Instead, he hung on for a couple of months, precipitating mass bloodshed. His bluff was called, he went to the edge, peered over the precipice at the abyss, and capitulated. Though he won concessions on the status of the king, that was a side issue.

"His boycott was based on two issues. He wanted the elections postponed and he wanted fundamental change in the interim constitution. The bottom line is that he achieved neither."

Schrire believes Buthelezi's change of heart was precipitated by the unacceptably high violence brought about by the party's election boycott stance. "As a committed Christian and moral person he was appalled by the loss of life, even though it was partly a terribly destructive consequence of his own strategy. He could not help but be distressed at the violence."

This Christian element, says Schrire, was reinforced by the involvement of his Christian fellowship friend of 20 years, Prof Washington Okumu, as the mediator from Kenya who is given the lion's share of credit — by Buthelezi certainly — for this week's breakthrough.

Schrire believes the other crucial element was that "reality finally broke through the cocoon of the advisers with whom Buthelezi

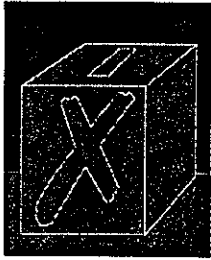


THE ELECTION

# At the end of an era

FM 22/4/94

Buthelezi's entry is most welcome — but many problems remain



There has been little time to reflect on the motives and tactics of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in deciding, with only a week remaining, to take part in the general election. Whether he was justified in cutting it

so fine, only he knows. The important thing is that he is, in the nick of time, part of the process. This means that all the major political groupings, from the PAC on the radical Left to Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front on the white Right, have accepted the transition to democracy.

By taking part, all the parties are binding themselves to the process, which in turn means that they will be morally obliged to accept the verdict of the voters. As a result, the new government of national unity should enjoy a level of legitimacy that we all thought impossible only a few days ago. This should have a profoundly beneficial effect on that government's capacity to restore stability, crack down on violence and foster investor confidence. Things have not looked so bright since the first dawn of optimism in the early days of the Codesa negotiations.

Paradoxically, while Buthelezi's late entry is a great boost to the process, it also serves to cloud it. For some months all the analysis of the election has been predicated on Inkatha's absence; suddenly there are new questions and no time to find answers to them.

How well can Buthelezi do in the election when he has only a week in which to campaign? Not very well, presumably (see *Current Affairs*) — and in any case his negotiating style has alienated many people who might have voted for him if he had been part of the campaign all along. On the other hand, Inkatha will be judged only on its performance in the Natal and PWV provinces; its support must be assumed to be fairly loyal; and Buthelezi's profile has remained high despite his boycott stance.

But let us assume, for purely practical reasons, that Inkatha will do relatively badly at the polls — in other words, that it will perform below its potential.

This will not necessarily be bad for Buthelezi. In fact, he could turn it neatly to his advantage. "After all," he can say, "I only had a week's campaigning. What else could I expect?" We will then have the rare phe-

nomenon of an electoral loser with an excellent excuse. In addition, Buthelezi has exacted a price from the ANC and government for his participation, via the agreement on post-election mediation made on Tuesday with the ANC and government. In effect, he may have ensured his political survival, at least for a time, independently of what happens in the election.

Inkatha's entry is a triumph for ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk, who showed resolution and considerable nerve in not giving in to Buthelezi's brinkmanship over the date of the election.

Despite this dramatic breakthrough, the transition to majority rule next week will not be easy. We are entering uncharted waters. Not since President De Klerk unbanned all political organisations and released ANC leader Nelson Mandela just over four years ago have we faced such uncertainty. The political climate in many parts of the country is not tolerant and there is still a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal. Buthelezi's entry to the election does not mean that the violence of a decade can be switched off overnight; the fighting is more complicated than that.

And in other respects the election will not be free and fair. Some parties are not being allowed to campaign freely in townships and on university campuses dominated by ANC supporters. This raises serious questions about how free the choice of many voters will really be.

there has simply not been enough time to make the practical arrangements.

Nevertheless, the election must go ahead. The alternative would be certain disaster. The country has been ripping itself apart and only a new government with an acceptable degree of legitimacy can hope to restore stability. This means we have to succeed next week in electing a new government: the consequences of the IEC's declaring that the poll was not free and fair are horrific. As we have argued before, it is politically unthinkable for the IEC to do this — and even more unlikely now that no major party is advocating a boycott.

There will probably be violent attempts to disrupt voting in some areas, but the security forces will undoubtedly take tough action to prevent them.

An ANC victory will inevitably result in celebrations, which may lead to triumphal violence and some damage to property. But ANC leaders are confident that their supporters will behave within acceptable norms. If they do not, security forces will again be on hand to ensure the maintenance of law and order.

While it is only natural to be worried about the events of next week and the weeks beyond, it is worth reflecting on how much has been achieved since 1990.

That we are able to have an election at all is in itself remarkable. Our journey to this point has been like a ride on a rickety roller coaster. There have been many breakdowns, some of them serious, but fortunately no permanent derailment.

The process has survived mass action, escalating violence, economic recession, the withdrawal of major parties, terrorism from extremists, resistance from homeland governments and the death of Chris Hani. It is quite obviously inherently strong.

The much-heralded TV debate last week between Mandela and De Klerk captured much of the symbolism of what has been

achieved over the past four years: two implacable opponents whose wisdom and humility allowed them to rise above ideology for the sake of the country — and who realised they needed each other. Mandela had the masses, De Klerk the security forces.

The clasping of hands, initiated by Mandela at the end of the debate, was a gesture that said to viewers: "Don't take what we have said here tonight too seriously. The future is what matters and we are deter-



Buthelezi



Mandela



De Klerk

The overall level of political tolerance is dangerously low and ignorance of the democratic process is widespread, in spite of efforts by the Independent Electoral Commission to educate people.

There must now also be serious doubts about the ability of the IEC and the civil servants to perform the necessary logistics, particularly in KwaZulu/Natal. Thousands of people may not be able to vote in suitable conditions — or to vote at all — because

mined to work together to make it better than the present."

It didn't matter who "won" the debate or what either man said: the overwhelmingly warm spirit of the confrontation is what counted. It was what many voters wanted to see. Considering the level to which the encounter could have sunk, it was remarkably tame and, in a way, comforting. Though there is no suggestion that the two collaborated beforehand, it was almost as if they had an unspoken understanding that voters wanted to see a display of unity rather than animosity.

De Klerk's presentation was better because he is more experienced. Mandela was more statesmanlike because he is perceived as a patriarch. Together they came across as our best hope for national unity.

And we are certainly in need of such salvation, considering that only a few short years ago the country still floundered in the mire of Verwoerdian apartheid.

In April 1979, for example, government was wrestling with the problem of Crossroads, the mushrooming squatter settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town that so graphically illustrated the failure of influx control. A decision, pioneered by Plural Relations & Development Minister Piet Koornhof, to allow the squatters to stay was one of the first major cracks in hardline apartheid policy.

At the same time, just north of us in what was Rhodesia, an internal constitutional settlement that excluded the main black political parties had failed to hoodwink the world. But British-brokered democratic elections were still 12 months away. In the erstwhile South West Africa 15 years ago, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance also opted for a doomed "internal solution" rather than a UN-sponsored settlement.

Ten years ago, in April 1984, President PW Botha's aggressive regional domination policy effectively forced Mozambique President Samora Machel into signing the Nkomati Accord. But the move failed in its primary aim to normalise SA's political and economic relations with other states in the region. A year later, Botha ushered in our darkest period with his Rubicon address.

Five years ago, in April 1989, Namibia was on the eve of UN-organised elections that would herald independence and the end to nearly two decades of bush war.

Though we were still isolated, De Klerk's reform process was taking shape. He consolidated the palace revolution launched with such speed and precision three months previously, following PW Botha's stroke and resignation as Nationalist leader. Botha was ousted as president ahead of the crucial last apartheid election in September 1989.

That poll was decisive for SA. It laid the groundwork for unprecedented political reform, but also increased the parliamentary strength of the Right. However, it is doubtful that even conservative whites who rejected De Klerk in the election knew what really lay ahead. The *FM* noted at the time that NP supporters had taken a giant leap forward:

FM 221494

"They chose to abandon the cosy cocoon of racial privilege in favour of seeking political accommodation with the black majority." (Leaders September 15 1989) (118)

Many may not have known what they were doing, but there was no turning back. Four months later, in one of the most dramatic speeches parliament is ever likely to hear, De Klerk announced the unbanning of all political organisations and the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. (344)

The initial euphoria over our shift towards a normal society dulled any hint of discomfort. The repeal of apartheid legislation



Krieger



Hani



Viljoen



Botha

made virtually no difference to anyone's life. Loosening clamps on political activity exposed sheltered whites to street demonstrations for the first time and there was a feeling of unease. But people became accustomed to mass action and it petered out.

Meanwhile, with Foreign Minister Pik Botha as pathfinder, De Klerk launched himself into international orbit and forged more foreign diplomatic and economic ties in two years than any previous SA leader had done in a lifetime. Back home, Mandela set about transforming the ANC from a resistance movement into a political organisation.

Pre-negotiation talks between government and the ANC began almost immediately — and dragged on for months while political violence escalated, particularly in Natal where supporters of the IFP and ANC clashed regularly. In September 1991 the main political leaders signed an historic peace accord at a special summit at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, but it had little effect and the death toll continued to rise.

Political violence is the one issue that neither politicians nor the security forces have been able to deal with effectively and it is now by far the biggest threat to the country's future.

Throughout the past four years the overriding view has been that a constitutional settlement will bring peace. This was the basis on which full scale multiparty talks began early in 1992. However, they were soon in trouble. The white Right accused De Klerk of crumbling in the face of ANC pressure and he lost a series of crucial by-elections. But in a move of political genius, De Klerk won Mandela's backing to hold a whites-only referendum on political reform. He was supported by nearly 70% of the white electorate and the Right was silenced.

The talks resumed and negotiators headed rapidly — perhaps too rapidly — towards announcing a timetable for transition. The process collapsed, ostensibly as a result of the massacre of squatters by hostel dwellers at Boipatong. But the underlying reasons were fundamental differences of approach on key issues and a massive degree of mistrust between ANC and NP negotiators.

Euphoria at the pace with which we were moving towards democracy turned to gloom as the ANC launched a campaign of rolling mass action. Violence and killings continued and the reform process seemed to have

ground to a halt. However, the balance of mutual need between the ANC and the NP forced the two parties back to the negotiating table and talks resumed in March last year.

But SA's worst nightmare lay ahead. On April 15 last year Chris Hani, the SACP leader and a contender for future presidency of the ANC, was gunned down by a right-wing fanatic at his home in Boksburg. For two weeks the country peered into the abyss of total chaos as ANC leaders battled to maintain some degree of discipline over supporters. Spontaneous anger could so easily have turned into uncontrollable rage.

It remains amazing that the country not only survived the tragedy of those days, but that political leaders were back at the negotiating table within weeks and had set an election date. It was as if they had been given a glimpse of the hellish future that awaits us if anarchy is allowed to take hold, and decided that time for talks was running out rapidly. That was a year ago almost to the day.

Purists argue that the interim constitution was cobbled with indecent haste. They are correct. Ideally the negotiators should have continued to compromise until all parties were reasonably satisfied. The horrific violence in KwaZulu and on the Reef is the direct result of the failure to do so.

But as the aftermath of Hani's death showed so clearly, the consequences of not moving quickly could have been far worse. In spite of the criticism, the interim constitution is arguably a better document than could have been expected under the circumstances in which we found ourselves a year ago.

It is far from perfect, but it provides a sound framework for further negotiation. It also contains unprecedented safeguards against government abuse while a permanent constitution is prepared by the constitu-

**LEADING ARTICLES**

tional assembly.

There is little doubt that the ANC got the best of the negotiations on an interim constitution. An almost cynical impression has arisen that the Nats simply caved in on several issues, having neither the will nor the intellectual resources for the fight. There is an element of truth in this.

But it also has to be remembered that the NP has been working from a steadily weak-

Feb 22/4/94 (SOTIS)  
ening position ever since De Klerk's radical speech of February 1990. That speech undermined the National Party's legitimacy, because it was an explicit admission that whites did not have the right to rule the majority of voteless blacks.

In short, the NP's writ is exhausted — a fact that is disguised only by De Klerk's shrewdness and personal integrity. The country longs for government; we have for-

(11A) (11B)  
gotten what it is like.

Difficult times lie ahead, next week and after. But whatever happens, we have the certain knowledge that the alternative would have been worse — and the suspicion that, given this country's tortured history, we have got off quite lightly.

When the counting is done and the new government sworn in, the sun will still rise in the east and we will go about our business. ■

## SA's shortest election campaign

Farouk Chothia and Ann Eveleth

CEREMONIAL stick in hand, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi stepped off the back of his campaign wagon — a bakkie plastered in posters and red, green and gold flags. He kissed the young woman who pinned a flower on his lapel, and turned benevolently to the press.

Outside the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly building in Ulundi, Buthelezi on Wednesday launched what could be the shortest election campaign in history amid the cheers of thousands of supporters. Election fever has finally hit the IFP.

An Independent Electoral Commission team headed by vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke witnessed the dramatic turn of events: heckled two weeks ago, the electoral officials now found themselves welcomed by the kwaZulu government and chiefs.

They announced the number of polling stations in the province would increase from 1 000 to 1 500 as the need to seek permission from each tribal authority disappeared.

In strife-torn Ndwedwe the number of polling booths jumped in the space of a few hours from three to 60. With 13 000 more staffers needed, kwaZulu civil servants will fill the gaps.

But the harsh reality is the IFP will battle to pull off a victory. Buthelezi conceded as much when he told the crowd: "I would like to say that it will be a miracle, of course, if we do well in the elections, but your spirit and enthusiasm gives me hope that something miraculous could happen."

Factors counting against an IFP victory include: many members lack voter identification documents, are mostly illiterate and live in rural areas and have not been exposed to voter education. And, having been told that April 27 is a "national day of mourning for Zulus", they are now being urged to vote — and celebrate.

But University of Natal political scientist Professor Mervyn Frost is confident the IFP will get its voters to the polling booths. "Its discipline is such that it will be able to deliver its votes."

At an IFP rally in Ulundi on Wednesday, thousands of people were bussed in in transport provided by the homeland government — although this is not allowed under the Electoral Act.

The IFP has asked chiefs to call meetings in their areas this weekend to inform people of the decision. IEC sources said the IFP had been asked to allow voter education officials to attend the meetings.

Observers believe the IFP is likely to see white supporters, who drifted to the National and Federal parties, returning to its fold. But the IFP is unlikely to make inroads among kwaZulu/Natal's 655 000 Indian voters (10 percent of the electorate) who were turned off the party by its anti-election campaign which sparked violence. The IFP may reclaim the support of Indians on the North Coast.

The IFP has embarked on a major publicity drive, putting up thousands of election posters urging "Vote Buthelezi!" and "Make our country free — support the IFP". IFP sources said they expected to spend R5-million in the week-long campaign.

IFP adverts stress the party is the only one that has "never advocated armed struggle" and has "stood for the security of private property and free enterprise".

IFP celebrations seemed most successful in rural Northern Natal — there was a march of more than 20 000 supporters in Danny Dalton and a rally of about 25 000 in Ulundi — rather than the urban areas.

# Why Buthelezi backed down

Faced with the king's defection and the international mediators' withdrawal, Mangosuthu Buthelezi realised he'd overplayed his hand, report **Farouk Chothia, Gavin Evans, Stephen Laufer and Chris Louw**

**A**N accumulation of irresistible pressures, including the imminent defection of the king and Inkatha moderates, finally pushed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the elections this week.

Weekly Mail & Guardian reporters spoke to sources in government, the ANC and the IFP to piece together the dramatic behind-the-scenes events that led to Buthelezi's change of mind.

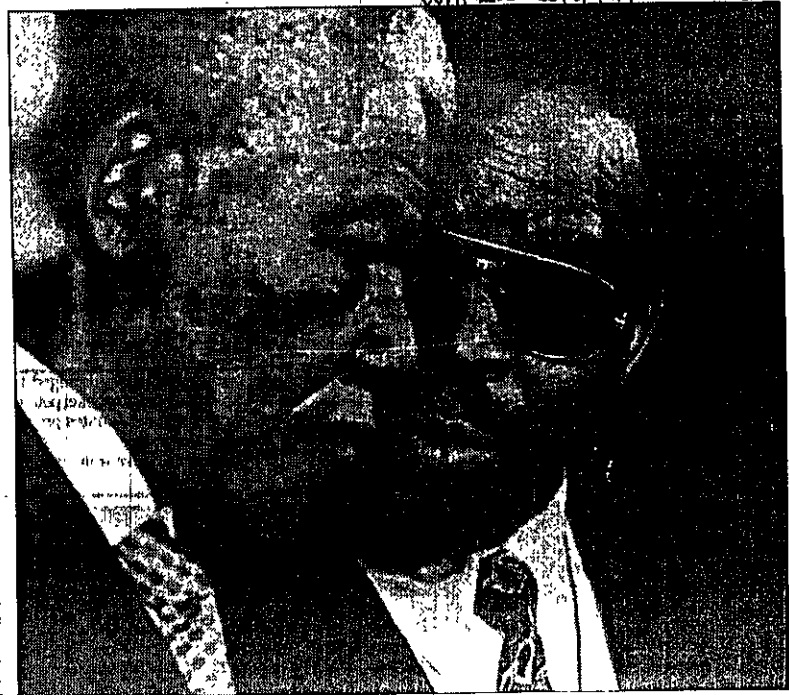
The Inkatha leader's first Damascus road experience came on Thursday, when international mediators under Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington packed their bags, sending an unequivocal message: there would be no postponement of the election.

Their departure was the culmination of a strategy agreed by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa. Scuppering the mediation effort, they believed, would show Buthelezi that he had run out of time and room to manoeuvre.

Buthelezi had hoped to use the mediators to draw negotiations out, forcing a delay in the elections. Explaining this tactic to mediation chairman Kissinger on his arrival, Meyer pressed for a hard line by the international team. Initially sceptical, Kissinger was convinced of Meyer's analysis when Inkatha insisted the election date be included in the mediator's terms of reference.

The international team agreed to leave, robbing Buthelezi of his strongest card. Defeated, the Inkatha chief returned to Ulundi, only to learn that King Goodwill Zwelithini was considering Nelson Mandela's offer of constitutional guarantees made at the Skukuza summit a week earlier.

Enter Kenyan mediator Washington Okumu. Sources say the softly spoken professor gently led Buthelezi to the edge of the cliff, showing the abyss



He is my King — but he's also my child... Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini in deep discussion

PHOTO  
STEVE  
HILTON-  
BARBER

which lay ahead of him if he continued on his path of resisting the elections.

Matters came to a head on Saturday, after an ANC rally in Umlazi at which Mandela led 15 000 people in singing the king's praises. Tying economics to emotions, Mandela gave the crowd details of his proposals on the king's position and spoke of his relationship with Zwelithini's father: "He is my king, but he is also my child."

Sources say the king was moved by the crowd's expressions of loyalty and he felt the ANC's constitutional proposals gave the monarchy more prestige and greater control over its finances than at present.

On Saturday night, Zwelithini told Buthelezi of his position and suggested the IFP contest the elections.

But the pressure came not just from the king. Increasingly unhappy at the prospect of membership in an extra-parliamentary guerrilla group, Inkatha moderates read him the riot act. Sources say they told him they would quit rather than support an organisation bent on boycott, with a

resultant escalation of violence

Energetic courting by Francis Kendall's Federal Party strengthened the moderates' hand, say sources.

Rumblings from the kwaZulu civil service became louder. Fearing the refusal of the kwaZulu authorities to participate in the transitional process would jeopardise their jobs and pensions, they resorted to strike action.

First public indications of Inkatha's about-face came on Sunday, when Buthelezi attended a peace rally in Durban's King's Park stadium. Speaking to American and British television reporters, Buthelezi said: "Inkatha could still participate in the elections."

Buthelezi was seen deep in discussion with Home Affairs Minister Danie Schütte, who then telephoned Pretoria to arrange Monday's Union Buildings meeting. While delighted at the turn of events, the ANC seemed miffed after Monday's talks, fearing President FW de Klerk could make political capital of his role in convening the talks.

On Monday night, ANC negotiator Joe Slovo, who together with

Ramaphosa had spent two hours in talks with Buthelezi and De Klerk, was still sceptical "It could still go either way," he said. He and ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said the decision to send the international mediators home had been "decisive in showing Buthelezi he had reached the end of the road".

The agreement on IFP's participation in the elections was nailed down the next day, with Buthelezi forced to face having overplayed his hand: he had failed to have the election postponed, failed in his efforts at greater regional powers and failed to have the emergency lifted. And he had missed his opportunity of a senior government position, possibly the vice-presidency.

The NP is likely to benefit from this week's enhancement of FW's image as a peacemaker. In the ANC, victory goes to Ramaphosa and Slovo, who outmanoeuvred Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma throughout the process beginning with the arrival of the mediators. Ramaphosa, say sources, has "taken three leaps forward" in the race for the vice-presidency.

## Myeni tops IFP bill

SIGNALLING the sudden ascendance of Inkatha Freedom Party moderates ahead of the hardliners, Musa Myeni will be the IFP's premiership candidate for the PWV region and Frank Mdlalose the candidate for kwaZulu/Natal.

Apparently sidelined last year by IFP hardliner Themba Khoza in the PWV, Myeni shot back into limelight after being introduced by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a rally in Ulundi on Wednesday as the PWV premiership candidate.

Sources close to the IFP said Myeni had won the support of IFP moderates because of his pro-election stance.

Sources said Khoza — and another Transvaal hardliner, Humphrey Ndlovu — were not considered for the premiership, being seen as stumbling-blocks in the IFP's bid to win over uncertain voters who associate the party with violence.

Among the IFP leaders set to be on the national list are chief executive officer Joe Matthews, national political director Ziba Jiyane, kwaZulu Minister of Health Ben Ngubane and Stanger MP Farouk Cassim. These moderates' influence waned when the IFP took a hardline stance last year.

IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose will be the premiership candidate for kwaZulu/Natal.



University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

# WITS

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## ALL FACULTY INFORMATION MORNING

Date: Saturday 7 May 1994  
Time: 09:00  
Venue: Concourse, Senate House East Campus  
Enquiries: Schools Liaison Office  
Telephone: 716 3597

# FW, Buthelezi trade blows in Natal

● Speaking on Agenda Last night Chief Buthelezi said that although the new constitution stipulated that parties serving in a government of national unity shall work together, he is unhappy with the arrangement and would prefer to be in opposition politics.

He said should he be elected to parliament, however, he would abide by the constitution.

scared off foreign investors. (11b)  
Er 22/11/94

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi yesterday told IFP supporters, at a meeting outside Ulundi, that the IFP had decided to contest the election to prevent the "ANC/SA communist" alliance from "destroying the country we have built together."

The IFP had also decided to make compromises to enter the election to avoid more bloodshed and carnage.

that (IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi is trying to make political capital out of our unselfish gesture," he said, referring to the IFP leader's claim that the government had conducted secret deals with the ANC.

While he held "no malice" for Chief Buthelezi, Mr De Klerk said the political fickleness of the IFP had led to the deaths of "hundreds if not thousands" of people in Natal and

PRESIDENT de Klerk last night declared electoral war on Inkatha.

Speaking to more than 4 000 supporters at Durban's Village Green, he said the government had "gone beyond the extra mile" to bring the IFP into the election and in doing so had given up its advantageous slot at the bottom of the ballot paper.

"I find after what we have done,



# Buthelezi targets ANC in his opening salvo

ARG 22/4/96 (11B)

## Political Staff

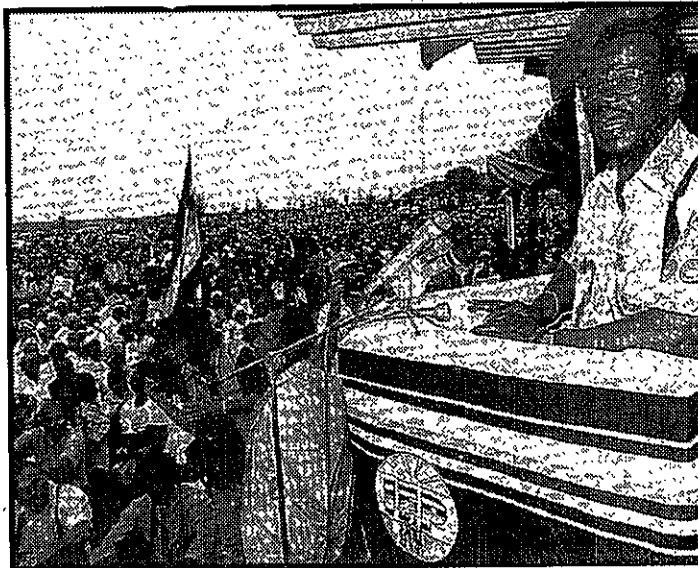
DURBAN. — In the first two days of his week-long election campaign Inkatha Freedom Party Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has set his sights squarely on the ANC, casting himself as their fiercest political adversary.

Speaking to about 20 000 followers in the IFP stronghold of Enseleni township near Empangeni yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said he had registered for the elections because he could never allow the ANC communists "to destroy the country we have built together."

"I will never give up our fight for federalism for five years of shoulder-rubbing between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk in a cabinet of very questionable efficiency and historical morality," he said.

But he was addressing his heady message less to the masses crammed onto Mzimvukile Primary School soccer fields than to those on the fence in less poverty stricken areas who are suspicious of the ANC's more centralist government philosophy.

In any event the public address system was out of action



**ANC ATTACKED:** Chief Buthelezi speaks to supporters at a rally in Enseleni in KwaZulu-Natal, kicking off his official campaign with a blistering attack on the ANC.

for half of the Chief Minister's talk, during which time it didn't reach much beyond the substantial frontline of journalists who were to convey his message to the rest of the world.

"There are no friends of ANC among us here," he said. And if there were they weren't letting on.

"I would like to know what you make of the fact that of the first 50 nominations on the ANC's election list, up to 27 are out and out communists? If these facts still do not perturb you, how do you rationalise the ANC's dogged persistence in advocating nationalisation as a possible policy tool," said Chief Buthelezi.

● The Independent Electoral Commission was last night finalising details for a frenzied voter education programme in

KwaZulu which will begin in earnest today.

Plans include the mobilisation of hundreds of vehicles to get to rural areas, the printing of more voter education material and air drops of voter education pamphlets to inaccessible areas in the hilly patches of homeland.

Operation Access, the IEC's way of getting into more unstable areas, is to blitz areas into which they dared not go a week ago.

The number of polling stations to be set up in the region has been increased from 1,000 to 1,500 and the number of IEC officials will increase accordingly. Many of the new IEC officials will come from the ranks of KwaZulu's public service.

(News by J Soderlund, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)



# Buthelezi Sowetan 22/4/94 hits trail

By Musa Zondi

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched his election campaign at Empangeni in Natal yesterday to a tumultuous reception by more than 10 000 supporters.

It was the first in a series of meetings and a punishing schedule the Inkatha leader will be undertaking in the next four days following his party's belated entry into the election process on Tuesday.

He is scheduled to address rallies in several towns and cities across the country in that period. (11B)

Buthelezi told supporters that a vote for the IFP was a vote for economic stability. He said although the IFP entered the election race late, it would surprise many people.

He praised Kenyan Professor Aggrey Jalang'o Okumu for his role in securing the IFP's participation in the election.

Buthelezi attacked the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and said it would destroy the country's economy through its policies of nationalisation and redistribution of wealth.

He also criticised the ANC's reconstruction and development programme, saying taxpayers would shoulder the burden for its implementation.

Buthelezi reaffirmed the IFP's commitment to federalism. He said it was essential for democracy.

"The IFP's fight for a federal constitution is a part of our constructive, pragmatic approach to economic policy. We held firm to the principle of federalism right until the very last moment and did everything in our power to eliminate the very worst elements of the 1993 constitution," he said.

# 'I won't serve in unity govt' — Buthelezi

PIET RETIEF. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would not serve in a government of national unity even if his party won enough votes.

Chief Buthelezi told 2 000 supporters in the Eastern Transvaal township of Ethandakukhanya that ANC leaders had lived a life of luxury in exile and dubbed President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela "brothers in political crime".

"The IFP will win enough votes to take its place in a government of national unity, but we will not become part of the government," he said after taking his last-minute campaign into this pro-ANC area. "Our struggle for your freedom has just begun."

Chief Buthelezi's comments in this township on the outskirts of Piet Retief, raised the prospect of fresh tension between Inkatha and the ANC after next week's election.

Chief Buthelezi accused ANC leaders of living in luxury during the apartheid years while their people suffered in dirt-poor townships.

"Where was the ANC when you needed them?" he asked.

He charged that "Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela are brothers in the political crime of deceit and subterfuge . . . both clung to each other and both betrayed their friends".

The Zulu crowd, many armed with traditional weapons, beat their shields with sticks and clubs in a noisy display of approval as Chief Buthelezi spoke. — Sapa-Reuter

(118) CT 23/4/94

# Buthelezi warned: 'Do not cry foul'

**MICHAEL MORRIS**

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT De Klerk** has effectively warned Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to cry foul after the election and claim he did not have as much time as other parties to campaign for votes.

"He has had as much publicity as all the rest of the parties in the run-up to the election," Mr De Klerk said.

Responding to questions after a lunchtime address to the Cape Town Press Club, Mr De Klerk said: "He (Buthelezi) will not be able to complain that he did not

have sufficient campaign opportunities.

"He will have to pay the price for the choice of how he wanted to campaign."

Mr De Klerk added that the accommodation of the Zulu monarchy in the past week's negotiated agreement laid the foundation for a lasting solution to this matter.

"Next time around the IFP will not have a burning issue of so great importance to the total Zulu nation at its disposal and it will have to stand on its policy, its track record and its performance."

An upbeat Mr De Klerk — who jovially berated a questioner for suggesting his political career had come to a close — predicted a "dramatic" result for the National Par-

ty, but declined to suggest percentages.

However, he did say: "We will do very much better than even the latest opinion polls suggest. I predict a dramatic result at the polls in favour of the NP."

In a plea for reconciliation, Mr De Klerk said the country would never achieve peace if people, from all sides, "continue to cling to the bitterness of the past".

The Afrikaner had forgiven Britain for the ill-treatment of women and children during the Boer War. Forgiveness was the essence of what all peace-loving people should seek in any society.

"Unforgiveness is a new form of racism," he said.

He warned that critical challenges lay in defending, nurturing

and developing the constitution to ensure lasting democracy and freedom and sound economic policies.

"The four years since February 1990 — the long, frustrating years of negotiation, the trauma of confrontation and conflict, the election itself — are all simply preludes to the great test which lies ahead... the challenge of ensuring that democratic and constitutional government will take root and flourish in our country."

New horizons were open to South Africa "and this election will put us on the road to reaching those new horizons," he said.

South Africa had the guts, faith, goodwill and the resources to succeed. The country had the potential to be the Japan of Africa.

(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

## Buthlezi: 'IFP won't serve in government of national unity'

(115) ARG 23/4/94  
WITBANK — Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indirectly has accused the African National Congress of planning to rig South Africa's election next week.

He also raised prospects of new tension with the ANC, the likely poll winners, by declaring he would boycott a government of national unity after the ballot. Chief Buthelezi cited reports that "large-scale falsification of identity documents" had occurred in ANC offices in Johannesburg.

"There are people willing to go to all lengths to rig the election," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader also said there were reports of people crossing into South Africa from Zimbabwe and obtaining identity documents under false pretences.

"We have a minefield . . . we don't know to what extent the election will be free and fair. I am very concerned," he said at the end of a day of electioneering in the Transvaal.

Asked at a public meeting here whether he would accept defeat in the election, he replied: "I will abide by the verdict of the people."

Chief Buthelezi, who took the IFP into the election last Tuesday after months of bitter clashes between his and ANC supporters, said: "The IFP will win enough votes to take its place in a government of national unity, but we will not become part of the government."

Chief Buthelezi was in no mood for compromise on the campaign trail, telling a rally that ANC president Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk were "brothers in political crime".

The IFP, which joined the election only after winning last-minute constitutional protection for Zulu rights, would stay outside the proposed government of national unity to offer a real alternative to a "Mandela-De Klerk axis", he said.

Any party winning more than five percent of the vote will be entitled to a cabinet seat in the new all-race government. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Whirlwind IFP campaigning as money rolls in

ARG 23/4/94  
KAREN JACKMAN

11B

Weekend Argus Correspondent

A DELUGE of money has flowed into the Inkatha Freedom Party's election coffers since the announcement of its participation in next week's first all-race elections.

Newspapers in Natal are being blitzed on an unprecedented scale with full-page advertisements as the IFP's election bombardment makes the most of the few final days.

The party will not, however, reveal the identities of its financial backers, although spokesman Ed Tillet disclosed that "massive sums" came from the business community.

Mr Tillet said prominent businessmen began coughing up cash following the IFP's nation-wide publicity campaign.

The party's election campaign will be further swelled by a R3.4-million grant from the State Electoral Fund, administered by the Independent Electoral Commission.

Mr Tillet said, however, that the bulk of the donations were from ordinary people, "which all adds up".

"I have been told from higher up not to release figures, but backing is coming from the Northern Transvaal, the Free State and the Western Cape, not just Natal."

# Rushed, rough and ready, IFP reaches out to its supporters

S/Times

24/4/94

HUNKS of flesh hang from branches. An enormous, scowling woman crouches in her tarpaulin cave filled with sour beer. Cheese puffs and rolls of mints are arranged under plastic sheeting on the periphery of the vast field.

Throats are choked with dust and jubilation, and the air filled with marching songs and epithets directed at Nelson Mandela, as amabutho pour off trucks or snake down from the hills to be met by more of these warrior-like formations of IFP supporters.

This is voter education, IFP style.

Tens of thousands of people will spend three days here at the cattle sale grounds near the royal kraal at Nongoma preparing to follow Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call last week that they participate in the elections.

One hundred kilometres away, in a converted furniture showroom in Empangeni, the Independent Electoral Commission's voter education head for the region, Mantombi Ngubane, looks close to tears.

"I am so confused. I feel so bad. We have two days left," she says.

At the Nongoma imbizo, or meeting, IFP "voter education officers" produce dim, scaled-down photostat copies of the ballot paper, with the words "Inkatha Freedom Party" scrawled at the bottom.

Voter education consists of jabbing the IFP category with a dusty finger.

Back in the IEC's Empangeni offices, piles of the official, full-colour sample ballot papers, with the IFP's full entry neatly appended at the end of the ballot, await distribution.

But they are unlikely to reach deepest Zululand ahead of the elections this week.

The IEC has spared no effort in having these printed, in identifying new polling stations, and training monitors following Chief Buthelezi's call.

The administrative section is close to sorting out its plans for new polling stations in the area.

The monitoring section completed a dry-run on Thursday and managed to reach the proposed sites, although it has been unable to monitor IFP meetings. On Thursday, it was chased at gunpoint from a meeting in Nseleni by what were said to be "drunken elements in the crowd".

But the voter education section is battling the legacy of anti-election propaganda by the IFP.

"In December, churches in Kwazulu started voter education. It was suddenly stopped. In February, teachers in Kwazulu were told to do voter education, but suddenly there was a strong anti-vote campaign, and it was stopped again," says Miss Ngubane.

The IFP informed us that they intended to hold

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

1 300 voter education workshops, but we cannot confirm where or when, or contact the chiefs to get permission to go in.

"I think I have got to the point where I will just put 10 people in cars tomorrow and send them out to meet the chiefs. I don't expect they will get a very pleasant welcome. There has been such propaganda against the IEC.

"We may come to the point where we will have to educate people about how to vote as they go into the polling station, but I am not sure the legislation allows for this," she says.

A senior Empangeni member of the SA Police points out that the IEC is "very unpopular" in the area where it is seen as "completely ANC".

It is only the IFP that will suffer by creating such a hostile climate for the IEC.

People at the imbizo were ignorant about voting and, being largely illiterate, were unable to find their party on the scrappy little ballot copy.

The IFP will rely heavily on tradition to get its supporters to the polling stations this week.

On the appointed day, the indunas will round up

the adult inhabitants of kraals and go to the polling stations.

Until then, the IFP's frenetic election campaign proceeds apace. Unsophisticated, rough and ready, it feels more like a ritual than an attempt at winning hearts and minds.

One pamphlet reads: "Collusion, capitulation, communism. NEVER."

The alliteration left IFP supporters at an Nseleni rally in the dark, as did the stilted speech, in English, by Chief Buthelezi, on a rusty public address system that reached only the first 20 rows of a crowd of some 8 000.

But they livened up when he began to belittle transitional structures, such as when he called the National Peacekeeping Force the "National People Killing Force".

The ANC is nowhere to be seen in deepest Zululand.

Party workers must have braved the wild animals of the Umfolozi-Empangeni game reserves to tie a banner to its inner fence, and ventured 300m into Kwazulu to scatter pamphlets near a border village.

But as their parents left for the cattle-ground meeting, children tore them up.

(News by C Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

# Final step to freedom

Change is

the only

certainly

24/4/94  
By KEN OWEN

**S**OUTH AFRICA embarks this week on a second round of revolutionary change after completing a near-miraculous transition from apartheid to democracy.

The midweek election is recognised around the world as a momentous and triumphal event, the completion of an impossible journey against the odds.

For South Africa, the election marks the end of 342 years of white hegemony for Africa, it completes the liberation of a continent for the world, it is the final repudiation of institutionalised European racism.

It marks a triumph of will and courage, and a glittering array of international leaders is ready to attend the inauguration of the new President — almost beyond question, Mr Mandela — on May 10.

The election also opens the door to the next phase of change, a greater transformation than the first: the collapse of vast administrative structures, not only the bastions of the apartheid era but also the provincial frameworks laid down in 1983.

Power, influence, authority and status will pass from white to black, from town to township, from the power-brokers of apartheid to the masses. As the rationalisation of courts and civil service throws the country into administrative turmoil, the style will become more African, less European.

The task of holding the country together through this immense upheaval passes now from President de Klerk to Mr Nelson Mandela.

## FUTILITY

This shift was reflected in the rhetoric of the final stages of electioneering. Mr Mandela adopting a conciliatory and reassuring tone, while Mr de Klerk, increasingly less inhibited by the cares of office, resorted to old-style Nationalist smash-'n'-bash politics.

Formal changes will take effect rapidly: the Chief Justice must convene the National Assembly within 10 days of voting. A tiny minority of white MPs, scattered among the various parties, will synthesise both the futurity and the end of three centuries of race-based politics.

In the nine new provinces, provincial legislatures will assemble to elect premiers and to decide whether they can govern themselves or whether they must ask for special administrators to take control.

SITimes

24/4/94

By EDYTH BULBRING  
and RAY HARTLEY

**W**ITH elections to end white rule just 48 hours away, South Africa's political leaders this weekend wound up their campaigns by bitterly attacking each other in a last-ditch attempt to woo voters.

In Soweto, ANC leader Nelson Mandela launched a scathing attack on President F W de Klerk, accusing him of being racist, religiously intolerant, divisive and having no plan to better the lives of South Africans.

In Cape Town, President de Klerk, in a final thrust to capture the crucial coloured vote, yesterday hoisted both the *springbok* and *rooibos* flags at the NP's last Western Cape rally.

Addressing meetings in the Eastern Transvaal and the Free State, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelez branded Mr Mandela and President de Klerk "brothers in political crime".

While the leaders attacked each other, right-wing participation in the elections was finally guaranteed with the signing of an accord on Afrikaner self-determination by the Freedom Front, the government and the ANC.

Today, parties will hold their final rallies ahead of the ban on further campaigning which comes into effect on Monday. But two serious obstacles to a free and fair election remain.

● Threats of violence by extreme right-wing whites and **(IIP)**

● The preparedness of the Independent Electoral Commission to conduct the poll. To counter the first threat, SAP deputy commissioner Johan Swart announced this weekend that anyone suspected of planning to disrupt the elections would be arrested or detained without trial under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act until after the poll.

He said 93,000 specially trained policemen would be deployed to guard voters and voting stations. The SADF's General Gert Opperman said 67 companies of soldiers had already been earmarked for electoral duty.

Responding to concerns that the IEC would not be ready, its chairman, Judge Johann Krieger, said his three-month-old election machine would deliver on its promises.

However, he admitted there were some serious last-minute obstacles. Key problems included the establishment of 500 additional polling stations in KwaZulu Natal, the printing and distribution of Inkatha ballot stickers and the issuing of eligibility documents to voters in remote rural areas, he said. Between one and two million voters are estimated to be without these documents.



## SADF saves election workers

By GEORGE MAHAABER  
and GUS SIEGER

**E**IGHT ANC members and four IEC monitors were rescued from the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi, last night by the SADF after they were besieged in a police station by more than 1,000 IFP supporters. **SITimes**

Earlier, an ANC supporter was burnt to death in his bakke and another was shot dead.

Soyza-Reuter reported that a third person died of a gunshot wound after taking refuge in the police station. In an apparent exchange of fire between members of the rival groups, IFP

supporter Alpha Ngecho was also wounded. **(IIP)**

The SADF rescue operation was launched after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelez cut short his Free State roadshow to rush to Ulundi. **(IIP)**

A KwaZulu police spokesman said the ANC supporters were confronted by Ulundi residents who objected to them canvassing for voters in the town. "I understand an ANC member took out a firearm and shot Mr Ngecho. This

□ To Page 2.

isation of courts and civil service throws the country into administrative turmoil, the style will become more African, less European.

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Formal changes will take effect rapidly: the Chief Justice must convene the National Assembly within 10 days of voting. A tiny minority of white MPs, scattered among the various parties, will symbolise both the continuity and the end of three centuries of race-based politics.

In the nine new provinces, provincial legislatures will assemble to elect premiers and to decide whether they can govern themselves or whether they must ask for special administrators to take control.

The legal system, which rests on two millennia of European precedent and jurisprudence, will be thrown into upheaval by the bill of rights and the establishment of a constitutional court.

A tidal wave of litigation looms ahead for the courts to clear up ambiguities in the new law. The judiciary will have to expand and will soon cease to be as white, as male-dominated, or as learned as it has been in the past, but under the bill of rights and the human rights commission it may come closer to justice.

Beyond the organisational changes demanded by the interim constitution lie further upheavals and intense political activity as the National Assembly, functioning as a constituent assembly, embarks on a frenzied round of negotiations to settle the final constitution.

At the same time, the new government — threatened from its left by populist forces led by the PAC, by Mrs Winnie Mandela, by Peter Mokaba, and by radical socialists — will move to fulfil its promises to the voters.

The ANC is committed to redistribute 30 percent of agricultural land within five years. It has promised to see that the civil service reflects the racial composition of the population — 72 percent black, perhaps 13 percent white — within six years. For 48 years government policy has favoured white Afrikaners; now it will favour black people, with the aim of terminating the domination of private businesses by whites.

Mr Mandela's sharp condemnation of the level of expenditure on white education — three times as much per child as for blacks — hints at change in the classrooms.

Not even local authorities will escape. The ANC plan for reconstruction and development envisages transforming 800 segregated local authorities into about 300 new, multiracial municipal governments. With white right-wingers dominating existing local government, it will be a delicate task.

ANC leaders know, with the example of Mozambique before them, that they cannot adopt look-the-whites-politicians might drive vast numbers of skilled people to emigrate. But neither can they ignore the demands of their own followers for justice, equality and restitution.

In the new South Africa, change is the only certainty.

## DOMINATION

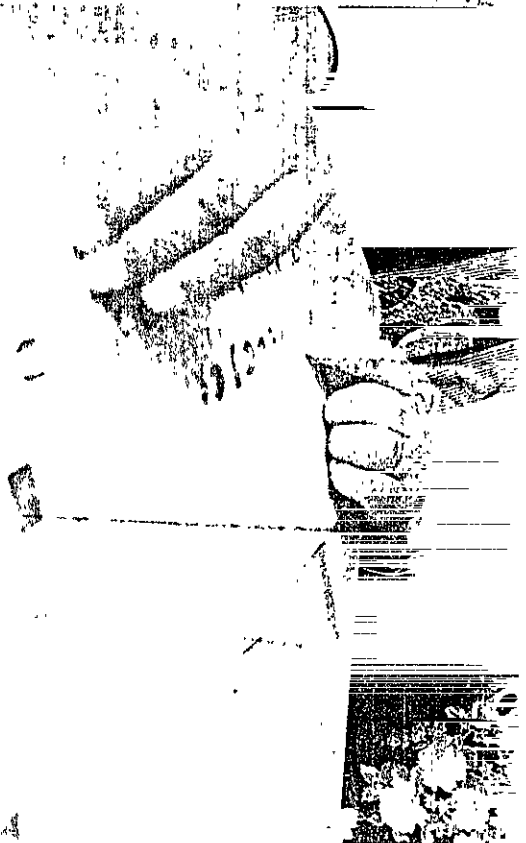
ACTRESS Julia Roberts, Hollywooods top female earner, is to receive \$40-million for her role in the remake of the classic film about divorce and calt-ness. The Women.

ACTRESS Julia Roberts, Hollywooods top female earner, is to receive \$40-million for her role in the remake of the classic film about divorce and calt-ness. The Women.

## Julia's remake

ACTRESS Julia Roberts, Hollywooods top female earner, is to receive \$40-million for her role in the remake of the classic film about divorce and calt-ness. The Women.

9 770039 533008



**THE OCTOBERMAN AND THE TEENAGER.** He's 81. She's 19. And they'll both be absolute beginners on election day. Walter Sisulu, oldest member of the ANC's executive committee, and Johannesburg secretary Kim Schultz will be voting for the first time on Wednesday. Sisulu, vice-president of the

ANC, was imprisoned on Robben Island after the Rivonia Trial in 1964 and released in October 1989. He'll be drawing his first-ever cross for the ANC. Kim, who hails from Stilfontein and works in downtown Johannesburg, is keeping her vote secret.

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

## Police say Strangler may still be at large

**THEB** investigation into the Station Strangler murders is "going ahead at full steam" again amid fears by police that the notorious killer may still be free.

This follows the scaling down of the investigation last week after the arrest of a Mitchell's Plain teacher.

Yesterday, senior police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd warned parents "not to take it for granted that the Strangler has been caught."

"They must be very careful with their children," he said. "We cannot say at this stage that this man is the one responsible for all 22 murders."

Police yesterday revealed that forensic tests had so far only been able to link schoolteacher Mr Alzai Norman Simons to the death of Etroy van Rooyen, 10, whose body was found in thick brush in Kleinfontein last month.

Mr Simons, who has a history of psychiatric treatment, appeared in court on Monday in connection with Etroy's death. He was not asked to plead and was referred for one month's psychiatric observation.

He said police had experienced "extreme difficulty" in getting sufficient samples for forensic testing because of the advanced stage of decomposition of some of the victims' bodies.

He will appear again on May 23. "We have never ruled out that some of the murders linked to the Station Strangler may have been copycat killings," Colonel Dowd said.

Sources yesterday revealed that handwriting analysis tests had failed to link Mr Simons to a chilling note which read "One more, many more in store," which was found in the pocket of one of the Strangler's victims.

Several notes allegedly sent to newspapers by a man claiming to be the Strangler have been dismissed as hoaxes, but police believe the note found in the young boy's pocket was genuine.

Colonel Dowd said: "With regard to the other 21 murders, the modus operandi was the same and there were other similarities. But many of the forensic results which are of vital importance are still outstanding."

Responding to concerns that the IEC would not be ready, its chairman, Judge Johann Kregger, said his three-month-old election machine would deliver on its promises.

However, he admitted there were some serious last-minute obstacles.

Key problems included the establishment of 500 additional polling stations in KwaZulu Natal, the printing and distribution of Inkatha ballot stickers and the issuing of eligibility documents to voters in remote rural areas, he said.

Between one and two million voters are estimated to be without these documents. IEC officials said this week the mechanics of running the three-day elections in KwaZulu were well in hand.

The deputy presiding officer for the region, Mr J Rieker, said the KwaZulu government's offer of 13 000 public servants to help with polling procedures would more than cover the 2 000 extra electoral officers needed in the region.

International observers have, meanwhile, appealed to voters not to panic if voting stations do not open on time or close suddenly due to "logistical crises".

Addressing 60 000 people at the FNB stadium in Soweto yesterday, Mr Mandela

to disrupt the elections would be arrested, or detained without trial under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act until after the poll.

He said 93 000 specially trained policemen would be deployed to guard voters and voting stations. The SADF's General Gert Opperman said 67 companies of soldiers had already been earmarked for electoral duty.

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□ To Page 2

## Papers shredded in Kriel's last days

**By DIRK VAN EEDEN and PETER DE IONNO**

LAW and Order Minister Herens Kriel has confirmed that large numbers of official documents were destroyed as he prepared to leave office.

Mr Kriel insisted however, that the documents were not secret, but were party political papers and personal papers "such as responses to invitations and birthday greetings".

But a source close to the department claimed that officials shredded documents which showed that the South African Police favoured the NP over the ANC.

The source said so much paper had had to be destroyed ahead of the elections that the minister's own paper shredders could not cope.

Trunks full of documents were allegedly taken to a private recycling factory in Pretoria, while National Intelligence operatives destroyed the remaining top-secret documents.

The source said most of the documents relating to secret operations had been destroyed earlier and the papers shredded this week were mainly internal circulars and memos which showed the Department of Law and Order's pro-NP bias.

A spokesman on a doc-

spokesman said the ANC supporters were confronted by Umkhonto residents who objected to them canvassing for voters in the town. "I understand an ANC member took out a firearm and shot Mr Ncobo. This

□ To Page 2

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THE FINEST INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITY OF YOUR LIFETIME

**IEC**

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KENNEDY BURGHE

There were 136 winners with prizes ranging from R100,00 to R1 000,00. Names: 7, 14, 7, 11.

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# Taking the last step to freedom

□ From Page 1

departed from the message of reconciliation and peace which he had preached at meetings during the week by launching a full-frontal attack on the National Party.

"Misery, division and suspicion. That is the experience the National Party has," he said.

He made a special appeal to coloured and Indian voters not to desert the oppressed and reassured them of their fears about security, violence and affirmative action.

Addressing about 15 000 people at the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town, Mr de Klerk said: "You cannot allow Nelson Mandela and

his supporters, who only know how to break down houses and schools, or their communist allies, to rule the Western Cape. (113)

"ANC supporters have ruined the education of millions of our children. Their Communist Party allies support a policy that has not worked anywhere in the world. You cannot support a party that is ungodly and un-Christian."

Earlier in the week, Mr de Klerk, aware that the IFP's entry into the election could cost the NP tens of thousands of votes, also bitterly attacked Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, calling him erratic and untrustworthy. The IFP, he said, was two-faced.

Chief Buthelezi told supporters in Bloemfontein that he did not aspire to any role in a new government, but hoped to be an opposition voice fighting for federalism.

About 30 000 people attended an Inkatha rally at Curries Fountain in Durban yesterday and were addressed by IFP central committee member Dr

Ben Ngubane in Chief Buthelezi's absence.

Inkatha's chief problem, following its late entry into the elections, is to educate its supporters about voting arrangements and secure identity documents for them.

(News by Ray Hartley, Claire Robertson, Edyth Bulbring, Norman West, Marlene Burger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

**The dramatic events that led to Inkatha agreeing to enter the elections involved an "act of God", the use of Anglo American's Lear jet and the intervention of a large Kenyan professor**

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi simply refused to believe the election date was fixed. Right to the end, he thought that if he did not blink the ANC would, as long as Chief Buthelezi kept his faith and key lieutenants Walter Feigate and Mario Ambrossini were at pains to ensure he did — attempts to persuade Inkatha to accept a constitution negotiated in its absence and enter the election were doomed.

Then, last Friday he blinked. For it was then that an "act of God", as Chief Buthelezi puts it, brought him face to face with a fellow Christian, a friend of 20 years, a Kenyan diplomat who was to succeed where everyone had failed and bring the IFP into the election and avert a bloody war.

The dramatic sequence began on Sunday April 10 in Johannesburg when Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose met his ANC counterpart, Thabo Mbeki, to finalise the terms of reference for international mediation.

International mediation represented a final desperate effort to resolve intractable differences between the two organisations by drawing on the talents of some of the world's foremost diplomats, including former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

When Dr Mdlalose and Mr Mbeki met, the election date was uppermost in their minds. Inkatha wanted the elections postponed; the ANC did not.

After some hours of haggling, however, both parties agreed not to mention the issue in the terms of reference.

The following morning Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, chief negotiator and Mr Mbeki's rival heir-apparent to assume the mantle of leadership from Nelson Mandela, was talking to his government counterpart, Rose Meyer.

Mr Meyer said: "I see you have agreed terms of



BACK IN THE FOLD... after months of steadfast refusals, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was finally persuaded by a friend to give in to pressure to enter the Inkatha Freedom Party in this week's elections

# How the Chief was turned

BY MIKE ROBERTSON, RAY HARTLEY and EDYTH BULBRING

continued to resist the new dispensation. They are going to get you. They mean it," he is reported to have added. It was straight talk but coming from a friend of 20 years, it was not only tolerated by the notoriously prickly Chief Buthelezi but taken to heart. Chief Buthelezi flew back to Ulundi.

As long as he could but eventually left because two of his party had a meeting scheduled with the Zulu king. It was at this point that Chief Buthelezi believes God intervened. Mechanical problems forced the aircraft to return to Lanseria and when it landed Professor Okumu was waiting for Chief Buthelezi. He had two messages for

Mr Coleman in turn phoned CEM head Murray Hofmeyr. As he was in Knysna, he asked Mr Coleman to get in touch with Anglo America's Michael Spicer who would ensure that whatever assistance was needed was provided. In Ulundi, meanwhile, a meeting was taking place between National Peace Secretariat chairman John

to IFP hardliners who were vowing to die fighting rather than allow the elections to take place. Behind the scenes the king's advisers were also pressuring Chief Buthelezi to accept offers from the ANC to entrench the constitutional powers of the king. Following his discussions with Professor Okumu it can also be expected that Chief Buthelezi held discussions with his senior advisers. Given the impact of the professor's message to him it is likely for the first time in many months that the advice of pro-election IFP members such as Dr Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and information head Ziba Jhane will have carried more weight than that of someone like Mr Feigate, who was opposed to participation. Significantly, Mr Feigate was to adopt a low profile in the meetings that followed.

Spicer attempted to ascertain whether it was practically possible for the IFP to participate in the elections at this late stage. They met IEC commissioner Charles Nupen who arranged for them to meet IEC head Judge Johann Krieger. They rushed out to a Jan Smuts hotel where Professor Okumu was staying and drove him back to the IEC's Krus Street headquarters for a meeting with the judge. The response from Judge Krieger was that if there was a political will for a settlement a way would be found. The judge said this week it was he who suggested stickers containing the IFP details could be printed and attached to the bottom of the ballot paper. Having established that it was logistically possible for the IFP to participate,

Mr de Klerk and Chief Professor Okumu was present and midway through the talks Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Siqvo arrived. Professor Okumu said afterwards: "It is looking good." Mr Ramaphosa was positive. The next day the talks continued with Mr Mandela in attendance this time. At 1.15pm they emerged with a deal signed.

## They are going to get you. They mean it.

he was scheduled to address election meetings. The initial response from Mr Mandela was one of irritation — at yet another possibly abortive attempt to strike a deal with Chief Buthelezi — but he agreed to see Professor Okumu, Mr Coleman and Mr Spicer at 1.30pm. Mr Coleman and Mr Spicer flew to Durban in Anglo American's Lear jet to pick up Professor Okumu and then immediately on to Cape Town.

On arrival, however, they were told Mr Mandela had already left for Athlone Stadium where he was to hold a meeting at which three people were killed in a stampede.

**T**HEY left for the Cape Sun in the hope that Mr Mandela would be able to see them before his scheduled 5pm meeting with Archbishop Tutu. However, because of the stampede, this was not possible and Mr Mandela eventually arrived at the Cape Sun at 6pm. Time was of the essence as Chief Buthelezi had indicated to Professor Okumu he was prepared to be in Pretoria by 8pm to meet President de Klerk and Mr Mandela to finalise details of an agreement.

Mr Mandela was initially sceptical but, after listening to the three men for more than an hour, began to warm to the possibility. He phoned President de Klerk and returned, even more favourably disposed to the deal they were suggesting. However, his bottom line was that he would not change his arrangements until he had had a chance to speak to his negotiators, specifically Mr Ramaphosa. SACP head Joe Siqvo and Mac Maharaj.

The task of breaking this news to Chief Buthelezi fell to Professor Okumu. The IFP leader was initially angry but Professor Okumu succeeded in placating him and persuaded him to fly to Pretoria to meet President de Klerk the following day — Monday. He told Chief Buthelezi, ANC negotiators would attend the meeting.

Mr de Klerk and Chief Professor Okumu met for eight hours. Present and midway through the talks Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Siqvo arrived. Professor Okumu said afterwards: "It is looking good." Mr Ramaphosa was positive. The next day the talks continued with Mr Mandela in attendance this time. At 1.15pm they emerged with a deal signed.

... rival he's apparent to assume the mantle of leadership from Nelson Mandela, was talking to his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer.

Mr Meyer said: "I see you have agreed terms of reference with Inkatha."

Mr Meyer knew more than Mr Ramaphosa. He had obtained a copy from the Department of Foreign Affairs. Mr Meyer faxed it to Mr Ramaphosa.

The ANC secretary-general was incensed. Leaving the date of the elections unstated created the danger it would become the key point for debate as mediation progressed.

**M**R RAMAPHOSA and Mr Meyer agreed things had to change.

They scheduled a meeting with the IPP's Ben Ngubane to discuss anew the terms of reference and produced a second draft.

Importantly, it contained the following sentence: "Although the IPP prefers that the first democratic election scheduled for April 26-28 be postponed, the postponement of the election date is not part of the subject matter of the mediation process."

The three men agreed to take this new agreement back to their principals.

Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer got the approval of their leaders. Mr Ngubane did not. Chief Buthelezi was not prepared to proceed with the mediation effort if the clause on the election date was included.

On Tuesday, when Dr Kissinger rose to address a gathering of dignitaries at the Carlton hotel in Johannesburg to announce the start of mediation, the arguments regarding the terms of reference were still underway.

There were three significant aspects to that evening.

The first was the address by Chief Buthelezi in which he referred to the possibility of postponing the election. In that reference lay the seeds of the subsequent failure of the mediation effort.

The second was the presence at the gathering of some of South Africa's leading businessmen, who had picked up the tab for the mediation and continued to play a prominent role in the events that unfolded. They included Anglo American's Julian Ogilvie Thompson and Michael Spicer, Argus Holdings chairman and Consultative Business Movement head

prayer breakfast. The two men, both devout Christians, struck up a friendship which has lasted to this day.

In recent months Professor Okumu, at the behest of religious organisations, has been involved in behind-the-scenes talks as a facilitator in disputes between the South African political parties.

When the list of foreign mediators was announced it became embarrassingly apparent that there was not an African among them.

Michael Cassidy of Africa Enterprise, who had been working with Professor Okumu, suggested to both the ANC and Inkatha that the professor could be of assistance. Both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela agreed.

But there the agreement between the two leaders ended. Negotiators could not settle on the terms of reference, the election date being the sticking point. On Thursday Dr Kissinger and the other mediators departed but Professor Okumu remained behind. On Friday Professor Okumu left a message at Lanseria airport outside Johannesburg for Chief Buthelezi, who was flying back to Ulundi, asking for a meeting.

Chief Buthelezi waited for

the chief. One, the elections were going ahead and would not be delayed. The second was that after the elections he would be in a weak position because the new government would take over the running of KwaZulu.

But the manner in which he conveyed the messages was important. The Kenyan later described it as "African-style straight talking".

He told Chief Buthelezi to think about the Bugandan tribe in Uganda. They had a monarch who was stronger even than King Goodwill Zwelakini. They played a much larger role in the affairs of Uganda than the Zulu nation did in South Africa.

But they had been obliterated, written themselves out of history, because they had tried to resist change.

He told Chief Buthelezi to remember he was dealing with African politicians who, after the elections, would seek to obliterate the IFP if it

Professor Okumu immediately got in touch with Home Affairs Minister Dame Schutte indicating that Chief Buthelezi might be prepared to discuss a settlement.

When Chief Buthelezi got to Ulundi, Professor Okumu called him to say he had held discussions with the government and that President de Klerk was waiting for a call from him.

The two men discussed the possibility of Inkatha participation in the elections in return for constitutional recognition of the Zulu king prior to these.

But it was not just some elections in the future that they spoke of. Chief Buthelezi had finally accepted that the elections would be held on April 27.

Professor Okumu also phoned Colin Coleman of the Consultative Business Movement, explaining that he had the makings of a possible settlement and requesting assistance.

## Conning the guard

SOME day, no doubt, one of its celebrated former inmates will write the real history of life on Robben Island. A delightfully devotional tale from Steve Thwete told at a recent rugby gathering will surely grace its pages.

Mr Thwete 12th on the ANC's election list this week and likely next, related how he and fellow rugby fan prisoners always rooted for the touring teams playing against South Africa.

In 1974 while working in a road crew, a rugby fanatic guard overheard him and his friends criticising the chances to the SA side for the third Test against the British Lions.

The guard reprimanded them and said that if he ever heard them finding fault with the Springbok rugby selectors again, he'd make sure they went hungry.

To get back the prisoners devised a plan to stop the water leaking in the mat on the radio the following Saturday.

Guards used to count inmates' feet, not heads, before returning them to the cells. By straggling the next man in line and changing feet, the prisoners managed to keep the guard counting and

recounting to get the right number.

By the time the tally was complete it was too late for him to sit down and enjoy the rugby.

## One man, one hug

PIETER-DIRK UYS is in a devastating form, Cobbleigh's spy reports, in his latest offering *One Man, One Hug*, which played for one night only at Johannesburg's Civic Theatre last Sunday.

The turn that really brought the house down was a spot of impersonation of TV presenter and top SAA PR Felicia Mabusa-Sutcliffe who, no doubt enjoying the limelight, acknowledged the piercing performance by climbing on stage, giving PDU an admonishing tap on the head with her programme followed by a warm hug of forgiveness.

## A ladies' first

HORSEHAIR hasn't been as ruffled as it was on Thursday night since pa fell off the bus — or Eugene off his horse, to keep up, the gee-gee theme.

Turfington Racing Club chairman Archie Aarons, presiding over his first annual

chairman's dinner, invited the women of the horse-racing world to join the party for the first time.

Life president Eric Gallo appeared to be speechless, but that was from larguities it turned out, not shock.

Regular guests, who have in past years settled down to enjoy a rather racy after-dinner chat, were quick to notice that popular entertainer Kate Norvalington sniping jazz standards had been booked for the occasion.

## A new Ice Age

THE toilet habits of the rich and famous are not a usual subject for discussion among this newspaper's staff, but this week it was irresistible.

A Cobbleigh colleague visiting the Palace at Sol's Lost City returned with the weird news that the men's urinals were filled with blocks of ice which melted on contact. That's about as much detail as Cobbleigh is prepared to go into.

But why the ice? Surely we should be told.

# you. They mean it.

Hall, church leaders — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — and King Goodwill.

The meeting started badly when the king attacked church leaders for their past political involvement but ended well with King Goodwill issuing a call for Zulus to stop killing Zulus.

It was an important indication from the king that he would not give his backing

Ngubane and information head Ziba Jhane will have carried more weight than that of someone like Mr Feigate, who was opposed to participation.

Significantly, Mr Feigate was to adopt a low profile in the meetings that followed, while Mr Jhane was ever present. One insider said Professor Okumu kept Mr Feigate and Mr Ambrrossi on a tight leash, cutting down efforts by them to intervene during meetings to discourage Chief Buthelezi from making a deal.

Publically, however, there was no indication from Chief Buthelezi that he was prepared to settle.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, Mr Coleman and Mr

The judge said this week it was he who suggested stickers containing the IFP details could be printed and attached to the bottom of the ballot paper.

Having established that it was logistically possible for the IFP to participate, Professor Okumu and Mr Coleman drafted the details of a possible settlement.

On Sunday morning the professor flew to Durban where he met Chief Buthelezi — ironically, again at a prayer breakfast, Chief Buthelezi accepted the terms.

Hurdle number one was safely negotiated. The next one was to persuade the ANC to accept the deal.

Unfortunately, Mr Mandela was in Cape Town where

Professor Okumu said afterwards: "It is looking good."

Mr Ramaphosa was positive.

The next day the talks continued with Mr Mandela in attendance this time.

At 1.15pm they emerged with a deal signed.

After moments of heated arguments, failed mediation efforts, and the loss of hundreds of lives in political violence, a breakthrough had finally been achieved.

That afternoon, while Judge Kriegler explaining how Inkatha would be accommodated on the ballot, a European community poll monitor was moved to mutter, "it ain't over till the fat professor sings".

# WIN! Win R1000 in cash! "Clear Winner" Competition

Have a window screen or side window fitted or repaired at your nearest Glasfit franchise between March 15 and August 31, 1994 and qualify to win in the monthly draw of R1000 in cash! For R1000 winners are drawn every month. Simply fill in an entry form and pop it into the box provided.

## Competition starts March 15, 1994!

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# GLASFIT

## TIMES DIARY

Thomas Cobbleigh

# Natal priest targeted by mystery hit-list

BY MEGAN POWER

A BRITISH-BORN Anglican dean who says he is apolitical has become the target of an unusual hit-list circulating in the small Northern Natal town of Eshowe.

The Very Rev John Salt, dean of the Anglican cathedral in central Eshowe, appeared on the list as an ANC "sympathiser".

"I'm not an ANC member but, as a priest, I minister to everyone," said Dean Salt, 52.

The pamphlet, which names 35 people living in and around Eshowe, was apparently designed to appear as if it had originated from the IFP.

But some residents believe it may be the work of right-wing elements bent on fomenting further violence in the strife-torn region.

Three Eshowe town councillors and scores of ANC activists were also named on the hit-list, and two brothers of a local ANC activist named on the list were gunned down in Gezinsila township outside Eshowe on Good Friday — a few weeks after the list appeared.

The leaflet claimed the ANC would use the TEC and Independent Electoral Commission to intimidate people, rob them of their homes, jobs and dignity, burn their houses and schools — and kill them.

"They will rob you of your nation ... your kingdom ... and your King," it said. It branded the listed people as ANC

members, MK members and communists who would "give you nothing but pain and suffering".

Dean Salt, an observer on Eshowe's negotiating forum for a transitional town council, said he could not dismiss the leaflet as a hoax. "I'm a public figure and some of my movements are known, so I'm very careful," he said.

One of the town councillors named, farm manager Derek Pillay, is a delegate to the negotiating forum for a transitional council.

"I am outspoken, but I'm not an ANC member. I went in to the negotiating forum on a Solidarity Party ticket, but I don't represent any particular party now," he said.

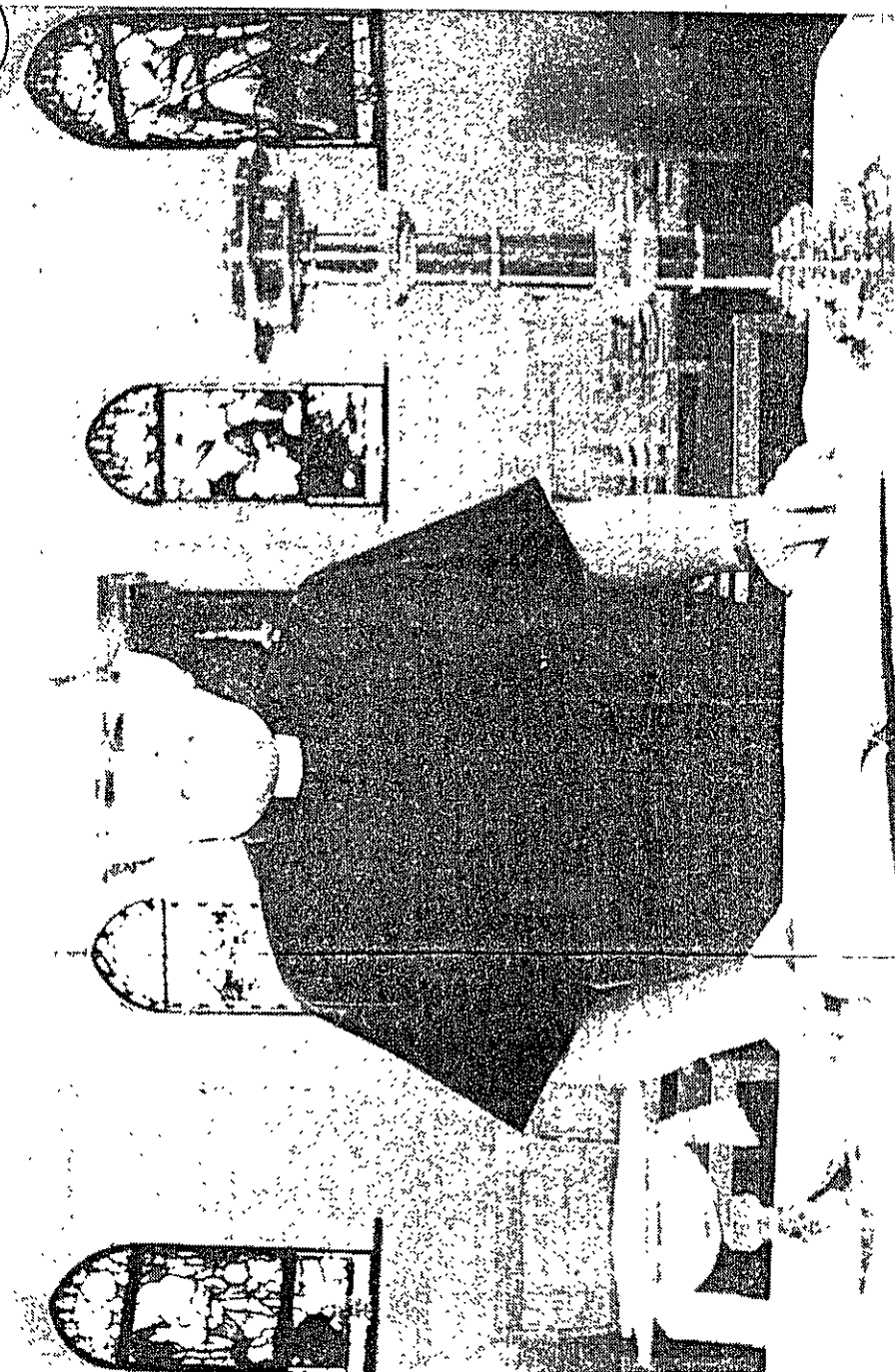
One of the ANC activists named, Mr Zarnokwakhe Mkhise, fled his home in Gezinsila township after continual harassment. Shortly afterwards, two of his brothers were gunned down by attackers in their home.

ANC member Yeya Sibuya said he found the pamphlet confusing because many of those named were low-profile members.

The pamphlets were apparently dumped outside shops, bus shelters and in toilets.

The matter has been reported to the IEC and the police.

(News by Megan Power, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)



BEWILDERED . . . Dean John Salt is at a loss to know why his name appears on the hit-list

Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

*Federalism policy released*

# IFP wants watchdogs for economy

Star 25/4/94

BY HELEN GRANGE

The Inkatha Freedom Party wants permanent independent commissions, representative of the public sector, to be established to act as watchdogs over the economy.

The IFP's election manifesto, released at the weekend, recommends the establishment of an independent auditor-general, and commissions for the civil service, economic development, the environment and consumer affairs — which would all advise the government.

The IFP's tax policy would require every province to receive an entitlement — or a percentage of taxes received — from the central government.

"Some are poor and would require more handouts from central government, but the present Interim Constitution puts the provinces completely at the mercy of the central government," reads the manifesto.

The IFP's federal economic policy would allow the principle of asymmetry and subsidiarity to take place, this means that each province takes on as much responsibility for health, education, etc as it can cope with.

**AS provinces grow stronger, they should be allowed to take on more responsibilities and become 'as tall as they can'** (113)

"As the province becomes stronger and wants to take on more responsibility, it is allowed to do so. We want a multicoloured South Africa where people can grow as tall as they are able," says the manifesto.

The IFP's policy would result in "competition between the various provinces to create the most efficient economic system".

Power would be devolved right down to local government level, with central government assistance only. People would then be able to express their cultural differences and adopt different policies on such things as abortion.

The IFP would want a strong welfare programme, supported by a market driven economy. Unprofitable state land would be expropriated in exchange for reasonable compensation.

(47 Sauer Street, Jhb)

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# Voters prompted to 'go for the bottom'

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, addressing his first and last election rally yesterday, said his party would demonstrate its power at the polls this week in spite of its short election campaign. (11B)

"My supporters stretch across the nation and the politics my party endorses has not only remained consistent and pragmatic, but has a universal appeal of which no other South African party can boast," he said.

He urged people "to go for the bottom", a reference to the IFP's place at the bottom of the ballot.

The ANC and SACP were accused of raising expectations.

"I am absolutely convinced the ANC has neither the will nor the power to put right in this country what decades of apartheid have made so terribly wrong. The ANC has specialised in the politics of deceit," Chief Buthelezi said. ET 25/4/94

The ANC was pulling out all stops to make IFP strongholds ungovernable.

"They would rather wipe the IFP off the face of this earth than face our formidable opposition in next week's election," he said. — Sapa

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## IFP unveils election decree

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The IFP announced its  
election manifesto on  
Saturday, pledging to  
follow a peaceful path to  
democracy (IB)

The IFP's four elec-  
tion principles are:

- To set up a non-ra-  
cial society with equal  
opportunities;

- To use resources to  
fight unemployment, ho-  
melessness, poverty,  
moral decay and igno-  
rance; CT 25/4/94

- To ensure "a fair  
distribution of wealth";

- To ensure the main-  
tenance of a stable,  
peaceful society. — Sapa



# focus on alliances

Sowetan 25/4/94

**W**ITH THE WONDERMENT of someone who had just witnessed a blinding political revelation, General Constand Viljoen recently proclaimed that the African National Congress and the National Party were in a de facto alliance.

He was more or less correct, of course. But this realisation should not have caused him surprise. One abiding fact about South African politics is that there could not have been, and there cannot be, any real progress on anything of importance without the ANC and the NP coming together.

It is a fact of life which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the white far right, and the now defunct homeland governments should have foreseen when they joined other parties in the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre — and when they stomped out in a huff, ostensibly because of the growing scale of ANC-NP togetherness.

## Agreement or compromise

Without the ANC and NP finding one another on all the crucial issues, whether by agreement or compromise, there could not have been any progress towards a new constitution, a bill of rights, or an election.

To a very large extent, that remains a fact of political life in South Africa. Although, like all things, it will change in time, it seems likely to do so slowly — whatever the outcome of the election this week.

As De Klerk has remarked on more than one occasion, either of the two sides has the power to wreck the country, and both sides know it.

As he has tacitly implied, the best guarantee that the ANC will stick to its commitments — constitutional or otherwise — is the ANC's knowledge of the certainty that it could not survive the consequences of renegeing on any of its fundamental undertakings.

## Vilification of the constitution

Ironically, that certainty is being hammered home by none other than the IFP and Chief Buthelezi through their current election campaign and vilification of the constitution.

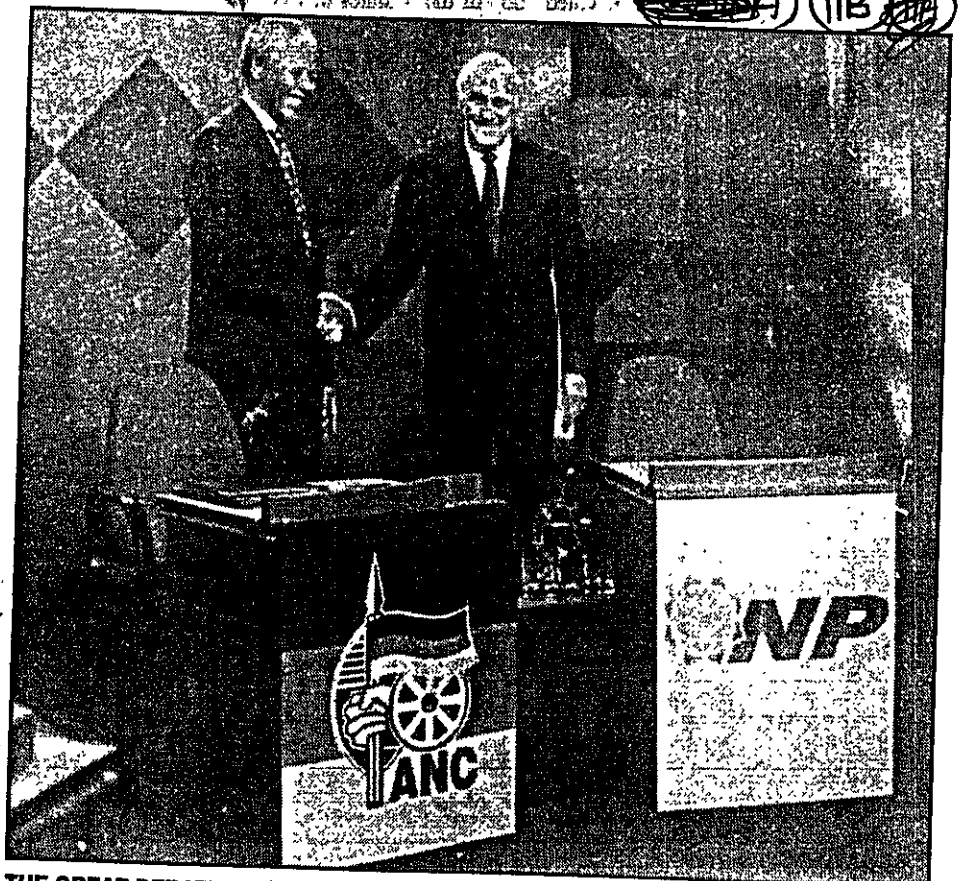
They are illustrating the fact that if a relatively small political party like the IFP, which all the polls indicate could not win an election even in KwaZulu, can cause as much mayhem as the IFP has; if it can send tremors through the stock exchange, then there should be little doubt about the capacity of the NP to do vastly more damage if it were provoked into doing so.

It may sound cynical, but it remains very probably true, that the violence of the present may contain at least some of the seeds of peace in the future.

The violence seems to be demonstrating to those who may doubt the fact — the radicals in the ANC, perhaps, and the nascent realists in the PAC — that the winning party next week will not hold all the levers of power and will not be

able to enforce policies unilaterally, or govern in the autocratic manner to which the country became inured under NP rule. **what is, after all, a threat to the very principles of democracy.**

It appears to many as if the the National Party and the African National Congress have entered into an alliance of some kind. According to **Hugh Robertson**, a fact of political life in South Africa is that there can be no real progress without the ANC and NP finding one another on all the crucial issues: ~~(IIB)~~ (IIB) ~~(IIB)~~



**THE GREAT DEBATE ... Mandela's magnanimous handshake symbolised the de facto alliance which to General Viljoen seems such an astounding development.**

able to enforce policies unilaterally, or govern in the autocratic manner to which the country became inured under NP rule. **what is, after all, a threat to the very principles of democracy.**

While constitutional power might change in the election in favour of the ANC, to a considerable extent the balance of real power will remain unchanged, with the forces at the disposal of the NP and its potential allies in any major confrontation with the ANC, remaining formidable.

No doubt without intending it, the attempt by the IFP, before its decision to participate in the poll, to disrupt the election and destabilise the country, had the beneficial effect of thrusting the NP and the ANC, and other parties, even closer together.

The IFP, in effect, has set itself up as the common enemy of the rest of the body politic, at a time when nothing could have been more beneficial in concentrating national attention on

## Democratic process

In the face of the IFP challenge, unity between the ANC and the NP has been greatly facilitated. They now jointly face a challenge to their own political security — a challenge that transcends even the running of the economy in its urgency and importance, for there can be no doubt that the growth of the economy will depend on resolving, by force or otherwise, the challenge of those who seek power without the benefit of a democratic process.

The Great Debate on television, and the magnanimous handshake which was its high point, symbolised the de facto alliance which to General Viljoen seems such an astounding development.



# Inkatha releases list of candidates

**BILLY PADDOCK**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party released its list of candidates yesterday, appearing to give high-profile public figures and whites prominence on its national list but preserving its top echelon for the regional list in KwaZulu/Natal where it expects the strongest support.

Inkatha expects at most to win 23% of the votes nationally, with its list of provincial candidates almost equalling that of the combined regional and national component for the national assembly. It is fielding 76 candidates to contest the 400 seats.

Most opinion polls have given Inkatha about 13% of the votes nationally, although the latest Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report gave it only about 7%, which would result in the top 20 making it into Parliament on the national list. President Mangosuthu Buthelezi heads the national list followed by former SACP member Joe Matthews and hardliner Walter Felgate.

Positions five, six and eight are held by former NP members Koos van der Merwe, Jurie Mentz and Hennie Bekker. Press officer Sue Vos will also make it into Parliament at number seven. At number nine is information director Ziba Jiyane with Velaphi Ndlovu at 11 and former Independent Broadcasting Authority member Harriet Ngubane at number 12.

Chief negotiator Ben Ngubane heads a strong list of candidates on the regional list, the safest route to election.

HSRC director Lawrie Schlemmer estimates that Inkatha could manage 25% support in KwaZulu/Natal, giving about 15 candidates from that region a good chance.

Among these are Dennis Madide, Faith Gasa Forouk Cassim, Kisten Rajoo, Peter Smith of the information department, Natal Red Cross director Inka Mars, Ben Skosana and Philip Powell.

For its KwaZulu/Natal Provincial legislature, Inkatha has its chairman Frank Mdlalose as premier candidate followed by Jeffrey Mtetwa and two royal family members Gideon and Vincent Zulu. Also high on the list are former DP MPs Mike Tarr and Peter Miller, with Arthur Konigkramer in ninth and Sue Felgate at 15.

Maritzburg mayor Patrick Cornell occupies the number 20 slot and Lindelani warlord Thomas Shabalala is at number 26.

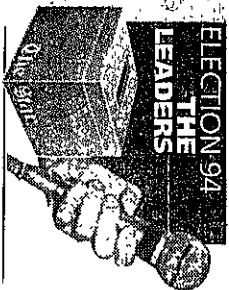
In its second strongest region, the PWV, Inkatha has chosen Transvaal leader Themba Khoza to head the list for the national assembly. He is likely to get into Parliament. At number nine is Charles Loliwe, who called on Inkatha members to march on the ANC offices at Shell House recently.

Inkatha's choice for PWV premier is Musa Myeni with Hennie Bekker's wife, Gerda, occupying fourth position before Ruth Felgate.

MUNGO SOGGOT reports that Inkatha's 11th hour decision to take part in the poll has triggered the frantic printing of 88-million labels.

Jackstadt MD Ken Steyn said his company, which printed the stickers, had delivered 40 tons of label stock to printing company Self-Adhering Products. It, in turn, had printed 22-million labels a day since last Wednesday.

Report by W Paddock and M Soggot, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb



**The IFP leader sees hard work ahead if trust is to be rebuilt between himself and the ANC and NP, writes John Soderlund. Today we conclude our series of interviews with leaders of the major parties.**

# 'I know my hands are clean'

Star Zulu194

**C**hief Buthelezi reacts angrily to accusations that, by staying out of the transition process until the last minute, he was responsible for political deaths.

Sitting in his cabinet room, surrounded by photographs of himself with Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul and Nelson Mandela, he looks forward to a new dispensation.

But the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader had harsh words to say about those who blame him for the violence.

"As a politician I am foolishly blunt," he remarks. "Any finger-pointing about this would be just unreal because this violence has been going on for 10 years.

"It amazes me then that (my opponents) should try to say that the deaths are caused merely by the arguments between us about the constitution."

In particular, he accused President de Klerk of "extreme recklessness" in declaring a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

"In fact, he was advised against it by the South African Police in Natal-KwaZulu; and intelligence sources advised against it.

"But he was under such pressure from Mr Mandela, with whom he had been colluding all along, that he deployed it nevertheless."

Buthelezi ascribed the delay in reaching a settlement to "the political ineptitude of Mr de Klerk... because he has not been a man of his word to me."

"In 1990 I explained to him that the Zulu people were not created by the homelands policy, and that the



Chief Buthelezi... "no one can do better than his best".

PICTURE: JODI BIEBER

Zulu people are a sovereign nation and he simply can't treat them as he treats other people who were created when a few farms were bought by the government.

"I said to him that he must understand therefore that when the negotiations start then the king of the Zulus and the (KwaZulu) government must have a delegation. He agreed, but as soon as Mr Mandela was reluctant and rejected this, Mr de Klerk somersaulted.

"I am satisfied that my hands are clean. No one has ever been killed on

orders from me—I don't think I can say the same for the president of the ANC," he said.

Similarly, he rejected theories that he was pressured to join the election by King Goodwill Zwelithini, or that a mutiny was brewing in his government. "I swear before God that such a thing never happened," he says emphatically.

Buthelezi was doubtful that he would take up a Cabinet seat if he polled the required minimum of five percent of the national vote, saying he did not feel bound by a constitu-

tion drawn up in his absence.

He explained that his acceptance of last week's deal hinged on the granting of new and expanded powers to the Zulu king, not only over KwaZulu, but over the rest of Natal as well. Everyone now accepted that the king is a constitutional monarch, which implied more than just a figure-head status for the king.

Would he take up the offer of a vice-presidency if it were offered him?

"I am not ready to talk about this because it is forcing me to talk about

something which has not even happened," he responded.

As during his campaign trail, Buthelezi was at pains to stress that his government had a clean track record on corruption.

"My leadership is principled. I take principled stands and if you look at my career you will find I have always been principled."

Asked about his future relationship with the leadership of the ANC and the NP, he detailed occasions where he believes the two parties conspired against him.

"How can you trust people who behave like that?" he asks.

And does he see the lull in the violence becoming permanent in the wake of the IFP's last-minute entry into the election?

Not necessarily, he says, pointing out that historically, the violence has always peaked and troughed and this could well be a cyclical trough. But he agreed political temperatures in KwaZulu have been lowered by the IFP's registration.

## Unrealistic expectations

"I think that there has been a tendency in the politicking which I have seen to create unrealistic expectations, especially among the young people, which can boomerang."

His priorities after the election were to complete the mediation over the Zulu monarchy and to address widespread poverty.

How would he like to be remembered for his political life?

"I am not as humble as all this. I am just a person who has tried to do what Shakespeare has put into the words of one of his characters: 'No-one can do better than his best.'" (47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# IFP candidates' list shows it hopes to win 30% of vote

Political Staff

(118) Feb 26/4/94

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party expects to win about 30 percent of the vote, judging by the list of candidates released today.

IFP organisers have had time and logistical problems in submitting lists because of their late entry into the election.

The list as accepted by the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday was published today. It had 47 names of national candidates.

A handful of additional names could be added before the list appears in the Government Gazette.

IFP stalwarts, and MPs who in recent months joined Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been rewarded with good places on the list, while KwaZulu cabinet members have been spread across the lists. There are several local government leaders and business people in the IFP line-up.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the IFP had made provision to win 30 percent of the vote.

Chief Buthelezi is top of the national list, followed by IFP chief executive office Joe Matthews, Mr Felgate, KwaZulu Education Minister Lionel Mtshali, former CP MP Koos van der Merwe, the first MP to join the IFP, Jurie Mentz, national press officer Sue Vos, Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker and former PAC supporter Ziba Jiyane.

KwaZulu Health Minister Ben Ngubane heads the Natal regional list, followed by Finance Minister Dennis Madide, Works Minister Sipho Mzimela, Women's Brigade leader Faith Gasa and House of Delegates member Farouk Cassim.

Former Indian education minister Kisten Rajoo is at No 7, followed by IFP back-room staffer Peter Smith and Legislative Assembly member Roy Mbongwe. Former Red Cross stalwart Inka Mars is at No 11. They all have an excellent chance of being elected.

Negotiator Frank Mdalose heads the KwaZulu-Natal provincial parliament list, ahead of KwaZulu Justice Minister Celeni Mtetwa, Prince Gideon Zulu and Prince Vincent Zulu. Former Democratic Party MP Mike Tarr is at No 7, followed by former National Party MEC Peter Miller. IFP members of the KwaZulu-Natal cabinet will probably come from this group.

IFP campaign manager and former newspaper editor Arthur Königkramer is in ninth spot. IFP hard man Mandla Thomas Shabalala is No 28, so is assured of a seat in the 81 seat provincial parliament.

(News by R M Challenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban).

The establishment of a new government and expectations that there would be a 10.52% from a previous 10.22%. The money market share remained at a relatively high R4.9bn after

# Glitches threaten peace, Inkatha warns

By *Blaney* 28/4/94

**DURBAN** — The Inkatha Freedom Party warned yesterday that administrative glitches, and a lack of polling stations in Natal posed a serious threat to peace in the province and said the elections had reached a "critical stage".

By early last night it appeared that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) would move to resolve the crisis by printing an additional 4-million ballot papers for Natal alone. But there was no indication that this would be enough to stop the IFP withdrawing from the elections.

While the IEC promised to keep polling stations open until the last voter had voted last night, by early evening many stations appeared to have shortages of ballots, equipment and Inkatha stickers.

Inkatha spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the most serious threat in Natal came from the anger of vast numbers of voters in Inkatha-dominated areas unable to vote because of a lack of polling stations. "Some have been waiting for two days. . . . They are reluctant to go and vote in ANC areas because they will be killed."

Jiyane and officials from other parties contesting the election in the province met IEC deputy chairman Dikgang Mosenke in Durban yesterday. He said NP officials had also warned Mosenke of the serious threat to peace in Natal. The ANC, worried that ballots without

Inkatha stickers could be considered spoilt votes, had also complained to Mosenke. Jiyane said Mosenke had stated frankly that the IEC was "in a crisis", but had said the commission was trying to find a solution, which could include printing 4-million new ballot papers for Natal alone. Mosenke had also admitted that the IEC had underestimated the number of special voters by 500% to 600%.

Jiyane said the crisis had been deepened by the announcement by IEC head Judge Johann Kriegler that a handwritten vote for the IFP on the ballot paper would be acceptable. Jiyane said this would disenfranchise illiterate participants. **(112) (20/4)**

The IEC continued to play down the extent of its logistical problems. A spokesman said the overall picture for Natal was fine, although there had been a shortage of Inkatha stickers in Umkomaas, Nongoma and Maphumulo.

In Mahlabatani, IEC officials were still trying to resolve equipment problems. There had also been a shortage of ballots in the area.

"Compared to yesterday (Tuesday), the problem has lessened," the spokesman said.

Sapa reports that Natal residents yesterday flocked to the polls, braving heat and long queues to vote.

The IEC said the huge voter turnout attested to voter enthusiasm and, in spite of some difficulties, "the IEC is committed to its duty of ensuring a free and fair election for all".

Among reports yesterday was one of a 21-year-old woman collapsing and dying in Empanjeni's Esikhawini township after waiting for hours in the sun to cast her vote.

In central Durban, voters were evacuated from the city hall after a hoax bomb scare yesterday afternoon.

Voting was brisk in Durban and surrounding townships after a slow start.

At Amanzimtoti, a queue of more than 2,000 stood patiently in the morning as thousands of KwaMakutha residents flocked to the civic centre polling station where they said they felt safer than at township voting venues.

At Umlazi, ANC and Inkatha supporters queued together at several venues, including the King Goodwill Zwelithini Stadium.

Polling was uneventful at KwaMashu and Inanda. The highlight of the first day of normal voting in Inanda was ANC president Nelson Mandela's presence at the Ohlange polling station to cast his vote, and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was greeted by enthusiastic supporters when he arrived to vote in Umlazi.

Report by I. Courts, T.M.L., 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and C. Doonan, G. Arde and C. Gwandir, Sapa, 330 West St, Jhb.

# Buthelezi votes in Umlazi

Sowetan 28/4/94

KWAZULU Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi cast his vote watched by a barrage of jostling media representatives at King Zwelithini Stadium at Umlazi in Durban yesterday.

Beaming, Buthelezi said as a peace-loving person he felt okay and good after casting his vote for the first time.

Commenting on the explosion at Jan Smuts Airport, he said he was distressed

by it as it did not augur well for the future of the country. He believed yesterday to be the birth of a new nation, but it was distressing that it should happen at this time.

Asked if he would accept the outcome, he said if all the voters were given the opportunity to cast their vote then he would have no problem.

He added, however, that he was con-

cerned with the "rigging" that was taking place countrywide.

He said he had received a facsimile message from overseas that there were no IFP stickers on their ballot papers.

Voting at Umlazi was very steady yesterday. (118)

Before the arrival of Buthelezi there seemed to be more reporters than voters.

— *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Voters at a  
station in  
the  
the  
no election  
give a  
PIC: ROBERT

# IEC in bid to keep IFP in the polls

*Sowetan 28/4/94*

**By Lulama Luti**  
Political Staff

■ **FRANTIC EFFORTS** Kriegler says

it will be tragic if IFP were pull out:

**F**RANTIC EFFORTS TO KEEP the Inkatha Freedom-Party in the election process continued last night with Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler saying if the IFP pulled out it would a great tragedy.

This followed a veiled threat by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi earlier in the day that the IFP would consider pulling out because of problems over the shortage of IFP stickers on ballot papers at polling stations in KwaZulu/Natal and elsewhere.

Kriegler said he had responded to Buthelezi's concerns in a letter sent to the Chief Minister last night.

Also at issue is the IEC's stipulation that handwritten ballot papers showing a preference for the IFP would be dealt

with in terms of Section 47 of the Electoral Act, which relates to irregularities in ballot papers.

Speaking at a Press briefing at the IEC media centre in Midrand, Kriegler said if the IFP pulled out "the electoral process will go on. They may pull out but the race will continue and they will come last". *(113) (2117)*

Kriegler said he would make an assessment at noon today before taking a decision on whether voting would be extended for another day.

He said it would be tragic if the IFP pulled out because millions of people had decided to vote and had set their hearts on making the process a success.

More people than were expected had turned up at polling stations and that had

contributed to the problems. Problems ranged from shortages of ballot papers, IFP stickers, marking ink and ballot boxes, said Kriegler.

Steps were taken by last night to remedy the situation and 8,6 million additional ballot papers had been printed and were being sent to polling stations that had shortages.

Provision was being made to empty ballot boxes and use post office bags.

Giving a general picture of the election process, Kriegler said these ranged from excellent in some areas to poor in others. He further made an impassioned plea to all would-be voters to be calm and patient.

"It's your election that we are doing our level best to deliver," he said.

# Threat by Buthelezi

*Sowetan 28/4/94*  
INKATHA Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night threatened to pull his party out of the elections because of the problems experienced with IFP stickers on ballot papers.

He told a Press conference in Ulundi the IFP had never agreed to have voters write out their political preference at the bottom of a ballot paper should IFP stickers run out. (113)

Mr Buthelezi said that during his negotiations with the State President and the African National Congress on April 19, he had made this point very clearly.

Steps announced on yesterday to allow voters to write out their preference would affect the secrecy of the ballot. About 60 percent of rural voters in Natal were illiterate, Buthelezi added. This would render the elections not free or fair.

Buthelezi said Independent Electoral Commission officials had informed him they had run out of IFP ballot stickers and he called for an urgent meeting with the head of the IEC, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, to discuss the issue. "My spirits are down because of the problems," the chief minister said. — *Sapa*.

(Report by S. de Vries, 141 Commissioner Street Johannesburg.)

# 'No IFP pullout intended'

Star 29.14.94

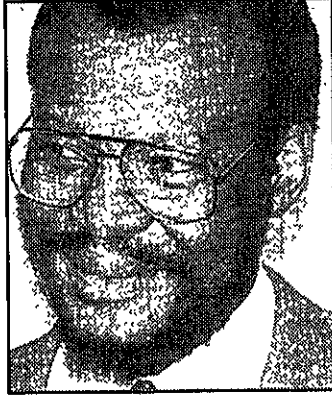
■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Air force helicopters, government officials and the hint of an extra day's voting were among the elements which brought about a change in Ulundi's attitude to the election.

After describing himself as disturbed by the poll on Wednesday evening and appearing to hint at a pullout, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday morning stressed that he had no intention of withdrawing.

In the interim, he had held several hours of talks — ending early yesterday morning — with Independent Electoral Commission deputy chairman Dikgang Moseneke and Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

In terms of the deal struck in the wee hours, a total of 4 million ballot papers would be



Buthelezi . . . deal struck

printed — bearing the IFP's name — and distributed to problem areas in KwaZulu/Natal.

The Government laid on an SA Air Force Hercules and two helicopters to carry equipment, ballot papers and extra officials to problem areas. About 40 Home Affairs officials were se-

conded to the IEC.

The officials were flown into Ulundi at dawn yesterday, but there were no IEC officials to meet them.

It is understood that a second airlift of officials was being prepared yesterday in case of an extension of voting to today.

Our Political Staff in Durban reports that the bottleneck voting areas are Ulundi, Nongoma, Umbombo and Dundee.

It is also understood that the IFP was reassured that voting could be extended in the province in terms of a presidential proclamation, and that a sitting of Parliament was not needed, as the IEC earlier suggested.

The IFP's complaints included polling stations failing to open, shortages of equipment, arrogant IEC officials, unsealed ballot boxes, and no electricity to work the infra-red machines at some stations.



**RELUCTANT CANDIDATES:** Two Natal Midlands 'warlords' go to the polls, muttering and threatening

# One unhappy voter

IEC bungling made the IFC's David Ntombela threaten not to recognise the election outcome, reports Farouk Chothia

**W**ITH lines of anger creasing his forehead, David Ntombela — the fire-brand Inkatha Freedom Party Natal Midlands chairman — shouted into the telephone: "The IEC is our enemy. This election is not free and fair. I will not accept the result."

Ntombela had telephoned Radio Zulu to complain that he and his supporters were unable to vote at the kwaZulu-controlled Mreane school, within walking distance from Ntombela's home in Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg.

At about 9am on Wednesday morning, Ntombela, after taking off his peace T-shirt and donning a suit, made his way with his bodyguard to the polling station to cast his vote.

But two-and-a-half hours after the scheduled opening time, the polling station was still closed, and Ntombela erupted in fury. He demanded an explanation from the presiding officer, school principal Alfred Kheswa.

Kheswa replied meekly that he was trying his best: he had travelled in his own car to the Independent Electoral Commission's (IEC) warehouse in Pietermaritzburg to pick up voting material, but there was no one there. When someone finally arrived to assist him, he did not receive all the material; rubber stamps and invisible ink were out of stock, and he had to wait for them to arrive. Until then, voting could not start.

Refusing to accept the explanation, Ntombela continued firing salvoes at Kheswa, calling him "stupid" and the IEC a "complete failure".

Storming out of the polling station, Ntombela went to stand by the roadside, starting into the brown sand before him. "If this continues, we will lose," he said.

The crowd swelled to several thousand. Old women joined the youth in



David Ntombela ... Cursing the IEC

PHOTO: PATRICK ROYAL

singing: "We shall vote!" But IEC bungles continued: an official arrived from Pietermaritzburg with a rubber stamp-pad instead of a rubber stamp. This alone now held up a start to voting.

Meanwhile, Ntombela had another worry: not all those gathered had voter ID documents.

He telephoned the IFC regional office in Pietermaritzburg, urging them to put pressure on the Department of Home Affairs to send a mobile unit to issue temporary voting cards.

The IFC office said a mobile unit had been dispatched — but that it would take a long time to arrive. They suggested Ntombela ferry his supporters to Pietermaritzburg to vote.

Ntombela refused: his supporters would have to drive through Eden-dale, stronghold of the ANC's Harry Gwala. "They will attack our people and then we will get the blame," he said.

But then the rubber stamps arrived, and voting started.

Ntombela was first to cast his ballot, then seated himself in front of the queue of voters entering the polling station, exchanging greetings with each one walking past. The IFC chief was now smiling broadly, cracking jokes and inquiring about the health of the aged.

Did voting make him happy? "No!"

he said. "How can I be happy when all my people won't be able to vote?"

He was adamant the solution to this week's fiasco lay not in extending the voting period but in nullifying the election.

"Many of those who have already voted did not have the IFC as a choice. The corrupt and biased IEC failed to provide IFC stickers. Many votes of our people are now spoilt — and we have lost badly on that," he said.

He said he would never accept the election result. "The only solution is to start afresh."

But by refusing to participate in the new parliament — Ntombela is 13th on the list for provincial legislature and 30th for the list on the national assembly — how would he continue serving his constituency? "When God created the Zulus, there were no whites, no roads, no tractors. The Zulus still lived," he said.

A 67-year-old father of 11, Ntombela is a militant who was most reluctant to enter into peace initiatives with the ANC. He is seen by ANC supporters as a "warlord" who from his Elandskop fiefdom has waged violence against the ANC.

In this strife-torn province, peace may still be a pipe-dream. Said Ntombela: "There will be no ANC government in kwaZulu/Natal — and that is not a threat."

**F**IREBRAND ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala has called on ministers in the new government to ask for no more than a worker's salary.

Destined for a cabinet post, Gwala said in an interview this week the new ministers and MPs must guard against losing touch with the grassroots and abusing their power.

He proposed that no cabinet minister be paid "more than the highest-paid worker", adding they could live "very, very comfortably" on a taxable salary of R6 000 a month.

The ANC's foremost militant, who vehemently opposed the government of national unity and top level peace pacts with the Inkatha Freedom Party, Gwala (71) has now moderated his stance.

In an interview on Tuesday — the day when special votes were cast — Gwala said: "When faced by Hitler, there had to be a condition situation between the (British) Labour Party and Conservative Party. Here, if we are to have reconstruction and development, different political parties will have to work together."

He said there would be co-operation between the ANC and IFC in kwaZulu/Natal's provincial legislature.

"We will be putting the country first, and in order to build we will have to co-operate. We will have to build roads — and you can't have an IFC road and ANC road. The same applies in health and schools. A government of unity is a necessity," he said.

Gwala — who is on the ANC provincial list for kwaZulu/Natal after premiership candidate Jacob Zuma — is destined to hold a regional executive post.

He said this would not change his life and he would continue living in his township home in Dambuza, Edendale — in sharp

contrast to many ANC leaders who have moved to leafy suburbia.

"My life is the life of the struggling masses. As long as there is much to do around poverty, illiteracy, schooling (and) housing, nothing is going to change me," he said. Gwala readily admits that the ANC would have to "sober down" the high expectations created during the election run-up and avoid extravagant expenditure.

"When the Cubans went out to sing, Castro said: 'Work and sing'," said Gwala.

## Joining hands against Hitler'

The ANC's Harry Gwala wants a frugal new elite, Farouk Chothia reports

Suffering from a degenerative motor neuron disease which has paralysed his limbs, Gwala was expected to vote early on Tuesday morning but he did not do so.

Instead, he arrived at the ANC offices in Pietermaritzburg at his usual time — and immediately went into a lengthy meeting to discuss the failure of polling booths to open on time — and alleged intimidation of ANC supporters making their way to polling booths.

As the morning passed, Gwala had still not cast his vote. "I might go in the evening or tomorrow morning," he said.

But he was quick to point out that casting the ballot would be an historic moment for him. "I will be voting for an organisation that I grew up in. I lost some of my limbs for this organisation. It's an organisation in my heart. I embrace the Freedom Charter with both my arms."

Gwala did not predict an overwhelming majority for the ANC in kwaZulu/Natal. "At first I was confident. I am not so confident now because of what has been happening recently — firstly, the open attacks on those trying to campaign for the ANC and secondly, because of the so-called traditional leaders who are intimidating people to vote for Inkatha."

Fm 29/4/94

hope has, however, been dashed by this week's deadly bomb blasts, thought to be the work of forces opposed to the election.

While Buthelezi claimed the switch was done altruistically in the interests of SA, this was hotly contested. (118) (118) (30/4/94)

Buthelezi, however, immediately cautioned, as he launched into a frenzied six-day election campaign, that violence will not disappear after April 27.

While Inkatha may have U-turned on participation, its campaign platform remained substantially the same: opposition to the interim constitution; the need for an "indestructible" Bill of Rights; greater regional autonomy under a federal rather than unitary State; and a noninterventionist economic system to prevent, in Buthelezi's words, "the ANC destroying SA through central government tyranny. Ours is the rallying cry for free enterprise and democracy."

In spite of the difficulties of a condensed election campaign, Inkatha election field director Farouk Cassim predicted a good showing: 55 seats in the national assembly and outright control of Natal. The party was also bullish about support in the PWV and western Cape.

Inkatha, Cassim added, rejects the idea of an alliance — initially mooted by Natal NP leader George Bartlett and Pik Botha in the Transvaal, but shot down by NP leader F W de Klerk. Cassim scoffs at Bartlett's suggestion of an NP/Inkatha deal to freeze out the ANC.

"Apart from the fact that we expect to win Natal, the Nat suggestion again demonstrates that the party's cynical quest for power supersedes principle. First they work with the ANC to freeze us out, now they want us to help them against the ANC. It's just not on." Cassim believed much of the Inkatha support would come from the NP, the DP and the rightwing — in addition, of course, to the groundswell of loyal followers who would have boycotted the election at Buthelezi's behest.

Not everyone agrees, however. University of Natal political analyst Sandy Johnston said it was highly debatable whether Inkatha would be able to recapture many of its original supporters who resigned themselves to voting for other parties.

"Inkatha has not come in trailing clouds of glory. The way the party has conducted itself during negotiations and the boycott, plus the fact that it has come into the election without any substantial gains at all, means that they are unlikely to take many white and Indian voters from the DP and NP. Further, they will struggle to get back whatever they had before. Even the bedrock constituency seems to be in some disarray and seems not to have been heavily mobilised and geared to voting," says Johnston.

Nevertheless, he still expected the party to make a substantial showing at the polls. And Inkatha's entry could have woken up disillusioned white and Indian voters, who had written off the election as a foregone ANC victory in Natal, into turning out at the polls.

## INKATHA — 1 Fm 29/4/94 Hope springs eternal

There was a palpable air of relief in Durban following the signing of the tripartite agreement last week, while Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi returned to Ulundi to a hero's welcome. (118) (118) (30/4/94)

The general feeling was that Inkatha's last-minute decision had transformed the outlook for the election and transition from one of spiralling strife to one of hope. Such

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 29/4/94

Johnston added that, while Inkatha rejected pre-election overtures for an alliance with the Nats, such a coalition should not be ruled out after the election. (118) (118) (30/4/94)

Johnston feels that victory in Natal will still go to the ANC — though Inkatha's return is a general stimulus to the campaign and will make it a much closer contest.

The chances of a hung parliament in Natal, Johnston feels, might depend on the performance of the DP. "It would be an interesting situation if the DP held the balance of power between an Inkatha/NP coalition and the ANC. The DP has turned into an anti-ANC party — but spends the rest of the time slanging the Nats. One wonders which way it would go." ■

## ANC GOVERNMENT

### *Fm 29/4/94* **Sensible or sinister?**

In a bid to ensure control and direction over all ministries in the new government of national unity — to be appointed in all likelihood by incoming president Nelson Mandela next week — senior ANC figures have been fine-tuning a plan to set up an inner Cabinet office presided over by a top figure of the organisation.

The thinking is that Mandela should be above this arrangement, in order to devote his time to conciliation and nation-building in the new SA. The major function of the Cabinet secretariat will be to monitor and ensure implementation of Cabinet decisions.

Assuming that about a third of the new Cabinet will be drawn from parties other than the ANC — in terms of proportional representation a party with at least 5% of the vote in this week's election is eligible for a Cabinet seat — the idea of an ANC inner Cabinet or politburo could be dangerous in that it will not encourage Cabinet collegiality. ~~(118) (118)~~

And if, as expected, the NP is entitled to three or four portfolios, at least one of them will have to be high-powered.

The interim constitution already contains the questionable provision in terms of which the party — not the elected MPs — will call the tune, since an MP who decides to buck the party line may be expelled by it. It all points to rule by the party managers, in this case, by the Shell House ANC.

On the other hand, many governments do make use of inner caucuses comprised of the top Ministers, so the idea is not necessarily a sinister move to ensure tight central control. While central control may well be instinctive to the ANC, the organisation is doubtless aware of the pitfalls of encouraging partisanship at Cabinet level. It could hobble a government whose urgent task is to make good to the masses its reconstruction and development priorities, and one which must work by consensus.

Cabinet managing, says Wits political scientist Tom Lodge, doesn't necessarily imply caucusing. It may simply be that the

*Fm 29/4/94*  
ANC is trying to avoid conflict or preparing to regulate it. ~~(118) (118)~~

Which is why it would make sense for the job of Cabinet secretary to go to ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who is perhaps more soft-tongued than the other main contender for the job, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who is perhaps a wittier, more efficient organiser.

In the rivalry stakes between the two, Ramaphosa is widely seen as having trumped Mbeki by calling the bluff of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the terms of reference for the international mediators recently.

No doubt there will continue to be ideological groupings in the ANC and conflicts over policy may be expected, as in any ruling party or government. For example, the ANC's trade union MPs will push hard for reconstruction and development and won't be too perturbed about whether high levels of expenditure attract foreign investors or not. Hopefully, they will be balanced by wiser heads in the Cabinet.

Observers seem convinced that Mandela, at least, will discourage caucusing in an ANC-led government, which, apart from containing Ministers from other parties, expects anyway to be faced with a hostile bureaucracy. ■

### *Fm 29/4/94* **INKATHA — 2** **Goodwill sold short**

The real reasons behind Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's last-minute decision to join in the general election have not yet emerged. But reports claiming that Buthelezi was forced to capitulate after Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini said he would accept the ANC's offer guaranteeing his position, seem plausible enough. ~~(118) (118)~~

At the very last meeting of the multiparty negotiating council on April 20, called to adopt formally the constitutional amendments affecting the king, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were represented by Walter Felgate and Prof Harriet Ngubane. The council welcomed Inkatha's decision, but there were tough remarks by the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer, concerning Inkatha's apparent cynicism and the fact that "700 lives" had to be lost before Buthelezi changed his mind. Ramaphosa read from a *Pretoria News* report that day which quoted Felgate as having told the BBC that "the IFP's strategy was to hold out for as long as possible. Millions of rands could not have got us this publicity."

"I find it tragic that a high-ranking official of the IFP said that," said Ramaphosa, adding that Inkatha should no longer be treated with kid gloves.

A somewhat cowed Felgate said Inkatha had "sought only to bring about the best possible amendments to the constitution." He said his remark about free publicity was

*Fm 29/4/94*  
in answer to a question about the short time Inkatha would have for campaigning.

If Inkatha only wanted to get the best constitution, Roelf Meyer wanted to know, why did they not accept the April 11 draft agreement on the status of the Zulu king, worked out at Skukuza?

"It was turned down publicly by Chief Buthelezi. I don't understand it," said Meyer. "Now the IFP and the Chief Minister suddenly accept far less than was spelled out in the Skukuza draft, which included specific powers and constitutional protection for the Zulu king. They owe the country an explanation." As Meyer saw it, only one deduction could be made: "It was all about postponing the election." He pointed out that Inkatha's central committee had again called for a postponement on April 9. "And when mediation failed, the IFP changed its mind and came in." ~~(118) (118)~~

What did Inkatha actually achieve for holding out?

First, the constitutional principle (XIII) — which recognises and protects the institution, status and role of traditional leadership according to traditional law — is amended by adding: "Provisions in a provincial constitution relating to the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch shall be recognised and protected in the constitution." Nothing there relates to the Zulu king specifically.

Second, the section in the interim constitution dealing with provincial constitutions brings in the following proviso: "Provided that a provincial constitution may provide for legislative and executive structures and procedures different from those provided for in this constitution in respect of a province; and, where applicable, provide for the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch in the province, and shall make such provision for the Zulu monarch in the case of the province of KwaZulu/Natal."

In terms of the earlier Skukuza draft, the parties had undertaken "to actively promote the dignity of the Zulu king and monarchy," and to ensure that within the KwaZulu/Natal constitution the king and Zulu monarchy "shall have and enjoy a suitable position."

In particular, the parties undertook at Skukuza to ensure that the king shall: be recognised as king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations which shall extend throughout the province; have and exercise such rights and powers as determined by Zulu custom and tradition, as well as ceremonial powers and prerogatives specified in the provincial constitution.

Further, the provincial legislature would annually have been required to approve a budget to cover the expenses of the king and Zulu monarchy and establish by law a royal guard responsible for his security.

To clinch it all the agreement would have been "filed with the Security Council of the UN" to ensure its implementation.

None of these special provisions was in the final agreement. ■

# Buthlezi: IFP won't pull out

CT 29/4/94

ULUNDI. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday he had no intention of pulling out of the election although he was disappointed by organisational problems.

He said he was "depressed" by the lack of organisation during the poll, referring to shortage of material in KwaZulu/Natal.

The chaos surrounding voting made it hard to see how the poll could be declared free and fair, he said.

IFP Transvaal political director Mr Thabo Khoza also said yesterday the elections could not be considered fair.

He said in Johannesburg that there were feelings within the IFP that the party should either withdraw from the election or declare it unfair and not free, but that the IFP would do everything to avoid this because of the chaos that would ensue.

Mr Khoza said the main problem was ballot papers which did not include the IFP sticker and he urged IFP supporters to go back to the polls "ink or no ink" and cast their votes again.

He said IFP supporters were being threatened by ANC members and were encountering a hostile attitude from IEC officials.

# You will die to avenge Shell House, hostel victims told

WM 2/13 - 7/4/94  
**Late Flash:** Eyewitness

accounts of the massacre of ANC members at an Inkatha-led hostel. By

**Chris McGreal** in Natal

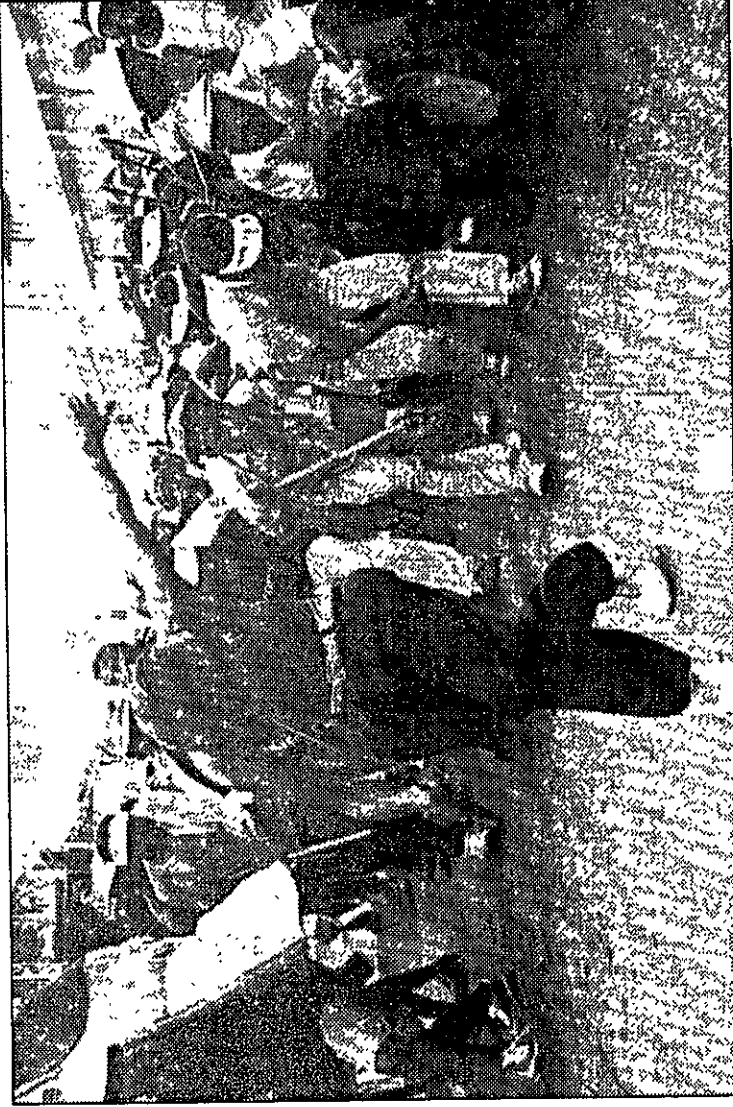
**J**OHAN Mkhize did not expect to have to beg for his life at a peace meeting. Baba Shibe did not anticipate being shot in the head after spending two hours hearing from Inkatha Freedom Party supporters how they too wanted to end the slaughter. But both were luckier than five fellow KwaMashu residents who were lured to talks with IFP hostel dwellers in the strife-torn black township and then summarily executed one by one, they were told, in retaliation for Monday's slaughter in Johannesburg.

Over the past fortnight, dozens of residents around the Inkatha hostel in KwaMashu's B-section have been

burned from their homes. About 100 were murdered in the raids. Hundreds more have fled. One ANC member, Jabulani Ngidi, arranged a meeting with the a hostel leader who identified himself as Mr Magwaza. After the Inkatha delegation arrived at Ngidi's house on Wednesday evening, Magwaza suggested shifting it to the hostel. The nine residents reluctantly agreed.

On arrival they were locked in a room, B7, with three Inkatha men while Magwaza disappeared. For two hours they talked peace. The Inkatha supporters insisted they wanted an end to the killings. Arrangements were made for more meetings. When Magwaza finally reappeared and unlocked the door it was apparent his time had been spent very differently.

Armed men carrying two-way radios frisked the peace delegation for arms, told them the venue for the



ANC youths toyi toyi through the streets of Durban on Saturday at the start of the "rolling mass action" campaign. When Inkatha struck back, the conflict quickly turned ugly  
 Photo: GUY ADAMS

meeting had changed again and bundled them towards a minibus. It did not travel far, just to the nearby railway station. As it drew to a halt, a mob waving AK-47s clamoured to open the door.

Shibe wept, his body shaking, his hands clasping his bloodied, bandaged head before he could describe Wednesday night's murder. He was in the front seat next to the driver when a young man, some in the delegation recognised as an Inkatha youth leader, opened the door.

"He said the guys got shot at

Jo'burg and we as residents of B Section shot a lot of them. He was trying to explain to his colleagues they must kill us. As he was talking we saw the danger. They ordered us to jump out individually. While we were coming out we were shot one by one," Shibe said.

Some climbed out quietly to their deaths. John Mkhize, a clerk at the King Edward Hospital, waited for his life. Shibe was staring at him in fear.

"John was screaming and they were telling him to come out, and he wouldn't get out. John asked them

why they were shooting us when we were there to make peace. One of my colleagues said because we are going to die, there is no option but to come out and die. And he climbed out ahead of John and they shot him through the head. They pulled John out and shot him. And then I came out and ran and they shot my head. But I ran through some of the crowd," Shibe said.

Mkhize was left for dead and rescued with critical injuries. Shibe ran for his life and escaped. Two others got away while the crowd was bayoning for another of their colleagues' deaths. Five were murdered, including the man who originally went to the Inkatha hostel to try and quell the killing, Jabulani Ngidi.

# Rand shooting: Probe of IFP official urged

APR 4 5 1994  
The Argus Correspondent

(11B)

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP PWV deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu has been singled out by the Goldstone Commission for investigation by the Independent Electoral Commission regarding his comments to IFP marchers on the day Johannesburg city centre erupted into a shooting spree.

The commission, releasing its report today on a preliminary inquiry into the incidents on March 28, said there was prima facie evidence that Mr Ndlovu contravened the Electoral Act by telling marchers that the election would not proceed.

The commission has recommended that further consideration be given to policing mass action events by the committee which drew up the Goldstone Commission's original mass action guidelines two years ago.

It also expressed "regret" that the Regulation of Gatherings Act, promulgated 12 weeks ago, had not been brought into effect because it "has apparently been held up by the TEC".

"Had its provisions been in force, some at least of the unfortunate events may have been avoided. The prospect that after the election, no adequate legislative provision for the regulation of gatherings and marches will be in place, is alarming," the commission said.

The commission made no other findings aside from referring Mr Ndlovu's conduct to the IEC, as the evidence presented so far had not been tested.

The commission however rejected the IFP's submission to the inquiry that it could not find witnesses in view of the Easter weekend preceding the inquiry — emphasising that it was the IFP which requested the inquiry at the outset.

The SAP had put in "very detailed, well prepared and helpful submissions", for which the commission was thankful. Both the ANC and IFP alleged that the police had insufficient presence on the day.

The commission said the behaviour of political parties and their supporters after the election would determine the agenda of the new government and the security forces in the area of public order.

● See page 2

ius.  
9-

Shooting

# I am prepared to work with Mandela, Buthelezi declares

Star 4/15/94

Ulundi — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would be prepared to work with ANC leader Nelson Mandela in a future government.

"If I was able to work with the National Party who were oppressing my people . . . it should be less difficult (to work with Mandela)," Buthelezi told reporters at his Ulundi IFP stronghold.

But he would not be drawn on his role in the National Assembly and did not say whether he expected to be in the future Cabinet.

Buthelezi, whose party is in third place nationally after about half the vote had been counted by yesterday afternoon, said

he was "honestly surprised and disappointed" that Mandela had not mentioned him in a triumphant speech on Monday as one of the South African leaders who had congratulated the ANC president on his impending election victory.

## Corrupt

"I phoned him and congratulated him. It was quite surprising he never mentioned my name at all. I can't read motives into it at all," Buthelezi said.

He also said that if conflict erupted after the election it would be warranted because of extensive ballot irregularities. "If (conflict) did erupt it

would be warranted because of some of the corrupt things that have been done."

He said he was grateful that the election process had largely been peaceful, despite the "extent of irregularities".

He added he could not predict whether the IFP would retain its lead of about 20 percent over the ANC in KwaZulu/Natal, where about a quarter of the estimated 4.5 million votes had been counted by midday yesterday.

Buthelezi would also not proclaim whether voting had been free and fair. "When it's complete I'll give my judgment. The election is not over as far as I'm concerned." — Reuter.

## Buthelezi quiet on election result

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would reserve his judgment on the outcome of the elections until the final results were known.

Speaking to reporters outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, Chief Buthelezi also indicated his willingness to serve in a government with the rival ANC. CT4/5/94

He said he was grateful the country's first democratic elections had been peaceful.

Referring to Monday night's victory speech by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi said he was surprised and disappointed he wasn't congratulated along with other leaders by the ANC leader.

Meanwhile, the IFP's national chairman and KwaZulu/Natal premier candidate Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday the elections were representative of the will of the people.

He said there had been a big turn-out at the polls in KwaZulu/Natal, but with only a third of the votes counted it was difficult to predict which party would win the province. — Sapa



# GOLDSTONE FINDINGS IFP official to

# Ndlovu may face IEC

# over march

## ■ BATTLE ZONE Commission

*dismisses argument as spurious:*

By Bongani Mavuso

**T**HE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION yesterday recommended that the conduct and comments of Inkatha Freedom Party West Rand chairman Humphrey Ndlovu during the "Zulu" march be referred to the Independent Electoral Commission. (118)

Several people lost their lives, scores were injured and property was damaged in the Johannesburg city centre, which was turned into a battle zone.

In a report released yesterday, the commission said there was *prima facie* evidence of a contravention of the Electoral Act and Code of Conduct by Ndlovu.

### Would not proceed

The report names Ndlovu as the offender for publicly informing IFP supporters on that day that the election would not proceed on 26, 27 and 28 April.

The commission rejects as "fanciful and disingenuous", submissions on behalf of the KwaZulu government and IFP that the gathering was not arranged by the IFP but by or on behalf of the "Zulu people" and that the IFP letterhead was used because Ndlovu did not have a letterhead of the KwaZulu government.

Citing a letter from Ndlovu to Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate applying for permission for a gathering of about 20 000 people, the commission notes: "The argument about the letterhead is refuted by the contents of the letter."

The letter, furthermore, is signed by Ndlovu in his capacity as an IFP official. The application to the City Council is in similar terms.



Mr Justice Richard Goldstone

"This spurious argument is also given the lie by the vague allegation that Mr Ndlovu in fact was calling for the gathering on behalf of the 'Zulu people'.

"How Ndlovu was authorised to act on behalf of the 'Zulu people' could not be explained by counsel for the IFP and KwaZulu government."

There can be no doubt that the purpose of the gathering was party political and that many members of the Zulu nation would not have wished to participate in an IFP Anti-Election campaign, the commission said.

The commission said it was of the view that the IFP had called for the gathering and rejected "belated efforts to rid itself (the IFP) of responsibility."

"It regretted" that although promulgated some 12 weeks ago, the Regulation of Gatherings Act had not been brought into effect.

"Had its provisions been in force, some at least of the unfortunate events of 28 March may have been avoided."

It also expressed concern that no adequate legislative provision for the regulation of gatherings and marches is now in place.



Humphrey Ndlovu

# Gwala wants IFP win invalidated

116

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders in KwaZulu-Natal appeared divided yesterday on the Inkatha Freedom Party's election victory in the province, with hardliners appearing to favour a Supreme Court invalidation of the poll because of voting irregularities.

CT915194

Midlands leader and party hardliner Mr Harry Gwala claimed the ANC had decided on Saturday to appeal to the Supreme Court to invalidate the regional poll.

However, he appeared to be at odds with ANC premier candidate for the region Mr Jacob Zuma, who said the ANC would take its place in the regional legislature while pursuing its claims of massive electoral fraud. Both, however, were adamant that renewed violence should be avoided at all costs.

Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdlalose, who will probably be inaugurated as regional premier in Maritzburg on Wednesday, called for reconciliation among the region's parties to ensure a lasting peace in KwaZulu-Natal. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

# IFP gears up for its new role

CT 13/5/94

(118)

CT 13/5/94

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The IFP is gearing up for its first session as a junior partner in government, with its 43-member caucus scheduled to meet early next week to allocate the remaining portfolios.

The party elected former Vryheid MP Mr Jurie Mentz as one of four parliamentary whips earlier this week. He is joined by Mr Koos van der Merwe, previously MP for Overvaal, Mr Farouk Cassim, former House of Delegates IFP leader, and Mr Hennie Bekker, former Jeppe MP.

The caucus must allocate party spokesmen on national issues. Mr Walter Felgate is tipped for the crucial constitutional development portfolio.

Others in the running for party spokesmen are Dr Jiba Jiyane (justice), Mr Senzo Mfayela (housing), Dr Dennis Madide (finance), Mrs Faith Gasa (education), and Mrs Eileen Shandu (health).

● There was "nothing curious" about SACP stalwart Mr Harry Gwala's exclusion from the Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu/Natal regional cabinet, the ANC said yesterday.

The Natal Midlands leader has instead been elected as chief ANC caucus whip.

Natal ANC MPs are to meet in Maritzburg on Monday to finalise the allocation of regional portfolios.

# IFP's Powell charged

Farouk Chothia

THE South African Police have charged Inkatha Freedom Party senator Philip Powell, who was responsible for giving illegal military training to IFP members at the Mlaba camp in northern Natal, for illegal possession of a firearm.

The Inkatha senator was repeatedly named in last week's Transitional Executive Council's report into illegal military training by the IFP.

Police spokesman Major Bala Naidoo said their investigation is "almost complete" and the docket will be sent to the attorney-general's office to decide whether Powell should be prosecuted.

He said Powell had not appeared in court because the "circumstances are a bit different" as the firearm "was found under his control and not directly in his position".

When Transitional Executive Council investigators raided the Mlaba camp on the eve of elections, they found a firearm — apparently the type manufactured at the SAP's Vlakplaas hit squad base — in his car.

Naidoo said police took a statement from Powell on Monday, making contact with him via his attorney.

Naidoo said Powell's attorney has given police an assurance that he will be available whenever they need him and police saw no need to arrest him.

WYM 3-9/6/94

(113)

(178)

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WM 3-9/6/94

(115) (SFB)

# Mtetwa 'visited' camp

Weekly Mail Reporters

NEWLY installed Natal/kwaZulu Police Minister Celani Mtetwa is named in a recent Transitional Executive Council report as having "visited" the Mlaba camp in northern Natal, where the Inkatha Freedom Party has given military training to up to 5 000 members.

In an interview this week, Mtetwa brushed aside charges by the TEC task group investigating hit squad activity in Natal that the training was unlawful. He said that the ANC and PAC had also trained members of their "private armies" illegally. (118)

By reputation a hardliner, Mtetwa (68) is said to have suggested the formation of a kwaZulu security wing as early as 1980. He also reportedly called on vigilante groups to join police reservists in order to ensure better protection for communities.

As kwaZulu justice minister since 1976, Mtetwa would have been aware of the SADF's secret military training of 200 Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip in the mid-1980s, and of their subsequent absorption into the kwaZulu Police. *3-9/6/94*

The TEC task force report suggests a link between Inkatha military preparations before the election and the Caprivi graduates.

In the interview, Mtetwa said it was "unlikely" that trainees from the Mlaba training camp would be incorporated into the new provincial police force.

"Nearly half of them are working — some in Johannesburg and Dur-

ban. They are not kept as a group waiting for policing," he said.

Mtetwa declined to say what role kwaZulu's deputy commissioner of police, Major General Sipho Mathe, would play in the new force, but said: "He is a general. Goldstone did not prove him guilty."

Mathe is scathingly attacked in the TEC task force's second hit squad report, which recommends his immediate suspension.

Mtetwa said this week that there was no need for a major clean-up in the KZP. "Like all other police, the KZP also have their mistakes but I don't think they are as bad as they were pictured," said Mtetwa.

He added that he did not want to see the police impose peace in strife-torn kwaZulu/Natal through the iron fist.

"If peace is forced by the police, it will be a mistake. It will not be peace. It will be suppression," said Mtetwa.

He added that he hoped to work closely with the ANC leadership to "educate" its supporters to accept the new force.

Mtetwa said he would have no objections if an ANC leader became his deputy, as the two parties are already in government together in kwaZulu/Natal.

Mtetwa said policemen would undergo a reorientation programme if central government introduced such a course.

"They are the big boss. We will wait to see what is their thinking and what are their plans," added Mtetwa.

# The king and Mandela

(116) (264)

wm 10-16/6/94

Farouk Chohia

FURTHER signs of a warming of relations between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the ANC appeared last week.

Zwelithini and President Nel-

son Mandela met

briefly in Durban

last Friday. Their

encounter was a

coincidence: the

two were in the

same hotel, attend-

ing different func-

tions. When Man-

dela learned that

Zwelithini was also

at the beachfront

hotel, he went to

meet the monarch

— and the two greeted each

other warmly, shared jokes and

spoke briefly to each other in

Zulu.

This was the third public

encounter between the two

since Mandela's inauguration

as president a month ago. By

contrast, Zwelithini has not

been seen in public with IFP

leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

since the April 27 election.

However, the two — along with

kwaZulu/Natal premier Frank

Mdlalose and ANC deputy sec-

retary general Jacob Zuma —

are scheduled to

attend a function in

northern Natal next

weekend.

Zwelithini decli-

ned to comment on

a *Mail & Guardian*

report published

three weeks ago of a

rift between himself

and Buthelezi. In his

speech to business-

men attending a

breakfast organised

by the *Natal Mercury* and Pam

Golding, Zwelithini steered

clear of making any major polit-

ical statement, but called on

the mainly white guests to

encourage black entrepreneurs

by seeking out their services

and offering training opportu-

nities to them.



Goodwill Zwelithini

# Inkatha to host victory rally

INKATHA Freedom Party president and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected to address a weekend peace and victory rally in Durban's Umlazi township.

IFP rally organisers told a Durban media conference yesterday that all political parties in the region had been invited to attend. (118)

Durban south regional chairman Mr Mzameni Mthiyane dismissed suggestions that IFP rivals would be opposed to a combined peace and victory rally.

He said all residents of KwaZulu-Natal were victorious after elections, in spite of the IFP win in the province.

Mthiyane said people should attend the event to give thanks for the peace that prevailed during elections.

IFP Durban chairman Mr John Aulsebrook described the rally as a "bold initiative to be taken at this time. We are prepared to take this first step in normalising relations (between political rivals), particularly in volatile Umlazi".

— Sapa.

Sowetan

10/6/94



# Cape IFP in 'shambles'

South 1016-14/6/94  
By Quentin Wilson

THE IFP in the Western Cape is in "a complete shambles" with an IFP executive member saying the organisation has become "a circus" as a bitter internal power struggle rages.

Almost everybody in a leadership position recognises that their party "is in tatters" with caucus groups trying to run the party behind the backs of other caucus groups.

The abysmal showing in the provincial election — the IFP got 0,3 percent of the Western Cape vote — has further affected morale.

SOUTH learnt of two occasions when members of the regional executive committee were involved in physical brawling over the past year.

A charge has been laid against regional organiser Mr Malcolm Bagley for an alleged assault on vice chairperson Mr Lesley Langenhoven.

"There is a real circus going on," said regional executive member Mr Jaco Strauss.

"One does not know who to trust anymore. Some people seem to be doing everything they can to stop the party from functioning — we have not been able to even organise a public meeting for the last six months, or even a newsletter."

According to regional leaders, the party is split along three lines. Apart from a group looking for a paying career in politics, the main tussle for control of the party is between moderate English-speaking whites and conservative Afrikaans-speaking whites.

Members of both camps admitted holding secret meetings where they make decisions without consulting the other group.

"There is a lot of unconstitutional procedure going on," said Bagley.

"Backstabbing and the spreading of rumours about each other seems to be the order of the day."

"Everything needs to be shaken up around here," said media liaison officer Mr Cloete Breytenbach.

"There is a lot of personal animosity — particularly between members from the northern suburbs and the southern suburbs.

"We are going to have to start from scratch. Hopefully we can elect a whole new regional executive committee," he added.

Mr Alan Gibson, IFP Western Cape chairperson, refused to comment on the internal fighting within the party but admitted there were "serious problems".

## Buthelezi denies a royal rift

HOME AFFAIRS Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is vexed by alleged ANC attempts to drive a wedge between him and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Addressing thousands of IFP supporters at a "peace and victory" rally in Durban's Umlazi township yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said that in spite of this there was no rift between him and the king.

But, he said, referring to recent ANC attempts to court the king, members of the Zulu royal family had succeeded in "step by step making the king beholden to the ANC".

And he warned opponents and elements in the royal household that the IFP controlled the king's purse strings.

Mr Buthelezi said that since the IFP

election victory in Kwazulu Natal the ANC was determined to break Inkatha in its strongholds and had tried to "ingratiate itself with His Majesty".

"One of the ways in which they are attempting to do so is to worm their way into the confidence of the king and the royal house."

The IFP leader claimed that wherever he went he heard rumblings from Zulu people about the extent to which members of the royal family had succeeded in assisting ANC attempts to woo the king, including "clandestine meetings" between the king and Kwazulu Natal ANC leaders.

Among the successes of certain members of royalty was to have had King Zwelithini's bodyguards replaced by SANDF members, including perceived ANC soldiers.

# ANC appeals to Chief Buthelezi

27/12/94 Own Correspondent (18) (21)

DURBAN. — The ANC has called on Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to politicise talks between ANC leaders and King Goodwill Zwelethini "as it could put the lives of people in danger."

The appeal, by ANC regional MP Mr. Dumisani Makhaye, followed Chief Buthelezi's weekend attack on the ANC leadership for holding "clandestine" meetings with the king.

Addressing an IFP election victory rally at Umlazi's King Zwelethini stadium, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would control the king's purse strings through the regional assembly.

But Mr Makhaye said yesterday, "The issue of the king's salary shouldn't be subject to the whims of any political leader." He accused Chief Buthelezi of "blackmailing" the king.

Mr Makhaye, who said he suspected that the IFP was concerned that the king would now be allowed to be neutral, emphasised that there was nothing sinister about ANC subjects of the king having meetings with him.

Among issues which had been discussed were national reconciliation and the need to achieve peace in the region.

# Call for constitutional king

<sup>ET 14/6/94</sup>  
DURBAN. — The ANC has demanded that the status and remuneration of the Zulu king be entrenched in the constitution.

The ANC's Midlands and southern kwaZulu/Natal regions have repudiated claims that the ANC wants to control King Goodwill Zwelethini, as alleged by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. (ZNA) (115)

ANC regional spokesmen Mr

Blade Nzimande and Mr Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday the IFP leader's accusation was proof he did not want King Goodwill to establish relations with those of his subjects who belonged to political parties other than the IFP.

Chief Buthelezi was also accused of trying to blackmail the Zulu monarch by suggesting the IFP controls his salary.

Also at the weekend the tripar-

tite alliance in the Midlands called on ANC members of the provincial legislature and executive council to boycott any meetings at Ulundi.

Mr Nzimande said a weekend congress had voted for Maritzburg as the kwaZulu/Natal capital and had called for a referendum on the siting of the capital. The NP also favour Maritzburg as the capital.  
— Sapa

king' • Ministers deny they're fat cats

Sowetan 15/6/94

# NP accuses Buthelezi

## Sowetan Correspondent

MR DANIE Schutte, leader of the National Party in KwaZulu-Natal, has accused Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of making a thinly veiled threat to cut off the funds of Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The relationship between King Zwelithini and his traditional prime minister, Buthelezi, has now become a public matter. Schutte said Buthelezi's thinly veiled threat at an IFP election victory rally in Umlazi at the weekend that the IFP could discontinue funding King Zwelithini "draws attention to a constitution for the province of KwaZulu-Natal".

"The NP has always maintained that the king should be impartial and should not be drawn into the political arena."

Schutte said the NP's proposed

KwaZulu-Natal constitution made provision for a nonpolitical position for the Zulu monarch.

"It is strange that the IFP's proposed constitution does not mention the king," Schutte said. (11B) (224)

Buthelezi, who is also Minister of Home Affairs, has publicly accused members of the African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal of trying to create a rift between him and King Zwelithini.

King Zwelithini has not attended any post-election IFP functions. King Zwelithini has replaced his KwaZulu police guards with members of the National Defence Force.

Buthelezi's rival in the Zulu royal house is Senior Prince Mcwayiseni Israel Zulu, an ANC member of the National Assembly.

He is a brother of the late King Bhekuzulu, King Zwelithini's father. Buthelezi said in Umlazi at the weekend

that "very large budgets" to maintain the King would come from the KwaZulu-Natal budget, which the IFP now controlled.

Meanwhile, Schutte also differed with the IFP on lifting the state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal. Such a decision should not be taken lightly while the killings continued.

He was responding to "an arrogant and unacceptable statement" by Mr Themba Khoza, a PWV member in the IFP, that the emergency measures should go.

"Mr Khoza is obviously not familiar with the situation on the ground in KwaZulu-Natal and should rather refrain from interfering. Last week 45 people were killed in KwaZulu-Natal.

"It is high time that the IFP shows commitment towards creating a culture of democratic decision-making and ceases juggling with peoples' lives," Schutte said.



**IN THE FOLD:** Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party leader and also Home Affairs Minister.

## 'Political clout' not owed to Zulu king, says Inkatha leader

### Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not owe his "political clout" to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — and the monarch would have more to lose in any showdown between the two.

This was the blunt message delivered by the Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader in an interview with *The Argus* in his ministerial offices in Pretoria.

Repeating his accusation that the African National Congress KwaZulu-Natal leadership was trying to engineer a split between him and King Goodwill, Chief Buthelezi added that some members of the Zulu royal family — including his first cousin — were taking advantage of his being in Pretoria to say "things which clearly are meant to drive a wedge between me and the king".

He said there had been no confrontation between himself and the king — they still wrote to one another regularly — but spoke out more frankly than before about speculation over a possible clash.

"I don't owe my political clout to the king at all," he said. "Because (in the past some) government departments tried to use the king against me. And, there were show-downs, but it is not I who lost those show-downs."

"So, if there is a showdown between me and the king, I really have no fears (because) it would damage him more than myself."

"There is no way in which I could worry about the fact that the king is distancing himself from me, I'm going to lose everything."

He said some people ascribed the IFP's creditable performance in the election to King Goodwill's perceived support for the party, but this was not true. While "there may have been an influence", people were in fact voting for the IFP.

"From what happened in the various polling stations, people were voting for me — even elderly people, pensioners in thousands — they were voting for me," Chief Buthelezi said.

His disclosure last week of the amounts of money devoted by the KwaZulu government to the king's expenses came after statements by some members of the royal family that he and the IFP had done nothing for King Goodwill.

"I then revealed figures of some of the millions of rands we have spent on palaces, on various things, on the king's farming operations and so on, which the people normally do not know."

"But they then said I was threatening the king with his salary."

"In fact, I asked (KwaZulu-Natal Premier) Dr (Frank) Mdlalose to carry out a decision we have taken to have a special budget for the king (and) not to do this haphazardly, taking money from there and there, but to have a budget."

"This, incidentally, is what Mr Mandela suggested (at the four-way summit of leaders) in Skukuza (in April)," Chief Buthelezi said.

# Buthlezi promises his full support for RDP

Political Staff

(11B)

JOHANNESBURG — Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has pledged full co-operation with the African National Congress-led government's reconstruction and development programme (RDP), although he doubts that pre-election promises can be fulfilled.

In his first major interview since taking up his cabinet post, Chief Buthelezi also called for a resumption of mediation on constitutional issues and said he was waiting for President Mandela to discuss the lifting of the state of emergency in Kwa-Zulu-Natal with him.

He warned that levels of violence in the province were again dangerously high, placing a "dark cloud over liberation". Disputes in the Kwa-Zulu-Natal provincial government were also a "serious problem".

A meeting with Mr. Mandela in Cape Town was likely.

Referring to the refusal of ANC members to attend meetings in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said: "I don't know how far this is going to go, and I can tell you, there is anger on the ground.

"The ordinary member of the IFP says that we are being robbed of our victory by these (ANC) people."

He said he would not be opposed to having Ulundi and Maritzburg as the province's dual capitals.

His drive for more provincial autonomy was now receiving widespread support, even from ANC premiers.

In spite of his criticism, a relaxed Chief Buthelezi — who conceded that the pre-election period had been exceptionally stressful — said he was adjusting well to his new role and found the home affairs portfolio challenging.

He praised Mr. Mandela and Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom for their handling of the Ingoyama Trust land controversy. This issue — which could have "brought down the government of national unity (GNU)" — had been dealt with in a manner that strengthened multi-party governance, he said.

"It seemed to me that they went out of their way to ensure that it does not ruin the GNU." The "cordiality" among former enemies in the cabinet was "some kind of miracle", he added.

Referring to the RDP, Chief Buthelezi said: "Our people, the South African nation, must really understand that we do mean to deliver, even those of us who are not members of the ANC."

He appealed to people to be patient with the government and to help it bring about changes. But he seriously questioned the ability of the GNU to deliver on its promises.

For the first time, Chief Buthelezi spoke openly about clashes with international leaders over his initial refusal to fight the election. Some of his meetings with world leaders — including Britain's Prime Minister John Major — had degenerated into "quite acrimonious discussions".

He was particularly critical of the United States, but said international pressure had not forced him to change his mind on participation. He thought relations with this and other governments would improve in the post-election phase.

Chief Buthelezi also spoke about his strained relations with Deputy President De Klerk, the possibility of another general election before 1999, alleged ANC attempts to drive a wedge between himself and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his new job.

# A secret 'freedom

□ Oppenheimer brought Inkatha in from cold



**THE BROKER:** Harry Oppenheimer — how he helped bring Inkatha into the elections is told today.

WASHINGTON.— The story of diamond billionaire Harry Oppenheimer's secret 11th-hour shuttle diplomacy that finally brought Inkatha into the April election has been told in a full-page article in the mass-circulation USA Today newspaper.

The retired South African mining magnate's role in breaking the deadlock was a closely kept secret until now, writes Jack Kelley, who interviewed Mr Oppenheimer at his Indian Ocean-front home, Milkwood.

Shuttling African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators back and forth in an unmarked private jet, 86-year-old Mr Oppenheimer coaxed them into a last-minute deal to bring the two parties together and avert civil war.

Details of the deal remained unclear, "perhaps intentionally", but the crisis was ended, writes Kelley in the article headed: "South Af-

rica's secret freedom fighter".

Although Mr Oppenheimer liked Mr Mandela "very, very much", he doubted that the president would be able to achieve the targets of his reconstruction and development programme.

But the important thing was that the government had got rid of apartheid.

"Apartheid was always a piece of nonsense," Mr Oppenheimer told his interviewer.

He said people used to wonder whether South Africa was a country or just a part of the world inhabited by two white tribes and a number of black tribes.

It was "extraordinarily important" that tribal separatism had been "overwhelmed" by a national feeling.

The article notes that the "small, shy, hard-of-hearing retiree", who likes spending his day betting on the horses and playing with his dogs, controls 54 percent of all the shares traded on the Johan-

nesburg Stock Exchange.

It was perhaps no wonder that Mr Oppenheimer — said to be the world's richest man after the Sultan of Brunei — succeeded where American elder statesman Henry Kissinger and Britain's Lord Carrington had failed in their efforts to negotiate an accord between Mr Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It was also no wonder, Kelley writes, that the South African president briefed Mr Oppenheimer on returning from overseas trips, "sought his approval for two cabinet appointments and even visited his private cricket grounds for lunch on the fourth anniversary of his 1990 release".

In spite of his long ties with Mr Mandela, Mr Oppenheimer admitted having voted for the Democratic Party.

He is quoted in the article as saying that the ANC went for "a great deal of violence" and he did not like its alliance with the Communist Party. — Sapa.

fighter

Argus 22/6/94





# Edged out, but Buthelezi fights back

WM 17-23 | 6/14/11B

The Zulu king may have elbowed Mangosuthu Buthelezi off the throne, but the Inkatha leader has not given up the fight, writes **Farouk Chotia**

Buthelezi denied there was "any clash or argument of any kind" between himself and the king. But he went on to accuse the ANC of trying to "worm its way into the king's confidence".

Observers believe that without Zwelithini's backing, the IFP's hand in upcoming constitutional talks will be considerably weakened.

At a watershed rally in Umlazi last weekend Buthelezi downplayed the significance of the monarch.

"The only way forward for the Zulu kingdom and for all the people in kwaZulu/Natal will come from you, the members of the IFP," he said.

Buthelezi revealed that the former kwaZulu government had spent almost R7-million on Zwelithini's five palaces, more than R2-million to provide him with labourers, more than R500 000 in developing "modern farm undertakings" and "to date we have actually spent over R4-million on securing His Majesty's personal position and on supplementary requirements around his person".

Stoking emotions of betrayal among IFP supporters, Buthelezi told the crowd: "In a very real sense, this was your money. It was the people's money ... It was money you, as ordinary peo-



King Zwelithini ... Breaking loose from Buthelezi

ple, gladly forewent in favour of that money being spent on schools, hospitals and health."

Buthelezi projected himself as being more powerful than Zwelithini, saying he had "elevated" the monarchy to a position "other Zulu kings have failed to achieve".

He added that he was also "behind" the fact that Zwelithini has emerged as a "modern" king. Buthelezi also raised the possibility of another king in his lifetime, even though he is 65 years old and Zwelithini is 20 years younger. "I am loyal to His Majesty and I will die being loyal to whichever Zulu king walks in the footsteps of great Zulu kings ...," he said.

He also reminded the monarch that he would be reliant on the kwaZulu/Natal provincial

on political and other issues. The sources said a senior prince who has played a pivotal role in encouraging the king to break away from Buthelezi was a strong candidate for the post of traditional prime minister. But Buthelezi has strongly suggested that even if the king sacks him, he will continue to perform this function. At the Umlazi rally, he claimed he was "born" to inherit the post.

To boost his claim, Buthelezi is increasingly interfering in the politics of kwaZulu/Natal in his capacity as "traditional prime minister", giving orders to the elected premier, Frank Mdlalose. He has brought Gideon Zulu, a prince loyal to him, into the provincial cabinet and pushed for Umlazi as the province's capital with far greater vehemence than Mdlalose.

By having Umlazi as the capital Buthelezi hopes the IFP will retain its image as a Zulu traditionalist party at a time when Zwelithini has ditched them. Observers believe Zwelithini has indicated his preference for Pietermaritzburg by attending the opening of the provincial legislature in the city while boycotting a ceremony where Buthelezi was to have "presented" the kwaZulu/Natal cabinet to him.

At the weekend Buthelezi also set out to smash the king's credibility among IFP loyalists by questioning Zwelithini's decision to replace his kwaZulu bodyguards with members of the Defence Force.

Sources said Zwelithini's changing of the guard had stung Buthelezi the most: he has lost his eyes and ears in the Royal House, making it possible for the monarch to convene what Buthelezi called "clandestine" meetings with ANC leaders and surround himself with non-IFP princes.

Buthelezi said the move had taken place before the election when Zwelithini told him of a phone call he received from ex-minister of foreign affairs Pk Botha, warning of "threats on his life" and the need to "tighten up" security. Buthelezi suggested that the king's life was now in danger.

Sources said Zwelithini might also call a meeting of his chiefs to encourage them to adopt a non-partisan role. Sources also said that while Zwelithini had no plan to publicly denounce Buthelezi, he would strip him of his status as "traditional prime minister" by excluding him from the Royal Council he plans to form to advise him

himself with non-IFP princes. Sources said Zwelithini might also call a meeting of his chiefs to encourage them to adopt a non-partisan role. Sources also said that while Zwelithini had no plan to publicly denounce Buthelezi, he would strip him of his status as "traditional prime minister" by excluding him from the Royal Council he plans to form to advise him

# IFP, ANC hold joint rally

B/Say 4/7/94

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC residents of formerly embattled townships north of Durban yesterday thronged to a joint peace rally in the area, some of them venturing into "enemy" territory for the first time since the April elections.

The event, at Ntuzuma's Gugulabasha sports field, drew more than a 1 000 supporters, and bore testimony to the new atmosphere of goodwill which prevails in the formerly volatile area. Leading their supporters

into the venue, IFP and ANC provincial MPs Thomas Shabalala and Bheki Cele embraced, putting past acrimony behind to facilitate peace.

The two leaders and various sub-committees formed under them saw two months in preparation for the rally blossom yesterday when they hosted one of the first joint IFP/ANC gatherings since elections.

ANC supporters and local church groups were first to arrive at the venue,

many wondering whether their former rivals in neighbouring Lindelani would arrive.

But, IFP supporters, many of them collected in traditional impis, eventually arrived at the field led by Shabalala. Among his supporters was Siphio Shembe, who described the occasion as "a good day".

Peace monitors present did not report any incidents, but said a few people had been asked not to flaunt firearms they were carrying. — Sapa.



# Hostels not to blame for Tokoza violence — IFP

1985 4/7/84  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade has denied that hostel residents in the East Rand township of Tokoza were involved in the latest spate of killings there.

Deputy chairman for the East Rand region Thabani Dlamini said: "The fighting is between IFP supporters and African National Congress supporters inside the township."

He denied earlier reports suggesting that ANC-alligned self-defence units and IFP followers in the hostels were to blame for the violence.

Five people were killed on Saturday in Penduka section.

"We as the IFP want to make it clear that the hostel residents know nothing about incidents in Penduka," Mr Dlamini said.

The youth leader suggested conflict within the ANC's self-defence units themselves was being blamed on the hostel residents and IFP supporters.

It was the second consecutive weekend of violence in the township.

Four people were killed the previous weekend, including two 15-year-olds who were attacked by inmates of a migrant worker hostel.

Tokoza residents blamed the latest shootings — before the funeral of the four previous victims — on hostel-dwellers.

Police said yesterday there had been some confusion over who was responsible for security in the area, but the SANDF was now back in the townships. — Sapa.

## Change for IFP on the cards

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The IFP's first national conference after the election will focus on restructuring the party along federal lines to strengthen it in regions outside its stronghold of kwaZulu-Natal, IFP sources said yesterday. (12)

The two-day congress in Ulundi, which starts tomorrow, will be addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Premier Dr. Frank Mdlalose and national MPs.

The structure of a new national council, which will take over from the 70-member central committee will be discussed.

# IFP plans expansion of national power base

B. Day 15/7/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE future of the Inkatha Freedom Party falls under the spotlight this weekend at its 19th annual general conference in Ulundi.

IFP political director Ziba Jiyane said the party was likely to be restructured after the local government elections and would appoint a secretary-general and deputy to oversee the process.

The post fell away in 1991 after Oscar Dhlomo resigned.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the party wanted to considerably expand national structures in a bid to attain greater representation in local elections.

He said the party had achieved surprisingly good election results in parts of the country not considered strong IFP areas.

These included the Western Cape, where almost 14 000 voted for the IFP, the Northern Cape (1 902) and the Free State (8 446).

With better organisation and more time to prepare, these areas could be used as springboards to broaden support, Tillet said.

Federalism, as espoused by the IFP, was likely to receive support in these regions, he added. The coloured community in the Western Cape, which gave much support to the NP in the election, was viewed as

fertile ground for IFP mobilisation.

In more traditional areas of support, the IFP achieved 173 803 votes in the PWV, 1,8-million in KwaZulu/Natal and more than 20 000 in the Eastern Transvaal.

"It has always been an IFP strength that the party's structures are rooted in the masses. It is natural that after the election the decision will be taken to further strengthen the organisational capacity of the party on a national basis," Jiyane said.

Adjustments to the party's constitution would be required to facilitate restructuring and would be discussed at the conference, he added.

The party was expected to formulate strategies for the local government elections and would receive feedback from national parliamentarians on the IFP's role in the government of national unity.

More than 10 000 delegates and supporters were expected to attend the conference in Ulundi at the weekend, a spokesman said.

The theme would be "onwards towards local authority elections and general elections and the 21st Century".

## NEWS Amendments to democratise Inkatha

# New IFP post goes to Jiyane

INKATHA Freedom Party political director and MP Dr Ziba Jiyane was elected general secretary of the party at its 19th annual general conference in Ulundi at the weekend.

Along with the election of Jiyane came a number of amendments to the IFP's constitution which are expected to bring democratisation to the party's structures.

The post of general secretary was re-introduced to the IFP at the weekend after being abandoned in 1990 with the resignation of Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Reacting to his election, Jiyane said:

"I am awed by the responsibility that the position implies, and at the same time I am ready and willing to meet the challenges."

He said he hoped the amendments to the IFP's constitution would be successful in preparing the party for next year's local government elections. (113)

"The IFP must have a new face that makes it attractive to all South Africans," he said.

The position of deputy secretary general was filled by Mandla Khumalo, an IFP member working at the party's head office.

# Inkatha re-shaped, bodies democratised

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The IFP took the unprecedented step of re-shaping itself as a national movement, moving away from its kwaZulu/Natal base and democratising its governing structures at its annual congress at the weekend.

The most significant change was the election of a heir-apparent to party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who will guide the party's municipal election campaign next year and build the organisation in the eight other provinces where the party has limited support.

Political affairs director Dr Ziba

(18)  
CT 18/7/94  
Jiyane, 36, a national MP since April, was elected unanimously as party secretary-general.

He is the first man to hold this post since it was scrapped when Dr Oscar Dhlomo left the party in 1990.

Fiery PWV regional MP Mr Musa Myeni was elected as his deputy.

The party also agreed to scrap the powerful central committee, largely nominated by Chief Buthelezi, and replace it with a 200-member national council. This body will be elected once regional councils are up and running in all provinces. It will be dominated by provincial representatives.

## IFP must 'win 1999 election'

ULUNDI. — kwaZulu-Natal Premier and Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose on Saturday urged the party to prepare to win the country's next national elections in 1999.

He was addressing the IFP's 19th annual general conference, attended by thousands of delegates here.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was a warmly-received guest who stood beaming to a mixture of laughter and enthusiastic applause.—  
Sapa

# IFP unveils plans to boost its image

Star 18/7/94

Ulundi — The Inkatha Freedom Party emerged from its annual general conference yesterday with a new constitution aimed at bolstering the party's image and strengthening it for future elections.

The party also adopted several resolutions, including a call for President Mandela to lift the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal and a demand that international mediation begin soon on Inkatha's constitutional differences with the ANC.

"Continuation of the state of emergency is an aberration both in respect of the spirit and goodwill and of the promise of the Interim Constitution," a statement said.

It also called for migrant worker hostels to be upgrad-

## CONFERENCE delegates endorse new constitution that focuses on federalism and democracy

113

ed instead of being demolished and for the Government to promote peace and reconciliation among hostel and township residents.

On Saturday, IFP president and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said unilateral decisions to demolish hostels and non-consultation with Inkatha on this and other issues posed the most serious threats to the coalition Government.

Inkatha also reinforced its demand for Ulundi to become KwaZulu/Natal's new capital.

It adopted an amended constitution which, officials said, boosted Inkatha's federal structure and entrenched democratic principles.

Officials said the new constitution, under which Ziba Jiyane was elected to the powerful post of secretary general, contained checks and balances to ensure all branches, constituencies, regions and provinces adhered to democratic elections and decision-making.

"We've done this to strengthen party structures, to prepare for the next elections and to put it in a position to face the 21st century," Jiyane said. — Reuter.



ADRIAN HADLAND

ULUNDI — Serious tensions existed within the government of national unity, which threatened the Inkatha Freedom Party's continued participation in it, party president and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Speaking at Inkatha's general meeting, Buthelezi told about 10 000 delegates and supporters that while he did not intend "sabotaging" government, some disturbing issues had shaken the party's confidence.

The three main causes of tensions were the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal, government's bypassing of Inkatha in policy formulation and the ANC's attitude to hostels.

Newly elected Inkatha secretary-gener-

## Inkatha disturbed by 'tensions in govt'

al Ziba Jiyane said, however, that while difficulties experienced by Inkatha were serious, the party was unlikely to withdraw from government at this stage.

The state of emergency, which was the product of ANC/NP "collusion", was unconstitutional, Buthelezi said. There was no indication when it would be lifted, which caused unnecessary strains and "undermines mutual trust in the government of national unity".

Buthelezi said that even at Cabinet level Inkatha was being left out of important decision-making processes. He had not

To Page 2 (118)

## Inkatha

been consulted, for instance, on the decision to send SA National Defence Force troops to the East Rand. (118)

But the most serious threat to the government of national unity was perhaps government policy towards the hostels. The harassment of hostel dwellers and threats to dismantle hostels hung over Inkatha members on the East Rand "like the Sword of Damocles".

"I believe that if nothing is done to abandon these plans until there is more consultation... we may be in for a lot of recriminations which will definitely threaten the government of national unity."

He said suspicions were growing that the KwaZulu/Natal government was being deliberately undermined to give it an image of failure or inability to govern. The KwaZulu/Natal legislature had yet to meet and its cabinet announced last week it would not be sitting until early August.

The lack of powers assigned to provincial government had not made the task of establishing governance easier. This affected local government elections scheduled for next year. "As a party, we realise that we will be judged on how the govern-

ment of KwaZulu/Natal performs."

A further grievance was the exclusion of Inkatha members from the integrated SANDF. "An army representing only certain political organisations will not germinate and grow."

He said that while he had had reservations about joining the Cabinet, and fundamental differences still existed between Inkatha and the ANC, he was "co-operating with President Nelson Mandela in the interests of all the people of SA".

Buthelezi called for a commission to oversee the privatisation of major parastatal companies.

He said a programme of privatisation should be implemented to reduce parastatals' "disastrous inefficiency".

The commission should be created to ensure the privatisation process was "economically sound and corruption free".

Current government policy, as outlined recently by Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, is that parastatals will be commercialised but not privatised.

Buthelezi said a share ownership scheme, similar to that extended to Iscor workers, should be investigated.

B/Day 18/7/94 From Page 1

NEWS IFP won't sabotage reconstr

# RDP gets nod from Buthelezi

*Sowetan 19/7/94*

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party says it will support the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme despite its inadequacies.

The leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also the Minister of Home Affairs, said at the weekend that despite tensions within the Cabinet and Government, he would not "sabotage" the process of reconstruction and development.

## Vastness of poverty

The IFP at the weekend resolved that its members were "keenly aware of the vastness of poverty in South Africa and are persuaded that the RDP alone, however well implemented, will not meet all the needs of the people".

Nevertheless, the IFP resolved at its 19th annual general conference "that it supports the objectives of the RDP" and that it would continue to give "critical support" to the Government within the framework of the constitution.

Among the "tensions"

in the Cabinet was the continued state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal and government policies on hostels which, Buthelezi contends, included the harassment of hostel dwellers.

Instead of the Government threatening to close the hostels, the IFP conference resolved that:

- Hostel accommodation be substantially upgraded by the provision of additional facilities and space;
- That consultation be pursued with hostel residents about a new policy on hostel accommodation; and
- That active steps be taken (by the Government) to promote peace and reconciliation among those communities involved in violence in and around hostels.

**A**S POLITICAL parties gear themselves for a new, increasingly confrontational post-honeymoon period of political interaction, an important question becomes ever more resonant: will the government of national unity hold together?

Bound together at this stage by a common desire to make the new SA and its reconstruction and development programme (RDP) work, minority parties are beginning to rail against the unfamiliar constrictions and loss of identity inherent in what Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi calls the "forced coalition".

"Most coalitions in Western democracies are spontaneous, but our coalition in the government of national unity is imposed on us by the constitution," he told supporters at the weekend during the party's first full conference since the April elections.

**W**hile Inkatha complains it is being excluded from decision-making processes, even at Cabinet level, the NP says it is becoming "fed up" with ANC Ministers compromising the NP's position in government with loose-cannon talk.

Government certainly faces a number of severe trials in the coming months — from the rhetoric and political jostling likely in the run-up to local elections, the horsesharing of constitutional amendments and the provinces' appetite for autonomy to the placing of blame or reaping of praise in the implementation of the RDP. Each of these will place further stresses and strains on unity.

For a serious crisis to embrace government, however, one of the three major parties — the ANC, NP or IFP — will have to abandon ship.

Together they account for more than 93% of votes polled in the election, the overwhelming majority of MPs and all the Cabinet seats — with the impending exception of non-political appointee Chris Liebenberg. Of the three parties, most would consider Inkatha the weakest or most unpredictable, given its track record

# To Inkatha, unity in government does not mean strength

B/S Day  
21/1/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

(118)

during negotiations.

How likely, then, is Inkatha to reject what it already calls "ANC-NP collusion" — evidenced, it says, by the two parties' record of understanding — and storm out of the government of national unity?

It is evident, from Buthelezi's policy speech at the weekend, that Inkatha will in the coming months take a more aggressive approach to its role and objectives within the government of national unity.

Buthelezi is particularly riled by accusations, from within and without his party, that Inkatha has been "neutralised" or "co-opted" by its inclusion in government, and that he has been "subdued" since assuming the post of Home Affairs Minister.

"We have fundamental differences ... with the ANC and these cannot be swept under any carpet," he says.

To give this weight and bolster party representatives' determination to make their presence felt in parliamentary debates and decisions, Inkatha has urged its caucus to "take every precaution to ensure that (Inkatha's) unique identity and philosophy remain intact".

Mzimela complains that Inkatha MPs are struggling to make even the "little gains which are our right" in Parliament.

Buthelezi also served warning that Inkatha would take on the ANC in particular and the unity government in general on two major issues: achieving maximum autonomy for KwaZulu/Natal, and securing fur-

ther concessions in the amendment of the interim constitution.

"Let us get our act together, set up governments in the regions, give them the powers to govern and let the Constitutional Assembly start its work, and maybe then one can judge whether I am subdued or not."

On the question of regional powers, Inkatha hopes to draw all provincial premiers into an alliance to force central government to make



□ BUTHELEZI

more concessions more quickly.

Inkatha's mandate to chairman and regional premier Frank Mdlalose, to "foster a unified approach on the part of the provinces" to ensure RDP initiatives were driven regionally rather than centrally, could find fertile ground even among ANC premiers. The PWV's Tokyo Sexwale has already indicated his keenness to assert provincial initiatives.

In KwaZulu/Natal as well as the Western-Cape, the ANC's proclaimed goal to stake its "ownership" on the RDP is in danger.

It is arguably in empowering and consolidating KwaZulu/Natal as its autonomous stronghold that the key to Inkatha's national policy lies. Once this has been assured, the party has less to lose by abandoning the government of national unity, and will be able to concentrate on highlighting grievances, emphasising its federalist platform and expanding its support base with a view to the 1999 elections.

To this end it recently elected Ziba Jiyane as secretary-general, to be responsible for restructuring the party and preparing for local and general elections.

The negative side of this approach would be the loss of any further influence on the framing of the new constitution — although withdrawal from the unity government would not necessarily exclude participation in the Constitutional Assembly — and the loss of IFP Ministers' means of livelihood. If Inkatha is to

leave, however, it is likely to be the result of frustrations or deadlock within the Constitutional Assembly.

In the meantime, Mdlalose has stated very clearly Inkatha's intention to stamp its authority on political activity in KwaZulu/Natal.

Public Service Commission guidelines on the duties and functions assigned to provincial portfolios will be disregarded, he says.

"The constitution required that a certain number of portfolios be given to the ANC and we complied with this. However, we are faced with important challenges in which we are determined to assert our political leadership. We have also decided to assert our autonomy in a progressive and proactive programme of legislation which will include legislation on a provincial civil service, on the Exchequer Act, on our Provincial Tender Board and other legislation aimed at establishing an autonomous structure of government in our province."

Mdlalose adds that any attempt by central government "to control our legislation before it is adopted" will be rejected.

**T**he party resolved furthermore that the ANC's preference for Maritzburg as the region's capital, instead of Ulundi, was a political ploy intended to frustrate provincial government and undermine the credibility of Inkatha.

"We shall not allow the ANC to rob our people of our victory," Mdlalose insists.

In his policy speech, Buthelezi said serious tensions already existed within the government of national unity. He cited lack of consultation with Inkatha on policy decisions, the continuing state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal and ANC threats to dismantle East Rand hostels.

Senior IFP officials say, however, that these problems will not in themselves cause the party to quit government in the short term. The acid test, they say, will occur in the Constitutional Assembly.

The assembly, which has yet to meet and will be chaired by top ANC negotiator and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, faces an ominous, if difficult task in trying to finalise the constitution while holding together the increasingly restless parties making up the government of national unity.

# Buthelezi's grip eased on IFP

Farouk Chothia

THE IFP last weekend adopted a new constitution that attempts to put into practice what it preaches: the devolution of power along federal lines.

It is similar to a constitution the IFP adopted in 1990 — and never implemented. Power remained firmly in the hands of president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Large sections of the document adopted at last weekend's annual conference were copied verbatim from the 1990 constitution.

The burning question now is whether the IFP will this time put the new structures into place.

IFP sources, however, seem confident that with a new leadership emerging — in particular former PAC leader Ziba Jiyane — this new constitution will be implemented before next year's local government elections.

(11B) W/M 22-28/7/94  
The constitution devolves power from the party's new national council and national executive committee to provincial, regional, constituency and branch structures — as a model for the federal constitution it advocates for South Africa.

The IFP's central committee — which operated in terms of the IFP's founding constitution as its existence was not provided for under the 1990 constitution — has now been replaced by the national executive committee which will be the top decision-making body.

IFP sources conceded this week that implementation of the 1990 constitution was "suspended" because of the "war situation" in the country over the past four years, forcing Buthelezi to take "virtually total control" of the party.

But some observers point to other reasons. Buthelezi and his handpicked leaders, including

hardliner Walter Felgate, may have resisted the constitution's implementation for fear of losing power.

The IFP may also have found it lacked a sufficiently large membership to ensure the national launching of each party structure envisaged by the constitution.

Sources say pressure for change has come from key figures in the Youth Brigade who were "frustrated" that rising within the hierarchy was dependent on "patronage" rather than performance and skills.

Ironically, however, the chairmen of both the Youth Brigade and the Women's Brigade — and also a number of National Council members — will continue to be appointed directly by the IFP President.

And the Youth Brigade is still represented in the highest echelons by only an appointed national chairman and an elected national secretary.

Fu 22/7/94

(11B)

bouncing in his seat with mirth as delegates addressed topics related to the congress theme: Onwards towards local authority and general elections and the 21st century.

Perhaps the one occasion when the party reverted to its old ways was during a long debate on the provincial seat of government. Once delegates had been worked into frenzy over the merits of Ulundi, members of the provincial legislature were called on individually to declare which they supported.

Though party chairman and provincial premier Frank Mdlalose said it was a free choice, it would have been foolhardy, not brave, to support Maritzburg.

Otherwise, criticism of the ANC and other opponents was restrained. Most complaints were aired almost in passing.

The switch in tactics is clearly deliberate and intended, firstly, to show detractors that in spite of unfair criticism in the past, Inkatha won at the polls and, secondly, that though it has a reputation for employing spoiling tactics, it has every intention of participating in the government of national unity's drive to get SA back on its feet.

The party has taken steps which, on paper at least, spell a dramatic reorganisation. Described as "a huge change" it involves democratising Inkatha. The post of secretary-general, scrapped in 1990 on the resignation of Oscar Dhlomo, is re-introduced, with Ziba

Jiyane elected.

More fundamental is a devolution of power to let the constituencies elect the leadership instead of leaving it exclusively to Buthelezi and the tribal chiefs — though Buthelezi may still make additional appointments.

Inkatha makes no bones that the restructuring is to make it more competitive and broadly appealing in the next general election, particularly among the youth and voters in the other eight provinces. The aim is either to win outright or emerge as main opposition. The first test of the new structure will, however, come from the local government elections scheduled for next year.

In addition to endorsing the restructuring, the congress passed nine other resolutions. Among them: that the seat of KwaZulu/Natal government should be Ulundi; Mandela be urged to empower the provinces; hostels be refurbished to accommodate family units rather than being demolished; international mediation be renewed to resolve outstanding constitutional issues; and that the RDP be implemented on a provincial basis.

The test of whether Inkatha really has changed or is just making in-flight course corrections will come when appointments are made and decisions taken which are not necessarily what Buthelezi desires, but rather what his followers want. ■

## INKATHA More relaxed

Fu 22/7/94

The winds of change blowing through SA seem also to be positively gusting through the Inkatha Freedom Party. That was implicit not only in resolutions, but the very mood of Inkatha's 19th annual congress at Emandleni-Matleng Youth Camp outside Ulundi. (11B)

The congress tended to be used to whip the faithful into a sometimes blood-chilling fervour over alleged injustices against them and party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi by a host of adversaries, led by the ANC and the press. But the tone of this year's event, attended by about 5 000 people, was downbeat and more conciliatory and co-operative.

Even Buthelezi, who has recently shown signs of strain, seemed relaxed, sometimes

## 'ANC striving for a socialist state'

ARG 23/7/94  
DUDUDU — Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the African National Congress was determined to launch a socialist state (115)

"If we again allow the ANC to receive more than 60 percent of the vote, the election in which they do so might well be the last multiparty election our country will see for a considerable time," the Inkatha leader said at a rally on KwaZulu-Natal's south coast.

"Deep down in the heart of the ANC there is a terrible urge never to relinquish their power advantage.

"And deep down in the ANC's heart there is still the determination to use democratic election gains as a springboard to launch a socialist state with powerful centrist control over all aspects of life."

Chief Buthelezi said South Africans must guard against the ANC "grabbing more and more power the longer they are in office".

"Democracy will finally depend on the government regularly changing hands," he said.

He predicted the 1999 elections would be a tussle mainly between the ANC and Inkatha. — Reuter.

# Buthelezi backs FW in chairmanships row

B/Daw 23/8/94

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday threw his weight solidly behind NP leader FW de Klerk in demanding that the chairmen of parliamentary select committees be appointed on a proportional basis according to party strengths.

Buthelezi's remarks, during debate on the President's budget, came as the row over the chairmanships continued to fester. On Thursday, De Klerk rejected the chairs of four "household" committees given to the NP, Inkatha, the PAC, Freedom Front and DP all received chairmanships of portfolio committees. (11B) (2077)

In an attack on the ANC caucus's role in the distribution of the chairmanships of the committees, Buthelezi said party caucuses should play their role in such a way that "national unity is fostered and the unity of the government remains intact.

"The letter and spirit of the government of national unity, which permeates the whole constitution, must be taken right down to first-tier governmental arrangements and practices."

The ANC's caucus also came under attack from the NP's GC Oosthuizen, who said President Nelson Mandela had acced-

ed to the wishes of "wild elements" in the caucus in overturning the decision to appoint chairmen on a proportional basis.

Sapa reports that the ANC's Ebrahim Salojee said De Klerk was misdirecting the public and provoking an unjustified sense of grievance among his own members over the question of parliamentary standing committee chairmanships.

There was no reference in the interim constitution to proportionate sharing of standing committee chairmanships.

"Mr De Klerk has no basis for the position which he takes."

Salojee said the NP's arrogant insistence on an inflated role in the structures of Parliament had already caused delays in finalising the standing committees.

The ANC supported the need for national unity, but national unity should never subvert the will of the people as expressed through their elected representatives.

Yesterday saw the election of the first chairman since the impasse more than three weeks ago, with the ANC's Carl Niehaus being elected chairman of the select committee on correctional services.

# Buthelezi: Non-violence the IFP way

CT 29/8/94

(11B)

**ULUNDI** Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi predicting a bruising election in five years, yesterday urged his followers not to use violence in pursuing their political objectives.

"The way to the IFP's future is through non-violent democratic means of achieving our

political ends. We want an orderly, stable South Africa in which to fight elections," Chief Buthelezi told a victory rally at Prince Mangosuthu Stadium in Nseleni district.

"Of all the parties in South Africa the IFP least needs to resort to violence, and of all the political parties in the country the IFP has lost the most from violence, and has the most to lose in continuing violence.

"The elimination of violence is a vital necessity for both political normalisation and for economic development and job creation. I am very, very confident of the future if we can bring violence under control."

He said the National Party would be swamped in the 1999 election.

"The National Party will in all probability not do so well in the next election because it is only parties which have deep roots in black society that will make any kind of showing in the next general election," he said.

"With the last election victory behind you, and with local authority elections behind you, it will be all systems go for a crushing defeat of our political enemies in the next election," he added.

"In future it will be the ANC and the IFP which will turnabout form governments and become the opposition."



# IFP warns of shock for ANC at polls

Star 29/8/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has urged his Inkatha Freedom Party to begin preparing for next year's local government election, claiming they could be an alternative national government to the ANC.

Speaking at a "victory rally" at Nseleni outside Empangeni, he said that when it came to a fight for survival, the IFP would go into a contest with the ANC "with no holds barred".

Buthelezi said the ANC was a victim of its own political propaganda in the April election and had been "stung into bitter resentment" by the IFP's electoral success in KwaZulu/Natal. The ANC was now trying to drive a wedge between himself and his nephew, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. "All this is meant to split the Zulu nation," he said.

He added that there were indications ANC leaders believed they would "romp home to election victories" in the province if they had Zwelithini "in their back pocket" (118)

Buthelezi also accused the Independent Electoral Commission of having "scaled down" the IFP's victory in the province. (However, his opponents in the ANC believe it was they, and not the IFP, who were robbed in the region during the election.)

He said the ANC and IFP would in future alternate in forming governments and becoming official oppositions at national level.

# IFP resumes feud with other parties

11B

ARCT 6/9/94

## □ Shaka Day invitation to Mandela denied

**HUGH ROBERTON**  
Political Editor

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has resumed its feud with other political parties by launching a new offensive which has included a bid to prevent President Mandela from attending Shaka Day celebrations in KwaZulu-Natal later this month.

The IFP offensive began with a rumble of warnings from its leader, Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that the party's involvement in the government of national unity may soon end.

With the warning came a demand to the African National Congress and the National Party for "international mediators" to be called in for the drawing up of the final constitution, a step which would be resisted by many in the constitutional assembly.

And yesterday a spokesman for Chief Buthelezi warned that Mr Mandela's life might be in danger if he accepted an invitation from Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to attend the Shaka Day celebrations near Nongoma in KwaZulu-Natal on September 24.

In a separate statement, which implied a growing rift between himself and the king, Chief Buthelezi said he was not aware of any invitation having been issued to Mr Mandela.

"There have been no invitations from the office in Ulundi in the king's name, or mine," he said.

But Mr Mandela's office said a personal invitation had, in fact, been issued by the king to the president and that Mr Mandela had accepted.

A meeting of Zulu indunas in the PWV region yesterday expressed dismay at the invitation and it was announced that a march to the royal residence would take place on Saturday to protest against it.

The indunas said the invitation should have come from Chief Buthelezi, in his role as traditional Zulu prime minister.

Peace monitors have written to Defence Minister Joe Modise asking for reinforcements to ensure that the march does not "get out of hand".

According to a report Chief Buthelezi's spokesman, Them-binkosi Memela, commenting on the invitation, warned yesterday: "We cannot rule out threats. The fact that the indunas on the Reef expressed their disquiet about the manner in which Mr Mandela has been invited shows there may be a threat."

Mr Memela said Chief Buthelezi had heard of Mr Mandela's invitation in media reports and had not been consulted by the king.

"He was invited without Dr Buthelezi knowing about it, so there is some confusion, worsened by the political climate," said Mr Memela.

There was growing dissatisfaction among Zulus about reports that the king had sided with the ANC, he said.

Chief Buthelezi's warning that the government of national unity may be shortlived is widely seen as a threat of an IFP withdrawal.

And his demand for "international mediation" in the drawing up of the country's final constitution is seen as deliberately provocative.

● Members of the Zulu royal house and the Buthelezi clan are to hold a family discussion to try to clear away months of misunderstanding and the perception that there is a quarrel between King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi has set out his position in a letter to the Daily News in Durban — signed as president of the IFP and "Prime Minister to his Majesty the King" — saying: "I have had no quarrel or squabble with the king."

"The problems that have occurred as to whether there is any misunderstanding between us are created by the KwaZulu-Natal leaders of the African National Congress."

Inkatha <sup>(116)</sup>  
calls for <sup>(257)</sup>  
mediators

CT 6/9/94  
INKATHA wants its unity government partners to immediately appoint international mediators to oversee the entrenching of the kingdom of kwaZulu/Natal and federal powers for the provinces in the final constitution.

The ANC and NP had promised the party president, Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that international mediators would be appointed as part of the deal.

IFP senator Dr Ruth Rabinowitz warned that the powers assigned to the provinces could become a stumbling block to the deliberations of the constitutional assembly.

# ANC's Shaka Day coup

By CHRIS BATEMAN

IN a major coup for the ANC, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki announced last night President Nelson Mandela will attend the Shaka celebrations at the invitation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

This comes in the face of strenuous objections by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that protocol was not followed by the king in inviting Mr Mandela to the emotional Zulu event without consulting him.

Mr Mbeki told the Senate he had met Chief Buthelezi to discuss the issue and said Mr Man-

dela believed it would be in the interests of the country to attend the Stanger celebrations later this month "to promote peace and reconciliation".

Mr Mbeki said the king had informed kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose he wished Mr Mandela to attend the celebrations on September 24.

The rift between Home Affairs Minister Chief Buthelezi, who is the king's uncle and political chief, and the king yesterday widened dramatically.

In one of his most frank statements on the issue, he told the Cape Times he doubted whether the king's aspirations to

executive powers — which would include appointing the chief minister — had gone away.

He agreed the controversy "seemed" to be a manoeuvre by the king for greater power and said this was the basis for Lesotho's problems, citing King Moshoeshoe's attempts to wrest power.

"ANC leaders are having a field day boasting the king is now in their pocket," he said.

Chief Buthelezi confirmed that an urgent meeting between his traditional headmen and those of the king had taken place to urge the two leaders to "hold a family discussion" over

perceptions of a quarrel. He claimed King Goodwill had broken internationally accepted protocol by inviting Mr Mandela without first informing him.

"No less than 27" concerned Zulu indunas from the Reef and two members of the royal Zulu house had come to his home in kwaZulu asking about the presidential invitation, but he was unable to enlighten them.

In spite of repeated requests from him, the king this year "dilly-dallied" unusually over dates for the traditional Reed Dance and the King Shaka celebrations, Chief Buthelezi said.

# Wanted for fraud: Deputy police minister Joe Matthews

Botswana authorities want to arrest South Africa's Safety and Security deputy minister, charged with stealing R120 000 and jumping bail. **Gaye Davis reports**

**D**EPUTY minister of Safety and Security Joe Matthews is a fugitive from justice in Botswana where he is wanted to stand trial on charges of skipping bail and stealing funds in the trust account he operated while practising as an attorney in Gaborone.

A warrant issued for his arrest nine years ago is still in force and the man who is the political second-in-charge of the new South African police force would be arrested if he went to neighbouring Botswana.

Matthews, a former treason trialist and ANC exile who defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party about three years ago, was arrested in Gaborone in December 1984. He pleaded not guilty to charges involving the disappearance of almost R120 000 from his trust fund and was released on bail of Pula 10 000 (about R11 000). His failure to appear in court for his trial on February 14 1985 resulted in a warrant for his arrest being issued.

Botswana's attorney general, Phandu Skelemani, told the *Mail & Guardian* this week the warrant had not been revoked. If Matthews returned to Botswana — his elderly mother still lives in Gaborone — "the police would pick him up and then he would go to court to face the charges against him", Skelemani said.

Details of the charges against Matthews are contained in docket files in the possession of the WM&G.

On count one: Matthews acted for a certain Kegaisamang Gilbert Ramokwena who had a summons issued against him for payment of a debt of R3 500. Ramokwena arranged payment at R500 a month through Matthews, who acted for him. Seven cheques were deposited

into Matthews' trust account but the debt was not repaid. When payment was demanded, Matthews made out a cheque for the full amount but it was returned by the bank.

Count two: Matthews represented a Gaborone farmer, Petrus Frederik Brink, in a land sale. R116 000 was paid into Matthews' trust account by the man who bought land from Brink. "Accused did not transmit the money to Mr Brink, but converted it to his own use," the docket alleges.

Brink sued Matthews for the money and he agreed to pay, according to the docket. But his cheque for R116 000 was also dishonoured by the bank. When Matthews' trust account ledgers were later examined, it held a balance of Pula 212.

After his arrest on December 13 1984 Matthews pleaded not guilty and was granted bail of Pula 10 000. No other conditions were imposed. On February 14 1985 it was discovered he had left the country, travelling by Air Botswana to Zimbabwe.

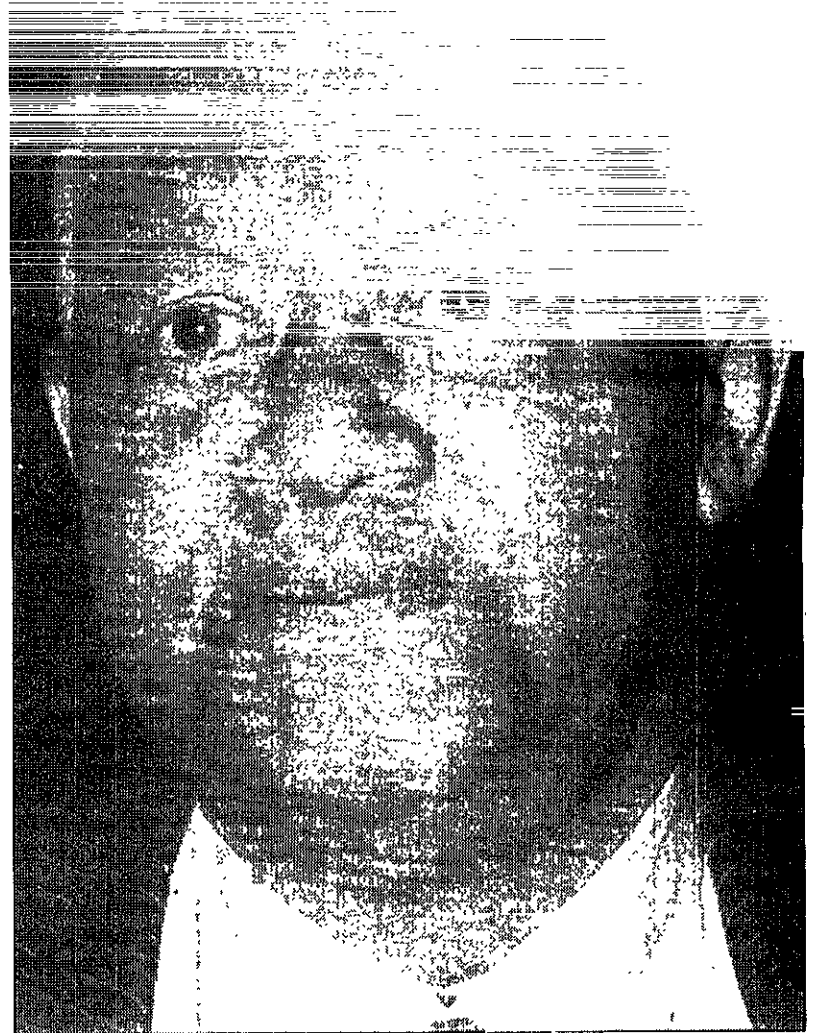
"As far as we were concerned, he was a Motswana and we didn't think he would run away," Skelemani said this week.

"We thought he would stand trial and go through the machinery, but lo and behold, the day before the trial he disappeared and so we had the warrant issued.

"We knew nothing about his whereabouts for years. The police tracked him to Zimbabwe and then to the United Kingdom or the United States and then he disappeared.

"The first time I heard about him was when I saw him on SABC-TV with Dr (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi during the (Kempton Park) negotiations.

"That was when the political angle came in — whether it was proper to go for his extradition if he was helping find a settlement in South Africa as this would probably deprive those who thought he was being helpful of his services." Skelemani stressed the decision not to launch extradition proceedings against Matthews was taken "by this office" and did not involve Botswana's president, Sir Ketumile Masire.



Joe Matthews sits in the South African parliament while facing fraud charges in Botswana

PHOTO: COSATU

Matthews is the son of one of the founders of the ANC, Professor ZK Matthews. Tried for treason alongside his father and Nelson Mandela in 1956, he spent decades travelling the world as an ANC exile, at one time serving as the ANC's chief representative in London and editor of its mouthpiece, *Sechaba*.

**I**ronically, Skelemani once served alongside Matthews who was Botswana's assistant attorney general in the early 1970s. He later resumed private practice in Gaborone.

Matthews this week refused to speak to the WM&G. His administrative secretary, Captain Basie Lombard, said: "He does not want to speak to the press. It is his policy (not to comment) on personal matters."

Returning to South Africa in 1991, he defected to the IFP, emerging in 1993 as its chief legal adviser and later becoming its chief executive officer. His fall-out with the ANC hierarchy was apparently based on differences over ANC policy towards homeland leaders. Matthews, a friend of

IFP leader Buthelezi since they were ANC Youth League members together in the 1950s, favoured dialogue.

Skelemani said this week extradition was still an option, but political considerations would play a part in any decision.

"The only thing he might do himself would be to repay the people from whom he took the money — they are the ones who actually suffered a direct loss — then one would look at the matter with certain considerations," Skelemani said. He had been informed that Matthews "made approaches" in this regard about three weeks ago. "His mother is still here in Gaborone and he knows that one of these days he will have to come," he said.

In law it makes no difference that he's a deputy minister — the law would treat him just like any other person," Skelemani said. "The crime is against the state. Even if he did repay (the complainants) he would still have to deal with this office."

He had not been in touch with the South African Police about the matter

# Showdown over KZP hit squads

WM 9-15/94 (48) (115)

Inkatha officials are refusing to co-operate with an official probe into alleged kwaZulu Police hit squads, report **Chris Louw, Farouk Chothia and Ann Eveleth**

**N**ATIONAL Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi faces a showdown with the Inkatha Freedom Party in his bid to root out suspected hit squad policemen from the kwaZulu Police (KZP) force.

Developments pointing to this are:

- kwaZulu/Natal premier Frank Mdlalose and his provincial safety and security minister, Celani Mthethwa, have rejected any suggestion that they co-operate with the official hit squad investigation appointed by Mufamadi last week;

- Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has issued a veiled threat that he will quit the government of national unity (GNU) over the hit squad probe; and

- controversial former KZP Sundumbilli station commander Major Owen Zama has challenged Mufamadi's constitutional right to suspend him in the Durban Supreme Court.

Zama's challenge suggests that suspected hit squad members will put up a fight to remain in the force — and Mufamadi may have to resort to long, drawn-out court battles as a way to oust the policemen.

The station commander has brazenly defied Mufamadi by continuing to serve in his post — and is receiving his full salary and benefits. Mufamadi's spokesman, Craig Kotze, said this was being done for "humanitarian reasons".

In papers before Mr Justice Levinsohn last week, Zama argued that Mufamadi lacked the authority to suspend him as, in terms of the kwaZulu Police Act, only the kwaZulu cabinet had such power.

Although the kwaZulu cabinet no longer exists, the KZP remains intact pending the passage of the new Police Bill through parliament.

Mufamadi has to prove that the interim constitution gives him or the cabinet power to act against Zama.

Judge Levinsohn has asked legal representatives of the two parties to prepare heads of argument so he can determine whether Mufamadi has the authority to suspend Zama.

Zama is mentioned in a Transitional Executive Council report on hit squads dated March 31 this year, in which his involvement in an attack last year on ANC supporters in Sundumbilli, Northern Natal, is alleged.

He was suspended in July after Natal's attorney general, Tim McNally, decided to prosecute him for allegedly defeating the ends of justice.

As Mufamadi attempts to clean up the KZP, he also faces stiff opposition from the IFP majority in the kwaZulu/Natal government, and from Buthelezi at central government level.

Asked whether he would co-operate



Joining forces: ANC and IFP rivals rallied together for peace in Bhambayi, near Durban, last weekend

PHOTO: RAJESH JANTILAL

## IFP chairman on murder rap after rally

Farouk Chothia

**A** SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party leader has been charged with the murder of two IFP members who were shot dead after organising a joint IFP and ANC peace rally in the Bhambayi squatter settlement, near Durban, last weekend.

A police spokesman said this week that Bhambayi's IFP chairman, Victor Shawe (49), and two other men had been charged with fatally shooting Johnson Nqambi and Mnyamezeli Nzuzwana in an attack in which two other IFP members were wounded.

Shawe, who is out on bail of R1 000 pending a decision by Natal's attorney general on whether or not to prosecute him for the murder of two other people shot dead in Bhambayi in August last year, appeared in the Verulam Magistrate's Court on Tuesday. He and his co-accused, Zandisile Maduma (21) and Mboneni Khonjwayo (21), have been charged with two counts of murder, two counts of

attempted murder and with illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. A bail application is to be heard today.

Nqambi was the IFP's chief representative in peace talks with the ANC in Bhambayi. He took over this function from Shawe about six months ago, according to National Peace Accord (NPA) spokesman Dennis Nkosi.

The attack last Sunday evening came after about 1 000 people had pledged their commitment to peace at the IFP/ANC rally in Bhambayi the previous day.

The settlement has been a flash-point for violence. About 200 people died there in the 12 months leading up to the April poll — and a Goldstone Commission report said that kwaZulu Police hit squad members had been deployed in the settlement.

The NPA's Nkosi said Nqambi and his colleagues formed part of an IFP/ANC/police team that monitors Bhambayi on a 24-hour basis in a bid

to prevent violence in the area.

According to the police, Nqambi's attackers followed him home after he had ended a monitoring shift, and shot him. When Sokhanyile and Cele went to his aid, they were shot and wounded. The killers then went to Nzuzwana's home and gunned him down.

Speaking to the *Mail & Guardian*, Nkosi said attempts by "anti-peace elements" to stoke violence in the settlement had backfired.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said that while he had not investigated the case, he would "caution against jumping to false conclusions".

He said it could be "purely coincidental" that those attacked were involved in peace initiatives, and that there could have been other motives behind the incident.

The IFP believed the accused should "fall under the harsh scrutiny of the law" but should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. Tillet said.

with the probe into KZP hit squads, Mdlalose replied: "No, certainly not."

Mthethwa commented similarly: "How can you co-operate with something you are not involved in?"

Mufamadi announced a commission of inquiry last week, headed by former Goldstone Commission investigator Lieutenant Frank Dutton, to investigate alleged KZP hit squads.

Mufamadi's decision followed fresh claims by retired KZP commissioner General Roy During in July that he was "almost certain" of the existence of hit squads in the force.

Mthethwa said that while Mufamadi had publicly announced he would be "consulted" about the commission, he had merely been "informed" about it.

The *Mail & Guardian* reported ear-

lier this year that the Goldstone Commission had information Mthethwa had received weapons for the IFP from renegade South African policemen.

Mthethwa's name also featured during a recent bail application by the former commander of the SAP's Vlakplaas hit squad base, Major Eugene de Kock, where it was alleged that the two had contact with each other.

Kotze said if the "IFP, as an institution, refuses to co-operate it is one thing, but if individuals (refuse) then the law will take its course".

Asked whether this meant action would be taken against Mthethwa if he refused to testify, Kotze replied: "We can't conjure what might happen before it happens."

In a bid to halt the hit squad probe, Buthelezi sent a letter on August 19 to

both Mufamadi and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki warning that the inquiry would force him to "weigh up the value of my being in the GNU against the costs of being in it".

Arguing that Mufamadi's decision was beyond "comprehension" as it could upset "brittle" relations between the ANC and IFP, Buthelezi said it was unfair to single out the KZP — one of 11 police forces in the country — for a probe. He believed "normal procedures" should be used to investigate allegations against KZP members.

Asked by the *WM&G* whether he intended to resign in the wake of Mufamadi's decision to go ahead with the inquiry, Buthelezi replied: "... I wish to state that if and when the time is ripe, I will do so and it will be at the right time for the right reasons."

# Buthelezi may be replaced as king's man

By SIPHO KHUMALO

THE knives are out in the Zulu royal house to oust Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a "traditional prime minister" to the Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini Goodwill, and to replace him with his arch-rival, Prince Mcwayizeni Israel.



**KING GOODWILL  
ZWELITHINI**

Informed sources in the Zulu royal family claim King Goodwill and Prince Mcwayiseni are expected to meet on Tuesday and that the prince - the most senior member of the royal family after the monarch - will be asked to assume the role of chief advisor or traditional prime minister, a position Buthelezi claims to hold.

There were unconfirmed reports that the Inkatha Freedom Party was planning to hold a "victory rally" in Kwa Nongoma yesterday and a protest march to the royal kraal to protest at the invitation of President Nelson Mandela to the

King Shaka celebrations on September 24.

As the gulf between Buthelezi and Zwelithini widens, chiefs from Msinga have entered the fray and invited the king and Mandela to further Shaka celebrations at Tugela Ferry on September 25. Buthelezi was not party to this invitation.

Buthelezi and Zwelithini have been embroiled in a controversy over the invitation of Mandela to the Shaka celebrations. Buthelezi maintains that as the "traditional prime minister of the monarch" he had to be informed about the invitation.

This has enraged the royal house, which views Buthelezi's remarks regarding the invitation as a "challenge to the supreme office of the king" and as "meddling in royal affairs".

According to royal insiders, the only stumbling block to Mcwayiseni's appointment is the fact that he is an ANC member of parliament and the king is understood to prefer someone who is politically non-aligned.

However, sources say that there are behind-the-scenes moves to convince Mcwayizeni to relinquish his ANC membership to be in line for being an advisor to the king.

Mcwayizeni confirmed that he had been summoned by the king for a meeting.

THE ROYAL

CHIEFS 11/9/94

BOOTS?

# Buthelezi hits out at royal 'trouble-makers'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A vilification campaign against the IFP was being conducted by relatives of the royal family, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed at the weekend.

He named the "trouble-makers" as a sister of King Goodwill Zwelethini, her husband and an uncle.

At a rally in Nongoma on Saturday Chief Buthelezi dismissed claims that his party was "riding on the back of the Zulu king for political gain".

He said the impression was being created that the IFP supported the king and the monarchy for political gain. (113) (114) CT 12/9/94

"I have been a political personality in my own right long before the reign of the present king ... my family served Zulu kings and the Zulu nation before the kingdom became the great kingdom that it now is," he said.

● Chief Buthelezi faces a tussle with Prince Mchayizeni, Zulu over who will be the king's adviser.



## ZULU POLITICS

### Customary intrigue

*Fun 16/9/94*  
**Tension stretching** back over two decades lies behind the animosity that has broken out publicly between King Goodwill Zwelithini and his uncle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. **(11B)**



**King Goodwill ... pawn in the game?**

On the face of it, the row is no more than a spat over an invitation the king extended to President Nelson Mandela to attend Shaka Day celebrations in KwaZulu/Natal on September 24. The rub apparently lies not in the invitation but in the way it was made — verbally, and without being routed through

Buthelezi's office, as is customary.

The move, then, was seen as a snub to Buthelezi, who has always claimed the

*Fun 16/9/94*  
status of the king's traditional prime minister. The thin-skinned Buthelezi didn't leave matters there and was quick to point out that the king had not formally invited the President, though some sort of informal invitation had been made.

President Mandela's office, meanwhile, held firm to its acceptance of the invitation and the issue will no doubt hot up as next week's celebrations draw nearer.

But the messiness of the whole affair has exposed a new dynamic at work on an old bone of contention: things are not as cosy as they may have seemed in and around the Zulu royal house.

Zulu watchers speculated this week that the source of the conflict may not be King Zwelithini himself, but less visible members of the royal house.

The name of Prince Mcwayizeni, a close relative of the king and a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, has been mentioned as a contender for Buthelezi's traditional role.

This view was reinforced by Buthelezi himself last week. Addressing an Inkatha rally in Nongoma, he delivered a scathing attack on people who portrayed his party as "riding on the Zulu king's back for political gain."

He criticised members of the royal family — by implication Mcwayizeni — who have been saying openly that Buthelezi has no right to claim the traditional premiership. "It is such a pity that they have been given such latitude to foul-mouth me and the IFP in the name of His Majesty the King and in the name of the Zulu royal house," Buthelezi said.

The fact that he cautiously refrained from criticising the king directly highlights the sensitivities involved, says Gerald Maré, a recognised authority on Inkatha and Zulu politics.

Maré believes figures within the ANC may be plotting with Zulu royalty in a bid to oust Buthelezi. The ANC has been trying unsuccessfully for years to drive a wedge between Buthelezi and the king. At the same time, some royal family members, like Mcwayizeni, may still harbour old animosities from the vicious political wounds inflicted on them by Buthelezi in the Seventies.

Many analysts believe that the now open conflict between Buthelezi and the Zulu royalty is a natural expression of the new political dynamic in the country and the fact that Buthelezi and the IFP no longer have the homeland's administrative base from which to exert power.

With the ANC in control of the country, it is natural for the king to want to shrug off the oppressive weight of his uncle, says a well-informed Zulu scholar, who does not wish to be named.

"Look at it this way," he explains. "If you had been dragged along from the time you were a young man, forced to make speeches that were written for you, been used as a pawn of a political party, what would you

do when that party was no longer in power?" **(11B)**

The IFP itself is clearly divided in its loyalties to the king and Buthelezi. Followers of the latter have been talking of marching on the royal house. But the issue need not necessarily turn violent. "The fact that all the players are speaking openly is a good sign that things will be resolved politically," says Maré. ■

**IFP LEADER** Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday failed to take his seat next to King Goodwill Zwelithini at the annual Reed Dance Ceremony at Nongoma for the first time in 10 years.

His absence was the starkest indication yet that his previously close ties with the Zulu monarch were all but on the rocks.

Yesterday, for the first time, top ANC officials — including the party's Kwazulu Natal leader Jacob Zuma and his cabinet minister wife, Nkosazana — had front-row seats at the ceremony.

Chief Buthelezi's absence comes amid a growing rift between himself and the king following the monarch's decision to invite President Nelson Mandela to the Shaka Day celebrations next weekend.

At the root of the row is the IFP leader's determination to hold on to his traditional power base among Zulu conservatives and royalists. The king, meanwhile, is attempting to establish a role for himself that is above party politics.

Introducing the monarch — a task normally performed by Chief Buthelezi — Kwazulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said the home affairs minister had a "prior appointment" for the day.

Spokesman for Dr Mdlalose's office and event organiser Thembinkosi Memela said he had learned of Chief Buthelezi's appointment only when he failed to turn up at the ceremony.

Mr Memela said he was told Chief Buthelezi's engagement was set "long before" the date for the Reed Dance was finalised.

When the Sunday Times tried to contact Chief Buthelezi at his Ulundi home, a relative said he was attending a meeting in Durban.

This year's Reed Dance ceremony was riddled with controversy. It was postponed on Friday when thousands of maidens failed to turn up, apparently because no transport arrangements had been made.

It appears that King Goodwill, who was closely guarded by white South African government security staff at yesterday's ceremony — a sure sign he has dispensed with his former Kwazulu Police bodyguards — is bracing himself to publicly renounce Chief Buthelezi as his traditional prime minister.

Members of the royal family closed ranks this week amid growing indications of an inevitable, no-holds-barred showdown between two of Kwazulu Natal's most powerful leaders.

Sources close to the king said he was expected to make a major announcement this week about Chief Buthelezi's role in royal matters.

Caught in the middle of the battle is Dr Mdlalose, who heads a five-man Kwazulu Natal cabinet committee that's trying to resolve the dispute over King Goodwill's invitation to President Mandela.

in a week of drama, King Goodwill and a senior member of the royal family, Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, made peace over a decades-long family feud.

The prince, an ANC MP, is in Nongoma, spending

□ To Page 2

## leader stays away

*S Times*  
□ From Page 1

the week in consultation with the king in preparation for tomorrow's meeting, convened for members of the royal family who are chiefs. 18/9/94

Contrary to reports, Prince Mcwayizeni, as the most senior member of the royal family, cannot be the traditional prime minister to the king. (118)

Significantly, King Goodwill and Prince Mcwayizeni were joined at their meeting by Prince Clement Zulu — one of three members of the royal family publicly identified by Chief Buthelezi last week as instigators of the conflict between the king and himself.

Another factor ruling out Prince Mcwayizeni for traditional premiership is King Goodwill's decision to establish a royal council to advise him on matters concerning the Zulu nation.

Sources close to the royal family said no politician would serve on the council. On political issues, the king would work with the provincial premier, irrespective of the party in power, they said.

This effectively replaces Chief Buthelezi with a clearly uncomfortable Dr Mdlalose who, with his committee, met the king this week over the Shaka Day invitation.

A terse statement released by the cabinet after the meeting said the matter remained unresolved.

Sources close to the king, however, confirmed that Dr Mdlalose was sharply rebuked by the king when he suggested Chief Buthelezi be consulted about Mr Mandela's invitation. The monarch is understood to have pointed out that, as the political head of the region, Dr Mdlalose was within his powers to handle the issue.

# Buthelezi stays away deepens rift

BY CYRIL MADLALA

(118)

*S Times*

18/9/94

The meeting of royal chiefs tomorrow is the monarch's first step towards untangling traditional structures from the IFP's hold.

As battle lines become clearly drawn, Chief Buthelezi has convened the first full meeting of Iso le-Sizwe (Eye of the Nation), a society formed to promote and secure the interests of the Zulu nation, on October 14, at Kwanzimela, near Melmoth.

# Shaka Day row: Talks for Mandela

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, President Nelson Mandela and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to meet today to discuss the controversy sparked by the Shaka Day invitation allegedly issued to Mr Mandela by the monarch.

The meeting is expected to take place at the king's kwaDlamahlahla palace in Nongoma, kwaZulu.

Speaking to reporters before an Inkatha Freedom Party victory celebration at Mthwalume on the South Coast yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela had phoned him saying he was not prepared to go to the celebration "if the king and I do not agree on it".

The three leaders had talked by phone about meeting today to discuss the issue.

Chief Buthelezi said he would attend the meeting although it was "strange" that it should be Mr Mandela who arranged it. "It is not according to Zulu protocol."

He said he had "no problems" with Mr Mandela being invited to the celebration "provided protocol was adhered to".

He said, however, that there were some Zulus who were opposed to Mr Mandela's invitation to the September 24 celebration.

The African National Congress in southern Natal has welcomed the decision of King Goodwill to invite ANC dignitaries as well as IFP office-bearers to cultural ceremonies.

Commenting on the presence of Mr Jacob Zuma, ANC leader in kwaZulu/Natal, at the Reed Dance, ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said these traditional ceremonies should be stripped of party political trappings.

"We would not like the king to be seen as a representative of the ANC but we do not believe he should be supporting the IFP either," he said.

## Speculation

Political observers found it significant that King Goodwill was accompanied throughout Saturday's ceremony by Prince Israel Mwayizeni Zulu, the former regent and now an MP representing the ANC in the national assembly.

This served to fuel further speculation that Chief Buthelezi has been "dumped" by the king as his traditional prime minister.

# Inkatha 'trying to save King Goodwill Zwelithini from himself'

**CAPE TOWN** — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday accused Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini of trying to destroy the Zulu monarchy, and vowed it would stop him doing so.

Accusing Zwelithini of playing into the hands of the ANC, a senior Inkatha official said yesterday after a top-level meeting in Ulundi: "Inkatha is trying to save the king from himself."

The ANC has for several months been attempting to woo the king away from Inkatha in the hope that this would strengthen the party's support base in KwaZulu/Natal, which it lost to Inkatha in the April election.

However, Inkatha was confident its power base would be strengthened after the latest power play because the king had little political influence. "Zwelithini will end up isolated because it is the monarchy which has the support of the Zulu nation and not Zwelithini."

The source said Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had no option but to boycott the annual reed dance ceremony at Nongoma yesterday. "While the king is being what he is, Inkatha could not attend."

**DAVID GREYBE**

However, he said Buthelezi would definitely attend this weekend's important Shaka Day celebrations. But he warned that unless the controversy over Zwelithini's personal invitation to President Nelson Mandela to attend the celebrations was cleared up before then, "Mandela will be absolutely stupid to attend. He will find he has burnt his fingers on this one."

Mandela's office announced yesterday that the President, Buthelezi and Zwelithini would meet at the king's Diamahlabha Palace in Nongoma this afternoon "to clear the confusion and tension surrounding the Shaka Day celebrations".

It said the three leaders were confident the issue would "be resolved in a manner that will allow the day to be celebrated with the integrity that it deserves".

The Inkatha source said Mandela would have been welcome to attend the celebrations if the king had followed protocol and not gone behind Buthelezi's back.

He scoffed at reports that Zwelithini was trying to oust Buthelezi as his traditional prime minister. The king was a constitu-

tional monarch with no executive powers and could not get rid of Buthelezi on his own. The Zulu king had to act on the instructions of the Inkatha-dominated Kwa-Zulu/Natal government.

He said Zwelithini had called a meeting for tomorrow to "clarify" Buthelezi's status as traditional prime minister.

However, Inkatha was confident Buthelezi would emerge the victor. He said Zwelithini had made some "stupid assumptions" if he believed he could beat the man who had "worked cleverly over the years to enhance his support".

Zwelithini cancels all Shaka Day celebrations after IFP supporters

# Kings and Buthelezi

Star 20/9/94

## FEUD between Zulu monarch and IFP leader comes to a head over Mandela's invitation to Shaka Day celebrations

Durban — In a stunning move, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has broken off relations with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Buthelezi.

The king also announced late last night that all Shaka Day celebrations scheduled for this weekend had been cancelled.

This followed concern over King Goodwill's safety after IFP supporters stormed his palace, damaging property, during yesterday's visit by President Nelson Mandela.

The decision to call off the Shaka Day celebrations and break off relations with Buthelezi was taken last night at a meeting of members of the royal family after Monday's summit between the king, Mandela and Buthelezi.

Buthelezi, apart from being IFP president, is Minister of Home Affairs.

### Solemn

In a statement late last night, the royal committee said:

"A resolution was taken by his majesty and members of the royal house that all Shaka Day commemoration services for 1994 are hereby cancelled and the king must not meet Buthelezi again."

The royal committee said while the commemoration would not be held, the Zulu nation and the royal house should observe the period between September 22 and 24 as a solemn period of prayer, unity, reconciliation and peace.

The king and senior prince Mwayizeni Israel Zulu, who is also an ANC MP, attended the meeting at which the shock decision was taken.

Their position is to be con

veyed to the KwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The decision came after the storming of the Enyokeni Palace yesterday afternoon by IFP supporters, protesting against the plan for Mandela to attend the Shaka Day celebration.

Protesters also threw stones at Mandela's helicopter and chanted "Down with Mandela".

They left after being addressed by Chief Buthelezi, MEC for social welfare Prince Gideon Zulu and Safety and Security MEC the Rev Celani Mthethwa.

They were told that Mandela had cancelled his plans to attend the Shaka Day celebrations.

On the protest action, King Zwelithini later commented to shocked members of the royal house: "I'm insulted, my property has been damaged in front of the State President."

### Threatened

The royal committee said members of the royal house were threatened when they tried to restore order.

"The image of his majesty was seriously damaged and his dignity and that of the royal house and that of the nation at large was gravely impaired."

The statement added that the "safety of his majesty and the royal house is at stake".

— Sapa

It's

storm palace

# Zulu rift threat as king cuts ties with Buthelezi

**NONGOMA.** — A major rift threatened to split the Zulu nation today after King Goodwill Zwelithini cut ties with Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources in the Zulu royal palace said King Goodwill had announced early today he was breaking all ties with Chief Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, who claims the title of the king's traditional prime minister.

The king is cutting off all ties with Chief Buthelezi and has said he is no longer his prime minister, a source said. "Relations have soured and this threatens to be one of the major rifts in the Zulu nation," another source said.

The king also cancelled Saturday's Shaka Day celebrations marking the founding of the Zulu nation by King Shaka in the early 19th century. The palace sources said King Goodwill and his advisers decided to break with Chief Buthelezi after Inkatha members stormed the palace and stoned President Mandela's helicopter during a meeting between the three yesterday. His Majesty and members of the royal house have decided to cancel all Shaka Day commemorations, services for 1994 and that the king must not meet Chief Buthelezi again, a source said.

Mr Mandela received a hostile reception in the heart of Zulu territory and said he would stay away from the Shaka Day celebrations because of fears for his safety. Chief Buthelezi had insisted that any invitation to Mr Mandela to attend the celebrations had to go through his office, Renter.

NRG 20/9/94

118



**KING GOODWILL:** Celebrations cancelled.

# Vanucci Cancels Shaka Day Visit

CT26194 227 (116)

## Safety in kwazulu can't be guaranteed

Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuters

**NONGOMA.** — President Nelson Mandela has decided not to attend the Shaka Day celebration in kwazulu/Natal.

The President cancelled his visit after he received a hostile reception in the heart of Zululand territory yesterday and said he would stay away from a tribal festival because of fears for his safety.

### Angered

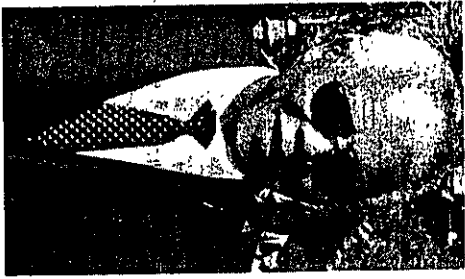
Mr. Mandela travelled for the first time into the rural heartland of kwazulu/Natal for talks at the Zululand royal residence with King Goodwill Zwelofini and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Buthelezi.

After a 40-minute meeting, Mr. Mandela told reporters both men had advised him not to attend festivities on Saturday to commemorate King Shaka, the 19th-century warrior credited with founding the Zululand nation.

They indicated to me... we are faced with people who are becoming so angry as a result of this controversy that they will no longer have any sense of humour. Mr. Mandela said.

Both leaders made it clear to me that they would advise against going there at the present stage.

While Mr. Mandela was briefing reporters, Inkatha supporters shouted anti-A.I.C. slogans and chanted "Down with Mandela" outside the king's residence in Nongoma, 200km north of Durban. Protesters stoned the Pres-



**SAFETY FEAR.** President Nelson Mandela has decided not to attend the Shaka Day gathering.

dent's helicopter while it waited on the ground for his departure. Mr. Mandela's possible attendance at the Shaka Day celebrations this year sparked a row last month when Chief Buthelezi objected that this would be an unacceptable violation of protocol.

Chief Buthelezi's objections followed reports that the king had invited Mr. Mandela directly, but the President said yesterday that no invitation had been extended.

Chief Buthelezi's objections followed reports that the king had invited Mr. Mandela directly, but the President said yesterday that no invitation had been extended.

### Armoured car

"We hope that the Zululand people, those who were angered by seeing that infringement of protocol, accept the king was not to blame at all," he added.

Chief Buthelezi denied reports that there was a rift between himself and the Zululand monarch, saying: "All the rubbish about the rift between me and the king, where is this rift between us?"

Mr. Mandela left the royal compound under tight security. Police armed with assault rifles kept guard and he was driven the 300m to his helicopter in an armoured car.



**THE BIG LEAP.** Gearing up for a big jump at Stellenbosch are (standing, from left) Damian Cooke, Mr Bruce Ntand and Mrs Wouteren Mattheu, and kneeling, Lee Dowling and Mrs Katinka Groenewald. Report Page 3

Picture: AIME LING



## Inkatha to celebrate Shaka Day

# Zulu king squares up to Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — KwaZulu/Natal was plunged into political turmoil yesterday after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini cut ties with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and made a half-hearted grab for executive power.

Zwelithini, backed by ANC members of the Zulu royal family in a secret committee meeting, also cancelled all Shaka Day celebrations this weekend.

An Inkatha source said the political battle lines were now clearly drawn between the ANC king and Inkatha.

Zwelithini's announcement came just hours after President Nelson Mandela met the king and Buthelezi and cancelled his attendance at the Shaka Day festivities.

Buthelezi dismissed the king's attempt to cancel Shaka Day, saying it was a "national event" according to KwaZulu law. "It is not a private matter." He said he would be attending the celebrations.

"Of course I will be there," he said.

He said the king had again not followed proper protocol, as his statement should have been conveyed through the office of provincial premier Frank Mdlalose.

Buthelezi would not comment on reports that Zwelithini had also axed him as his traditional prime minister.

An Inkatha source said the king did not have the power to sack Buthelezi. He had to act on the instructions of the Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu/Natal government.

DAVID GREYBE

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Mandela said he was not alarmed by the day's developments. "We have the capacity to address them." He called for Shaka Day to be transformed from a tribal to a national celebration. (11B)

Sapa reports that Zwelithini said his and the Royal House's safety was at stake after Inkatha supporters stormed his palace at Nongoma on Monday night and damaged property after the meeting with Mandela.

The demonstration was aimed at Mandela and protesters dispersed only after being addressed by Buthelezi and provincial ministers. They toyi-toyed, broke reeds and threw stones at Mandela's helicopter.

Buthelezi has distanced himself from the crowd's behaviour.

He called on the Zulu nation to observe tomorrow and Saturday as a solemn time of prayer, unity, reconciliation and peace.

Buthelezi said: "The king has never communicated to me through any royal committee." He described the committee as "half-brothers of the king's father" who were in no position to make decisions on behalf of the entire royal family.

A prime mover of the royal council appears to be Buthelezi's arch rival Prince Mcwayizeni Israel Zulu, who has been

To Page 2

## Zulu

tipped as the leading contender to replace him as the traditional prime minister.

Earlier, Buthelezi said he was not aware of any "major rift" with the king. On the contrary, he said, he had recently received a gift of cattle from the king.

ANC provincial spokesman Dumisani Makhaye denied that the ANC had been influential in the king's decision to ditch Buthelezi. "The king has taken an independent position," he said.

The Inkatha parliamentary caucus met to discuss the matter and passed a resolution backing Buthelezi and pledging to make this year's Shaka Day celebrations a success despite the king's absence. (11B)

Buthelezi stressed that the king was only a constitutional monarch and did not have executive powers. Zwelithini's role was merely "to give us his advice as the father of the nation. But that is all."

Senior Inkatha members have accused Zwelithini of joining forces with the ANC to satisfy his lust for power. They maintain

that the king has always wanted executive powers for himself, and has never been content to be a constitutional monarch, powerless without the Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu cabinet.

The ANC has, since the April elections, stepped up its attempts to woo the king away from Inkatha in the hope that this would strengthen the party's support base in time for next year's local elections.

However, Inkatha sources said Mandela's climbdown over Shaka Day was an example of Buthelezi outsmarting Zwelithini. Without Buthelezi's support the king would end up "more and more isolated and with a smaller kingdom."

Buthelezi said he agreed with Mandela that the key problem in KwaZulu/Natal was that ANC and Inkatha constituencies were not embracing reconciliation as fast as their leaders were. "Just look at the death figures," he said.

Comment: Page 14

From Page 1



# focus on Buthelezi

**C**HIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, a shrewd and calculating politician, may have committed the biggest blunder of his career. On the other hand, he could still bounce back from what appears to be his political abyss.

For many years a trusted adviser of King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi — the self-declared traditional prime minister of His Majesty the King — also controlled the money that oiled the King's good life. It is notable that the two leaders' relationship began to change when the purse strings were taken out of Buthelezi's control in March this year.

The authority is now in the hands of African National Congress leader President Nelson Mandela, who on Monday was embarrassed in Nongoma and agreed to withdraw from the celebrations, in spite of earlier pronouncements by his office that his attendance was not debatable.

Mandela's composure before the media belied a seething feeling of humiliation as Buthelezi gloated over his obvious win.

Meanwhile, ANC spokesman Ms Lindiwe Zulu said Mandela's decision was tactical rather than cowardly. "He was ensuring that no bloodshed would result from his attendance and that his presence did not heighten the conflict in KwaZulu-Natal," she said.

But Mandela was not the only one seething. The king was incensed after his palace was stormed by Buthelezi's supporters, who destroyed some of his (king's) property. Earlier, Mandela's helicopter was stoned.

The King, having invited Mandela to the palace, felt that the behaviour of Buthelezi's supporters humiliated him as host, and responded uncharacteristically. He cancelled all the Shaka Day celebrations for this year, and fired Buthelezi as his prime minister.

But the-never-say-die Buthelezi was not taking it lying down. On arrival in Cape Town, he told reporters that the king could not cancel the celebrations without consultation. The celebrations would go ahead in spite of the king's decree. He had not been informed of the decision and would only believe that he had been sacked when the king was told him so.

Buthelezi's assertion was in spite of the declaration by the royal committee that the king should not meet him "again". Buthelezi said he did not want to be seen to be fighting the king but added that the celebrations were a legal holiday that people were entitled to observe, even if the official ceremonies were cancelled.

Ominously, Buthelezi said any cancellation of the celebrations would "inflare a lot of feelings against the king". Significantly, the statement from the king said yesterday the "safety of His Majesty and the Royal House is at stake".

The major question now is how Buthelezi's supporters will react to the news. If the celebrations do go ahead as Buthelezi wishes, then people turning for the occasion would implic-

*Sowetan 21/9/94*  
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may have overplayed his hand by challenging King Zwelithini over the Shaka Day festivities, writes Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu**. The next few days will tell who has the support of the Zulu people:



**IN HAPPIER TIMES ... Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi take part in a tribal dance at Orlando Stadium in Soweto in 1974.**

itly be Inkatha Freedom Party supporters. This should indicate the support for Buthelezi.

How did it all start?

It started with the planning of this year's Shaka celebrations, a day which Buthelezi was able to get on the new holiday calendar.

When it became known that Mandela had been invited, Buthelezi raised a storm, saying there was a breach of protocol. It was he as the prime minister of the king who had the authority to issue such invitations. That he had not been consulted over the invitation was seen as significant because it meant that the king did not think it was necessary.

A lot was read into this, and justifiably so, because such an invitation to Mandela would have been unthinkable five months ago.

Buthelezi huffed and puffed until Monday's meeting was held, resulting in yesterday's dramatic events.

What is clear is that the hold Buthelezi had over his King is gone. And with Buthelezi no longer having the financial muscle of old, this *broedertwis* may be the last one.

It was not the first, though. History will show how Buthelezi, having got the King to take over his position at an early age, ensured that the monarch stayed out of politics.

At one stage when Zwelithini wanted a more

significant role for himself in KwaZulu politics, Buthelezi said no and held back his salary until the king agreed to abide by Buthelezi's views.

But over the past four years, with the advent of constitutional negotiations, Buthelezi pulled the king into the arena and was able to get him a role in South African politics that no other traditional leader enjoyed. Many observers say Buthelezi got the unflinching support of Zulu royalists for his actions. This saw his party, which entered the election race with about seven days left, going on to win sufficient seats to make it the third largest party in Parliament. It also saw the IFP win KwaZulu-Natal.

Yesterday's events have to be seen in the context of a king who was apparently held hostage by money controlled by his uncle, Buthelezi.

It is therefore ironic that while Buthelezi may have fought tough political battles to get the king a place in the new South African sun, the same king may have contributed to his undoing.

The king made an easy choice yesterday. He who pays the piper has to be respected and protected, just as Buthelezi enjoyed that protection in the days of his tenure as the paymaster.

What may not be that easy to tackle, however, is this week's events. Will the king's subjects obey him or his ousted prime minister?

The next few days should provide the answer.

# Zulu crisis deepens

CT 21/9/94

By CHRIS BATEMAN

**THE crisis in kwaZulu/Natal deepened last night as the Inkatha Freedom Party vowed that Shaka Day celebrations would go ahead this weekend — in defiance of a "cancellation" of the festival yesterday by King Goodwill Zwelethini.**

The king said he and his advisers had decided that he was not safe so he could not attend and the celebrations should be cancelled.

The "cancellation" emerged from a crisis meeting held by members of the royal family, including ANC MP Prince Mwayizeni Zulu after Monday's attack on the Zulu Royal Enyokeni Palace by Inkatha Freedom Party youths, in which property was damaged. The king was not injured.

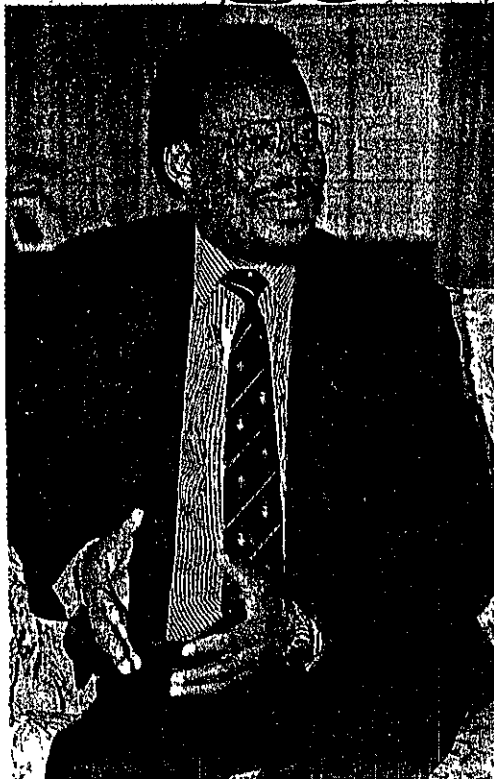
The IFP supporters were protesting against President Nelson Mandela's "invitation" to attend the celebration. Mr Mandela decided not to attend the celebration and revealed after a meeting in Nongoma yesterday between himself, the king and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he had not been "invited" but had indicated to the king that he would like to have attended.

Mr Mandela said he would like to visit the region at a "more suitable" time.

Last night Chief Buthelezi insisted that Shaka Day celebrations continue "because any cancellation is bound to inflame anger against the king, just as the invitation to President Mandela did. It is best it go on ... that will protect the king".

He said in an interview on SATV's Agenda programme last night that the celebrations would go ahead as planned, not in defiance of King Goodwill but because preparations were too far advanced for a cancellation.

At the same time that they announced the Shaka Day celebrations would be cancelled the Zulu royal committee also announced the king



**SHAKA DAY DISPUTE . . .** Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted yesterday that Shaka Day celebrations would go ahead even though King Goodwill has cancelled them.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

was breaking all relations with Chief Buthelezi, apparently clearing the way for Prince Mwayizeni Zulu to take his place.

While the commemoration would not be held, the Zulu nation and the royal house should observe the period between September 22 and 24 as a "solemn period of prayer, unity, reconciliation and peace," the committee said.

Last night Chief Buthelezi said kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose and his cabinet were equally in the dark about the king's decision.

The attitude of the provincial government was the same as his — the celebrations would go ahead on September 24.

"We have set aside money for the day's festivities. It is not a question of defying his majesty the king. He can advise as the father of the nation but he has no legislative authority to veto something that was set up by the kwaZulu government. The preparations have gone so far there is no way it can be cancelled."

Chief Buthelezi said there was no conflict between the king and himself. He remained the king's "loyal subject".

The king had not mentioned to him that he had severed ties with him and he did not believe the king had done so, Chief Buthelezi said.

"I find it very difficult to react. I am in a very difficult situation."

Also on Agenda, ANC Midlands chairman and chief whip of the kwaZulu/Natal legislature Mr Harry Gwala said: "We are trying to play down a really serious situation. The situation is very ugly in the province."

The conflict had been "inflamed" and was potentially explosive, he said.

IFP general secretary Dr Ziba Jiyana said the IFP was doing its best not to let the conflict escalate.

He said the king was a constitutional monarch who operated under a democratic government. "He does not exercise direct power over his subjects. He is a ceremonial figurehead of his people."

"To celebrate Shaka Day is so deep in the psyche of the Zulu nation that it will take the nation to cancel it."

"The IFP says that the white government in the past could not suppress the Zulus during this period and it is unimaginable that any force after liberation will stop them either."

He urged people, whether they decided to celebrate or not, to do so peacefully.

Mr Gwala retorted that he "abhorred" the IFP remarks.

"What in fact the IFP is saying is that it is above his majesty the king and the people of Natal, and is therefore setting itself up as the monarch of this province."

He said the IFP would be held responsible for any deaths and "further insults" to the king or Mr Mandela.

The attack and the stoning of Mr Mandela's helicopter at Nongoma had "gone beyond protest".

"At no time in the history of our province has the palace of any king been attacked except by those elements who were bent on deposing the king."

He urged people to rally behind the king.

Yesterday Deputy President F W de Klerk promised to try to help defuse the crisis. He said his mediation would avoid interfering in the internal affairs of the Zulu nation and Zulu hierarchy, but he would try to play as constructive a role as he had in the past.

22/9/94

**D**ifferences between Goodwill Zwelithini and Mangosuthu Buthelezi emerged as early as 1970, says Patrick Laurence, who offers an interpretation of what lies behind the widening rift between the two men.

**T**he breach between King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — manifest in a "royal committee" statement that the monarch has no wish to meet Buthelezi again — marks another and perhaps final chapter in the long and often tense political relationship between the two Zulu leaders.

Their political association reaches back to the 1970s when Zwelithini was seeking a prominent political role for himself in the Zulu polity and Buthelezi was establishing his reputation as the strong man of the Zulu people.

Given their conflicting ambitions, a clash between the two men was inevitable. It was won decisively by Buthelezi, who became Chief Minister of KwaZulu in 1970, a year before Zwelithini was installed as Paramount Chief or King of the Zulus.

Buthelezi was determined that Zwelithini would be a constitutional monarch and that he, as the monarch's "traditional" premier, would be the political suprema in KwaZulu.

The first confrontation between the two men came to a head in 1975, the year in which Buthelezi revived a moribund cultural movement, Inkatha, and launched it as a political organisation.

Buthelezi's plans to make Inkatha the voice of the Zulu people were, however, threatened by Umkhonto wa Shaka or Shaka's Spear. Buthelezi charged that Shaka's Spear was formed at the instigation of the king, acting, perhaps unwittingly, under the influence of secret agents of the dreaded Bureau for State Security (Boss).

Buthelezi confronted the king, who is his nephew. He was backed by the KwaZulu government, which decreed that the king should not leave his home district of Nongoma without KwaZulu cabinet approval.

Another clash occurred in 1979, when the king was again accused of forming a rival political party, Inala, and of seeking the support of the Mozambique government against

# King seeks resp as impartial lea



The king . . . was humiliated in the legislative assembly during a public inquiry

his uncle's administration.

Again Buthelezi emerged triumphant. His victory was symbolised dramatically by Zwelithini's flight from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Zwelithini leapt from the royal box and fled during a public inquiry — his supporters saw it as an interrogation — into his suspected political activities.

At one stage the king's salary was halved by the IFP-controlled Legislative Assembly. The monarch was forbidden to grant interviews to the media, unless they were approved by KwaZulu's Minister of Justice, Celandi Mletwa, who would either sit in on the interview himself or delegate IFP leaders to be present.

By the early 1980s, however, Zwelithini put aside his political ambitions and accepted the role of constitutional monarch as prescribed for him by the KwaZulu constitution and Legislative Assembly.

The relationship between Zwelithini and Buthelezi thawed. The new cordiality rested on Zwelithini's political submission to Buthelezi. At tribal ceremonies, however, Buthelezi lavished praise on his nephew as the reigning king and successor to Shaka, the founder of the Zulu nation.

Zwelithini's status as a constitutional



Having a right royal time . . . King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi share a joke at an event before the April elections.

BY MICHAEL ...

*Goodwill Zwelithini emerged as early as 1993, who offers an alternative that lies behind the scenes between the two men.*

# His respect for a political leader

(11B)



King Goodwill Zwelithini shares a joke at an Inkatha Freedom Party rally. PICTURE: AP

monarch meant he had to deliver political speeches written for him by the IFP leadership. These speeches included fierce attacks on the African National Congress after the fallout between the ANC and Buthelezi in the early 1980s.

Another critical phase came with the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and the start of negotiations for a settlement in 1991. It marked the unmistakable re-entry of the king into the political arena as a constitutional king giving the imprimatur of royal approval to IFP policies.

Perceptions of the king as a man doing the IFP's bidding were reflected in letters to newspapers from Zululand and in headlines which asked whether he was "a puppet on a chain" and "a pawn in a political game".

Zwelithini was not comfortable with his role, as was shown by a speech delivered in December 1993. It contained indirect but unmistakable criticism of the IFP for withdrawing from the negotiations for a new constitution earlier that year. He labelled walk-outs a stratagem which South Africa could do without.

Zwelithini's speech was praised by the ANC as a sign that he wanted to assume a neutral political profile. But, acting under pressure from the IFP leadership, the king later insisted that he had been misquoted and that he had not criticised the IFP. Thereafter he seemed once again dutifully to voice sentiments which challenged the emerging consensus at the negotiating table and bolstered the IFP.

In the months before the April election he demanded the restoration of the 19th-century Zulu kingdom. His demand was interpreted as a not so subtle threat that KwaZulu would secede from the new South Africa if the IFP calls for a more specifically federal constitution were not heeded.

After the April election — in which the IFP participated at the 11th hour — the situation changed. Buthelezi did not stand as a candidate for the provincial legislature in KwaZulu-



*The chief... at tribal ceremonies he praised his nephew as the heir to Shaka.*

Natal. He headed the IFP list for the National Assembly.

The upshot was that it was amiable Frank Mdlalose, not Buthelezi, who became provincial premier when the IFP won the provincial election in KwaZulu-Natal against the predictions of the pundits. Buthelezi was offered and accepted the Home Affairs portfolio in Nelson Mandela's national Cabinet.

Buthelezi's absence in Pretoria and Cape Town gave Zwelithini an opportunity to assert his yearning for independence. The affable Mdlalose did not present a problem. The king seized the chance.

One sign was his reported invitation to Mandela to attend the September 24 Shaka's Day celebrations. Another was the royal committee statement — still unrepudiated by the king — severing ties with Buthelezi.

These moves have been wrongly interpreted as a shift by the king into the ANC camp.

The wheel has turned full cycle in a different sense. The king, according to an astute Zulu observer, has abandoned his political aspirations and is seeking to play the unifying role of a politically neutral monarch.

He wants his position as a politically impartial monarch to be recognised and respected by all parties.

## OBITUARY

### Champion of the individual

Karl Popper, who died in London on Saturday, was one of the most widely read philosophers of the century. He achieved both professional eminence and vast popular esteem. Among philosophers he was known for his unremitting resistance to the simplistic reductionism of the Positivists.

Among scientists he was admired for the clarity of his call for a rigorous rationality based on the unsentimental search for what would tend to prove one's pet ideas mistaken. But he was best known outside professional circles for his subtle and passionate defence of the democratic way against the tyranny of the state. His book *The Open Society and its Enemies*, published in 1945, became a modern classic.

Popper believed no one could possibly know how societies will or even could develop, so that people should proceed in all practical affairs with the same cautious rationality as is employed in science; that a step-by-step tinkering with what we know already works is the best way to improve human affairs. In many ways Popper can be read as the champion of the individual against the massed forces of society.

Popper was Professor of Logic and Scientific Method at the London School of Economics from 1949 to 1969, and a visiting fellow or professor at countless institutions in the United States and elsewhere. He was small in stature, but his enthusiasm allowed him to dominate and enthral large audiences.

#### Abiding legacy

His most abiding legacy was to a generation of gifted pupils whose work, even if often animated by opposition to Popper himself, owed much to the stimulus of his doctrines and opinions.

Popper was born in Vienna in 1902. His family were part of the cultivated bourgeoisie which contributed so much to European civilisation. Before emigrating to New Zealand in 1937, Popper held a variety of posts, serving for a while as an assistant to the psychologist Alfred Adler. He remained at Canterbury University as a senior lecturer in philosophy until 1945. He returned to Europe to a post at the London School of Economics, where he remained until retirement.

He was knighted in 1965, and had the honour, shared only with the historian Margaret Gowing, of being both a Fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal Society.

Popper's two most influential works, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1959) and *Objective Knowledge* (1972), contain the essence of his philosophy, which is based upon two fundamental ideas. One is the assimilation of rationality to logic, and the other is that various kinds of human activities ought to be assessed by the degree to which they can be said to be "scientific".

In both these respects, Popper's contributions to philosophy can be seen as having their roots in the traditional interests of those philosophers who flourished in Vienna in the first quarter of the century. Though he was never a member of the Vienna Circle, and differed profoundly from them in one important respect, in his conception of rationality and in his belief in the possibility of cleaning up the stables of human thought with the broom of science, his work stands very much in the same tradition. — The Independent News Service.



# Zulu strife

CT



22/9/94

## Snap debate

### in Parliament

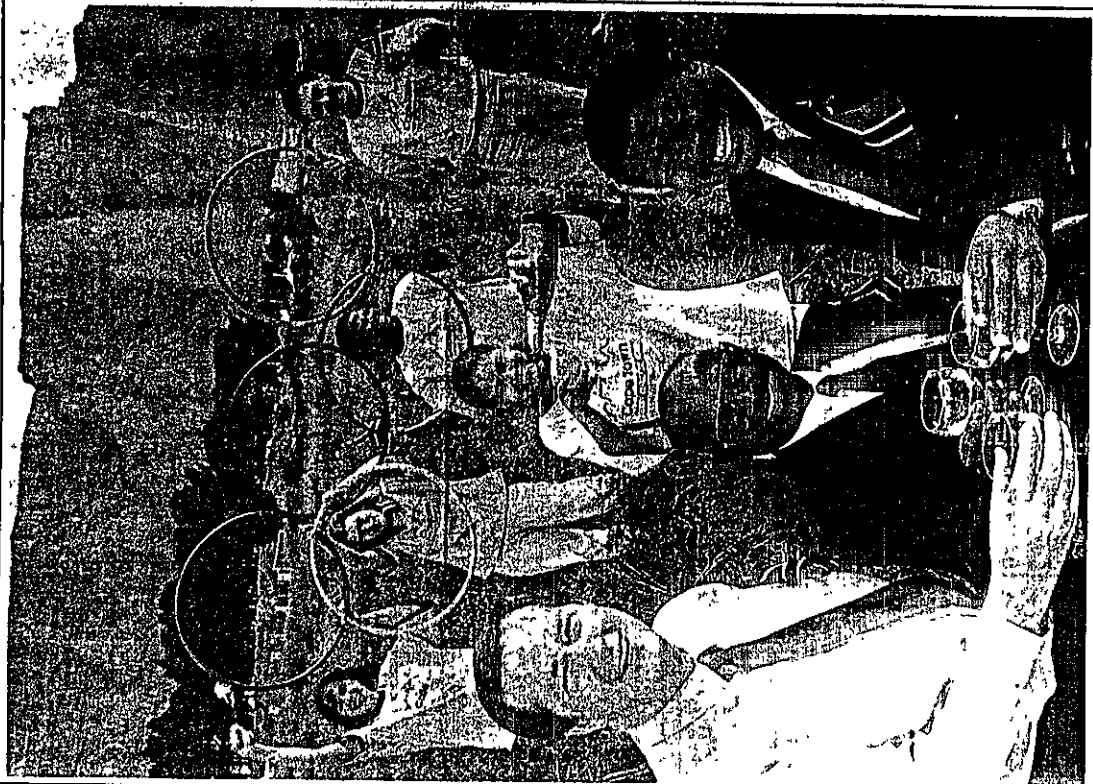
**Political Staff,**  
**Own Correspondent, Sapa**  
**THE ANC has called a snap debate in Parliament today on the Zulu crisis — and King Goodwill Zwelithini has been placed under SANDF guard by the central government.**

ANC spokesman Colinet Franz said last night King Goodwill Zwelithini had been placed under guard by the SANDF. He said the king was being guarded by the SANDF to ensure his safety during the Shaka Day celebrations. He said the king was being guarded by the SANDF to ensure his safety during the Shaka Day celebrations. He said the king was being guarded by the SANDF to ensure his safety during the Shaka Day celebrations.

**'Not hiding'**  
 Last night King Goodwill spoke out for the first time on the Zulu power struggle and accused certain "elements" of stabbing him in the back. He also denied in a television interview he was hiding in his palace. "All I want to say is that I am not hiding. Even if I wanted to hide, there is no hole for me to hide in," he said. He said he was aware of a "certain plot" and there was "something happening".

Also last night the government backed mediation efforts by Deputy President F.W. de Klerk to resolve the rift between the king and Inkatha head Chief Mangosuthu Buthe. Speaking in an interpellation debate in Parliament yesterday, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said the government did not oppose Mr. De Klerk's efforts.

Dr. Ntseke said it was important to remove perceptions the ANC had hijacked the king for its own political ends. He also said the ANC was eager to remove perceptions President Nelson Mandela was unable to go to certain parts of the country after his decision not to attend Saturday's Shaka Day festivities at Stanger.



**ANOTHER VICTORY** . . . National Olympic Committee of SA president Mr. Sam Ramsamy (centre) celebrates the central government's backing of the Cape Town 2004 bid with bid co-chairman Mr. Ngconde Bafour (right), Mr. Kevin Kevany of Corporate Image, and team members Ms. Jenni Lierfeldt (top, left), Ms. Tamra Veley, Ms. Diane Johnson, Ms. Veronica Mahlati and Mr. Kerry Capsack-Dale. ● Report Page 3

## State will hold lottery — Naidoo

**Political Staff**  
**A NATIONAL lottery will be established to fund the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Minister without Portfolio Mr. Jay Naidoo said this week that provincial premiers and central government had agreed in principle that a lottery was an acceptable way to help pay for the RDP.**

The finer details still needed to be ironed out but they were close to being completed, and the next practical step was setting the lottery in motion, Mr. Naidoo said. It had been decided that a single, national lottery would be created rather than regional versions. According to the RDP White Paper, the RDP fund would draw on the sale of state assets, interest earned from the investment of money in the fund as well as from "other sources of funds", including revenue from lotteries and gambling. State Expenditure director-general Mr. Hannes Smit said it was unlikely the R2.5 billion already allocated to the fund would be used up by the end of the financial year. The balance would be rolled over and invested by the Public Investment Corporation.

Mr. Naidoo said the question of using a lottery to fund the RDP was simpler than the wider issue of using revenue from gambling. The government was awaiting the Wiehahn report on gambling before it would take a position, he said. (29) CT 22/9/94

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ZULU POLITICS

Fm 23/9/94

# Uneasy lies the head

A threat of violence has been looming for the first time over the widening rift between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his uncle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Analysts of Zulu politics, meanwhile, disagree over the issues involved. Some say the dispute is merely a symptom of an intensifying struggle for power in KwaZulu-Natal between the ANC and the IFP. Others argue that the issue is being driven by the king and senior members of the royal house, to distance the king from long-standing subservience to Inkatha.

Whatever the causes, emotions ran high outside the royal residence at Nongoma on Monday, when President Nelson Mandela met the king and Buthelezi to discuss a disputed invitation to Mandela to attend planned Shaka Day celebrations in Stanger on Saturday.

Raucous IFP demonstrators shouted anti-ANC slogans and threw stones at Mandela's helicopter while the talks proceeded.

Mandela announced afterwards that he would no longer be attending the celebrations as his presence might provoke violence. Later that night, Zwelithini announced through a hitherto unknown royal committee that "all Shaka Day commem-

But Shaka Day is not the issue, says Natal University political analyst Mervyn Frost. "The real game here is the ANC and IFP jostling for power in the run-up to the local authority elections and referendum next year," he says. "In this instance the king is simply a pawn in the struggle."

Evidence of this, he says, can be found in the recurring presence at key meetings and public events of Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu, a close relative of the king and member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. Mcwayizeni has repeatedly questioned Buthelezi's claim to be the king's traditional prime minister.

A Natal researcher who monitors the minutiae of Zulu royal politics, however, dismissed speculation that the king planned to replace Buthelezi with Mcwayizeni. "Why would the king shake off one domineering figure in order to replace him with another?" asked the researcher. For the same reason, he also rejected suggestions that the king was aligning himself with the ANC against the IFP.

Natal social anthropologist Mary de Haas sketches a scenario in which the king would withdraw from the party political arena entirely and set up a council, or committee of advisers, in place of Buthelezi.

His only link with the political structure would then be through the provincial premier, she said.

This, however, would be cause enough for conflict, says Zulu analyst Gerhard Maré, given that neutrality is often equated with opposition in Zulu politics and that Buthelezi and his cohorts have held sway over royal affairs for more than two decades.

The king's recent actions are a source of real concern for the IFP, which has used its links with the royal house to reinforce its image among Zulu voters.

Thus a delinked monarchy, even one which does not align itself overtly with the ANC, would be a serious blow to IFP interests, especially since it has lost the valuable administrative base previously provided by the defunct KwaZulu homeland.

"Obviously what is happening now suits the ANC," says De Haas. "But the ANC would serve its cause best by simply doing

and saying nothing."

Frost says the current dispute suits not only the ANC, but Buthelezi as well, in a political sense.

"Ironically, it is to his advantage as well," says Frost, "because as a Minister in the Government of National Unity, Buthelezi can't do or say much to distinguish himself from all the other political voices. He needs a high-profile dispute like this to show his followers he is still fighting fit." ■

## RENT PROTESTS

### Sauce for the goose

Coloured community perceptions of government bias (in deciding to write off the rent and service charge arrears of black defaulters only) are at the root of the protests which flared into violence in Johannesburg's coloured areas.

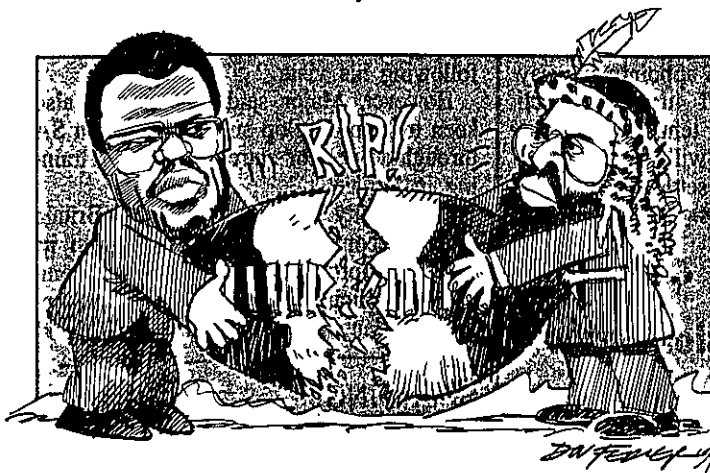
Shooting from the hip, PWV Premier Tokyo Sexwale did not initially help matters by describing the protesters as racists with "tails and talons" — though he later made amends when he addressed restive Westbury and Coronationville residents at a public gathering on Monday night. Acrobatically, Sexwale promised that a flat-rated municipal levy would be addressed by parliament, and that the PWV legislature would examine the scrapping of coloured rent arrears as well.

To Sexwale's charge of racism, spokesmen say: "We merely responded to what is a racist situation to begin with."

The Coronationville crowd's anger was, however, only partly mollified by Sexwale, since they refused to allow PWV housing chief Dan Mofokeng to speak. He is, unfairly, seen as the villain of the piece.

This goes back to a letter Mofokeng wrote to local councils on August 19. In it, Mofokeng mentions having received "a number of complaints regarding the debts of Indian and coloured consumers of local authorities," adding: "I am aware that this is a sensitive issue since the national agreement (signed by then President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on January 20, 1994) regarding Finance, Service and Service Rendering, provides that these debts be dealt with by forums."

In the critical part, Mofokeng notes that: "Though not specifically indicated, the intention was the writing off with special reference to the consumers of Black Local Authorities who would not experience the same financial consequences as other local authorities." (Government, he said, is unable to fund the writing off).



oration services for 1994 are hereby cancelled and the king must not meet Buthelezi again."

Buthelezi described as "drivel" reports of the rift, saying the king presented him with a gift of five head of cattle earlier this month. "What else could be a better indication of good relations?" he asked.

Nonetheless, he and other IFP leaders dismissed the royal committee's announcement, saying the king lacked sole authority to cancel the celebrations. As a constitutional monarch, he was subject to the consent of traditional chiefs and advisers. The celebrations would go on.

## Buthelezi's Goodwill gift

(115) 12/23/1974

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sent two cows to King Goodwill Zwelithini as an apology for Inkatha protests at his Zulu royal house earlier this week.

Chief Buthelezi told parliament he had sent the cows to the king because "it is wrong to demonstrate against the president and it was wrong to do so at the king's palace."

Chief Buthelezi was referring to a group of Inkatha supporters who threw stones and damaged Zulu royal property during President Mandela's visit to the king.

"I regret (the incident). I have sent two members of the executive of the KwaZulu-Natal cabinet with two head of cattle because one of the duties of an *inkosi* (chief) like myself is to uphold the traditions of the people," Chief Buthelezi said.

● Full report page 6

# Shaka Day: IFP attacked

116  
271

CT 23/9/94

## Mandela: Avoid violence

INKATHA came under sustained attack in Parliament yesterday for forging ahead with tomorrow's Shaka Day celebrations and fostering tension in violence-racked kwaZulu/Natal.

In a snap debate, ANC speakers criticised Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for politicising the "non-partisan" celebrations — although he was not mentioned by name.

But Chief Buthelezi defended the IFP-dominated kwaZulu/Natal cabinet decision to proceed with the event.

He accused the ANC of "double standards" in demanding that the Lesotho king act constitutionally, but not the Zulu king.

In a further indication that relations between the IFP and the royal house had reached a new low, he said the kwaZulu/Natal cabinet had the constitutional right to take the final decision to honour Shaka.

Safety and Security Deputy Minister, the IFP's Mr Joe Matthews, predicted that tomorrow's events at Stanger would be peaceful, if people didn't exploit

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela appealed to all parties yesterday to ensure that Shaka Day celebrations in kwaZulu/Natal this weekend are not marred by violence.

He said he was concerned about possible violence following the controversy over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's decision to cancel this year's celebrations.

"I want to appeal to all parties to respect this day, which should be a solemn occasion marking the achievements of a true national hero."

Mr Mandela said he was hesitant to mediate personally in the conflict between King Goodwill and Inkatha Free-

dom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — matters "which can best be dealt with by the parties involved".

Deputy President F W de Klerk conceded in Edinburgh yesterday that the conflict between the Zulu king and Chief Buthelezi had the potential for violence.

● Mr Mandela received copies yesterday of a video and commemorative publication entitled *Many Cultures, One Nation*, which record the May 10 presidential inauguration ceremony.

He said the inauguration marked the crowning of the efforts of all South Africans and their leaders.

The presentation was made by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. — Sapa

"a non-existent issue".

He said it was a historical duty to revere Shaka and had little to do with the wishes of politicians or monarchs.

He did, however, apologise for the behaviour of toyi-toyi-ing Inkatha supporters who had protested against President Nelson Mandela's presence at a meeting on Monday with King Goodwill Zwelethini at one of his Nongoma palaces.

Earlier yesterday Mr Mandela appealed to kwaZulu/Natal residents to "keep the peace" this

weekend and respect "a solemn occasion to honour a national hero".

The SAPS and SANDF are on standby for any eventuality which may arise in the province. SANDF spokesman Col Franz Verfuss said troops would be assisting the police tomorrow.

Strict security measures will be taken to protect the life of King Goodwill.

IFP and ANC leaders are to meet, as well as representatives of their youth wings, and senior security force officers



# Zulu royals fear for lives, want protection

CT 24/9/94 (11B)

DURBAN. — Members of the Zulu royal family said they were running scared on the eve of today's controversy-racked Shaka Day celebrations in Stanger, despite massive safety arrangements by security forces.

A royal family spokesman, Prince Sfiso Zulu, said after a mass prayer meeting in Umlazi yesterday that all members of the family "desperately" needed protection from the state.

The defence force said this week it had deployed soldiers to protect King Goodwill Zwelethini, but no mention was made of the scores of princes and princesses in the region.

"We have put the matter to the central government but are still waiting to hear from them. There is a very real threat to all of us," the prince said.

The Zulu monarch flew to Johannesburg on Thursday after

being picked up from his Enyokeni palace in Nongoma by an Air Force helicopter. However, Prince Zulu said the king was not in hiding and would be in his palace this weekend.

Last night the IFP and ANC gave their blessing to security plans for the celebrations.

## Prayer

According to regional peace committee spokesman Mr Nicholas Claude, security forces met the IFP and the ANC. He said both parties were satisfied with the security arrangements which include the deployment of 700 personnel at Stanger today and in kwaMashu tomorrow.

About a hundred Zulu royalists gathered at the city hall in Durban yesterday for singing and prayer. They carried banners supporting King Goodwill.

ANC regional leader Mr Jacob Zuma said the ANC was not siding with the king.

"We have no ploy of doing anything like that. We would not dare try to get the king on our side. He can't be seen to be aligned to any political party.

"The king is above politics because he is the king," he said.

In other developments:

● Cosatu joined the call by the monarch and the ANC for prayer meetings to be held instead of the Shaka Day celebrations.

● The National Party said Shaka Day would be a test of whether the celebrations would be used for cultural purposes or to whip up emotions.

● IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi again insisted the celebrations would go ahead as planned. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

# Battle lines drawn for Shaka Day

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**  
Weekend Argus  
Political Staff

**WHEN** thousands of Zulus — mostly supporters of Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) — descend on Stanger to

celebrate Shaka's Day, they will be making the strongest possible statement against their embattled monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Under normal circumstances the king would be the main speaker at the function, where he would appear dressed in his traditional regalia and make a speech approved in advance by his uncle and "traditional prime minister" Chief Buthelezi.

In return the IFP leader would publicly pledge his allegiance to his king and nephew and then proceed to deliver a stinging attack on his political opponents.

Only last year, when

the IFP had pulled out of multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre and had thrown its lot with the Freedom Alliance, the king spoke in the most glowing terms about Chief Buthelezi, who he "sacked" this week as his chief adviser.

Last year not only did the king unashamedly endorse the IFP's constitutional demands, he also described Chief Buthelezi as "a most bold and true Zulu" he would trust with his very life.

But that was last year. Today, as the "most bold and true Zulu" and his legion of supporters take centre stage in Stanger in the full glare of the media,

the king and some members of his immediate family are believed to have taken refuge at a Sandton hotel (where he was seen yesterday), fearing for his life.

A day earlier he was flown away from his main palace, Enyokeni outside Nongoma, by the South African National Defence Force. He was not a happy man, as the look on his face showed when he boarded the Durban-based 15 Squadron's helicopter, try though he did to smile.

Not for the first time, the king has come up against his uncle in a squabble which has torn Zulus down the middle. There are those who side with the former

KwaZulu Chief Minister, a master strategist, most of whom will be in Stanger today. And there are those who will take the monarch's side, most of whom will be in their homes today.

Strangely, the overwhelming majority of people in the heartland of rural KwaZulu — where one would expect allegiance to the king to be greater — are solidly behind Chief Buthelezi.

The controversy goes deeper than just the king's surprise cancellation of Shaka Day celebrations after IFP members on buses and trucks bearing KwaZulu government registration numbers, ZG, behaved improperly at the pal-

ace and even damaged property when the two men met President Nelson Mandela on Monday. Ordinary people find themselves having to choose between the two most important Zulu leaders, and they are having no difficulty siding with Chief Buthelezi.

For them the issue is simple: Without Chief Buthelezi, who they credit with having done a lot for the king and his family, there is no King Goodwill.

But there is another explanation and that is that in places like Ulundi and Nongoma, Chief Buthelezi has become an institution and just about everyone is a member of the IFP.

# Zulus to 'fight for their king'

S. Times 25/9/94

By CYRIL MADLALA  
and GRANT CLARK

ABOUT 6 000 people attended the Shaka Day celebration yesterday in Stanger, Natal, to hear IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi say there was no room for an executive monarch in the new South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said it was the biggest crowd in the 40-year history of the celebration.

Independent observers said the turnout was substantially lower than the previous years.

Clad in traditional attire, Chief Buthelezi was flanked at the ceremony by Kwazulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose and provincial Social Welfare Minister Prince Gideon Zulu.

Prince Gideon told journalists that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini — who

suspended the celebration — would not be attending as he "has been taken away by the communists".

Chief Buthelezi said kings and queens across the world had been replaced by constitutional monarchs, and Kwazulu could not turn history back.

"The greatest guarantee that we can offer our revered king that monarchy will survive the difficult years of social, economic and political transitions

is to finally succeed in establishing the safest of all safe havens for his majesty in a constitutional monarchy.

"There is no room for a separate or independent Zulu kingdom," he said.

"I have always set my mind and heart against secessionist politics, and I have known that the kingdom of Kwazulu would never survive on its own," he said, adding that the king would be taken out of all party political arenas in a constitutional monarchy.

He denied that he or the IFP used the king for political purposes, and said he had personally paid an enormous political price

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.



CELEBRATION . . . Dr Frank Mdlalose and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

*SI Times 25/9/94*

## Shaka remembered

□ From Page 1

for his defence of the Zulu kingdom.

Prince Gideon lashed out at certain members of the royal family allegedly responsible for conflict between Chief Buthelezi and the king.

Zulus would fight "to the end" to prevent their king from being taken by communists, he said.

Zulu prince and Kwazulu Natal Education Minister Dr Vincent Zulu said on his arrival at King Shaka's memorial that royal subjects were "very sad" that the king was not present.

"We are not angry at the king. We are upset with those who are set on dividing the Zulu nation," he said.

About 500 police security personnel were deployed in

the town, backed by two SANDF platoons consisting of 100 soldiers.

Despite widespread fears of violence, by late yesterday afternoon none had been reported, police spokesman Major Bala Naidoo said. **(118)**

On Friday the African National Congress and IFP gave their blessing to security force plans to protect the province against fighting expected between Zulu royalists and ANC and IFP supporters.

The plans included the deployment of 700 security personnel.

The ANC asked residents of the province to abide by the king's call to spend the time allocated for celebrations in prayer.

● See Page 21

## Sharpeville gang rapes, abducts 12 schoolgirls

Sunday Times Reporter

POLICE are searching for six schoolgirls who were abducted yesterday from a bus in Sharpeville by a gang of armed youths who also gang-raped another six pupils.

The missing pupils were among 12 Boipatong schoolgirls abducted and allegedly gang-raped while returning from a trip to the Pretoria Zoo. The schoolbus was stormed by about 30 youths armed with knives and firearms as it stopped to offload some students.

According to police spokesman Colonel Herman Oosthuizen, the attackers threatened the bus driver before forcing the 12 girls off the bus.

When the police arrived at the scene they found six of the girls and arrested three boys.

"There were clear signs that the six girls we found had been raped. We are still frantically searching for the other six girls but we are certain that more arrests will follow very soon," said Colonel Oosthuizen.

The missing girls are all students at the Lebogang High school in Boipatong.

PRINTER REMAINS HIS PRIVACY

**A**T THE height of a bitter feud between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini in 1979, the chief warned that confrontation "between the king and I has the potential for splitting the Zulu nation from top to bottom".

Today, 15 years later, his words have been proved prophetic. Zulus are a divided nation as, with bated breath, they watch the latest episode in a decades-old battle for political supremacy between two of the most powerful figures in Kwazulu Natal.

While King Goodwill Zwelithini is the undisputed leader of all Zulus in South Africa, it is Chief Buthelezi who stakes a sizable claim to the loyalty of Zulu nationalists after having so skilfully played his cards during those tumultuous years.

The struggle between Zulu traditionalists loyal to the king and those who saw the Kwazulu Government and its forerunner, the Zulu Territorial Authority as vehicles for Zulu expression, was already apparent as far back as 1971.

Some members of the royal family, including King Goodwill and Prince Clement Zulu, wanted executive powers for the king, not a constitutional monarchy.

In fact, a few days before King Goodwill's installation, reports were rife that the South African Government would give him those powers. It did not, but the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr MC Botha warned Zulus to ensure that their king was not "relegated to a mere figurehead".

At the ceremony, Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, who had been regent, announced the formation of a royal council to assist King Goodwill.

Chief Buthelezi was snubbed, and played no role at the ceremony despite his claim to being the king's traditional prime minister. At his side was an armed member of the SA Police who had been assigned to protect him, as feelings ran high against him in the royal family.

He moved swiftly, and engineered an amendment to the proposed constitution for the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly (KLA), barring the king from involvement in politics as he was "a symbol of Zulu unity".

Between 1971 and 1978 the monarch's name was linked to several efforts by the Bureau of State Security and the

# KING or PAWN?

**THE feud between King Goodwill Zwelithini and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi surfaced again over President Nelson Mandela's planned attendance at the Shaka Day celebration in Stanger, Natal. CYRIL MADLALA explores the tumultuous background to the strained relationship**

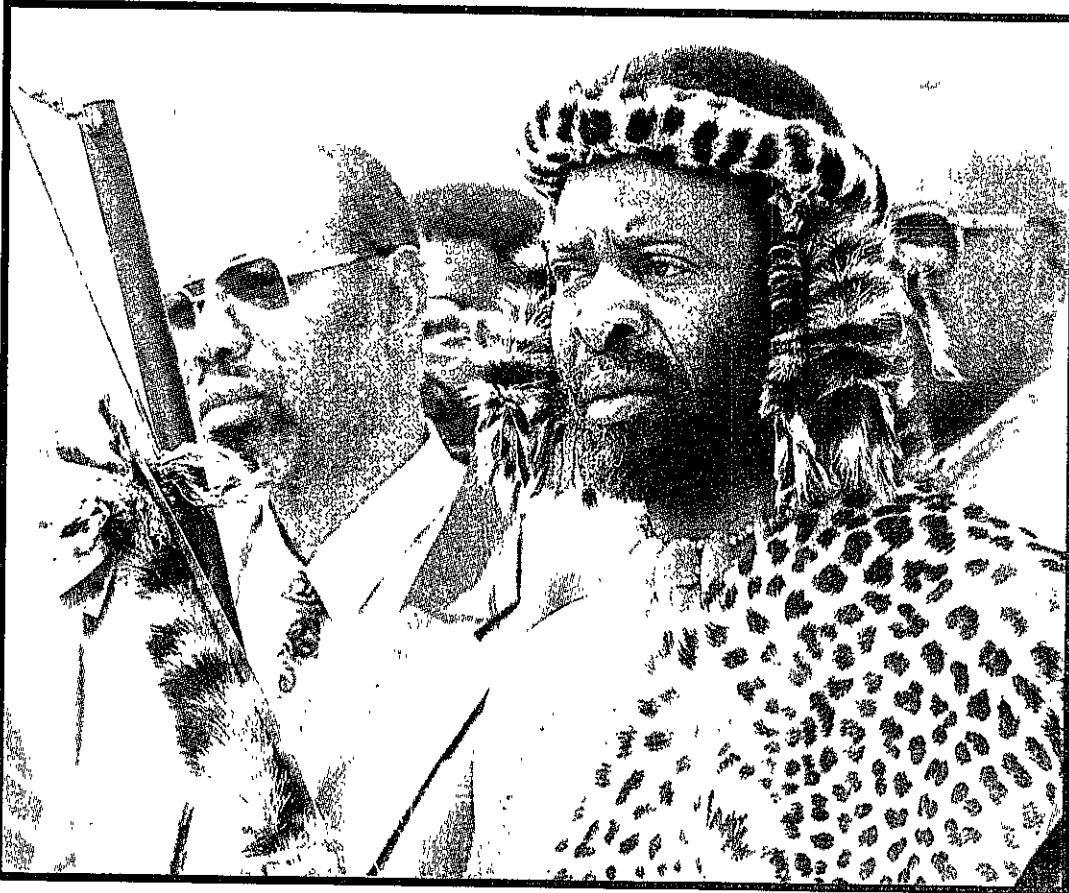
Department of Information to set up bogus political parties to thwart Chief Buthelezi's refusal to accept Pretoria's brand of independence for the Zulus.

Among these parties were Inala, Umkhonto kaShaka and Icilongo.

Chief Buthelezi proposed a motion in the KLA that King Goodwill should take an oath restraining him from "any participation in politics". On January 19, 1976 the king swore:

"I, Zwelithini, Goodwill Zulu kaBhekuzulu, presently the Nkonyama of the Zulus, pledge to the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly here present and to the Zulu nation my solemn word that I will withhold myself from any participation in any form of politics and from any action or words which could possibly be interpreted as participation in politics.

"I pledge further that I will honour in thought, word and deed the letter and spirit of the constitution of the Kwa-



**ROYAL ALLIES ... King Goodwill Zwelithini with Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, who formed a royal council to assist the king**  
Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

zulu Government."

To most traditionalists loyal to the king, 1979 was the watershed in the relationship between the monarch and Chief Buthelezi.

**T**HE then chief minister of the Kwazulu homeland announced that steps had been taken to institute an inquiry into allegations that the king had violated the constitution by participating in political activities, and had allegedly called Chief Buthelezi and members of the KLA "lackeys of whites".

Chief Buthelezi proposed to King Goodwill that he should make a new pledge, promising to mend his ways and ask for forgiveness from the assembly. The king's only reply was:

"I have nothing to say and I am scared to speak because I am not allowed to take part in political matters". His re-

*SI Times 25/9/94*

fusal to respond to the allegations was costly. The KLA cut his salary from R20 000 a year to R8 000.

Meanwhile, the cabinet had issued a "protocol guide" which strictly controlled the monarch's movements to ensure that he did not venture into the political arena. It made it compulsory that all invitations to the king for public functions should be addressed to the office of the chief minister.

It also stipulated that if King Goodwill wished to travel outside his area of Usuthu to attend public functions, Chief Buthelezi's office had to be told so that travel arrangements could be made.

In probably one of the most humiliating episodes in King Goodwill's life, he finally appeared before the KLA and was grilled in connection with a string of allegations.

After a lengthy inquisition, an angry King Goodwill bolted from the assembly, burst through a closed door and disappeared into the night with

security policemen in hot pursuit.

One of the policemen overtook the fleeing monarch almost a kilometre away, but he would not return. His physician later revealed that King Goodwill had nearly died from "physical stress" after his dash for freedom, and had lost consciousness for two hours.

But the monarch could not survive without Chief Buthelezi and the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly. As Chief Buthelezi let the whole world know, King Goodwill was heavily in debt, and the assembly frequently came to his rescue to "hush up the scandal involving the king", as Chief Buthelezi put it while giving details of who was owed what by the king.

Understandably the king could not afford cuts in his salary, whatever political ambitions he had. He agreed to behave, and his salary was restored.

By 1980 he was in no position to make a dash for freedom when Chief Buthelezi announced that the king would no longer be allowed to give press interviews.

The Kwazulu Government's Minister of Justice, the Rev Celani Mtetwa, would instead arrange and attend those interviews, in

which, of course, the king was not at liberty to respond to political questions.

Between then and last year the king seemed to have conceded that his fate was in Chief Buthelezi's hands and he was identified with the cause of the IFP, despite his unconvincing assertions that he was above party politics.

He escaped the wrath of the KLA when he declared that communists would not rule Zulus, and the assembly turned a blind eye when in February this year he told then State President FW de Klerk that as the king of the Zulu nation he was claiming exclusive and independent sovereignty over Zulu territory as per 1834 boundaries.

With the new constitution in place, and Chief Buthelezi away in Pretoria and Cape Town as Home Affairs Minister in the Government of National Unity, members of the royal family have revived their campaign against him.

The hand of the ANC is evident in the renewed zeal among certain members of the royal family to sideline Chief Buthelezi. Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma is regarded as the mastermind behind the ANC's significant inroads into royal affairs in the past two years.

**S**SOME ANC hardliners in the province have seen him as being too grovelling at times in his quest to make the monarch accessible to his organisation. His patience is paying off though, and the king's political posture has clearly shifted.

Kwazulu Police security for the king has been replaced by the SA National Defence Force, which consists of former members of the ANC's erstwhile military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

While Chief Buthelezi was conspicuous by his absence at the reed dance ceremony last week, Mr Zuma and other prominent ANC leaders in Natal took their seats next to the king, perhaps indicating how times have changed.

The Kwazulu Natal provincial parliament has established a traditional authorities committee that will determine the role of traditional leaders, including the monarch.

That will perhaps determine once and for all whether King Goodwill's future is still in Chief Buthelezi's hands.

## Players in the Zulu nation's power struggle

### PRINCE ISRAEL MCWAYIZENI ZULU

HE IS the most senior member of the Zulu royal house, and was regent after the death of King Goodwill's father, King Cyprian. He has always been in disagreement with his cousin, Chief Buthelezi, over the latter's claim that he is the monarch's traditional prime minister.

He fled his Nongoma home after an arson attack following his public flirtation with the ANC. He is now an ANC MP in Cape Town, and has buried his differences with the monarch over Chief Buthelezi's role in royal affairs. Although there is speculation that he will replace Chief Buthelezi as prime minister, traditionally he cannot assume that portfolio.

### PRINCE CLEMENT ZULU

HE HAS been a thorn in Chief Buthelezi's side for many years after resigning as speaker of the Zulu Territorial Authority in 1972. At one stage he was reported to be aiming for Chief Buthelezi's position. Later he worked for Iscor in Newcastle, where he established a "plotting nest", as Chief Buthelezi put it. King Goodwill was a frequent visitor there as were, according to Chief Buthelezi, a group of chiefs who visited Iscor to plot to form an opposition party.

The Kwazulu government then banned all chiefs from going to Iscor without authority. Chief Buthelezi named him as one of three members of the royal family allegedly behind the latest campaign against him.

### PRINCE GIDEON ZULU

He is the Kwazulu Natal Minister of Social Welfare, and of the senior members of the royal family, he is the closest to Chief Buthelezi. He paid a moving tribute to Chief Buthelezi during an IFP victory rally in Nongoma recently, where Chief Buthelezi identified members of the royal family that were allegedly instigating conflict between him and the monarch.

### JACOB ZUMA

THE highest-ranking Zulu in the ANC, he is the organisation's Natal leader. His humble manner and sensitivity to Zulu customs and traditions have stood him in good stead and he has the king's ear.

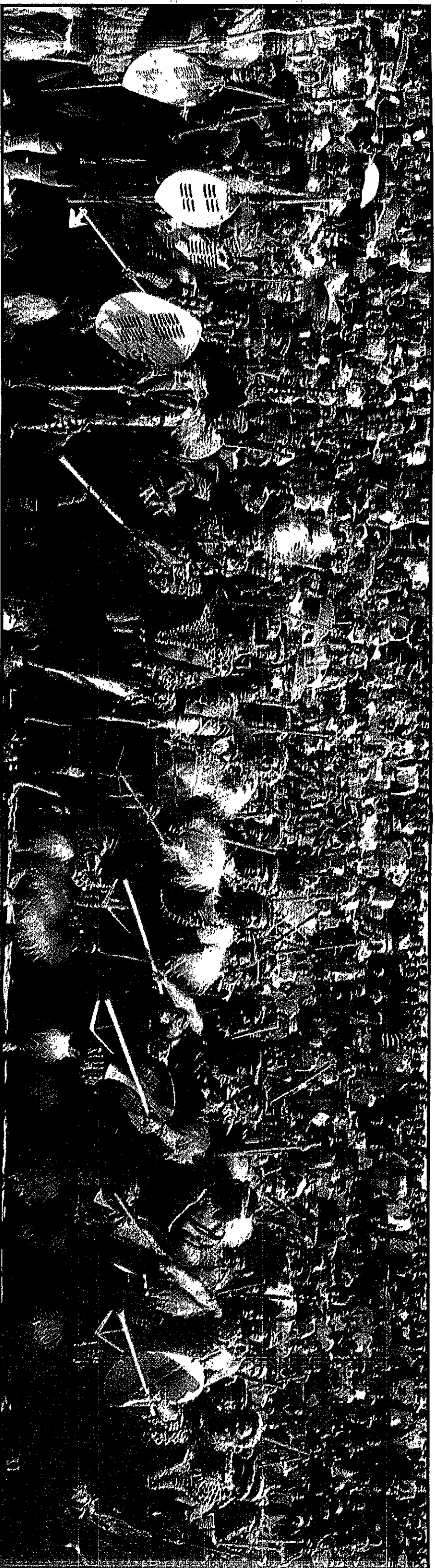
As leader of the second strongest party in Dr Mdlalose's provincial government, he will be influential in determining the future role of King Goodwill.

### FRANK MDLALOSE

THE Kwazulu Natal premier and national chairman of the ruling IFP appears to be caught in the middle. The king has informed him that as the prime minister of the region he has to handle political matters that involve the monarch.

He has come under attack from the recently formed Zulu Royal House interim committee which accused him of consulting Chief Buthelezi before deciding that Shaka Day celebrations would go ahead, despite the king's ban.





STORM CLOUDS . . . This year's Shaka Day celebrations have been overshadowed by the public rift between IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king.

# ZULU LOYALTY ON THE LINE

CPRESS 25/9/94

**The latest ruction between King Goodwill Zwelithini and his uncle Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is the most serious in a long litany of differences and power struggles between the two dating to the monarch's coronation 23 years ago, writes City Press assistant editor SEKOLA SELLO**

celebrations, an invitation Zwelithini and his advisers had made over the head of his so-called traditional prime minister. Buthelezi opposed the visit under the pretext that protocol had not been followed because he was bypassed. Truth is Zwelithini and members of the royal

supported by Kwa-Zulu/Natal premier and Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose - then said the Shaka Day celebrations in Stanger, KwaMashu, would go ahead. The Mandela back-down, preceded by an invasion of the Enyokeni Royal Palace by Inkatha zealots who smashed furniture and pelted the president's helicopter, was a humiliating blow to Zwelithini. It will be a double blow for the monarch and the royal committee if Inkatha goes ahead with the celebrations and thou-

sands of people attend. In such an event, the question that will have to be asked will be: "Who leads the Zulus, Buthelezi or Zwelithini?" As the stand-off between the king and Buthelezi grows, some illuminating points are beginning to emerge. Contrary to popular belief, some Zulu chiefs are no longer showing first allegiance to the king. Instead, they are showing it to Buthelezi who is essentially a politician. Several Reef-based Izindunas made this clear

in which Buthelezi could legally - or even by force - depose Zwelithini, the potential of a showdown between the two in KwaZulu/Natal is frightening. Since the flare-up between the two started three weeks ago, culminating in this week's showdown in which the king severed all ties with his uncle, Buthelezi has so far cleverly manipulated events to gain the upper hand. Buthelezi's first taste of victory was when he forced President Nelson Mandela to cancel his invitation to the Shaka Day

participate in big politics." On the other hand, Buthelezi, who was elected chief minister of the then Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA) a year earlier, and also had his own political ambitions, wanted to keep his king out of politics, particularly if this served his (Buthelezi's) interests. These contradictory standpoints by arguably the two most important figures in the Zulu hierarchy lie at the root of the differences between Zwelithini and his uncle and continue to bedevil relations between them.

ZULU royal watchers' eyebrows were raised this week when, before his meeting with King Goodwill Zwelithini and President Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was greeted by Inkatha zealots with chants of "Bayede! Bayede!" - a chant normally reserved for Zulu kings. The question uppermost in the minds of those who have been watching the royal spat is, what were Inkatha militants telling the world when they received Buthelezi's "these chants?"

Some observers believe this was a blunt message to the monarch that if he continued with his recent *toenadering* with Mandela, Inkatha zealots could "bestow the monarchy" on Buthelezi whom they already see as the first among equals. It was interesting to note that Buthelezi, always quick to react to what he perceives as "in-sults to the dignity of Zulu monarchy" did not criticise those who welcomed him with the lusty shouts of bayede - an honour which was not his, but Zwelithini's. While there is no way

that Zwelithini's first taste of victory was when he forced President Nelson Mandela to cancel his invitation to the Shaka Day

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# Round 1 to Buthelezi — UK press

JOHANNESBURG. — Britain's Sunday newspapers have interpreted events during Shaka Day celebrations in South Africa as a victory for Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Under the headline "Buthelezi wins first round of the Zulu wars", the Observer wrote that Chief Buthelezi had shown that he still called the shots in the Zulu heartland.

The Sunday Telegraph wrote that first blood had gone to Chief Buthelezi in the battle for the Zulu soul.

The Sunday Times said that while Chief Buthelezi was presenting himself as the true saviour of the Zulu nation, the king was skulking in Johannesburg under military protection.

In a separate article, the Sunday Times claimed that President Nelson Mandela was trying to "split the Zulu nation".

This was being facilitated by the fact that control over the king's funds had been shifted from Chief Buthelezi to Pretoria — and was boosted by the gift of an expensive car to the king from Mr Mandela. — Sapa



ZULU CELEBRATION . . . Dancing and singing Zulus carrying traditional weapons head for the Shaka Day rally at kwaMashu yesterday. The big turnout in defiance of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini was interpreted by the British Sunday press as a victory for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Picture. AP

# Zulu nation in a 'dark tunnel'

118

CT 27/9/94

DURBAN. — Thousands of Zulus attended the Shaka Day rally at kwaMashu yesterday, ignoring King Goodwill Zwelethini's call for them to stay away.

Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the rally the IFP would not tolerate political power for the king or a separate Zulu kingdom.

"There is no room now for a separate and independent Zulu kingdom. There is no room in the new South Africa for an executive king, unless our agenda is to destroy the monarchy itself," he declared.

He said the Zulu nation was in a "dark tunnel" and had reached a crisis worse than it had faced before the election.

The kingdom's destiny was to be one in which a constitutional monarchy was powerful and had a role in developing national unity.

The kingdom of kwaZulu could not be "an island in itself".

"We have reached another crisis, worse than that in which we and our monarch found ourselves in the months prior to the election," Chief Buthelezi said.

Only God knew how they would get over the present constitutional crisis.

Chief Buthelezi again denied that he had used the king as a pawn before the election and that there was now a rift between them.

It suited some people that they did not stand together, he said.

His party had not gone ahead with Shaka Day celebrations in defiance of the king's order that they be called off. The IFP-led regional government had proceeded with them because the arrangements were in place and the celebrations were the property of "the nation".



SHAKA DAY . . . Natal/kwaZulu Premier Dr Frank Mdladlose (left) and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the Shaka Day rally held yesterday in defiance of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's wishes.

He was sorry King Goodwill had not attended.

kwaZulu/Natal legislature spokesman Mr T C Memela said international mediation over the king's status and boundaries of influence could be the next political crisis in South Africa.

He said the IFP had entered the election on the understanding that this issue would be resolved by media-

tion immediately afterwards.

The indications were that the matter was receiving attention.

● The sound of shots caused a brief flurry of panic at the rally, but it turned out they were fired in a 21-gun salute at an uMkhonto weSizwe funeral taking place at kwaMashu's Princess Magogo Stadium, about 500m away. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



KING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI

By DES BLOW and Sapa

# 'POLITICS NOT KING'S PLACE'

## 'No place for an executive king'

From Page 1

which was conducted next to the great Shaka's tomb.

Flanking him in the giant marquee, leading white, black and Indian politicians and diplomats socialised. It was claimed that there were also members of the royal household.

ANC leader President Nelson Mandela was unable to attend the celebrations because of the drama which unfolded around his non-invitation. The area around the celebrations were cordoned off by police. Buthelezi said he was not claiming the king for the IFP. "Any political party which did what we did, could have competed with the IFP to claim supremacy in the lives of KwaZulu/Natal," he said.

"The IFP constantly kept the Zulu monarchy out of party politics. In modern constitutional monarchies, the monarch



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

## Rapist wants his teaching job back

By PEARL BANTSKEKENG

A SOWETO schoolteacher, dismissed last month after being jailed for raping his 15-year-old daughter, has demanded his job back - and he apparently has the support of the SA Democratic Teacher's Union (Sadtu).

The teacher, a Sadtu member who cannot be named as this would identify his daughter, is out on bail pending the outcome of his appeal against a seven-year prison sentence.

Last month a Roodepoort court found that the teacher, in his mid-40s, had repeatedly raped his daughter since she turned 14.

Last Thursday the teacher approached his former school and demanded his job back from the principal. He said he had now been "released" from jail

sentenced to seven years but was out on bail pending his appeal. The letter said nothing about reinstating him to his job as a teacher," the principal said. She then forwarded the letter to the inspector who had handled the case. Meanwhile, a source told City Press that Sadtu had sent a 10-person union delegation to the convicted teacher's former school to negotiate on his behalf. It is understood that the union delegation argued that because the teacher was no longer a prisoner he should be able to resume his duties at the school instead of sitting around doing nothing. The delegation also reportedly said his old position was still available and would be available until the end of the school year. The teacher's appeal is scheduled to be heard next year. Repeated attempts since Friday in

## No room for separate Zulu monarchy in SA - Buthelezi

Buthelezi - listed on the programme as Zulu King Zwelithini's traditional prime minister even though his party persisted with Shaka celebrations in defiance of the king's order to call them off - warned that the only monarchies that survived in the Western world were the constitutional monarchies.

Buthelezi - who before the elections had more or less threatened the secession of KwaZulu - yesterday said "there is no room now for a separate and independent Zulu kingdom."

To Page 2

## Fan dies after





Early scenes . . . Zulu royal family member Prince Sifiso Zulu waits to have his say in Durban as *Agenda* presenter Freek Robinson interviews local IFP leader Themba Khoza in Johannesburg.  
PICTURES: Courtesy SABC-TV, AFP



# The chief, the prince, the TV studio and the gun

Star 27/9/94 (NB)



After the scuffle . . . Chief Buthelezi is fitted with an earphone as he faces the cameras.

## Buthelezi punched me in the chest, says Prince Sifiso

■ STAFF REPORTERS  
REUTER and SAPA

Prince Sifiso Zulu said yesterday he was punched in the chest by Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the Home Affairs Minister stormed into an *Agenda* television studio during a live broadcast.

Zulu said Buthelezi and 10 of his aides and bodyguards burst into the Durban studio on Sunday night.

"He stormed in . . . he looked very angry, looked at me and said 'Who is this one?'"

"While he was accusing me, about 10 men stormed in. They all rushed to me, they started to manhandle me and twisted my arm behind my back."

Zulu said one of the aides struck him on the neck with a firearm.

"He (Buthelezi) himself punched me in the chest."

Buthelezi said on television yesterday he had not realised the studio was still on air and he apologised to viewers for his actions.

The incident will be discussed by the Cabinet tomorrow.

President Mandela has said he will not comment until the Cabinet has discussed the matter.

Speaking on SABC-TV

news this morning, Mandela congratulated King Goodwill Zwelithini for not becoming embroiled in the row.

Political parties have slammed Buthelezi's actions as an "absolute denial" of freedom of speech and some have called for a parliamentary inquiry.

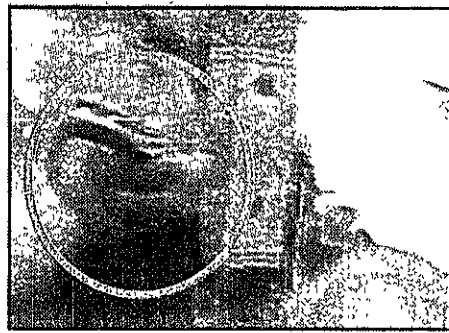
The SABC said its editorial independence had been compromised and an investigation would be held.

The dispute between Buthelezi and the king over the weekend's Shaka Day celebrations was to have been discussed on the disrupted *Agenda* programme.

All attempts to reach King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday drew a blank.

■ Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said in reply to a question in Parliament yesterday that police intelligence had information that Mandela's life would have been in danger had he attended the Shaka Day celebrations at the weekend.

► The great TV rumpus:  
More reports and pictures - Page 8



Suddenly a gun appears . . . during the scuffle in the studio a gun is produced.

## Blow by blow

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA

Just what was said during the studio fracas was often indistinct, or unintelligible to viewers who could not understand Zulu.

This is what was said during the Minister-versus-the-prince altercation:

"I understand Prince Sifiso, who is in Durban, has problems?" said *Agenda* anchorman Freek Robinson, in the corporation's Johannesburg studio with local IFP leader Themba Khoza.

"What are you saying about me, S'fiso," Buthelezi's voice could be heard clearly from Durban, speaking in Zulu. As Robinson pleaded for Zulu to sit down, the commotion, away from the camera which was still focused on the background, grew as the

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## The prince in question

■ BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Prince Sifiso Zulu, the man who was confronted by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a live television interview on Sunday, is a descendant of Mthonga, a brother of Mpande, one of the original Zulu kings.

His royal lineage has been affirmed by a senior member of the Zulu Royal House, Clement Zulu, and his public appearances over the past week as spokesman for the royal committee have not been disputed by the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Zulu is thus a prince of the Zulu Royal House. His status, however, is that of a relatively junior prince compared to the direct descendants of Mpande's successor, Ceteswayo.

Buthelezi and his great rival, Prince Israel

► To Page 3

## Blow by blow

### ◀ From Page 1

sound of blows seem to rise and a voice (Zulu's) saying "Ngiyeke, ngiyeke" (Leave me, leave me).

Then a man in a chequered cardigan, crouching and moving backwards, flashed across the screen with a gun in his hands. Immediately afterwards the scuffle seemed to break up, and Zulu could be seen dusting off his jacket.

As the voice of Robinson in Johannesburg asked if Zulu could sit down, the man in the cardigan could be seen putting the gun in his pocket. "You are carrying a gun for *Mntwana* (popular name for Buthelezi among his followers), eh?" one of the men around Zulu said.

As the babble of voices died down, Buthelezi, his short traditional stick rising, moved towards the sitting Zulu, who was flanked by two hefty men.

"You must stop speaking about me. When this king was crowned all the princes were there. Where were you?" he asked, jabbing towards Zulu with the stick.

Then one bespectacled heavy forced the camera to focus on the wall, and the scene went back to Johannesburg.

A seated Buthelezi, chest heaving and eyes wide, came back on screen and was fitted with a microphone.

"I came into the studio — by then the programme was over..." he said, in explanation to Robinson.

He was wrong. Millions of South Africans were watching every move.

## The prince in question

### ◀ From Page 1

Mcwayizeni Zulu, an ANC MP and national executive member, are both direct descendants of Ceteswayo. They, like Prince Gideon Zulu, are senior members of the Zulu Royal House.

Sifiso Zulu is almost a generation younger than Buthelezi.

He is in his early 40s and Buthelezi is in his mid-60s.

Buthelezi has challenged Sifiso Zulu's right to speak on behalf of Zwelithini, dismissing him as a "youngster" whom he had never seen before.

But well-placed observers insist that Sifiso Zulu was unanimously elected as spokesman for the interim royal committee when it was established to represent the views of the king on Shaka Day celebrations.

Two reasons appear to have influenced older and more senior members of the Royal House in their choice of Sifiso Zulu: his relative youth and, more important, his high level of education.

He is a university gra-

duate and a fluent English-speaker, qualifications which, in the judgment of senior princes opposed to Buthelezi, equipped him for the task of representing the king during the dispute over the Shaka Day celebrations.

Referring to the senior princes, an observer who knows the main political actors said: "They were happy to get an eloquent fellow to speak for them. He certainly didn't mince his words."

Sifiso Zulu is one of the members of the Royal House who, in the run-up to the controversy over the king's reported invitation to President Mandela to attend Shaka Day celebrations, challenged Buthelezi's claim to be the king's "traditional" prime minister.

"Nothing could be further from the truth. In the history of the Zulu kingdom there never was such a title and practice. Prime ministers were not appointed on a hereditary basis.

"They came and went."

## Mystery over gun's owner

The firearm that was brandished in the SABC-TV studio on Sunday night was a starter's pistol that had been modified to take .38 rounds, police said today.

It has still not been clearly established who the weapon belonged to.

The Star reported yesterday that the pistol had disappeared after the confrontation between

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Prince Sifiso Zulu, but this report was incorrect.

Confusion surrounding the weapon has not yet been cleared up. Buthelezi insisted that Sifiso had tried to shoot him, but the prince has maintained that he was not carrying the weapon. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent.

## PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

### Royal lineage affirmed

DURBAN. — Sfiso Zulu, the man who was confronted by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a live television interview on Sunday, is a descendant of Mthonga, a brother of Mpande, one of the original Zulu kings.

His royal lineage is affirmed by a senior member of the Zulu royal house, Clement Zulu, and his public appearances over the past week as spokesman for the royal committee have not been disputed by the king, Goodwill Zwelithini.

Prince Sfiso is thus a prince of the royal house. His status, however, is that of a relatively junior prince compared to the direct descendants of Mpande's successor, Ceteswayo.

Chief Buthelezi and his great rival, Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, an ANC MP and national executive member, are both direct descendants of Ceteswayo.

Prince Sfiso is almost a generation younger than Chief Buthelezi. He is in his early 40s while the IFP leader is in his mid-60s.

Chief Buthelezi has challenged Prince Sfiso's right to speak on behalf of the Zulu king, dismissing him as a "youngster" whom he had never seen.

But well-placed observers insist Prince Sfiso was unanimously elected as spokesman for the interim royal committee.



Sfiso Zulu

ARL 27/9/94

(115) (206)

# Mandela praises king for 'dignity'

CT 27/9/94

113

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela last night complimented King Goodwill Zwelithini for the "dignified manner" in which he had conducted himself in the wake of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's sensational interruption of a live Agenda TV broadcast — saying "he deliberately elected not to get involved".

And Prince Sifiso Zulu, who was about to be interviewed by presenter Freek Robinson when the Minister of Home Affairs and his bodyguards burst in, has accused the chief of assaulting him and says he plans to sue.

The incident could be raised at tomorrow's cabinet meeting, a reliable source said yesterday.

Mr Mandela, asked in Stellenbosch last night whether he had spoken to Chief Buthelezi or if he intended to, replied: "No, I have not... I would like to handle the matter a little more carefully..."

Later he appealed to journalists not to "put pressure on me... I also have not got his side of the story yet".

Last night Prince Sifiso, sporting a bandaged right hand, spoke on television about Sunday's in-

cident and denied he had pulled out a firearm.

Appearing on CCV's Newline, the prince repeated his claim that the Inkatha Freedom Party president was not a traditional prime minister of King Goodwill.

He said Chief Buthelezi had never been appointed as the king's prime minister.

"Chief Buthelezi was a chief minister during the time of the kwaZulu government and that system was overtaken by the new democratic government. The current premier of kwaZulu/Natal is Dr (Frank) Mdlalose."

## Inquiry

Prince Sifiso claimed he was warned that his days were numbered.

Yesterday the IFP claimed a weekend bid was made to assassinate Chief Buthelezi, saying an ANC member drew a gun on him when he disrupted the Agenda programme.

The party has hinted the apparent culprit was Prince Sifiso.

SABC chief executive Mr Zwe-lakhe Sisulu said yesterday he

had ordered an inquiry.

And in a letter expressing "deep concern" at the incident, ANC MPs and senators said the ouster represented an "absolute denial" of the government's commitment to press freedom.

The Democratic Party said the IFP minister's intervention in a live television programme "makes Mr P W Botha's telephonic interruptions look tame", noting that the Durban studio drama "makes one wonder whether independent TV and radio will be possible in kwaZulu/Natal".

The National Party said the Inkatha leader's actions had neither promoted press freedom nor his own image.

The Conservative Party said it fully supported Chief Buthelezi in his struggle to maintain the integrity of the Zulu nation.

Media organisations rallied to condemn Chief Buthelezi. They included the South African Union of Journalists, the Media Monitoring Project, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa and the Freedom of Expression Institute. — Political Staff, Sapa

# CT 29/9/94 (11B) 'IFP to be part of Cape forum'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

INKATHA Freedom Party fears that it would be kept out of the Cape Metropolitan Forum were baseless, Western Cape Local Government Minister Mr Peter Marais said yesterday.

Responding to an IFP letter attacking himself and Premier Hennis Kriel for allegedly "failing to support the spirit of the Transition Act", Mr Marais said he would ensure all parties would be represented on the forum.

The IFP said the Transition Act clearly ensures it a position as a non-statutory negotiator on local government forums and accuses the "ANC and its allies" of denying them the right to fair representation.

Mr Marais said he would not approve any forum which did not subscribe to the principle of inclusivity—

something he was obliged to do by law.

The Cape Metropolitan Forum did not yet legally exist as no boundaries had been defined.

However, the Demarcation Board had delivered its report to Mr Marais which he had studied and made recommendations on.

The next step would be to hand these to Mrs Hilda Ndude, chairperson of the Provincial Committee.

"I'll have to see if I can reach consensus on it with her committee and only then can I consider an application by the forum for official recognition," Mr Marais said.

It would be at this point that he would have to satisfy himself that all parties had been included, he said.

"There's simply no way that I can legally OK a forum which does not include the IFP," Mr Marais added.

# Buthelezi apologises to nation

29/9/94  
Star

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

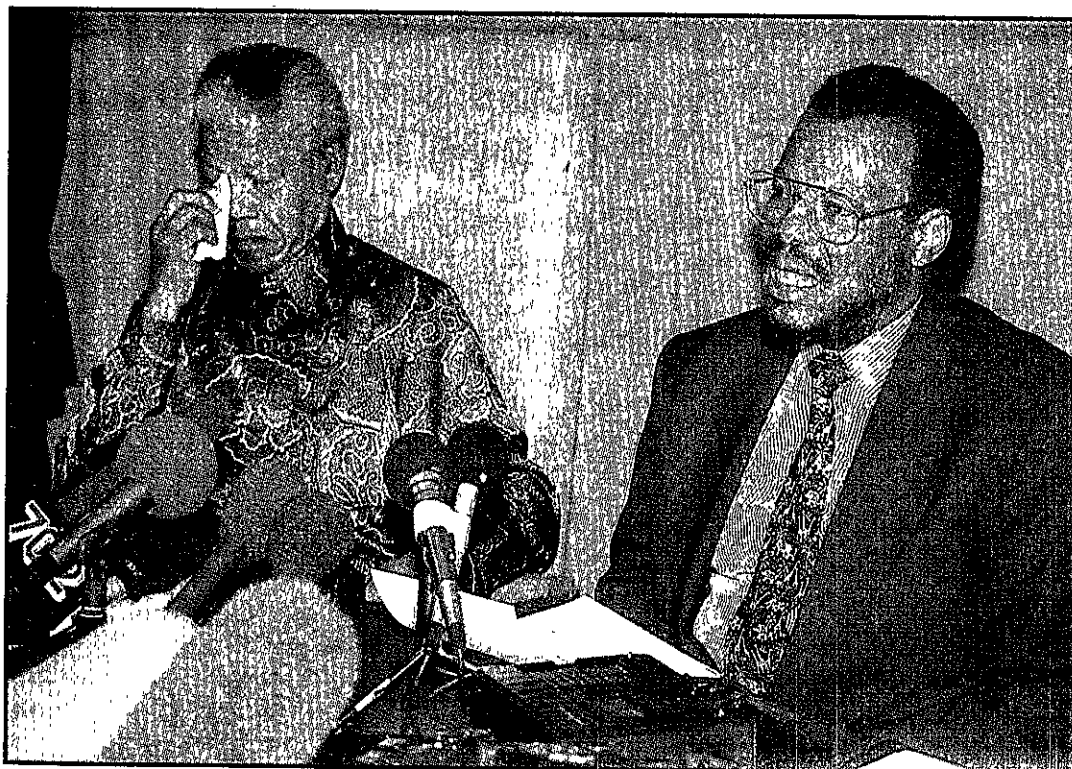
The Cabinet moved yesterday to defuse the bitter debate over Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's invasion of a live television interview at the weekend, accepting his apology but severely censuring the Home Affairs Minister and IFP leader.

A Government source said the interests of reconciliation in the Government of National Unity (GNU) had been prominent in President Mandela's deliberations.

He added that the Cabinet had to balance this desire against the need to be seen to act firmly.

Buthelezi has emerged from the debate with his portfolio intact, although the Cabinet expressed public censure of his actions and described them as a direct challenge to the

▶ To Page 3



Putting a lid on it . . . President Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a press conference in Pretoria where the chief publicly apologised.

PICTURE DEBBIE YAZBEK

## Cabinet moves to defuse row over Buthelezi

21/9/94  
◀ From Page 1

constitution which all ministers have sworn to respect.

Buthelezi said that he had told the president he was prepared to resign if he was an embarrassment to the Government.

Mandela, however, was in conciliatory mood after yesterday's special discussion on the issue during a Cabinet meeting. He stressed that condemnation of the IFP leader's actions during Sunday's *Agenda* programme did not reduce his value to the Cabinet.

However, debate in the Kwa-Zulu Natal legislature yesterday descended into a mud-slinging contest between ANC and IFP members.

Mandela and Buthelezi emerged from the Cabinet meeting to sit side-by-side at a Union Buildings press conference.

### Condemned

The president said that although the Cabinet had heavily condemned the minister's behaviour, it would not be contemplating legal action.

Buthelezi, in turn, tendered a public apology. "Whoever I offended in the nation . . . I give this apology."

SABC group chief executive Zwelakhe Sisulu said he regretted that the Government had decided against appointing a public inquiry into the matter.

Buthelezi criticised the SABC for drawing up a report on the incident without consulting him. Sisulu said Buthelezi was sent a fax inviting him to comment, but that the IFP leader did not reply.

## ZULU POLITICS

### No good guys

*fm 30/9/94*  
President Nelson Mandela has been wisely cautious about censuring Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his televised fracas with a Zulu royal family member at the SABC's Durban studios on Sunday.

Though some form of Cabinet or Presidential censure is warranted, Mandela is obviously concerned that any condemnation should not be portrayed as Buthelezi-bashing. He knows that could exacerbate tensions in the Government of National Unity and stoke the embers of violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

The Cabinet was expected to discuss the matter at its regular meeting this week and decide on a course of action. Mandela earlier instructed State President's Office DG Jakes Gerwel to compile a report on the incident. Whatever the outcome, Buthelezi's errant behaviour and the attendant outcry are no more than symptoms of the broader issues in Zulu politics, driven mainly by a bitter contest for power in KwaZulu/Natal between the incumbent Inkatha and the aspirant ANC. (11B)

Buthelezi has harmed his political image, even among Zulus, but it is not clear to what extent he has alienated his bedrock of support at home. Some analysts, such as former newspaper editor Harald Pakendorf, believe Inkatha is a waning force and that it will not retain control of KwaZulu/Natal for much longer. Others disagree — and such predictions about Inkatha were proved wrong in the election.

The short-term prize for all this jockeying is next year's referendum to decide the provincial capital and local government

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

*fm 30/9/94*  
elections in October. Political analysts say this is a major reason for the conflict that has arisen between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Buthelezi, who still regards himself as the king's traditional prime minister, despite being "fired" last week.

"This is not a battle between good guys and bad guys," says Cape Town University's Robert Schrire, "There are political opportunists on both sides." The irony, he says, is that the ANC seems to have reversed roles with Buthelezi over the issue of the Zulu monarchy. Before the April election, Buthelezi was an ardent royalist extolling the need for a strong Zulu kingdom in the face of ANC resistance. But at a Shaka Day address near Stanger at the weekend, he declared: "There is no room now for a separate and independent Zulu kingdom." It is the ANC that now rushes to the king's defence. (11B)

Schrire believes that despite the setback of his on-air assault of Prince Sifiso Zulu, Buthelezi has emerged from the Shaka Day dispute a stronger figure than the king.

"Inkatha will remain a dominant force in KwaZulu/Natal," says Schrire. He likens the Buthelezi-Zwelithini conflict to the failed *putsch* against former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991, which accelerated the decline of the Communist Party. "The king's challenge to Buthelezi is clearly going to fail and that will accelerate the decline of the king as a political factor in KwaZulu/Natal," he predicts.

The monarch's rebellion after two decades of domination by the Inkatha leader is designed to raise the monarchy above party politics, says Natal University anthropologist Mary de Haas. But Schrire believes Zwelithini is too manipulable to stand alone and independent. Given Inkatha's vociferous reaction to Zwelithini's recusal, it is inevitable that the king will be pushed into the arms of a receptive ANC — the dominant party of a government that pays his salary.

But there seems to be an incongruity of policy between the ANC at national level and its KwaZulu/Natal organisation — one which could also threaten Inkatha's involvement in the Government of National Unity. While the ANC's provincial leadership has been striving to undermine Buthelezi and drive a wedge between him and the king, at national level the party has followed a co-operative approach, drawing Buthelezi into government where it can keep an eye on him.

At central level, the ANC has won and so it makes sense to give Buthelezi a consolation prize. But at provincial level, where the ANC does not have power, the logic of co-operating with Inkatha doesn't apply.

For this reason, the power struggle in KwaZulu/Natal can undermine the unity of national government and Buthelezi's TV brawl is more than night-time entertainment.



# Buthelezi seeks support in feud

HOME Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday sought populist support for his feud with ANC-aligned elements in the Zulu Royal House, publicly accusing his cousin Prince Israel Mcwayizeni of being manipulated by the ANC.

He also rejected last week's allegations that his interruption of a live television programme last Sunday threatened the freedom of speech and press freedom. The incident had been "turned around by the media to be an issue of interference... a preposterous suggestion."

Addressing the third and final King Shaka Day celebration organised by the KwaZulu-Natal government at Enseleni on Saturday, the Inkatha leader accused Mcwayizeni, an ANC MP, of "behaving like a bull in a china shop" since his reconciliation with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"He does not have the ability to destroy me or the respect with which I am held by the majority of the Zulu people... the majority of the Zulu people during the April election voted for me. Maybe the prince is unaware of time, just as Rip van Winkle slept throughout a revolution."

In contrast to his speeches at Shaka Day celebrations last weekend — when Buthelezi spoke of "a new spirit of tolerance" emerging between political parties and the king, Buthelezi said the Zulu royal house was in danger of destroying itself.

Mcwayizeni, who served a brief tenure as regent prior to the coronation of Zwelithini, had spent "several years in the wilderness, where he connived against the very institution of monarchy and against the king", he said.

MARK ASHURST

Focusing his criticism on Prince Sifiso Zulu, whose TV interview he disrupted last week, Buthelezi warned that the Royal Council revived by Mcwayizeni had failed in its duty to preserve Zulu unity.

He appealed to those council members who wanted the monarchy to survive "to do something to prevent this" (118)

"To foist a youngster like Sifiso Zulu on us as spokesperson for the king and the royal house is to add insult to injury."

In the wake of the Cabinet motion of "severe censure" for his disruption of the SABC's Durban studio, and his "unconditional apology" last week, Buthelezi repeated his claim that Sifiso had drawn a gun, and went on to launch a stinging attack on the media.

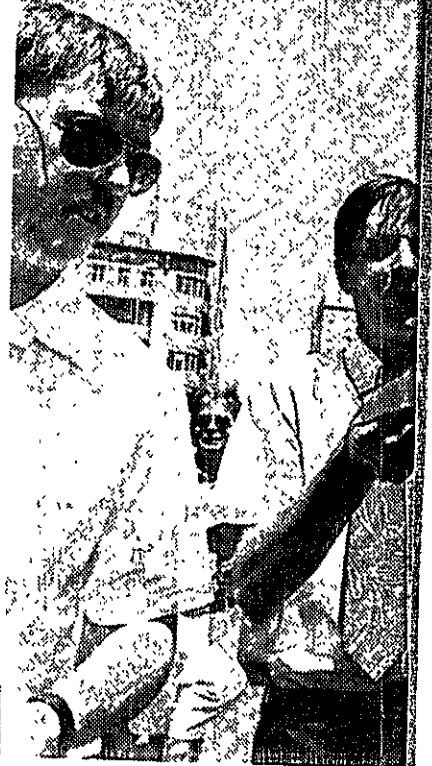
"When you are persona non grata in media circles as I am, the fact that the man was about to make an attempt on my life is of no consequence... I am equated with vermin, and an attempt to kill me is not newsworthy."

"In terms of Zulu culture it is quite extraordinary that a youngster like Mr Sifiso Zulu should not respect age."

Meanwhile, SABC CE Zwelakhe Sisulu denied reports on Friday that he had cleared Zulu of the charge that he produced a gun. "This is absolutely untrue. I did not say anything of the kind."

SAPS spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said the police investigation into the incident was at a "very, very advanced stage".

No findings from the investigation had yet been made available to the government or the SABC, he said.



Disapproving religious groups heckle met city's Library Gardens on Saturday to celeb

## PAC leaders told to recruit whites

THE PAC should recruit whites and devise new slogans that recognised that the "new president is not a settler", PAC general secretary (Khoisan X) said on Saturday. 3/10/94

Speaking at the PAC's Western Cape congress in Salt River, he said it was important for PAC branch leaders to clearly understand the organisation wanted to recruit whites. "We've never had a problem with whites in the struggle, but with those who seek constitutional guarantees against black majority rule."

On winning mass support with appropriate slogans, he said: "We are led by Nelson Mandela, who is not a settler. If the government fails, you cannot sing 'one settler, one bullet'."

The PAC also had to address the "so-called coloured question" in the Western Cape, where coloured voters were considered pivotal in ensuring the NP's provincial election victory.

He proposed the NP be tackled with "cultural work" that countered cultural domination by whites.

Earlier, Western Cape PAC acting chairman Kwedi Mkalipi said the government of national unity was "fumbling" and not delivering its election promises. It was the PAC's task to exploit this situation. — Sapa.

## Govt proposal for public servants' code

THE Public Servants' Association (PSA) wanted to study government's proposed code of conduct for public servants before commenting on it, the PSA said on Friday.

The Public Service Commission announced on Friday a plan to draw up a code of conduct for public servants and invited proposals from interest groups and individuals.

The code would be aimed at ensuring public servants acted responsibly, rendered proper service and were deserving of the community's trust.

The code provided guidelines to officers and employees on their relationship with the legislature, political office-bearers, the public and other public servants.

THEO RAWANA

"Although a contravention of any of the provisions of the code of conduct or failure to comply therewith could be regarded as misconduct in terms of section 20(t) of the (Public Service) Act, the primary purpose of the code is a positive one, namely, to promote exemplary conduct by all public servants."

PSA spokesman Anton Louwrens said his organisation would look at and study the plan in the Government Gazette before commenting.

"We are sure it is not the intention of government to force anything down public servants' throats," he said.



Argus 5/10/94 (118)

# charged

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# ZULU PRINCE

## Sifiso held over 'gun at SABC'

DURBAN. — Zulu prince Sifiso Zulu appeared briefly in a magistrate's court here today and was released on R500 bail on charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

The charges arose from the fracas in an SABC television studio involving the prince and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

According to the charge sheet, the 42-year-old Prince Sifiso was arrested at a Westville house this morning.

Prosecutor Barend Groen told reporters the prince had been released on R500 bail after a brief court appearance.

He was not asked to plead and was provisionally scheduled to reappear on October 27.

The charge sheet said Prince Sifiso was allegedly in possession of an Olympic .22 revolver and eight rounds of .22 ammunition.

Chief Buthelezi confronted the prince during the September 25 interview in which the prince spoke out against the Inkatha leader's claim to be King Zwelithini's traditional prime minister.

KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally said in a statement later that he had decided to prosecute Prince Sifiso after studying the police docket on the incident. — Reuter.

# King Goodwill to be a ceremonial figure

By CYRIL MADLALA

KWAZULU NATAL'S IFP-led government was set to put Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini exactly where Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wanted him — as a constitutional monarch with no executive powers, provincial sources said this week.

The provincial legislature meets later this month to pass legislation that will define the role of traditional leaders, including the monarch, under the new constitution.

A House of Traditional Leaders will be established, and its members will include the traditional prime minister to King Goodwill — a title to which Chief Buthelezi has always laid claim.

Significantly, the proposed legislation will ensure that the powers, duties and functions exercised by King Goodwill and *amakhosi* (chiefs) under the old Kwazulu government remain in force.

But the king or the chiefs will only take precedence over others at ceremonial occasions and in tribal and community matters within their areas.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI  
Wants to secure king's place

SITimes 9/10/84

Sources in the provincial legislature said the IFP had outsmarted the ANC in the battle for the allegiance of traditional authorities, who wield tremendous influence in rural areas.

Traditional Authorities Minister Nyanga Ngubane has summoned chiefs to Ulundi on Friday to discuss a draft bill on the establishment of the House of Traditional Leaders, and he will spell out its provisions. (113)

Out of more than 250 chiefs in the province, only 25 have

thrown in their lot with the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

The house of traditional leaders will have the power to advise and make proposals to the provincial legislature or cabinet, and to comment and make recommendations on any proposed executive action on matters affecting traditional leaders, and on indigenous and customary law.

Addressing a Shaka Day celebration last week, Chief Buthelezi made it clear he would strive for the province to be responsible for traditional leaders.

"We, as Zulu people, want the affairs of the king of the Zulu nation to continue to be our business. After all, our king is the king of the Zulu nation, and this is a provincial matter. We all want to ensure that the king's position and *amakhosi*'s positions are secured in the constitution of Kwazulu Natal," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said that, if President Nelson Mandela's office took this responsibility, King Zwelithini "would cease to be our king and be perceived to be just a high-ranking functionary of the central government".

# IFP 'ready to join army'

S Times 16/10/94

By PETER De IONNO

THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party warriors illegally given training in Kwazulu in the run-up to the elections want to be integrated into the SANDF alongside their former MK enemies and Apla cadres.

IFP senator Philip Powell said negotiations to pave the way into the defence force for 6 000 members of self-protection units were well advanced.

An SANDF spokesman confirmed discussions with Defence Minister Joe Modise were continuing.

Senator Powell said meetings between Mr Modise and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been "promising". The latest had been held three weeks ago and Senator Powell said he expected an answer from Mr Modise this week.

"We firmly believe that, if our participation in the government of national unity is to be serious, we need to bring our paramilitary forces into the legitimate structures of the state," said Senator Powell. "We are impressed with Mr Modise and his commitment to building a defence force which cuts across party lines."

SANDF sources said the integration of non-statutory armed forces, in addition to the 22 000 ex-MK cadres and 6 000 Apla members, had been the subject of broad planning since before the elections.

The estimated R200-million cost of integrating another 6 000 troops would have to be balanced against potential political benefits, the sources said.

IFP forces were not included in the integration plans after the party rejected participation in the National Peace-Keeping Force and would not recognise Transitional Executive Council authority.

• The return of MK and Apla cadres who have been absent without leave for more than a week has slowed to a trickle.

Despite an appeal from President Nelson Mandela for the former guerrillas to return and accept military discipline, army figures show 5 183 of the total 9 503 are still absent.

At Walmannstal only 3 200 out of 7 500 had returned; at Hoedspruit only 20 out of 795 were on the base. However, at De Brug, where there were 1 208 cadres, mostly from Apla, only 108 were absent.

It is thought the bulk of the Walmannstal rebels will return by Thursday, when Mr Mandela is to address them.

(2) (118)

ADVERTISEMENT

# The party with a hole in its pocket

2011-10-20 14:20

(118)

Although Inkatha has ambitious plans to boost its nationwide support, the party is facing a crisis over the funding of next year's local-government elections.

## Farouk Chothia reports

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party has no funds to prepare for next year's crucial local-government elections, says Inkatha Freedom Party secretary general Ziba Jiyane. In KwaZulu/Natal, where the ANC has disputed the IFP's victory in the April elections, local-government elections are predicted to be a testing ground for real power in the province. And, in the other eight provinces, the party still has to convince voters it is more than just the "Zulu party" the April results showed it to be.

But Jiyane says countrywide intimidation and a lack of funds is hampering IFP growth. "We are a poor party," he laments.

He blames this on a lack of foresight: the failure of the IFP to set up a string of businesses during its reign as the ruling party in the KwaZulu homeland. "It frustrates me. It was an opportunity squandered."

But the IFP had entered some business ventures: for instance, the purchase of *Ilanga* newspaper. It also had some stake in Khulani Investments. However, Jiyane says if the IFP does have shares in Khulani, they are "nominal".

He is bitter that despite the IFP's strong commitment to a free market economy, big business has failed to pour money into its coffers. "The moment they realised we didn't have the controlling muscle in the townships to stop the strikes and boy-

cotts, they made a deal with those who control the Young Lions."

Pick n Pay tycoon Raymond Ackerman was one of this number, he says. "Mandela asked him to contribute R1-million. He contributed R2-million. Shortly thereafter, his Pick n Pay was targeted for a strike by an ANC-aligned union. We expressed sympathy with him. We should have said it serves him well."

He declines to say whether the IFP is in debt, but concedes that it is battling to meet bills incurred during the election period. "There have been a number of people who threatened court action. In many cases we reached an out-of-court settlement. "Even today, we still have people making serious claims for transport. They were never reimbursed."

The priority now is to place the IFP on a sound financial footing. An organisational weakness — the absence of a treasurer-general in the IFP throughout its lifespan — has been addressed with the appointment of Arthur Koniggramer as acting treasurer-general.

Jiyane says the treasurer-general will have to lead the IFP into self-sufficiency by setting up "front companies" such as the ANC's Thebe Investments. "If we don't do it, we will be fools."

The desperate need for funds is exacerbated by the fact that the IFP has no intention of cutting down on its party structures. Instead, it aims to spread throughout the country.

"Our ultimate objective is not only to become the second largest party, but to contest for power and become the alternative to the ruling party. We believe we stand a better chance than the National Party because we are already in the black market," says Jiyane.

Jiyane is, therefore, implementing a new constitution that aims to set



**Inkatha Freedom Party secretary general Ziba Jiyane laments his party's lack of funds**

PHOTOGRAPH, JEEVA RAJGOOPAL

up provincial councils and branches throughout the country — a move that will also satisfy the thirst for democracy within the IFP.

"Power (within the IFP) was with the centre. We'd like a leadership to emerge and lead the organisation in the respective provinces in line with our federalist policies." He believes that with federalism as its clarion call, the IFP will garner support in the rest of the country.

Voters would want a devolution of power when they became dissatisfied with central government domination.

"Although we are the most cross-racial party in that we have more white supporters than the ANC, I

don't want the IFP to remain a Zulu party. The president doesn't like it either. We need to attract more non-Zulu ethnic groups," says Jiyane.

He hints that upcoming constitutional talks, hopefully under the auspices of international mediation, will be acrimonious. "We want exclusive powers — not concurrent — in education, control of local government and policing."

Jiyane says the way the NP has been treated in the government of national unity gives the IFP all the more reason to stick to its constitutional demands. "The NP has been left high and dry. They thought the cabinet would make most of the deci-

sions but power is going to the (parliamentary) committees."

Jiyane is confident that the IFP will retain its Zulu support base in KwaZulu/Natal, despite Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini's decision to distance himself from the party.

"We built the monarchy rather than the monarchy building the IFP," Jiyane says, adding, "People will go with him (Buthelezi) as the traditional prime minister and wait for the king to follow His Majesty's subjects." He is quick to add that this does not mean Buthelezi has ambitions to be the king of the Zulu nation or to destroy the monarchy. "His mother would curse him."

# Chiefs back Buthelezi in feud

By CYRIL MADLALA

THE huge show of support for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi by the majority of Kwazulu Natal chiefs indicates that he is winning his war against some members of the Zulu royal family.

Crucial to the outcome of the fight to remove Chief Buthelezi from Zulu royal affairs is a draft bill on the role of traditional leaders to come before the provincial parliament this week.

The bill, which has the support of the chiefs, entrenches Chief Buthelezi's position as traditional prime minister and relegates the king to a member of the proposed House of Traditional Leaders.

This is a slap in the face for some members of the royal house who, together with the ANC-

aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa), want King Goodwill Zwelithini to have more authority over traditional matters in the region.

The scales were tilted in Chief Buthelezi's favour at a meeting of traditional leaders last week when more than 200 chiefs endorsed him as traditional prime minister, and denounced "the divisive" tactics of some members of the royal family.

The chiefs specifically mentioned Prince Sifiso Zulu, who has been appointed by King Goodwill as his media spokesman, as well as senior Prince Israel Zulu, an

ANC MP who recently made his peace with the monarch.

Prince Sifiso sprang to prominence recently after his confrontation with Chief Buthelezi on television. He has since been at the receiving end of a concerted campaign by the IFP and the former Kwazulu government's Bureau of Communication to expose him as an imposter with no royal links.

Although invited, King Goodwill boycotted last week's meeting.

Chief Zibuse Mlaba, an ANC spokesman on traditional affairs, said his organisation did not attend the Ulundi meeting as it had not been convened through the monarch. Of more than 250 chiefs in the province, fewer than 30 are members of his organisation.

**Agenda battle:** The first full interview with Sifiso Zulu, the prince who clashed with

# The minister would be king, says the prince

11B  
WM 30/9-6/10/94

Farouk Chothia

**T**HE Zulu prince who sparred publicly with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Sunday night's *Agenda* television programme charged this week that the minister of Home Affairs has his own secret agenda: he wants to be king of the seven-million-strong Zulu nation.

In his first in-depth interview since Buthelezi interrupted his appearance on the SABC, Prince Sifiso Zulu told the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* that he actually likes and admires Buthelezi. "He is a diligent man," he said. "I only don't understand his policies."

The 42-year-old prince has built a reputation for standing up to Buthelezi, which made him an ideal choice as spokesman for King Goodwill Zwelithini's interim royal committee.

The clash between Zulu and Buthelezi was not their first. Zulu said that while he was employed by the kwaZulu government, he was "summoned" 11 times by then-interior minister Frank Mdlalose to appear before the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly and cabinet; he believed it was because he was seen as a threat to Buthelezi's close relationship with Zwelithini.

The prince said his woes started in the late 1970s when he organised Shaka Day celebrations on the south coast and, instead of inviting Buthelezi to address the functions, chose, among others, Prince Clement — another old foe of Buthelezi's who is now a close confidante of the king. He was summoned to answer charges about his visits to Prince Clement — and even to the king. "I was asked: 'What were you doing with the king in Swaziland? Why didn't you invite Buthelezi as the guest speaker?'"

Fed up with the treatment, he said he adopted an "arrogant" attitude when summoned for the 11th time. "I told them I have a right to keep

quiet," he said. "I told them they were infringing my freedom. I told them this was the last time and that I would be taking legal action."

Well-educated, he obtained a bursary — ironically from the kwaZulu government — to study for a diploma in public administration. While a student at the University of Zululand, he encountered political violence. "IFP students came into the residence (in the late 1970s). One of my bosom friends, a non-Zulu-speaking person, was hacked and stabbed to death in front of me," he said. "I was saved because I was a member of the royal family. That's what they told me."

He holds a bachelor's degree in public administration and social science and is studying part-time through the University of Botswana for an honours degree in development studies.

He said he had gone through a "traumatic" period when working for the kwaZulu government as a township manager in Gamalakhe on the south coast and in several other places.

His car was followed, his office was audited twice a week; he was asked to fire staff for "minor faults" and was transferred on numerous occasions.

As he became closer to the monarch, he faced death threats.

In June this year, he said, kwaZulu policemen came to his home, warning that they would "get him", and he went into hiding.

Although the Inkatha Freedom Party claims he is not a prince, his status within the royal hierarchy was confirmed this week by Senior Prince Mcwayizeni Israel Zulu.

Sifiso Zulu "comes through" Prince Aaron, who was the son of Prince Mthonga, who was the son of King Mpande.

The royal tree started with Mpande as his predecessors, Shaka and Dingane, did not bear offspring.

Prince Sifiso argued this week that



Prince Sifiso Zulu: Admires Buthelezi but doesn't understand his policies

## Buthelezi's cattle rejected

Farouk Chothia

**Z**ULU king Goodwill Zwelethini has spurned Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's efforts at reconciliation.

Speaking to about 10 000 people in kwaMashu last Sunday, Buthelezi said he had twice sent IFP deputy secretary general Mandla Zakhele "MZ" Khumalo (the sacrificial lamb for the Inkathagate scandal) to the monarch, offering two head of cattle as a "self-imposed penalty" for the demonstration at the Enyokeni palace by IFP supporters during the summit with President Nelson Mandela last Monday.

According to Buthelezi, the king said he could not accept the cattle as

"some of the senior princes were not present". Senior prince Mcwayizeni Israel Zulu confirmed this week that the cattle have been rejected. He said Buthelezi had to appear before Zwelithini and other royal family members to explain why he was offering an apology.

Buthelezi told the kwaMashu crowd that he wanted to apologise for the "transgression by young people". Observers say this latest twist is a clear indication that Zwelethini is not eager to have ties with Buthelezi.

If the monarch had accepted the cattle, both would have probably been present at a "cleansing" ceremony where the hatchet would have been buried.

Buthelezi had "weakened the pillars of the kingdom" and "divided and disintegrated the royal house" as he vested power in himself through his clout in the IFP and the kwaZulu government.

"The royal house used to have liaison officers in various centres, particularly Natal and the Transvaal," he said. "The liaison officers were the representatives of the king. Whenever subjects in the PWV (wanted) to

meet the king, they would go through the liaison officer. The king would then address them. The same happened in Natal. That gave the king a healthy and lively link with his people."

Buthelezi removed the liaison officers and replaced them with IFP/kwaZulu government representatives — "and they did not promote anything related to the royal house", he said.

# Inkatha bill angers King Zwelithini

By SIPHO KHUMALO

KING Goodwill Zwelithini is very upset!

He yesterday rejected an Inkatha-sponsored House of Traditional Leaders' Bill, which was passed by the KwaZulu Natal Assembly on Friday, and which witnessed a walk-out by ANC members.

The king, in his first press conference in Durban yesterday since his relationship with Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi collapsed earlier this year, said the House of Traditional Leaders' Bill was passed without any prior consultation with him.

It was also an attempt to diminish his authority, he said.

The act, which makes provision for a "traditional prime minister", was criticised by the ANC as an attempt to create a position in the KwaZulu/Natal parliament for Buthelezi.

"I view the passing of the bill for the establish-

ment of the House of Traditional Leaders in KwaZulu/Natal with serious concern and I reject it.

"I'm going to discuss this matter with the King's council which I have already set up," said Zwelithini.

The King's immediate rejection of the bill presents a setback for Inkatha, which rammed the bill through parliament on Friday despite protestations from the ANC, which walked out while the vote was being taken.

The King said he was dismayed at the hurried and discourteous manner in which such a "sensitive" matter had been handled.

"I believe I should have been properly consulted and I should have been given due respect as the monarch and head of the nation and of the institution of ubukhosi (chieftainship)", said Zwelithini.

He pointed out that discussions on the bill

should have taken account of talks between himself and President Mandela, as well as account of discussions at multi-party negotiations on the issue of his status, which had been entrenched in the constitution.

It is felt by political analysts that the bill tends to reduce the position of the king to that of a normal member in the House of Traditional Leaders.

"The House of Traditional Leaders is a vital institution which should reflect the status of the monarch as the leader of Amakhosi and the nation," the king said.

The king, who wants traditional chiefs to stay out of politics, said their involvement had led to serious political conflict.

"Thousands of people have died in this violence. It is my people who are dying every day. This has to stop."

C Press 30/10/90

# King, IFP:

## Rift widens

CT 31/10/94

Political Staff

KING Goodwill Zwelethini has thrown down the gauntlet to the Inkatha Freedom Party and is seeking ANC assistance to overturn legislation passed by the regional legislature which he believes does not befit his position.

The king distanced himself from the House of Traditional Leaders Act on the grounds that he had not been consulted and that it had not taken into account agreements made in constitutional talks over his position.

The bill — which will set up a 78-member House of the amakhosi — creates a mechanism for traditional authorities to interact with the kwaZulu-Natal legislature on matters affecting Zulu traditions and culture.

It provides the king with no executive powers but grants his traditional prime minister, a position claimed by Chief Buthelezi, a seat on the council.

In an attempt to diffuse growing enmity between the Zulu Royal House and Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi called on Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer to begin international mediation over the king's future.

It is understood that King Goodwill

held secret talks with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe and kwaZulu-Natal Economic Affairs Minister Mr Jacob Zuma in Cape Town at the weekend to determine ways of circumventing the legislation.

One option would be to take the act, passed by the Inkatha-dominated regional parliament on Friday, to the Constitutional Court. Members of the ANC caucus in the provincial legislature have already threatened to take this step.

Meanwhile, IFP regional MP Arthur Konigkramer said attempts to impose an executive monarchy on kwaZulu-Natal were designed to sow disunity among the Zulu people and break down the royal house.

Mr Konigkramer said the king had been given the bill long before it was tabled and had been given notice of the where the amakhosi had discussed the bill. He had not attended.

But ANC regional MP Mr Dumisani Makhaye, said the bill sought to reduce the stature of the king to an ordinary chief. It did not provide him with his own constabulary and salary which would make him impervious to the designs of any political party.

A tennis coach dies



havoc at stadium



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

# Prepare for poll, IFP told

IF THE Inkatha Freedom Party allowed its victory of the KwaZulu-Natal province in the April election to be "snatched away" in next year's local government elections, it should forget about the 1999 national elections, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Speaking at a rally in Nkandla, outside Eshowe in Northern KwaZulu-Natal on Saturday, Buthelezi, who is also national Minister of Home Affairs, said it was important "we should vow here today to start preparing for these elections tomorrow".

He said the interim constitution compelled the IFP to share power with the African National Congress and other parties both at national level and in the KwaZulu-Natal province.

"That is why in spite of our victory, our premier ... has had so many problems which the leadership of the ANC in this region is creating for him and his government all the time."

"You know that even now there is no settling down as Cabinet meetings are sometimes held in Ulundi and sometimes in Pietermaritzburg," he said, adding that this showed that freedom had not yet been achieved.

He blamed white political parties for not accepting Ulundi as the capital and said it was because the town's facilities were used by blacks.

"It is absolute rubbish to say that we do not have the infrastructure in Ulundi for the first time there is an opportunity for this part of the country also to develop. This is a test for the national government and the Reconstruction and Development Programme."

While the IFP accepts the RDP as the policy of the Government of National Unity, if they abandon the opportunity to implement it by making Ulundi the capital, we will conclude that while the RDP is wonderful in writing, they are not serious about it after all," Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

## IFP defends bill on traditional leaders

ULUNDI. — All the necessary steps had been taken before the passing of the Traditional Leaders' Bill in the provincial legislature, kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said at the weekend.

Addressing an Inkatha Freedom Party rally in Ulundi, Dr Mdlalose said it was not true that King Goodwill Zwelethini had not been consulted about the bill.

A consultative meeting had been held with kwaZulu Amakhosi (chiefs) last month where the bill had been fully discussed and adopted.

He said most parties had voted in favour of the bill except for ANC MPs, who walked out during the vote. The DP abstained. — Sapa (113)

*'GNU in danger of folding if demand for mediation is not met'*

# Don't renege, warns Buthelezi

(113)

Star 28/1/94

Empushini — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the Government of National Unity was in danger of folding within a year if his demand for international mediation was not met.

"I fear that if there is any renege on this matter, there is no prospect that the GNU will last even for 12 months," the Home Affairs Minister told about 3 000 supporters at a rally to celebrate his party's April election victory in KwaZulu/Natal.

"I do not suggest they will renege, but there are people other than the two leaders in both the African National Congress and the National Party (Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk) who are vehemently opposed to international mediation taking place."

Buthelezi said Zulus wanted their monarchy entrenched in the constitution.

He cautioned: "There is a real danger that if this matter is not sorted out soon, the patience of the Zulu people may ultimately wear so thin that it may not be possible to put right that which is wrong."

Buthelezi said a management

committee of the Constitutional Assembly which was seeking legal advice on whether the agreement on international mediation was binding on the present Government was obligated to ensure mediation got under way.

"International mediation

should precede rather than follow the work of the Constitutional Assembly and it should have commenced right after the April 27 1994 elections," he added.

Inkatha ended a boycott of elections a week before the poll after the ANC and NP agreed to

take the constitutional position of the Zulu monarchy to mediation.

Buthelezi also told the rally in this semi-rural community, which has seen bitter violence between Inkatha and ANC members, that political conflict in his KwaZulu/Natal stronghold was not abating.

"There is not a shred of evidence that the ongoing conflict has a ghost of a chance to abate in the near future. On the contrary... the conflicts and the bitterness these conflicts generate are getting worse by day."

"I have on more than one occasion told President Mandela in his capacity as the president of the ANC that while things appear to be normal in the GNU at the executive level, that is far from being the case in KwaZulu/Natal," he said. — Reuter.

# PWV indunas vow to defy Zulu king

PWV indunas said yesterday they would ignore the commands of King Goodwill Zwelithini if he had not resolved his differences with Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi within 30 days.

Addressing a news conference at the Inkatha Freedom Party offices in Johannesburg, induna and self-protection unit spokesman Anthony Lamula said PWV indunas would boycott Zwelithini's meetings unless reconciliation had been achieved.

Yesterday, Zwelithini's council issued an ultimatum to Inkatha to heed a list of demands or face "embarrassing public disclosures", Sapa reports.

Royal spokesman Prince Sifiso Zulu said unless the demands concerning the House of Traditional Leaders Act were met, Inkatha faced Constitutional Court action.

"We'll make the nation aware how the IFP almost ousted the king. In our view this was a coup to depose the king."

Zwelithini had rejected the Act and would not accept amendments until the party outlined what it had in mind for him.

Zulu said the provincial government should immediately repeal the Act. He said the Act would reduce the king's status to that of a mere chief and open the way for him to be "voted out" of his throne.

The king's rejection of the law, passed last month, was based on a lack of consultation. A chiefs' meeting to discuss it had been "hijacked" by Buthelezi, Zulu said.

A fortnight ago when the king told a news conference he rejected the legislation, he called on chiefs to extricate themselves from politics because the conflict it caused had cost thousands of lives.

## JOHANNES NGCOBO

Zulu said the royal family demanded a full explanation from MEC for traditional affairs Nyanga Ngubane on how traditional leaders would be consulted on the legislation, how the law affected the king, and what Inkatha had in mind regarding its proposed traditional prime minister.

Buthelezi had always laid claim to the position, which Zulu said did not exist.

Zulu said the Act allowed Inkatha to act unconstitutionally.

"Inkatha has strategically put itself and its aligned amakhosi (chiefs) in an unprecedented and powerful position to oust the king from his office," he said.

Last week Inkatha said it would go ahead with the legislation despite the king's opposition.

"We must remember that the king is not in a position to reject an Act of parliament," Inkatha provincial MP Arthur Konigkramer was reported as saying.

"We were obliged to create a House of Traditional Leaders within six months and we've implemented what the constitution told us to do." (113)

At yesterday's news conference the PWV indunas demanded an urgent meeting with Zwelithini immediately after reconciliation had taken place.

Lamula said the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA was an ANC front which was manipulating the king to "cripple the Zulu nation".

More than 50 indunas and self-protection leaders said they challenged Zwelithini to solve his differences with his "traditional prime minister Mangosutho Buthelezi".

# I'm still the king's man, says Buthelezi

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Home Affairs Minister and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told about 1 000 IFP members he was "still the king's man".

He said he remained loyal to King Goodwill Zwelithini despite alleged attempts by the ANC to "ingratiate itself with His Majesty".

In his first IFP rally in the PWV since the April election, Buthelezi told supporters at Germiston's Driehoek stadium the only way the "Zulu kingdom" could be secured for the future was as a provincial constitutional monarchy.

This would oblige the king to work "in close harmony with the Cabinet of the (regional) government of the day".

The monarch would not be allowed to undertake important engagements "where one or another Cabinet Minister is not present", or do "anything important" without being "supported by Cabinet back-up action and by diplomatic support" provided by the provincial Cabinet.

## Grateful

"I am still the king's man. I strive, day and night, to further the interests of the kingdom and secure the institutions of the monarchy and will continue to do so.

"I am confident that in the end His Majesty and his successors will be grateful for the stands I have taken to secure both the position of His Majesty and the institutions of the monarchy,"

Buthelezi said.

His statement comes at a time when relations between Buthelezi and the king are at their lowest point, with the monarch having publicly distanced himself from Buthelezi and denied the IFP leader was his "traditional prime minister".

The IFP-led KwaZulu/Natal legislature, recently passed the controversial Traditional Leaders' House Bill, which Zwelithini said would reduce him to a mere chief. The legislation also reserves a seat in such a House for the monarch's "traditional prime minister".

Yesterday, Buthelezi again called for international mediation "in respect of the king of the Zulus and the 1993 constitution as amended" in keeping with the IFP-ANC-NP agreement.

## NEWS Spat between king and min

# ANC blamed for royal rift

By Lulama Luti

HOME Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has blamed the African National Congress for the rift between himself and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Addressing an IFP rally at Driehoek Stadium near Germiston yesterday, Buthelezi lashed out at the ANC and accused the organisation of trying to ingratiate itself with the king. He said contrary to what the ANC believed, it was not Zwelithini who brought about election victory for the IFP.

"We won those elections because people voted for me and the IFP, they

did not vote for the king," he said.

He told his supporters that next year's Local Authority elections would be a tough test for the IFP and added that the next three to four years would be crucial in determining whether the party could live up to its election promises.

On international mediation, Buthelezi said both President Nelson Mandela and Second Deputy President FW de Klerk were bound to carry out a pre-election agreement to allow international mediation.

"The constitutional crisis that the ANC is producing by their interference in the affairs of His Majesty also underwrites the need for international mediation," he said.

ARG. 19-20-11-94

# Zulu king gets ANC backing over status

(11B)  
DURBAN. — A committee will be established this weekend to act as a link between the people of KwaZulu-Natal and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the monarch's spokesman, Prince Sifiso Zulu, said yesterday.

Prince Sifiso said King Goodwill had received "overwhelming" support from traditional leaders, church groups and other bodies in KwaZulu-Natal for his peace plan, announced last month, and his rejection of the controversial House of Traditional Leaders Act.

"This group approached us and said they wanted to visit the king, register its support

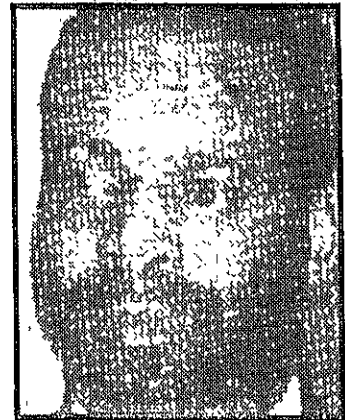


□ Prince Sifiso Zulu

for him and act as a facilitator and catalyst between the royal house and the people of the province," he said.

Prince Sifiso said the group intended calling itself the KwaZulu-Natal Co-ordinating Committee and would formally announce its launch and programme of action at the king's Enyokeni palace in Nongoma tomorrow.

He said the committee had no intention of replacing traditional structures between



□ King Goodwill Zwelithini

the king and his people, but had said it wanted to co-ordinate "the actions of people and groups in support of the king".

Meanwhile, the African National Congress is planning a rally in Durban's Umlazi township tomorrow in support of the king's rejection of the House of Traditional Leaders Act, said an ANC spokesman.

— Reuter.

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AKG 19-20/11/94

## 'Government must boost black skills'

DURBAN. — The government should involve itself more in accelerating the skills of black workers, according to Black Management Forum president Professor Wiseman Nkhulu.

Professor Nkhulu told a reconstruction and development conference that there was a great need to train people in disciplines such as engineering and management and a greater effort should be made to improve skills. — Sapa.



# KwaZulu/Natal row grows

Biday 21/11/94

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The political row between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party over traditional leaders in KwaZulu/Natal escalated yesterday when the ANC announced it was taking the matter to the Constitutional Court.

President Nelson Mandela also joined the fray, voicing his concern over Inkatha's handling of the potentially explosive issue.

The ANC has accused Inkatha, the ruling party in the province, of steamrolling the legislation through the provincial legislature three weeks ago without proper consultation with all parties.

The ANC does not dispute the need for houses of traditional leaders in all provinces, but objects to the manner in which the legislation was handled.

It has accused Inkatha of politicising the

issue by retaining effective political control over the Zulu monarchy.

The house of traditional leaders will act as a separate chamber to the provincial legislature and have specific functions related to customary law.

A senior ANC government source warned of "very serious conflict" unless all parties in the provincial legislature agreed on the role of traditional leaders.

ANC transport minister Shu Ndebele said the ANC would file papers with Constitutional Court president Arthur Chaskalson calling on the court to nullify the law. He said the ANC would meet its lawyers today to finalise its case.

□ To Page 2.

# KwaZulu/Natal

Biday 21/11/94

From Page 1

The ANC hoped the court would deal with the matter urgently when it began sitting in mid-February.

A presidential spokesman said Mandela did not think that "the way the Act was adopted was regular", but Mandela did not want to comment further.

Ndebele said only the NP supported Inkatha on the matter. The PAC had publicly distanced itself from the legislation, the DP had abstained when the Bill was put to the vote, and ANC MPs had walked out.

According to the ANC, the Act reduced the power of the Zulu king to that of a chief while placing "real power" in the hands of the king's traditional prime minister — a position claimed by Inkatha leader and national Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It accused Inkatha of "politicising" an issue which was crucial for future peace in the province.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who is accused by his critics of having switched sides since the election, to become an ANC

supporter, has publicly rejected the Act. He claimed he was not consulted as stipulated in the interim constitution.

He and the ANC have both claimed there is no such position as traditional prime minister. Inkatha said the prime minister was elected by traditional leaders.

Zwelithini says he is politically neutral, according to his spokesman Prince Sifiso Zulu. Sapa reports that Zulu, at a rally near Durban yesterday, appealed to all chiefs and indunas to be politically neutral.

The ANC has also contested Inkatha's claim that it consulted more than two-thirds of the province's chiefs and indunas. Ndebele said those consulted by Inkatha included a group of former KwaZulu homeland MPs "brought together by Buthelezi" in an organisation called Iso Lesizwe (eye of the nation).

The KwaZulu/Natal traditional leaders' house will have 82 seats, which is one more than the provincial legislature.

**IFP won't vote  
if chiefs ignored**

Ulundi — The IFP in KwaZulu/Natal has vowed not to take part in a local government electoral system that did not take account of the wishes of tribal chiefs.

The provincial legislature yesterday debated proposals by chiefs for an electoral system that would allow them to retain their traditional powers.

MEC for Traditional Affairs Nyanga Ngubane said chiefs would not take part in elections that did not entrench their powers in traditional areas.

Dr Mike Sutcliffe (ANC) said although his party recognised traditional leaders, people had the right to vote for democratic bodies. (113)

MEC for Local Government Peter Miller (IFP) said his party was keen on having democratic local government but would not deprive chiefs and rural people of the services they deserved.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Roelf Meyer met chiefs in Ulundi on Tuesday to discuss their proposal. — Sapa.

## IFP won't vote if chiefs ignored

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Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Roelf Meyer met chiefs in Ulundi on Tuesday to discuss their proposal. — Sapa.

# Call for royal indaba

Sowetan 28/11/94

## ■ MONARCH'S POSITION Must be

### sorted out soon says Buthelezi:

**T**HE PROBLEMS PRE-OCCUPYING the Zulus and their king will remain unresolved until a meeting took place between the monarch and the chiefs, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing an IFP election victory rally at Umbumbulu in KwaZulu-Natal, Buthelezi, who is also Home Affairs Minister, said unless the position of the monarch was sorted out soon "the patience of the Zulu people may wear thin", making it impossible to rectify the position.

He again advocated retaining the king as a constitutional monarch, saying that in the modern world any other system of kingship would not survive.

Buthelezi also referred to a position paper of the Constitutional Assembly management committee which had decided "under pressure" to seek legal opinion on whether the mediation agreement on the monarchy and other issues

between the IFP, ANC and the National Party shortly before the April elections was binding on the new Government.

Buthelezi said while the IFP was awaiting to hear what legal opinion was in this regard, his party would seriously consider its options in the event President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk reneged on the agreement.

"I do not suggest they (Mandela and De Klerk) will renege but there are people other than the two leaders in both the ANC and the National Party who are vehemently opposed to mediation taking place," he said.

While it would only be incumbent on the

Constitutional Assembly to consider the outcome of international mediation, the parties to the agreement, the ANC, IFP and NP were bound to ensure that their members honoured the outcome. (118)

Buthelezi said another of his concerns was that the country was rushing towards local elections without defining how rural local authority structures and their parameters would be set up.

Until it was known how traditional and customary law would be secured in local rural elections and how this would affect the monarchy, how democracy would be secured both at the local and traditional level would remain unknown, he said. - Sapa.

# Inkatha 'might boycott local govt polls'

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday described as "very ominous" legal advice to the Constitutional Assembly that it was not bound to international mediation on the status of the Zulu king. *BRD*

Buthelezi said: "I cannot see myself remaining in the government of national unity." *30/11/94*

Inkatha sources indicated that unless mediation was resumed, the party's participation in next year's local government elections was in jeopardy.

Buthelezi said the ANC and NP — President Nelson Mandela and Depu-

DAVID GREYBE

ty President FW de Klerk in particular — were "morally bound" to honour the mediation deal which led to Inkatha taking part in the elections.

Prof Washington Okumu, the Kenyan negotiator credited with bringing Inkatha into the elections, had indicated during a visit to SA last week his willingness to resume mediation between the three parties.

Buthelezi said Okumu also met De Klerk, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and King Goodwill Zwelithini. He said Okumu felt duty-bound to complete the job.

He said he had briefly discussed

the matter with Mbeki, who indicated his willingness to resume mediation. He said Mbeki was "very positive".

He blamed chief NP negotiator and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general and Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa for the delay, saying their opposition to international mediation "has never changed." *(118)*

However, Buthelezi vowed not to give up on the issue. He said Inkatha's national council would discuss the matter on Saturday.

He said he hoped still to hear from Mandela and De Klerk, to whom he had written on the matter.

# Buthelezi vows to boycott SABC

By **THEMBA KHUMALO** *CIPres*  
Political Correspondent

Minister of Home Affairs and Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has vowed not to set foot in any SABC studio until chief executive Zwelakhe Sisulu withdraws his threat to take him to court for "storming" the corporation's studio in Durban in September.

The clash between the two came after Buthelezi entered one of the television studios while Prince Sifiso Zulu was being interviewed in a Durban studio on *Agenda*. In the ensuing scuffle a gun was seen changing hands and Buthelezi subsequently claimed that Zulu pointed a gun at him. Zulu is presently appearing in court charged with the possession of an illegal firearm.

The scuffle came after Zulu claimed that Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini no longer wanted Buthelezi as his traditional adviser. Buthelezi was in the same building at the time. Flanked by his aides, Buthelezi entered the studio and confronted Zulu. Later he

took over the interview.

The incident sparked off a row and Buthelezi was severely criticised by parties across the political spectrum. The matter resulted in it being debated in the National Assembly and, later, the matter was resolved in the Cabinet after Buthelezi had apologised. (116)

But while President Nelson Mandela accepted his apology, a verbal clash continued between Buthelezi and Sisulu.

4/12/94  
Speaking to City Press after his Friday press conference on illegal aliens in this country, Buthelezi said while the matter was resolved, Sisulu did not withdraw his threat of taking him to court over the Durban saga.

"Why should I enter the studios of a man who wants to take me to court for an issue that was resolved at Cabinet level? Is it not possible that I may be inviting more lawsuits?," said Buthelezi.

Sisulu could not be reached for comment.



**BUTHELEZI**

## **Buthelezi elected 'premier'**

*CIPRESS*  
HOME Affairs Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Friday was elected "traditional prime minister" of the Zulu nation by traditional leaders in KwaZulu/Natal. 11/2/94

Zulu chiefs constituting the recently formed "House of Traditional Leaders" met at Ulundi to make the appointment.

The African National Congress, who claim the organisation is unconstitutional, condemned the appointment.

Spokesman Dumisani Makhaye, MPL, maintained no such position existed and labelled the appointment "null and void". (118)

Makhaye repeated the ANC's standpoint that the elections allowed Buthelezi a "backdoor" into the affairs of the province. - Sapa.

# Showdown looms as Inkatha chiefs prepare to march on Zulu king

DAVID GREYBE

**CAPETOWN** — The Zulu monarchy faces a critical test today when more than 250 Inkatha Freedom Party-supporting amakhosi (chiefs) descend on the royal palace to demand a meeting with the king. The amakhosi, who represent more than 80% of chiefs in KwaZulu/Natal, back Inkatha leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelez in insisting with the ANC for political control of the monarchy. Their main demands are that Zwelithini support the establishment of a provincial traditional House of leaders and back their

fight with central government over next year's local government elections. They also want international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues resumed. Political sources said yesterday the chiefs' demands amounted to an ultimatum to the king to sever his ties with the ANC. A senior Inkatha source said: "Either the king eats humble pie or the people (Zulus) will reject him." If that happened Zwelithini "could be forced into the future of the monarchy was more important than Zwelithini's. No one can pretend that 260 amakhosi do not matter."

The row follows another bloody week-end in KwaZulu/Natal, during which at least 30 people were killed and Zwelithini cancelled appearances at two peace rallies. Royal house sources said Zwelithini's doctor advised him to stay away, but a political observer said that with only "a few hundred" people at the rallies Zwelithini could not afford to attend. "He made a catastrophic error of judgment." Relations between Inkatha and the king sank to a new low last week after provin-

cial premier Frank Mdlalose (Inkatha) was refused an audience, as were a number of provincial ministers. Zwelithini was expected to refuse to meet the chiefs. The row over local government elections centres on resistance from Inkatha and the amakhosi to plans to incorporate "traditional authorities" into new municipalities, diluting their authority. At a meeting in Ulundi on Friday, the chiefs restated their intention to exercise "all local government functions." The ANC branded this undemocratic. The chiefs also threatened to boycott local government

election preparations until international mediation was resumed. The row over traditional leaders escalated when the ANC announced it was taking the matter to the Constitutional Court, accusing Inkatha of steamrolling the legislation through the provincial legislature without consulting all parties. Sapa reports the SA National Defence Force, which protects Zwelithini's property, said yesterday it was aware of threats against the monarch's palace in Nongoma. Capt Kim van Niekerk said: "We are prepared. Security is adequate."



# Chiefs gather as Zulu king turns down meeting

ARG. 14/12/94

118

DURBAN. — Zulu chiefs and some members of the Zulu royal house say King Goodwill Zwelithini has turned down their request to meet him to re-establish cordial relations.

The chiefs and the members of the royal house said in a joint statement that they were "deeply disturbed by the alienation of his majesty from his government and from amakhosi (chiefs) of the kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal".

Hundreds of chiefs gathered at Ulundi yesterday with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu/Natal premier Frank Mdlalose to discuss matters affecting the Zulu nation.

Before the meeting rumours abounded of a protest march by chiefs on the king's Enyokeni palace near Nongoma. Security forces said they were aware of threats against the palace and had ensured adequate protection.

The amakhosi said that in their desire to clear up misunderstandings and re-establish cordial relations and constructive relations between the king and his government and his amakhosi, a meeting held on Decem-

ber 9 decided to send a delegation to set up an appointment with King Goodwill at one of his palaces yesterday.

They deplored "in the strongest terms" what they called the SABC's "misrepresentations of our desire to seek a constructive and reconciliatory meeting" with the king by "publicising false rumours that the amakhosi planned a march on the palace of his majesty".

Accordingly they resolved yesterday to "pursue our intention to seek reconciliation with his majesty and request the media not to spread false rumours and lies about our intentions".

They also resolved to call on President Mandela, Defence Minister Joe Modise and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to "stop acting on rumours and to properly evaluate reports they must be acting on" and withdraw army and police personnel from the royal palaces. — Sapa.

Earlier, the Inkatha Freedom Party said in a statement from Durban that by meddling in the affairs of the Zulu royal house, the African National Congress had succeeded in isolating King Goodwill Zwelithini from his subjects.

# Inkatha plan to quit government

Hardliners in the IFP are planning to quit government and strengthen their majority in KwaZulu/Natal, writes Farouk Chothia

**A**S SPECIAL Inkatha Freedom Party conference early next year will consider a plan by party hardliners to quit the government of national unity (GNU) and play the role of a Westminster-styled opposition party, IFP insiders revealed this week.

This could be followed with a push to dissolve the IFP-dominated KwaZulu/Natal government as a prelude to a fresh election in the province in a bid to strengthen the IFP's 51 per cent majority, the sources added.

The sources said the IFP plans to throw down the gauntlet to the ANC in KwaZulu/Natal early next year. Its strategy will revolve around using the provincial legislature to claim "real federal powers" on issues like policing and housing, thus sparking a major constitutional confrontation with the ANC and central government.

The IFP may also push for a dissolution of the provincial government, on the grounds that its attempts to govern are being frustrated, and call a snap poll, the sources said.

The IFP believes it will strengthen its majority in such a poll as it obtained 51 per cent of the vote in the April election after only six days of campaigning, the sources added.

The future plans of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are less clear: some sources said he will lead the IFP from the parliamentary backbenches to win national support while others claimed he will seek the KwaZulu/Natal premiership in a bid to hold on to a support-base threatened by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's departure to the ANC.

Sources said final decisions will be made at an IFP special general conference to be held either in January or February next year.

The sources said the commencement and successful completion of international mediation early next year could persuade the IFP to remain part of the GNU.

Meanwhile, the odds are in favour of a pull-out: the "overriding feeling" at an IFP national council meeting a fortnight ago was that the ANC is merely using the GNU as a "rubber-stamp" for its policies, the sources said. They cited examples to back up this view, including:

- IFP protests against a constitutional amendment paving the way for the appointment of temporary judges to the Constitutional Court fell on

deaf ears. The ANC then appointed a replacement to Justice Richard Goldstone, failing to consult the IFP on a suitable candidate.

- Laws related to education were amended without the IFP's views being taken into account. The IFP had wanted provinces to have the power to train teachers. The ANC pushed ahead to make it a national function.

- Buthelezi was made minister of home affairs but his clout diminished when the ANC removed local government elections from his portfolio.

- Proportional representation in the allocation of seats has applied only at cabinet level and not at committee or other levels. The IFP was given the chairmanship of only the public enterprise standing committee, though in terms of proportional representation the party qualifies for another one or two parliamentary chairmanships.

In KwaZulu/Natal, the IFP has given the ANC chairmanship of four committees, in line with proportional representation.

- The ANC is taking sole credit for the reconstruction and development programme and Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo controls RDP finances and approves projects. The KwaZulu/Natal government has been left "powerless" in this regard.

Against this backdrop, influential

WNN 15-2241244

hardliners have advocated a Westminster-styled opposition role for the IFP on the grounds that it will be free to emerge as a vocal critic of the ANC, a task currently performed by the Democratic Party.

Rather than take blame for ANC failure to deliver on its election promises, the IFP would then be in a position to attract the ANC's disenchanted supporters.

Sources said the moves towards a pull-out from the GNU are also tied to the ascendancy of hardliners within the IFP and, more importantly, political developments in KwaZulu/Natal.

These sources said the hand of the anti-GNU faction gained momentum when the ANC and Zwelithini edged closer to each other about three months ago. The wooing of Zwelithini is seen as a clear attempt on the ANC's part to wrest control of KwaZulu/Natal, much to the chagrin of IFP leaders who believe that this runs against the spirit of the GNU which embodies power-sharing, the sources added.

The IFP sources argue that the ANC should be satisfied with power at the centre and in seven of the nine provinces. They added that IFP moderates are on the defensive and acknowledge that hardliners have valid concerns — and hope that the ANC rethinks its strategies.

# IFP ups stakes in battle for the chiefs

11B

WM 15-22/12/94

Farouk Chothia: Durban

**K**WAZULU/NATAL chiefs have received an increased stipend since April in what appears to be a move on the Inkatha Freedom Party's part to retain their loyalty in the post-election era, it emerged this week.

This disclosure comes amid further signs that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is battling to prise chiefs — the main conduit between himself and his millions of subjects — away from arch-foe Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The senior deputy secretary in the province's Ministry of Traditional Authority, George Smith, confirmed that the annual stipends of chiefs were increased at the beginning of April as they had been stagnant "for a long time".

In terms of the new scale, chiefs without matric receive R18 000 a year while those with matric receive R22 800.

Chiefs with a three-year diploma or degree receive a minimum of R37 170 a year.

Smith said a different system of payment had been used previously: chiefs with less than 3 000 subjects received R7 689; those with between 3 000 and 6 000 subjects received R11 530 a year. This applied to non-matriculant chiefs.

Matriculants received R15 747 a year, irrespective of the number of subjects they had. Those who had completed post-matric studies received R15 747 plus R1 725 for each year of study completed, Smith added.

ANC kwaZulu/Natal deputy chairman Chief Zibuse Mlaba said not all chiefs receive the stipend: those who are not aligned to the IFP do not receive payment.

Buthelezi called two meetings of chiefs in the past week, where his status as "traditional prime minister" was confirmed. According to a



King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mangosuthu Buthelezi: Who will win the chiefs' support?

PHOTO STEVE HIL

kwaZulu/Natal government spokesman, Thembinkosi Memela, 270 chiefs attended the meetings in Ulundi, one last Friday and the other this Tuesday.

Buthelezi's confidence that he has the backing of chiefs was demonstrated by two moves he initiated: the chiefs first asked for a meeting with Zwelithini; when the monarch refused, they asked for a meeting with President Nelson Mandela, Zwelithini's new ally. Mandela has reportedly agreed to grant them an audience.

By contrast, Zwelithini's attempts to assert his authority are failing. He was scheduled to address two rallies in Durban townships last weekend as part of a recently unveiled campaign to promote peace and reconciliation, but he failed to pitch up. The official reason for his non-appearance was poor health.

University of Natal violence monitor Mary de Haas said chiefs will be reluctant to publicly pledge allegiance to Zwelithini for as long as the issue of "patrhnage, coercion and terror" is not addressed.

Chief OT Xolo was forced to flee the

south coast after he allowed free political activity in his fiefdom. There had been an attempt to kill him and moves are afoot to depose him. De Haas added.

Desperate to gain control over the chiefs — "the pillars of the Zulu kingdom" — Prince Sifiso Zulu made a call last weekend, on behalf of Zwelithini, for the salaries of chiefs to be paid from the national fiscus.

The Ulundi indaba responded by saying that the call would play into the hands of those "who have in the past sought the destruction of kwaZulu" — a subtle projection of Zwelithini as a sell-out to the ANC and Xhosas.

De Haas said it was unlikely that chiefs would be paid by central government as "traditional authority is a provincial affair" in terms of the constitution.

With Buthelezi steering their actions, the chiefs put even more heat on Zwelithini, deploring his "lack of communication" with them as a development that could see the "institutions of the monarchy suffer grievously" — again a subtle projection of Zwelithini as a king who has

gone wayward.

De Haas argued that the king is not as powerful as he was made out to be in the pre-election period. Zwelithini does not have a strong personality and Buthelezi used him to stoke the embers of Zulu nationalism.

Buthelezi has always had a higher profile than Zwelithini. Right up to 1986, for instance, Buthelezi's portrait appeared alone on pictures promoting the historic Shaka Day celebrations, De Haas argued. Gradually thereafter, Buthelezi began promoting Zwelithini's public image and this reached a crescendo in the election run-up.

Buthelezi also has more resources. Zwelithini. The IFP leader can rely on the IFP and provincial government's financial and organisational clout to pull off rallies.

"The king has none of this," De Haas said.

De Haas believes that to break Buthelezi's control over chiefs, the ANC will have to be "more vigorous" as an opposition party by challenging IFP "abuse" of chiefs in the provincial legislature.

## IFP withdrawal 'blow to business'

(113) ARG 19/12/94  
JOHANNESBURG. — The British Sunday Telegraph has said international business confidence in South Africa will be severely compromised if the Inkatha Freedom Party withdraws from the government of national unity.

It would also cause the spectre of political violence to rise again in KwaZulu-Natal, the newspaper said.

The newspaper said IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could decide to withdraw because the ANC's wooing of King Goodwill Zwelithini seemed to have backfired with the majority of tribal chiefs supporting Chief Buthelezi.

The London Sunday Times, writing under the headline "Afrikaners written out of History" says school textbooks are being rewritten as part of a sweeping programme of Africanisation.

The newspaper says changes to school curricula reflect how Afrikaner dominance is collapsing in the new South Africa. — Sapa.

# Buthelezi: Mediation before poll

CT 19/12/94

(116)

**DURBAN.** — Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi reiterated his call for international mediation to resolve the position of King Goodwill Zwelethini and the kingdom of kwaZulu.

This he said will have to be done before next year's local government elections.

Chief Buthelezi told a rally at Hlabisa on Saturday although President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk had not reneged on an agreement on international mediation, members of the ANC had shown hostility to the idea whenever the issue was raised during the constitutional assembly sittings.

He said it was unfortunate that the king had not discussed the issue, including the setting up of the House of Traditional Leaders with kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose.

He said the local government elections were near and that provincial Minister of Traditional Affairs, Chief Nyanga Ngubane, and a delegation of Amakhosi (traditional leaders) had made it clear to Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer that they expected mediation to precede their people's participation in local elections.

# IFP 'discusses' quitting govt

CT 19/12/94  
(118)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Council of the Inkatha Freedom Party had not taken a decision to withdraw from the government, IFP president and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

However, a special IFP conference in Ulundi next month could take the crucial decision to quit President Nelson Mandela's coalition government.

Reacting to reports that the IFP — which has three ministers and 32 MPs in the central government — was planning its withdrawal, Chief Buthelezi said: "The council of the IFP has not taken any decision to withdraw. Options have been discussed in an academic way which led the

## Special conference next month

council to acknowledge that a decision of such importance might warrant the IFP calling a special general conference."

The London Sunday Telegraph was quoted as saying that the IFP wanted to withdraw from the government and concentrate on strengthening their control of the provincial government in kwaZulu/Natal, Inkatha's power base, our London Correspondent reports.

They wanted Chief Buthelezi to withdraw from the government

and become prime minister of the province.

The strategy would first involve dissolving the KZN Assembly and calling fresh provincial elections to strengthen Inkatha's 51% majority — something the hardliners believe would happen.

"Senior party figures are arguing that participation in the national coalition has handcuffed Inkatha to decisions steamrolled through the cabinet by the ANC's ministerial majority," the report said.

But the Sunday Telegraph warned that the withdrawal of Inkatha from the central government would severely dent international business confidence in South Africa, and raise the spectre of a resurgence of political violence in KZN, where 20 000 people died in the 10 years before the April election

# Disclosed: The name behind Inkathagate

(11B) WM 23/12/94-5/1/95

At last the WM&G is able to disclose the identity of the man behind the momentous Inkathagate scandal.

**David Beresford** reports

**T**HE *Weekly Mail & Guardian* can finally disclose the identity of the man behind the Inkathagate scandal, who may have changed the course of South African history. He is Brian Morrow, a former member of the security branch, who is now trapped in exile from South Africa, because he cannot get indemnity against prosecution for his breach of the Official Secrets Act.

The Inkathagate scandal which followed his disclosures — showing that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been taking secret payments from the police — is believed by many commentators to have fatally undermined the political standing of the Inkatha leader. It is also believed to have compromised covert operations aimed at the electoral defeat of the ANC, as well as bringing an effective end to the careers of the country's two key security ministers.

But ironically, while self-confessed mass murderers have been pardoned on the grounds that their crimes were committed with "political" motives, Morrow has been unable to get the indemnity that will enable him to return home.

Morrow (34) took the documents from top-secret police files when he fled South Africa in 1991 to avoid pressure by colleagues to give perjured evidence in a dangerous driving case against a fellow police officer.

After the scandal broke, the South African Special Branch apparently managed to identify Morrow as the person who had taken the missing

documents. The most secret documents were contained in Stratcom (strategic communications) files in a heavily protected room. But for a brief period they were moved into a less secure section while building renovations were carried out. "That's when I really made hay," recalls Morrow.

"There was far more there. There were other documents with Buthelezi's name on and documents with (FW) de Klerk's name on. De Klerk in one document was congratulating people who had infiltrated Nusas (the liberal National Union of South African Students). I just took what I thought was the best. I didn't have time to read them. I had to take them very quickly."

He believes police suspected him of taking the missing documents at the time. On a couple of occasions exits from the building were suddenly blocked and searches carried out in an attempt to identify the culprit.

At one point Morrow began finding messages left on his car windscreen, purporting to be from ANC supporters and appealing to him for help. "I went straight to my boss with them. I figured they knew it was me, they just didn't have the proof."

In 1990 Morrow was riding as a passenger in a police car when the speeding driver jumped a stop street in a Durban township, ramming into another vehicle. Under pressure from commanders to give testimony blaming the other vehicle for the crash, "I thought, sod this country. I'm going to go overseas and leak the documents."

While in England, Morrow and his family received a string of death threats, both by letter and in anonymous telephone calls. One caller told him where he and his wife had been over a succession of days, indicating they were being kept under surveil-

lance. Pointing out that he had made no demands for payment for the documents, Morrow says: "I just did it on principle."

Unfortunately, while the principles at stake were recognised by the then state president, De Klerk — who conceded police wrongdoing and demoted former minister of law and order Adriaan Vlok and former minister of defence Magnus Malan — Morrow has been unable to get recognition of them by way of indemnity.

**O**ver the past couple of years he has made repeated approaches to the South African embassy in London, to ANC representatives and other politicians in South Africa for help in getting indemnity, but without success. His only formal response was a letter from the Ministry of Justice, informing him he had filled in the application form incorrectly.

Brian Curran, the head of the Amnesty-Indemnity Advisory Board set up to process indemnity applications, confirmed that an application had been received from Morrow, but said that the "offence" was committed after a cut-off date of October 1990 and did not qualify for consideration.

The breach of the Official Secrets Act carries a maximum penalty of 10 years imprisonment. "I'm not really worried about that," says Morrow, who now works as a teacher in England. "But it would give the police an excuse to arrest me. People have slipped on soap before in South Africa. People have died 'running away'."

"I just don't think it is fair when people like Barend Strydom (a member of the Wit Wolwe convicted of mass murder) are walking around free."

**WORLDWIDE**

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Vol. 7, No. 29, July 26 to August 1, 1994

**The search for the sex-starved, radioactive goats**

**The artists in the flying taxis**

**A chemical war on the factory floor**

**Oh dear, Mr Vlok, you lied**

**THE FUNDING SCANDAL**

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**Sniffing out the truth: The front page that caught out the government**

documents and both he and members of his family were the subject of death threats. The British government had to step in to give him personal protection.

Morrow, a warrant officer in the security branch, joined the South African Police in 1986 to avoid con-



# Mandela drawn into IFP dispute over king

(118) ARG 23/12/94

## □ Buthelezi, Mdlalose and chiefs in protocol confusion

**Political Staff**  
**PRETORIA.** — President Mandela has been drawn into the dispute arising from sharply-worsening relations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Mr Mandela is studying an 18-page document submitted to him by a KwaZulu-Natal delegation led by the province's premier, Frank Mdlalose.

The delegation included IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 10 Zulu chiefs and IFP ministers from the provincial cabinet.

The delegation's meeting with the president followed a day of disputes over protocol and political intentions. Earlier there was concern about the group's bona fides as traditional leaders — and charges that it was an IFP vehicle.

Dr Mdlalose denied this, saying: "It just so happens that most of us are members of the IFP."

The chiefs conveyed their concern that the national defence force was being used to guard the Zulu king at his resi-

dences in northern KwaZulu-Natal, arguing that this was regarded as interference.

Other issues raised in the memorandum included the relationship between the KwaZulu government and the king and the payment of traditional leaders.

The chiefs stipulated in the document that they wanted to be paid by the provincial government rather than from central government coffers.

Dr Mdlalose told a Press conference that the chiefs had asked "certain people of the KwaZulu-Natal government" to accompany them as they "usually" held meetings in the company of others.

He added that there was "very great harmony" between the IFP-led legislative assembly in KwaZulu-Natal and the chiefs. Only a small group of chiefs in the province was affiliated to Contratesa, he said.

The premier said the chiefs were aware of a meeting that

the delegation yesterday morning that the president would not meet them.

Members of the delegation voiced their fear that such a move would look as if the Zulu king and Mr Mandela were in alliance, as King Goodwill had refused to receive the chiefs two weeks ago.

Mr Mbeki, Chief Buthelezi and Dr Mdlalose then left the Union Buildings for the president's official residence, Mahlabandlovu.

Mr Mandela returned with them to the Union Buildings, where he met the 15-member delegation.

The president is understood to have told them that he was not prepared to talk to a selection of chiefs and would be prepared to address all the chiefs in Natal.

The delegation undertook to arrange such a meeting after the festive season.

In the memorandum, Dr Mdlalose said the "institutional deadlock" over the Zulu king should be solved by the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature.

had been scheduled between him and Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki on December 14 about a border dispute between KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape.

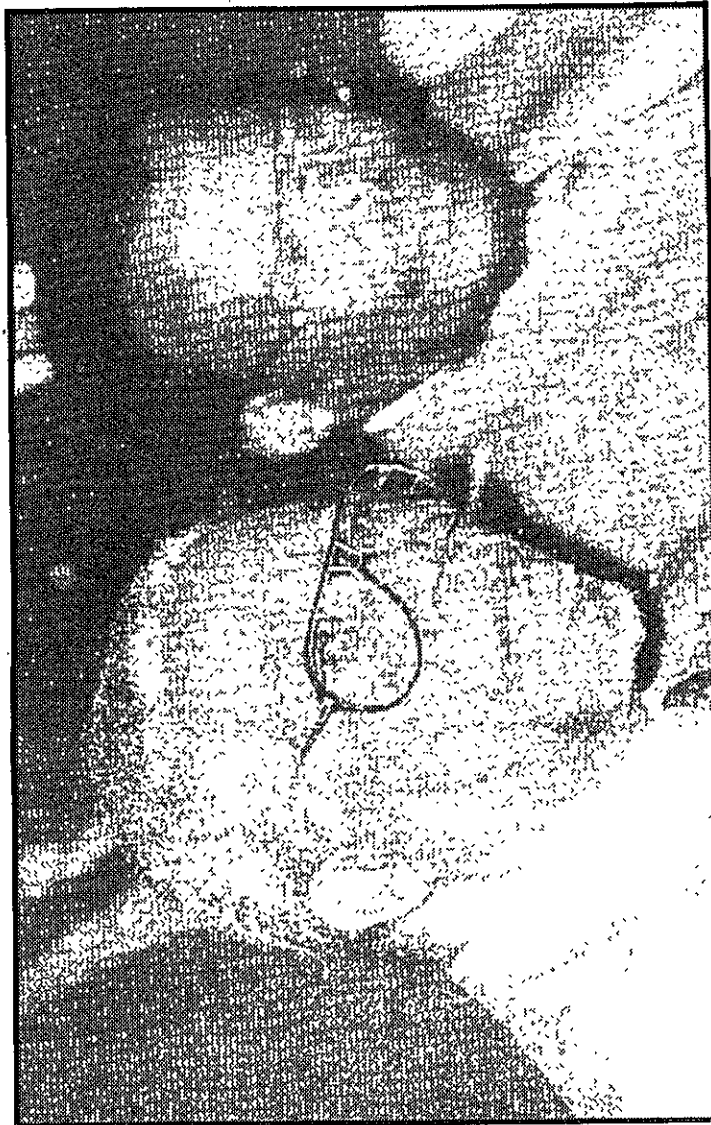
They asked him to request Mr Mbeki to arrange a meeting for them with Mr Mandela before Christmas.

It was initially agreed that the chiefs would meet the president on Tuesday in Bloemfontein, where he was attending the ANC national conference.

This meeting was postponed because it clashed with Mr Mandela's programme. The meeting was re-scheduled for Monday in Bloemfontein but the date did not suit the chiefs.

It is understood that concern was expressed in the president's office about the composition of the delegation as Mr Mandela had expected to meet the chiefs.

Although this concern was expressed on Wednesday night to Dr Mdlalose, Mr Mbeki told



**COLLEAGUES:** KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose and home affairs minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their meeting with President Mandela yesterday in Pretoria. Mr Mandela is studying an 18-page document submitted to him by a delegation that included Chief Buthelezi in his capacity as IFP president, 10 Zulu chiefs and other IFP ministers from the provincial cabinet.



# ANC set to woo IFP traditional leaders

(113)  
ARLT 24/12/94

**JOHN MacLENNAN**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. -- The African National Congress, which has managed to estrange Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi from King Zwelethini, now plans to cut him off from another major source of support — the traditional leaders.

This is the effect of a decision taken at the ANC's Bloemfontein conference. The new ANC leadership has been instructed to ensure that traditional leaders will be paid by the central government in order to free them from the control of political parties.

The *amakhosi* — who support the IFP — are paid by the KwaZulu/Natal provincial government.

The hope is that a change of paymaster will free them to support other parties — such as the ANC.

At the same time the ANC hopes to enlist the organisation of traditional leaders, called Contralesa, in its battle to sweep to victory in the local elections next year.

Valli Moosa, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs, said constitutional steps were being considered to free

traditional leaders from what he termed the stranglehold of provincial governments.

He disagreed that a link with central government would similarly compromise the chiefs.

"There would be a direct link with central government and they will not be bound by the whims and fancies of provincial leaders." The ANC also wanted to examine the role of those who were appointed as a reward for assisting in the promotion of apartheid, he said.

Mr Moosa said that those who didn't have legitimacy could be deposed.

He said leaders appointed in terms of the constitution should not be used by political parties because this would merely amount to a repetition of what had happened in the past.

The ANC wanted to separate the "good" chiefs from the "bad" chiefs through the appointment of a commission which would explore how colonialism and apartheid had refashioned leadership.

The commission would make recommendations on restoring traditional leadership to leaders who held their positions on a hereditary basis.

# Attempt to block IFP <sup>(11B)</sup> — Buthelezi

CT 29/12/94

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that attempts were being made to block his party from governing kwaZulu/Natal and to rob the party of its victory in the April election.

Speaking to members of his own clan, the Abakwa-buthelezi, Chief Buthelezi said he had had a "very chequered relationship" with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, so there was nothing new about the current crisis.

Although he had been given a mandate by the majority of the people of kwaZulu/Natal to govern the province, "it is quite clear that there are forces that have been unleashed from different angles aimed at blocking Inkatha from governing this province".

He described the local government elections as a big challenge, saying that the amakhosi (chiefs) had sent a delegation to see Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer concerning these elections.

The delegation would place before Mr Meyer some concerns about the future of traditional authorities.

He said there had been controversies in kwaZulu/Natal about portfolios, the capital and now about a law passed by the legislature on the House of Traditional Leaders.

# Postal crisis grips former homelands

By GARY COLLINS

POSTAL services in former TBVC homelands are on the verge of collapse, with senior officials and staff holding out for lucrative retrenchment and salary packages as they face incorporation into SA's services.

SA Post Office sources said this week that postal services in the former TBVC states were "virtually non-existent".

Mail-order companies say they are losing millions. They allege that no deliveries have been made in some areas, particularly in Ciskei and Transkei, for seven months.

Part of the incorporation problem is that South Africa's Post Office and Telkom are private companies while homeland services are civil service departments.

Hannes van Zyl, a spokesman for the Postal Forum, an advisory body of business, civic, union and consumer groups, said the crisis stemmed from salary negotiations with TBVC staff, many of whom are likely to lose their jobs.

"Customers must be looked after. Negotiations over wages should not prevent solutions to solving the crisis," he said.

"There is a general lack of competence, probably worst in the Transkei and Ciskei, where there is an almost complete breakdown in services.

"The situation is so bad migrant workers in the Cape now send messengers to take money to their families in the Ciskei and Transkei because postal orders no longer reach those areas."

South African Postmaster General "Ters" Oosthuizen said: "We cannot just incorporate postal workers from the former homelands into the South African

equivalents. We must also look at the costs involved because Telkom and the Post Office are commercial ventures."

Phillip de Winter, managing director of a large mail-order company, said his company had lost R10-million.

"Mail order businesses in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban have suffered huge losses from March to September, compared to the previous year.

"People have not suddenly stopped buying on mail order. The problem is customers are not receiving our catalogues and we are not receiving their orders," he said.

But senior officials in the former TBVC postal departments deny there are any problems.

Venda deputy postmaster general Eric Matodzi said: "There is no delay in postal services whatsoever. We have no problems with integration, but there must be an agreement to introduce parity in salaries and benefits to all postal services."

Mr Matodzi said a postmaster general in Venda earned the equivalent salary of a director-general in the South African civil service — R266 784 a year.

Deputy postmasters general in Venda, Ciskei and Transkei denied there was a breakdown of services in their regions. All three suggested the complaints might apply to other areas.

Transkei deputy postmaster general Benjamin Mazwi said: "We have never had any complaints. We are not aware that post is not getting through; things are generally running smoothly. I may be wrong, but I am personally not aware of any problems."

Minister of Post and Telecommunications Pallo Jordan is overseas and could not be reached for comment.

# Traditional leaders 'harassed' in Natal

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) yesterday noted with concern the alleged harassment of traditional leaders by some provincial governments, particularly in the Inkatha Freedom Party-dominated KwaZulu/Natal.

Contralesa president Chief S P Holomisa told a press conference in Midrand that a number of traditional leaders from KwaZulu/Natal had been summoned to a meeting at Ulundi on Friday.

There they had been threatened with expulsion if they attended Contralesa's annual general meeting at the weekend.

He said Contralesa would "engage the national and provincial governments" on the matter.

Contralesa would also call on the Government to protect those traditional leaders in KwaZulu/Natal who were not IFP sup-

porters, he said.

Holomisa added that Contralesa supported Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's initiative for "traditional leaders to disengage from party politics".

The conference, which lasted two days, ended with the election of a new executive.

Holomisa was unanimously elected president for a second term while Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Winnie Mandela was elected treasurer.

Other executive members included Prince James Mahlangu (deputy president), Chief S C Mhinga (general secretary), Chief Mathokwana Mopeli (assistant general secretary) and Prince M B Mota (national organiser).

Delegates to the conference noted with concern that provincial Houses of traditional leaders

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in certain regions had not been established and that there had been lack of consultation with traditional leaders when the number of national council members was decided upon.

Delegates also resolved that cases where traditional leaders had been "unjustly deposed" by previous homeland governments should be referred to the Council of Traditional Leaders for resolution. (101)

On the question of land restitution it was recommended that these claims be made effective from 1652.

The conference also noted the tension between certain traditional leaders and members of civic organisations.

It called upon Contralesa's leadership in each region to meet South African National Civic Organisation leaders to address the problem. — Sapa.

**NEWS** Probe into

# Free politics, SOWETO say chiefs

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff 12/12/94

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has recommended that the government take drastic measures to "nip in the bud" the problem of the lack of free political activity in the country, particularly in KwaZulu/Natal.

This recommendation came at Contralesa's three-day conference near Midrand which ended yesterday.

It also came amid allegations that a number of delegates from the KwaZulu/Natal region had failed to attend the organisation's conference this weekend following intimidation from certain quarters in the province. (10)

Addressing a Press briefing at the end of the conference, Contralesa president Chief Phathekile Holomisa said the level of intimidation of traditional leaders in KwaZulu/Natal had reached unacceptable levels.

"We got a report that when word got out that there was going to be a conference here, traditional leaders were called to a meeting in Ulundi where they were threatened with expulsion and the withholding of their salaries (if they came to the conference).

"We had less than the required number of delegates from KwaZulu/Natal," Holomisa said.

The following were elected to the Contralesa executive: Prince James Mahlangu (deputy president), Chief Cydrick Mhinga (general secretary), Queen Mathokoane (assistant general secretary), Prince Masene Motha (organiser) and Mrs Winnie Mandela (treasurer).

Additional executive committee members are Chief Eyans Xolo, Prince Klaas Mahlangu, Chief Bhekizizwe Mnisi and Chief ABC Matsepe.

Resolutions taken were:

That land claims be back-dated to 1652 and that proper compensation be implemented where applicable.

To mandate the House of Traditional Leaders to resolve the issue of deposed traditional leaders and their non-recognition by the Constitution.